T.C.
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES M.A PROGRAM

M.A. THESIS

THE HISTORY OF THE FASCIST STATE: ORIGINS AND IDEOLOGIES, ITALY AND GERMANY BETWEEN 1914-1945

BURCU DABAKOĞLU
15735005

THESIS SUPERVISOR
Prof. Dr. AYŞEGÜL BAYKAN

İSTANBUL
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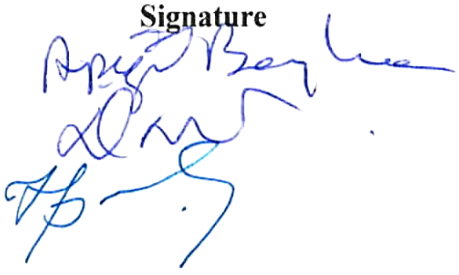
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İSTANBUL
APRIL 2019

ÖZ

FAŞİST DEVLETİN TARİHİ: ORİJİNLER VE İDEOLOJİLER 1914-1945 ARASI İTALYA VE ALMANYA

Burcu Dabakoğlu
Nisan, 2019

Faşizm, politik bir ideoloji olarak 20. yüzyılda ortaya çıkmıştır. Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve İkinci Dünya Savaşı arasındaki süreçte, Avrupa'nın bazı farklı ülkelerinde faşist rejimler kurulmuştur. Faşizm ilk defa İtalya'da ve Almanya'da 1920'lerde ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu iki ülkede faşist rejimin iktidara gelmesinin nedenleri benzer sayılabilir. Yine de Almanya ve İtalya'daki faşist rejim uygulamaları arasında bazı temel farklılıklar vardır.

Bu çalışmada, İtalya ve Almanya'daki faşist devlet sisteminin ayrıntılı bir incelemesi yapılacaktır. İki sistem arasındaki farklılıkları ve benzerlikleri açıkça tartışmak için, çalışma dört bölüme ayrılacaktır.

Birinci bölümde faşizmin bir ideoloji olarak tanımlanmasından bahsedilecektir. Faşizmin diğer siyasi ideolojilerle benzerlikleri ve farklılıkları karşılaştırılacaktır. Faşizmin ortaya çıkışı ve gelişmesi, tarihsel süreçte İtalya ve Almanya'nın sosyal, ekonomik ve politik durumu göz önüne alınarak incelenecektir.

İkinci bölümde İtalya'da faşizmin özellikleri; Üçüncü bölümde ise Almanya'daki faşizmin özellikleri incelenecektir. Her iki ülke için de faşist rejim sürecinde toplumsal yapı, ekonomi, kültür ve din gibi sistemlerin durumu tartışılacaktır.

Çalışmanın son bölümünde faşist rejimler açısından İtalya ve Almanya arasındaki benzerlikler ve farklılıklar ele alınacaktır. İki ülkenin faşist rejimlerinin uygulamaları arasındaki farklar, iki devletin sosyal, ekonomik ve politik sistemlerine göre incelenecektir.

Bu çalışmanın bilimsel araştırma yöntemi betimsel araştırma yöntemidir. Tanımlayıcı araştırma, çalışılan olgunun özelliklerini tanımlayan bir araştırma yöntemi olarak tanımlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Faşizm, Ulusal Sosyalizm, Devlet.

ABSTRACT

THE HISTORY OF THE FASCIST STATE: ORIGINS AND IDEOLOGIES ITALY AND GERMANY BETWEEN 1914-1945

Burcu Dabakoğlu
April, 2019

Fascism emerged as a political ideology in the 20th century. In the period between First World War and Second World War, fascist regimes came to force in Italy and Germany for the first time. The reasons that the fascist regime came to power in these two countries can be considered to be similar to each other. Nevertheless, there are some main differences between fascist regime practices in Germany and Italy.

A detailed examination of the fascist state system in Italy and Germany will be carried out in this study. To clearly discuss the differences and similarities between the two systems, the study will be separated into four sections.

In the first section, the definitions of fascism as an ideology will be discussed. Similarities and differences of fascism with other political ideologies will be compared with each other. The emergence and development of fascism will be examined in the historical process considering the social, economic and political situation of Italy and Germany.

In the second part, the characteristics of Fascism in Italy; and in the third part, the characteristics of National Socialism in Germany will be examined. The situation of systems such as social structure, economy, culture and religion in the fascist regime will be discussed for both countries.

In the last section of the study, similarities and differences between Italy and Germany will be discussed in terms of being fascist regimes. The differences between the practices of the fascist regimes of the two countries will be examined in relation to the social, economic and the political systems of the two states.

Scientific research method of this study is the descriptive research method. Descriptive research is defined as a research method that describes the characteristics of the phenomenon that is being studied.

Keywords: Fascism, National Socialism, State.

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Last but not least, I would like to thank my beloved family for being my greatest support throughout my life. My dear mother, Yüksel Dabakoğlu, I feel so lucky to be the daughter of a strong, courageous, intelligent and loving woman like you. My dear sister, Duygu Hürkan, you are my best friend and the best example of the sisterhood. I know we will continue to support each other for the rest of our lives. Finally, I would like to thank to my beloved nephew, Nefes Uzay Hürkan, who is only 11 months old, for bringing luck and joy to my life.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my dear father, Şükrü Salahaddin Dabakoğlu.

İstanbul; April, 2019 Burcu Dabakoğlu

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

NSDAP: National Socialist German Workers' Party

DAP: German Workers' Party

1. INTRODUCTION

Fascism as a word is derived from fascio (Latin: *fasces*). Fascio is an Italian word which means a bundle, a sheaf or a union. In the Roman imperial period, the stick or whip bunch that the emperor's guards were carried is also called fascio. It is a bundle of rods, which surrounded an ax in the middle. *(Figure 1).* After the command of the emperor, the order would have been legalized with the hit of this bundle to the ground. Fascio also represented the unity and power of the empire.[1]

The historical period between the First and Second World Wars, 1914-1945, led to the most intensive social, economic and political conflicts among the nations. These conflicts had emerged from certain forces that have different ideologies. These ideologies, such as nationalism, imperialism, socialism, communism, liberalism, conservatism and anarchism are the outcomes of the 19th century. Compared to these ideologies, fascism is the only thing in the 20th century which has a new and original power and ideology that can be called a product of this national conflict. As in all previous ideologies, the roots of fascism are based on previous developments between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its roots can be traced back to the 19th century, but it has become an ideology in the strict sense after the First World War. The cultural changes and developments had become important sources in the emergence of the fascist ideology and they also became key factors to determine the doctrines and concepts of fascist ideology. These developments of the nineteenth century were influential in the formation of fascist roots, but the concept of fascist ideology emerged after the First World War. [2]

Throughout the study, the basic elements of the fascist state system and the differences and similarities of the two modes of practice, Italy and Germany, were discussed. The aim of this study was to survey, first in Italy and later in Germany, the conditions and situations that gave birth to fascism after the First World War. After fascism came to power in both countries, domestic and foreign policies and

1 Cristogianni Borsella, **Fascist Italy: A Concise Historical Narrative.** (Boston: Branden Books, 2007) p. 35
2 Stanley G. Payne, **A History of Fascism 1914–1945** (London: Routledge, 1995) p. 23

applications of these countries were explained. It has been suggested that the main differences of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism emerged with the practices in the process of constructing the power of the state. A comprehensive comparison was made between Italian Fascism and German National Socialism on the important aspects of the state administration and social life.

The main proposes of this study are to understand how the fascist system that emerged after the First World War has been so effective over such masses for so many years, to examine how its infrastructure was prepared before the fascist system emerged, to understand the importance of this ideology which is usually remembered with pain and sorrow in the historical process, to examine the successes and failures of the fascist system and finally, by evaluating some theories such as The Social Contract, Enlightenment and Modernism to discuss the origins of the fascist ideology.

Although this political regime and ideology, which came to power in the period between the two world wars, had a short life span, the social, economic, political and cultural influences were very serious. It is important in terms of understanding fascism to examine the conditions that created these regimes and examine the effects of the regimes on state systems.

This study has some delimitations. It was limited to the period between 1914-1945, between the First World War and the Second World War. In order to understand this period in detail, the previous academic sources were used. The countries discussed in this study are Italy and Germany. The lack of English translations of some sources written in these languages was one of the problems encountered in the study.

Scientific research method of this study is the descriptive research method. Descriptive research is defined as a research method that describes the characteristics of the phenomenon that is being studied.

In the conceptual framework part of the study, the definition of the fascist ideology and in the theoretical framework part; some important notions will be mentioned such as The Social Contract, Enlightenment and Modernism and their relationships with the ideology of fascism which the Critical School thinkers have emphasized in their works.

Beginning from the 16th and 17th centuries, the idea of Social Contract has been more frequently expressed. Some important thinkers such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau were mentioned about the Social Contract. Before people emerged as a society, as a result of efforts to establish interests and control over others; their natural state was almost a war. This conflict was the natural tendency of people, and in this way, each community sought the possibilities of protecting their lives and their members. Finally, with a contract (The Social Contract), each was guaranteed to have certain goods. With this agreement, people submit to the command and domination of state institutions. The power of the stronger in nature was now transformed into the legal power of the sovereign.

The Enlightenment period first began to emerge in the 18th century as a thought in social life. The Enlightenment in the context of the individual is the practice of adopting a life based on reason and knowledge, especially with the intellectual will of the individual. However, the period of Enlightenment is criticized by the Critical School thinkers for facilitating the work of fascism. According them the Enlightenment period has self-destructive features. For example, the idea of individualism, which the Enlightenment gives great importance to, is destructed by the Enlightenment itself. With the mathematical logic of the Enlightenment and technical progress, the individual is so limited that, the behavior expected of him is as mechanical as a machine. The understanding of intellect developed by the Enlightenment has served the individual independent goals and pushed the individual's aspirations aside. This situation has resulted as the disappearance of the individual in the society and the loss of autonomy.

Another the connection between Fascism and Enlightenment can be explained with the concept of personal interest. One of the important concepts of the Enlightenment, which is aim oriented and based on reason, is personal interest. The imposition of self-interest as social interest; and the imposition of this interest in the subjective mind as an externally imposed purpose is rooted in the origin of the fascist program.

According to Critical School thinkers, fascism is also not far from modernity. The relationship between modernity and fascism is evaluated as follows: the concepts of nation, nation-state, bureaucracy, and centralization have been brought to

civilization and culture by modernism. Neither modernity can be considered separate from these concepts, nor these concepts can be considered independent of the paradigm of modernism. Racism is one of the cases to be taken in this context. Although fascism and racism are opposed to the achievements of the Enlightenment and modernity, it is impossible to think fascism without modern science, modern technology and modern state. In fact, in this context, racism is a product of modernity.

Developments such as the Social Contract and Enlightenment, which are expected to strengthen the concepts of equality, freedom and human rights in the society, have prepared the ground for the results such as the rise of fascism which is the opposite of these expectations. Nevertheless, unlike these developments, fascism has brought the concept of the individual to a rather insignificant place.

Developments such as the Social Contract and Enlightenment, which are expected to strengthen the concepts of equality, freedom and human rights in the society, have prepared the ground for the results such as the rise of fascism which is the opposite of these expectations. Nevertheless, unlike these developments, Fascism has brought the concept of the individual to a rather insignificant place. According to organic theory, which involves in the fascist ideology; society is like the human body, social institutions and organizations are the organs that fulfill the various functions of the body and in these organs, individuals are like organic cells that dissolved and fused in these organs. The individual has meaning according to his / her function in the society. Thus, the society is accepted as a sociological, historical fact and an organic, biological whole in the fascist state.

Hitler's views on the Aryan Race are similar to natural selection within the Evolution Theory. In both views, there is a species that is biologically superior, and this species is inherently strong; and will survive. For Hitler, this race is the Aryan race with pure German blood. According to this theory, which Hitler supports with his own scientific explanations, the person who can lead the others must have this pure blood. According to Hitler, there was a leader who was already strong for biological and natural reasons. And the position of that person as a leader has been legally recognized by the Social Contract.

Before studying the theoretical framework, it is necessary to understand the conceptual framework in order to understand fascism as an ideology. Therefore, the

definition of fascism as ideology and its relation to other ideologies will be examined. Even today, there are some difficulties in defining fascism and putting it in a specific frame. There are different opinions on whether fascism is an ideology or a regime. But fascism, like other ideologies, is an advanced political movement within a certain systematic framework.

2. FASCISM AS AN IDEOLOGY

2.1. Conceptual Framework: Definition of Fascism

Fascism has not been described as a political ideology by the fascist cadre since its emergence in Italy and has invited people to struggle by taking an anti-doctrinal attitude. However, a political doctrine was required to legitimize the fascist movement and to get the support of the masses. Initiated by Giovanni Gentile, who is described as a philosopher of fascism, there has been an increase in the efforts to create a political doctrine that conveys the principles of fascism, its teachings and its application to the public. Thus, an eclectic political doctrine, which refers to different concepts from different political ideologies and synthesizes these concepts with each other in a way that justifies the fascist movement, has been established to some extent.[3]

Despite the eclectic nature of fascism, those who agree that it should be defined as an ideology thought that, there may be various utopian or irrational principles within any ideology, and other ideologies add different concepts from different sources. At this point, it is not right to argue that fascism is not an ideology just because it has more irrational elements than other ideologies.[4]

At the center of this approach is the idea that although there are various nuances in practice, fascism contains various common beliefs and values that enable it to be characterized as a political ideology. Those who argue that fascism is an ideology have emphasized that it must be treated as an ideology before discussing how it emerged and what features it has. Names such as Stanley Payne, Emilio Gentile, Roger Eatwell and Roger Griffin are among the most important representatives of this approach.[5]

Roger Griffin is another important figure that could be considered within this framework. Griffin argues in his analysis that fascism must be considered as an ideology. At this point, Griffin was opposed to treating it as a special phenomenon of a particular period and focusing on the organizational forms and organizational

3 Dave Renton, **Fascism: Theory and Practice.** (London: Pluto Press, 1999) p. 18-29
4 Stanley G. Payne, **A History of Fascism 1914–1945** (London: Routledge, 1995) p. 8
[5] Dave Renton, **Fascism: Theory and Practice.** (London: Pluto Press, 1999) p. 18-29

structure of fascism. Griffin argued that fascism had criterions that allowed it to be regarded as an ideology, just like liberalism or anarchism.[6]

Fascism distinguishes itself from other ideologies developed in the previous century; it is better to say that the fascist ideology is more based on faith and action. The most important reason behind giving different answers to related questions can be the lack of "absolute truth" in social sciences. In the field of politics, it should not be surprising that there are differences in definition. Especially if the subject is fascism, which is a pro-violence ideology, it is not unexpected that the definition is complex and open to debate.

One of the simplest definitions about fascism that expresses the concept briefly and clearly is as follows; “A totalitarian philosophy of government that glorifies the state and nation and assigns to the state control over every aspect of national life.” [7] Italian fascism was based on “supremacy of the state.” While Nazism in Germany was based on the racial unity, in Italian fascism the state supremacy was prominent. The state is honored with the idea that; everything concerns the state; the state takes care of everything. While the supremacy of the state was emphasized, the public was put on the back burner. The day after the announcement of Italy's entry into the war, Mussolini wrote in his newspaper: “We devote ourselves to you Italy! Without fear and sorrow, our life and death are yours.”[8] This is directly proportional to the exaltation of the state and the exaltation of the ruler of the state (Italian: *il Duce*). Therefore, *The Duce is always right*.

Just as Mussolini established over the Italian people, Hitler (German: der Führer) established the same domination and oppression over the Germans. After Mussolini and Hitler came to power in their countries, all the political parties were liquidated. Fascism does not believe in the concept of democracy. It is believed that democracy would lead to anarchy in the society. One-party system would be the most effective system to ensure social discipline and to direct people in the desired way. The main feature of Italian Fascism is that it is based on a single-party system as in all the totalitarian regimes. The state is completely united with that party, which claims to

[6] Roger Griffin, **The Nature of Fascism** (London: Pinter Publisher, 1991) p.13-14
[7] U. C. Mandal, **Dictionary of Public Administration** (Delhi: Sarup & Sons Publisher, 2007) p. 179
[8] Jacques *Bainville, **Dictators*** Trans. James Lewis (London: Cape Publisher, 1937) p. 151

act in the interests of all people. In this way, the state can be fully captured, and the opposition can be destroyed. [9]

According to Mussolini, the parliamentary system cannot provide dynamic management. A dynamic state is a state that is reliable, conscious, responsible, able to work fast and ensure unity. And this dynamic state is only possible with fascism. Democratic regimes, from time to time, deceive people with the belief that they use sovereignty. But true sovereignty is always applied and used by other and sometimes irresponsible and secret powers. Democracy is a kingless regime infested by many kings who are sometimes more exclusive, tyrannical and destructive than one, even if he be a tyrant.[10] Both Mussolini and Hitler believed that the state administration should be carried out from a single authority. Therefore, Hitler and Mussolini have adopted and implemented the monopoly of power in the state administration. The German and Italian populous had a great expectation about the management of these parties. After Hitler's and Mussolini's parties came to power, it was obvious that the main authority was not the party, but the *Führer* and the *Duce,* their aides, and the bureaucracy.[11]

On the other hand, a policy focusing mostly on racism was observed in Germany. According to Hitler, only the *"master race"* -which is pure German race- can establish a superior civilization. No one except them had the chance to find peace in this civilization.[12] In his book called "*Mein Kampf*", Hitler states that the greatest purpose of people's lives is not only to ensure the continuation of the state, but the main goal is to ensure the continuation of races.

In the fascist state, social institutions are more important than the individuals. There are some requirements that these organizations must fulfill. The individual is considered valuable according to the functions it performs within the state. This situation is also an indicator of the inequality between people. The fascist state is often associated with the concept of power. In fascist ideology, it is considered that the more powerful a state is, the stronger its people become.

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[9] Hatice Örs, Faşizm: **Modernitenin Karanlık Yüzü**, Hatice Örs (Ed.). **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler** (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University Publisher, 2010) p. 494-498

[10] Benito Mussolini (co-written by Giovanni Gentile), **The Doctrine of Fascism** (Rome: Ardita Publisher, 1932) p. 9-11

[11] Walter Laqueur, **Fascism: Past, Present, Future** (UK: Oxford University Press, 1996) p. 35

[12] Jacques *Bainville, **Dictators*** Trans. James Lewis (London: Cape Publisher, 1937) p. 176

Another long-standing issue regarding fascism is the question of where fascism lies in the political spectrum. Those who regard fascism as a resistance to modernization and define it as a revolutionary ideology, describe it as a right-wing ideology. On the contrary, those who see fascism as a synthesis of radical socialism and nationalism think that it is the manifestation of the idea of rebirth and an emerging dictatorship; in this case, they claim it is a left-wing ideology.[13] Fascist ideology is distinguished from many right-wing ideologies by its mostly secular nature. Unlike the left ideology and to some extent liberalism, fascism is based on vitality, idealism and the rejection of economic determinism.[14] However, the more common view is that fascism is a synthesis involving both right and left ideological elements. In fact, fascism is both influenced and sourced from the right and the left, but the influence of the right ideologies is felt more.

Fascist ideas are often said to have emerged against the Enlightenment or "1789 ideas". In fact, Fascism was a direct product of the eighteenth-century concepts of modernization and secularism, and a by-product of the Enlightenment.[15]

2.2. Theoretical Approaches to Fascism

2.2.1. Critical School on Fascism

The Enlightenment period first began to emerge in the 18th century as a thought in social life. The Enlightenment in the context of the individual is the practice of adopting a life based on reason and knowledge, especially with the intellectual will of the individual. What is revealed by the Enlightenment and reason, is the acceptance of the subject as the subject, the fact that each individual comes to the world as a sovereign autonomous entity and gains the power to realize that. These are also expressed as modernization.

In one of the masterpieces of the Frankfurt School, the Dialectics of Enlightenment, Horkheimer and Adorno's criticisms of Western civilization are emphasized. In this study, it has been claimed that the idea and practice of modern Enlightenment and progress, which emphasizes the liberation of the mind from nature, transforms the world, man, nature into instruments that are devices of a series of

[13] Hatice Birsen Örs, **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler,** 4th ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2008) p. 485-486
[14] Stanley G. Payne, **A History of Fascism 1914–1945** (London: Routledge, 1995) p.8
[15] Ibid, p.8

objects and its domination. The rise of instrumental rationality did not in any way increase the true freedom according to the Frankfurt School thinkers; on the contrary, because of the dialectics in the slave-master relationship, the mastery of man over nature gradually resulted in the loss of human connection with the nature and to become slave.[16]

For Adorno and Horkheimer, Enlightenment is a mythical fundamentalist fear.[17] Enlightenment, in the broadest sense of developing thinking, has aimed to remove fear from people and make them their masters. The program of enlightenment was to save the world from the secrets. It would break down myths and bring down raw dreams through knowledge.[18] Enlightenment seeks to save humanity from superstition with mysterious powers and fears of nature through the use of critical mind.[19] However, it can be seen that in every period, whether it is epistemological or ontological, the enlightenment, in the captivity of the negative dialectic, appears to return to the myth that it opposes.

When defining the Enlightenment, Horkheimer and Adorno suggest that this period is not a rational Enlightenment. Together with the Age of Enlightenment, the mind tended to destroy its objective content. Horkheimer and Adorno state that the Enlightenment has carried the signs of the earth's catastrophe, from the very beginning, with the aim of moving away the fear of people, especially mythical, religious and nature-based, and making people their masters. Along with Enlightenment, mind and reasoning has attempted to destroy itself and especially its autonomy.

According to Adorno and Horkheimer, Enlightenment is totalitarian.[20] In the concept of enlightenment and reason, the totalitarian side, which is mythical and the sacred, is melted. The subject is the autonomy of the individual; but where this individual autonomy has emerged, overall totalitarianism is manifested. For some reasons, it can be determined that the Enlightenment led to the emergence of the opposite situation. One of the main reasons is about the destructive effect of the mind

[16] Emre H. Bağçe, **Frankfurt Okulu** (Ankara: Doğu Batı Press, 2006) p. 1
[17] Theodor. W. Adorno & Max Horkheimer, **Aydınlanmanın Diyalektiği I** Trans. Oğuz Özügül (İstanbul: Kabalcı Publisher, 1995) p. 32
[18] Ibid, p. 19
[19] Ibid, p. 50
[20] Ibid, p. 22

that contradicts its own will. This situation is closely related to the domination of nature.

The allegations that the Enlightenment has self-destructed have been exemplified by Adorno and Horkheimer in many different areas. One of them is the idea of individualism, which the Enlightenment gives great importance to, is destructed by the Enlightenment itself. With the mathematical logic of the Enlightenment and technical progress, the individual is so limited that, the behavior expected of him is as mechanical as a machine.[21]

The understanding of intellect developed by the Enlightenment has served the individual independent goals and pushed the individual's aspirations aside. According to Adorno, the result of this situation is the disappearance of the individual in the society and the loss of autonomy.[22] In addition to the thought of the disappearance of individuality, the Frankfurt School has focused on the disappearance of individual freedom within the masses within the existing society. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the Enlightenment process contained many errors that abolished freedom. Enlightenment turns into a total deception of the masses.[23] According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the most important responsible of the process from Enlightenment to barbarism is "mind". Mind with the influence of Enlightenment, has resulted in the destruction of human autonomy and the domination of nature.

Moreover, the antisemitism spread by fascists is a result of the Enlightenment according to the critical theorists. Anti-Semitism, which confirms the idea that Enlightenment is barbarism, which is the main theme of the Dialectic of the Enlightenment, shows that the Enlightenment is not the ideal of progress but in contrast is a regression.

According to Adorno and Horkheimer; it is necessary to criticize philosophical, psychological and sociological studies to understand the reasons for facing a new barbarism of humanity, instead of building a truly human social state.[24]

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[21] Theodor. W. Adorno & Max Horkheimer, **Aydınlanmanın Diyalektiği I** Trans. N. Ülner and E.Ö.Karadoğan (İstanbul: Kabalcı Publisher, 2014) p. 49
[22] Sezgin Kızılçelik, **Frankfurt Okulu** (Ankara: Anı Press, 2013) p. 215
[23] Theodor. W. Adorno & Max Horkheimer, **Aydınlanmanın Diyalektiği I** Trans. N. Ülner and E.Ö.Karadoğan (İstanbul: Kabalcı Publisher, 2014) p. 67
[24] Jan Spurk, **Toplumsal Aklın Eleştirisi** Trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Versus Publisher, 2008) p. 87

According to Hobbes, the natural justice that gives legitimacy to the state and society is already just an order of natural reason. Hobbes denies that the origin human doctrine is a social entity; and he describes man as a political animal. As people produced knowledge, while developing science, they enabled science to create its own domination by separating it from human life. In other words, the person who gives importance to reason has been the victim of the rules created by reason. Thus, the mind and modern institutions formed the political animal called Fascism.

Anti-Semitism symbolizes the boundaries of enlightenment. According to Adorno and Horkheimer, oppression and fascism is not a historical illusion of western society. On the contrary, in the roots of western thought, there is domination and oppression. [25]

Human beings have not been society for a reason that arises from the nature, but they are fit to be a society by their upbringing.[26] People first lived in equality where everyone was entitled to everything without institutions. Before people emerged as a society, as a result of efforts to establish interests and control over others; their natural state was almost a war. This conflict was the natural tendency of people, and in this way, each community sought the possibilities of protecting their lives and their members. Finally, with a contract *(The Social Contract),* each was guaranteed to have certain goods. Beginning from the 16th and 17th centuries, the idea of Social Contract has been more frequently expressed. Some important thinkers such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Jean Jacques Rousseau were mentioned about the Social Contract. After this contract, a second agreement is made. With this agreement, people submit to the command and domination of state institutions. The power of the stronger in nature was now transformed into the legal power of the sovereign.

Hobbes argues that since people initially act with their emotions rather than their minds, there is no order in society and people live in a constant struggle environment, and in such an environment everyone tries to protect their own personal rights and interests.[27] In a system which the Social Contract is implemented, people will act with their minds rather than their passion and mutually transfer all their rights

[25] Theodor. W. Adorno & Max Horkheimer, **Aydınlanmanın Diyalektiği I** Trans. N. Ülner and E.Ö.Karadoğan (İstanbul: Kabalcı Publisher, 2014) p. 31
[26] Ibid, p. 31
[27] Thomas Hobbes, **Leviathan - Bir Din ve Dünya Devletinin İçeriği, Biçimi ve Kudreti** (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Publications, 2012) p. 13

to each other and start a social life that ends the fight between them. This is the Social Contract that will form the order of the new life. According to Hobbes, in this period, while people protecting their selves, they will prevent things that they do not want to be done by the others.[28]

The social contract gained its present meaning with the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. According to Rousseau, the founder of the society is a contract and the necessities and freedoms that bring people to live in their natural state from their previous state. Obligations and liberty bring people together first in the family, then in tribes and finally in nations. In the life of society, all the people who come together will not have a superior right over others because they have given up their rights. The purpose of the social convention is not to make people captive, but to keep them out of aggression and struggle by making them to have absolute equality among themselves.[29]

Locke, considered to be the founder of liberalism, points to the existence of a state in which an individual has to secure his rights to live, freedom and property.[30] The state is obliged to protect the rights and freedoms of the people. Even the idea of human rights emerged to protect people from arbitrary decisions of the state.[31]

The individual must adapt to the requirements of the system in order to exist. Since most individuals are conscious and voluntary, they are less dependent on absolute criteria and general ideals. As a result, they seem to be increasingly free, but this impression is misleading.[32]

According to Adorno and Horkheimer; Fascism in the Dialect of Enlightenment is an important component of the answer to the basic question of why humankind increases barbarism. Fascism was regarded as the self-destruction of the liberal Enlightenment.[33] Adorno and Horkheimer were determined that the

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[28] Thomas Hobbes, **De Cive – Yurttaşlık Felsefesinin Temelleri** (İstanbul, Belge Publications, 2007) p.8

[29] Jean Jacques Rousseau, **İnsanlar Arasındaki Eşitsizliğin Kaynağı** Translated by R. Nuri İleri, (İstanbul: Say Publications, 2010) p. 138

[30] Yüksel Taşkın, **Siyaset** (İstanbul: İletişim Publications, 2014) p.31

[31] James W. Nickel, **Making Sense of Human Rights: Philosophical Reflection on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights** (USA, University of California Press,1987) p. 562

[32] Jan Spurk, **Toplumsal Aklın Eleştirisi** Trans. Işık Ergüden (İstanbul: Versus Publisher, 2008) p. 110

[33] Göran Therborn, **Frankfurt Okulu** Trans. H.E. Bağce., Ed. H, E, Bağce, Frankfurt Okulu. Ankara: Doğu Batı Press, 2015) p. 37

enlightenment logic included fascism and indicated the relationship between Enlightenment and fascism. The basis of Horkheimer and Adorno's critique of fascism is rationalization and reification. According to them, the Enlightenment towards Fascism is due to instrumental rationalization and reification.[34]

Like the reification of nature for man, for the power, the people have reified.[35] The instrumental mind, as a basis for fascism, has supported its existence. The concept of common interest for fascism is important. The standardization status for man has been valid for the purposes imposed as common interest.[36]

According Adorno and Horkheimer; the rising fascism was an indication that the Enlightenment had reached backwardness. Thus, the Enlightenment, which set out for progress, failed once again by manifesting in reverse.[37]

Horkheimer explained the connection between Fascism and Enlightenment with the concept of personal interest. One of the important concepts of the Enlightenment, which is aim oriented and based on reason, is personal interest. The imposition of self-interest as social interest; and the imposition of this interest in the subjective mind as an externally imposed purpose is rooted in the origin of the fascist program.[38] According to Adorno and Horkheimer, because of the utilitarian logic of the Enlightenment, fascism, which is the product of the Enlightenment, turned the opportunity to benefit everything and used antisemitism for this purpose. Thus, for the purpose of providing its own personal interests and benefits, the fascist has promoted anti-Semitism by declaring Jews a social enemy.[39]

The antisemitism, which has been dealt with by Adorno and Horkheimer in relation to fascism, is an important indicator for the claim that humanity has begun a new kind of barbarism. As a result of the Enlightenment process, some thinkers saw the anti-Semitism as barbarism.[40]

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[34] Frédéric Vandenberghe, **Alman Sosyolojisinin Felsefi Tarihi** Trans. V. S. Öğütle (İstanbul: Ayrıntı Press, 2016) p. 253
[35] Theodor. W. Adorno & Max Horkheimer, **Aydınlanmanın Diyalektiği I** Trans. N. Ülner and E.Ö.Karadoğan (İstanbul: Kabalcı Publisher, 2014) p. 122
[36] Ibid, p. 119
[37] Ibid, p. 15
[38] Max Horkheimer, **Akıl Tutulması** Trans. O. Koçak (İstanbul: Metis Press, 2016) p. 71-72
[39] Theodor. W. Adorno & Max Horkheimer, **Aydınlanmanın Diyalektiği I** Trans. N. Ülner and E.Ö.Karadoğan (İstanbul: Kabalcı Publisher, 2014) p. 245
[40] Sezgin Kızılçelik, **Frankfurt Okulu** (Ankara: Anı Press, 2013) p. 197

According to Bauman, fascism is not far from modernity. Bauman evaluates the relationship between modernity and fascism as follows: Nation, nation-state, bureaucracy, and centralization have been brought to civilization and culture by modernism. Neither modernity can be considered separate from these concepts, nor these concepts can be considered independent of the paradigm of modernism. Racism is one of the cases to be taken in this context.[41]

According to Bauman, racism is effective in the sense that it is a means to stimulate anti-modernist feelings and fears. Although fascism and racism are opposed to the achievements of the Enlightenment and modernity, it is impossible to think without modern science, modern technology and modern state. In fact, in this context, racism is a product of modernity.[42]

The concept of new civilization and the culture that emerged with modernity is very effective in achieving this point of racism. Bauman argues that genocide is not a Jewish question and an event of Jewish history alone. According to him, holocaust is born and applied in the high stage of our civilization in our modern sensible society and is therefore a problem of society, civilization and culture. [43]

According to Bauman the bureaucracy is capable of internalizing genocide. In order for such an action to take place, it must coincide with another invention of modernity: A better, more rational, more logical plan of social order which has no different races and classes in society, and determination to implement it. If these two-common inventions of modern times come together, then genocide comes.[44]

In addition to the mechanism of power of the modern state and the functioning of the bureaucracy, the indifference of the masses is one of the important factors that opened the way for the Nazis. It is a known fact that fascist regimes use propaganda devices and mass media well. In connection with Bauman's claims about the relationship between modernity and fascism, many of the devices used by the Nazis are inventions of modern times produced by the technology of modern times. Especially during this period, the Nazis used radio, posters, newspapers, mass

[41] Zygmunt Bauman, **Theories of Race and Racism,** ed. Les Back and John Solomons, (Routledge, Oxon, 2000) p. 212
[42] Ibid, p. 212
[43] Ibid, p. 212
[44] G. Gürkan Öztan, **İnsan Irkının Islahı: Öjeni Düşüncesi ve Soykırım** (Journal of Dipnot, Volume 4, İstanbul, 2011) p. 112

demonstrations and other tools. This has been a remarkable development in terms of mobilizing the masses and dragging the leader.

In summary, modern science, technology, empowerment and bureaucratization of the state apparatus and the transformation of individuals into masses have mediated the achievement of the aims and objectives of fascism. On the other hand, fascism built its basic arguments on the returns of modernity and it succeeded in being effective.

There are other fundamental approaches that analyze fascism on different axes. These approaches provide multi-dimensional thinking to understand the complex nature of the phenomenon.

The first one of them is the approach that emphasizes the discursive dimension of fascism and is represented by names such as Roger Griffin, Zeev Sternhell, and Stanley Payne. This approach was basically considered to be a fascist political ideology and aimed to explain the elements that would define the fascist ideology. According to this approach, it can be said that fascism is an ideology which has some characteristics such as ultra-nationalism, anti-liberalism, anti-parliamentary sentiments and anti-Marxism; by trying to create an alternative modernization and affirming violence in this way, it aims at a rebirth and revolution beyond this reaction.

The second approach is the Marxist approach, which analyzes fascism within the socio-economic framework. The Marxist approach focuses on the class analysis of fascism and in this respect reveals the difference of each social class in relation to fascism. This approach defines fascism as a tool that is applied in times of crisis of the capitalist class. This approach is represented by names such as Gramsci, Togliatti, Trotsky and Poulantzas. Fascism thus provides both the economic function which is favored by capitalism and the mass base that it derives mostly from the middle class.

Within the Marxist school, there are different approaches that evaluate the relation of fascism to social classes. The first of these approaches attempts to uncover the distinct relationship between capitalism and fascism. This view defines fascism as a means of actualizing the interests of the capital-owning class. According to this approach, fascism allows the order in which the economic and political interests of the capital-owning class are remained implemented under a different political form; it does not bring about innovations in terms of production relations. It can be said that it only deceives masses with a few formal changes and turns the capital-owning class into a

power over the political life of society. [45] In other words, fascist powers cannot go beyond being the instrument of the great capital because they often make reforms to the extent allowed by the capital-owning class and they cannot sign policies such as the reconciliation of interests between classes or the redistribution of national income.

In this approach, one of the most important names who emphasize the importance of the fear of socialist movements when talking about the rise of fascism is Clara Zetkin, who came from Germany's women's movement and workers' movement. According to Zetkin, fascism is an intensified statement that operates through the working class and targeting the capitalist class and colonialists. From this point of view, in order to secure capitalist power and to stop the working class, which was ready to rise up against all exploiters and the capital-owning class, the inhumane management of fascism has become necessary for the class of capital. According to Zetkin, fascism is the punishment of the proletariat that cannot fulfill the proletarian revolution.[46]

Another approach in Marxist School, questions the massive support, both social and economic.[47] This approach focuses mainly on the argument that fascism is a middle-class movement. This idea seeks the origins of fascism in the attitudes of middle classes in communities that are starting to industrialize. The final result of industrialization is interpreted as a reflection of the uneasiness of industrialization and causes middle classes to feel threatened and grow as a result of continuous and deep social changes.[48] The greatest impact of the industrialization on the entrepreneurship of the middle classes has been the destruction of independent economic professions, along with the development of capitalism, resulting in an economic imbalance and loss of status. In this respect, fascism can be described as a revolution of the middle classes.[49]

Along with the First World War, capitalism, which has become increasingly powerful in developing countries such as Italy and Germany, has increased the

[45] Murat Sarıca & Rona Aybay, **Faşizm** (İstanbul: İzlem Publisher, 1965) p. 36-37
[46] Clara Zetkin, **Fascism** (Internet Archive, The Labour Monthly, 1923) p. 69- 70
[47] Dave Renton, **Fascism: Theory and Practice** (London: Pluto Press, 1999) p. 54
[48] Çetin Özek, **Direnen Faşizm** (İstanbul: İzlem Publisher, 1966) p. 154-5
[49] Andrew Heywood, **Political Ideologies** (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 2003) p. 262-263

contradictions in the social structure and rendered the economic, political and psychological crisis of the middle class unresolved.

In the dialectical approach, which is the last approach in the Marxist school, it can be said that fascism is discussed in relation to three basic elements. These elements used in explaining the emergence of fascism and the rise of power are the left-wing state which makes proletarian revolutionary efforts; the mass support of the middle class affected by socio-economic crises; and finally the supportive politics of the capital class.[50] Names such as Antonio Gramsci, Palmiro Togliatti, Lev Troçki and Nicos Poulantzas, considered to be the representatives of this approach, similarly pointed to the proletarian revolutions that failed before the emergence of the fascist movements, and that afterwards these movements gained support from the fascist dictatorship and therefore, evolved with the mass support of the middle classes and fascist dictatorships. The contradictory nature of fascism, driven by the pursuit of policies that will strengthen the class of capital while mobilizing the middle class, becomes apparent through dialectical approach.

Antonio Gramsci was one of the first names to point out that fascism was not just an instrument of capitalists and that emphasizes the relationship established by fascism and the middle classes.[51] One of the important elements that Gramsci brought to his analysis of fascism was the analysis of fascism as a long superstructure struggle intended to capture masses and, in particular, the middle class. Gramsci analyzes the result of fascism and National Socialism as an ideological system that shapes the minds of millions of individuals coming from the middle classes and includes a subtle and big work within the upper structures.[52]

Another approach that evaluates the phenomenon of fascism is the psychoanalytic approach. This approach is represented by names such as Wilhelm Reich and Erich Fromm. In their approach, the socio-economic factors causing fascism were explained by the psychological conditions of the individual. While Reich interpreted fascism as an unconscious process, Fromm interpreted it as a psychological

[50] Mehmet Okyayuz, **(Klasik) Faşizmin Kavramsallaştırılması Üzerine Bir Deneme** (İstanbul: Doğu Batı Press, 2004) p. 197-201
[51] Maria Macciocchi, "Gramsci ve Faşizm Sorunu", ed. Maria Macchiocci, **Faşizmin Analizi,** trans. Cemal Süreya, (İstanbul: Payel, 1977) p. 13
[52] Ibid, p. 30

reaction caused by various socio-economic factors. Both accepted the existence of socio-economic factors in which people were psychologically inclined to fascism and discussed fascism in relation to the effects of these factors on individuals.

In line with these approaches, fascism can be considered as a system that is the result of totalitarian thought, which sanctifies violence and war and is supported by the capital-owning class in order to sustain their existence, and as a system embraced by the masses because of the disadvantaged position that they are in.

2.3. Fascism and Other Political Ideologies: Nationalism-Conservatism Socialism-Communism-Liberalism

Fascism has embraced the tradition of nationalism which developed and spread before the First World War. This tradition sees nations as natural enemies fighting for dominance, not as equal and independent entities.[53] Fascism, as in the ideology of nationalism, defends the superiority of one nation over another. Nationalism glorifies a nation with every aspect of it. It seeks qualities such as dignity and privilege in the national identity. It does not respect the different cultures and national traditions of other nations.

In the fascist states established after World War I, the pre-fascist social and psychological backgrounds show great similarities. In most places, the countries were in a state of suffering and weariness brought about by defeat and devastation. People lost their wives, their husbands, their children, their relatives and their loved ones because of the war. This includes the failure of economic conditions and the political instability of the country. People were in despair, political parties were helpless in the face of the problems of the country, and they were also in conflict with each other.

With the rise of national pride and the realization of national ascension, fascism has started to play a fanatical and savior role. The promise of national excellence was the reason that fascism was popular [54] Using the chaos and instability in the country, fascism was being acceptable to people. The fascist movements were drawing attention to the moral and cultural collapse before their ruling period. Then they promised to achieve rebirth and perfection through their own power. Fascist governments state the

[53] Andrew Heywood, **Political Ideologies** (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 2003) p. 270-273
[54] Ibid, p. 272

negative aspects of the previous social and political environment and try to establish a new structure accordingly.

According to Anthony Giddens, nationalism is essentially a psychological phenomenon. Nationalist views hit record high in situations where the routines of the feeling of existential security have been compromised.[55] Similarly, as seen in Italy and Germany, fascism has emerged in situations where fear, anxiety, or security threat were intense. Fascism was an escape from the existing chaos.

Nationalism refers to the connection between people living within the same borders and having the same culture, history, tradition and customs. There are some concepts that nationalism uses to strengthen this connection such as cultural background, belief in national spirit, superior national traditions, origins, extreme loyalty to national characteristics and cultural identity that is considered to be of superior value.

According to the Italian writer Giuseppe Prezzolini, fascism is influenced by nationalist and conservative tendencies. Fascism uses nationalism to unite people on its own territory against the international aspects of socialism and capitalism. The conflict between the bourgeoisie and the workers was promoted, sustained and aggravated by syndicalists. Despite the extreme demands of the working class and the capitalists, fascism received considerable support from the middle class.[56] The reactions of people to that chaotic situation between classes led to the emergence of fascism.

In contrast to the definition of Prezolini, Louis Roya claims that fascism did not progress in a systematical way against the working class. At first it seemed revolutionary and the workers welcomed the seizure of factories.[57] On the other hand, when fascism first emerged, anti-capitalist propaganda was made to provide the support of the masses. But in reality, fascism is a regime that is supported and fueled by the big bourgeoisie, big landowners, investors and industrialists.[58] That is to say,

[55] Michael Billig, **Banal Nationalism** (London: Sage, 1995) p. 65
[56] Zeev Sternhell, with Mario Sznajder and Maia Asheri, **The Birth of Fascist Ideology,** trans. David Maisel (UK: Princeton University Press, 1995) p. 162
[57] Murat Sarıca & Rona Aybay, **Faşizm** (İstanbul: İzlem Publisher, 1965) p. 2
[58] Ibid, p. 27

even if it emerged as an ideology against socialism and capitalism, it won the supporters of these ideologies and has increased its own supportive masses.

Fascism is based on extreme nationalism and it has taken some concepts from nationalism such as national interest and national unity. Even if there is no common culture, fascism uses nationalism and propaganda tools to create it. With nationalist ideology, those who hold the sovereign power, aim to standardize all people in order to integrate the society. While racial nationalism emphasizes race integrity; cultural nationalism refers to a common culture. In the case of the fascist government established by Hitler in Germany, the main aim was to establish a state based on race superiority. During this period, what is emphasized was the superiority of the German race. It was considered important to have German blood, and those who have German blood were considered to be citizens. When Hitler came to power, he wanted to secure the interests of the Germans with permanent and decisive solutions. Hitler's policy for this situation was to create *Lebensraum* (living space) in Eastern Europe. The only way to preserve the "race value" of the German people was the direct conquest of the east.[59] In the case of Italy, fascism is far from racial nationalism. Instead, the Italian government emphasized cultural nationalism during the fascist period.

The relationship fascism has with conservatism, can be found especially in the case of Germany. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a conservative consciousness emerged that was different from classical French and British conservatism. This conservative consciousness is German conservatism.[60]

Fascist ideology, like conservative ideology, is against the French Revolution. Mussolini defines fascism as a reaction. Fascism as a reactionary movement following the First World War was based on the rejection of the social theories underlying the French Revolution of 1789. The new formations as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, presented with the French Revolution were in contradiction with the fascist ideology. The relationship between fascism and

[59] Wilhelm Diest, "The Road to Ideological War: Germany, 1918-1945," **In the Making of Strategy** (ed., Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) p. 381

[60] Baran Dural, **Başkaldırı ve Uyum Türk Muhafazakârlığı ve Nurettin Topçu** (İstanbul: Birharf Publisher, 2005) p. 37

conservatism originates from some common notions, such as hierarchy and authority, which are important in both ideologies.

Fascism was dependent on conservative elements such as the king, the army and the Roman Catholic Church. During his dictatorship, Mussolini had to avoid contradiction with these institutions and had to compromise with them because these institutions had solid foundations in society. Struggling with these institutions could have harmed his authority.[61] The conservatives argue that authority, leadership and guidance are indispensable. Leadership in fascism holds a very important place. The unconditional commitment to the "*Duce*" in Italy and to the "*Führer*" in Germany is one of the most distinctive features of this fascist period. The para-militarist structure of fascism is an example of the practice of hierarchy, one of the common concepts of fascism and conservatism.

Just like the Enlightenment, the results of the Industrial Revolution were not favorable developments for conservatives. The conservatives think that the Industrial Revolution had destroyed spiritual, moral and intellectual achievements. Similarly, Hitler considered urban life and industrialization, the consequences of the Industrial Revolution, as corruption and decay.

The relationship between Nazism and socialism is very clear and dependent on each other. In fact, the origin of the word Nazi was an abbreviation of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). Many Nazis had distinct Marxist backgrounds and tendencies. During the 1920s and 1930s, when the communists' situation worsened on the national stage, German communists would join the Nazis by changing their sides; in the opposite case, the Nazis would join the Communist Party.

Hitler defended socialism in a speech he made on May 1927; he declared that they were socialists and enemies of the present capitalist economic system, because that system served the exploitation of economically weak ones.[62] He also emphasized that: “Socialism is nothing more than Marxism”[63] After a while, Hitler said he regretted using the word "socialist" in the party name. According to him "social

[61] Lucio Ceva, **The Strategy of Fascist Italy: A Premise** (Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions, Issue 3, 2001) p. 47
[62] Hitler's speech on May 1, 1927. Cited in Toland, J. **Adolf Hitler: The Definitive Biography** (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976) p. 224
[63] Hitler, spoken to Otto Strasser, Berlin, May 21, 1930. Alan Bullock, **Hitler: a Study in Tyranny** (UK: Pelican Books, 1962) p.156-157

revolutionary" is a better expression because it emphasizes the Marxist ideas more strongly.[64]

Socialism can be considered both the closest and the farthest ideology to fascism. Even if Hitler's policies were perceived as pro-socialist, he did not agree that every factory and institution is required to be nationalized by the German state. According to Hitler, German socialism had deeper roots. Instead of dealing with the problem of socializing institutions, he thought that by socializing people, they would reach their goals in a shorter time and more easily.[65]

The "common property" principle of socialism is another issue that separates socialism from fascism. In classical socialism, private property is seen as one of the means of selfishness. A system based on common property is considered to be compatible with the principles of equality and fraternity. On the other hand, fascism does not reject private ownership, unless it is used in such a way that contradicts with the interests of the state. Hitler was not completely opposed to private property, and sometimes even expressed his support for property ownership. But private property owners had to be subservient to the state. No one could be stronger or more authorized than the state. The state is superior to everything. According to Hitler's socialism; the state manages every aspect of our lives. There is no license or free space belonging to the individual. People are to own property such as land or factory. Ultimately, the decisive factor is the state; state power is sublime against all, whether it be the owner or the worker.[66] While socialism is an ideology that explains social events through class analysis, fascist ideology is aimed at creating a classless society.

Nevertheless, socialism and fascism have ideas that are similar to each other. The essence of socialism assumes that people are social entities and can only realize themselves in the social cohesion. In fascism, the individual will only be involved in relations with certain social institutions. Socialism embraces the idea of brotherhood because it is against the conflict of interests between diverse groups. In fascism, this brotherhood idea involves people from the same nation, who live in the same land. Cooperation is based on the idea of fraternity in both ideologies.

[64] Konrad Heiden, **A History of National Socialism** (New York, USA: Routledge, 2010) p. 85
[65] Hermann Rauschning, **The Voice of Destruction** (New York, Putnam, 1940) p. 191–193
[66] Ibid, p 191

The most fundamental difference between communist ideology and fascist ideology is their interpretation of the need for the state. Communism focuses on the idea of complete equality in the social sense. In Fascism, it is aimed to establish a standardized model of society in terms of thought. Communism wants to create a world where the state is not needed. Fascism, on the other hand, is based on the supremacy of the state.

In the relationship between liberalism and fascism, the approach of the two ideologies to the concept of individual seems to be different. The main principle of the liberal ideology is individualism. Liberalism is an ideology which believes that individual and individual freedom are fundamental values, and they are superior to any collective formation or social group. People are equal and have the same value, apart from their religions, thoughts, or ethnic identities. The concept of individual is different for fascism and liberalism. In fascism, the individual is not treated as an abstract entity. The individual does not have the liberty or the right to defend against the state as it does in liberalism. In fascism, the state is considered superior to the individual. National interests are held above personal interests. For liberalism, freedom precedes authority and justice. There is no such freedom in fascism, the authority of the state is above all.

Fascist regimes implement a state-driven and centrally planned economy. The state is the only authority that is responsible for the management of socio-economic programs. The theory of collectivism and racism in fascism is completely opposite to the individualism of classical liberalism that defends individual freedom in personal choices and decisions. Adolf Hitler was dismissive of capitalism and opposed to free-market capitalism, whether it is public or private. According to him, the economy could only work for the benefit of the people when governed by the state.[67] Hitler claimed that the concept of free-market capitalism was created by the Jews.[68] Liberalism, individualism and limited constitutional government were completely against the idea of the fascist regime.

[67] Richard J. Overy, **The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia** (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004) p. 399
[68] Ibid, p. 399

2.4. Political Practice of Fascism: Political Repression - Dictatorship

Duverger explains dictatorships by likens it to epidemic diseases. Epidemic continues to evolve greatly; just like the plague and cholera pandemics (major epidemic) are the widespread outbreaks of which emergence is not yet been fully explained. Thus, a signal can be given for two major 'dictatorship epidemics'. First, 7th-6th centuries BC, the antiquity prevailed violently in the Mediterranean regions. The disease was first born in Asia Minor and then spread to the entire Hellenic world. The Greek writers have named these dictatorships "tyranny" (etymologically means master or chief), which at first was not used in a bad sense. But the excesses of many tyrants were so great that their nicknames eventually became synonymous with oppression. If none of them reached the level of slaughter that Adolf Hitler had reached, it was only because of the smallness of the states and the lack of means. Craftsmanship procedures only allow for limited activity.[69]

The second major dictatorship epidemic is an outbreak that was born with the French Revolution of 1789, and its development has not stopped yet. It emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in Europe. Before 1914, it jumped to America with the wave of caudiloos. (In 19th century, 'generals' who came to power after the government coup d'état represented this movement.) Between 1920 and 1945 the old continent has reached their maximum width with Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, Franco and all Balkan tyrants, whose names have been forgotten. Since the end of the Second World War, the main pillars of the epidemic have shifted to Asia, the Middle East and Africa.[70]

Today's great epidemic is fundamentally different from the one in the 7th century B.C. At that time the dictatorship was rather uniform; conditions were more or less compatible. Modern tyrannies, on the contrary, appear under a wide variety of forms and correspond to situations that are incompatible.[71]

Dictatorships encounter very precise historical situations. Most of these are seen in the depression of the social structures in which beliefs are also involved. The crises of dictatorships have emerged due to an uneven evolution of various elements

[69] Maurice Duverger, **Diktatörlük Üstüne,** trans. Bülent Tanör (İstanbul: Dönem Publisher, 1965) p. 13-16
[70] Ibid, p. 13-16
[71] Ibid, p. 13-16

in society. The most important factor is that the country, in which a repressive regime is planned to be established, must have been involved and defeated in a "war". As a consequence of the defeat of the war, the country would be in a state of economic hardship and engaged in constant crises.

The chances of establishing a repressive political system are not equal for every country. This chance is higher and more common in countries where the mainstream economy has suffered and experienced in certain intensity and in countries with young democracies that have passed the wars and major revolutionary processes in the recent past. According to Bauer, fascism is the result of three social processes that are closely linked. Bauer explains these processes as follows:

First, the war caused the masses who participated in this war to be expelled from bourgeois life and they lost their class identity. These masses, which adhered to the ideologies and habits of living that were acquired during the war and therefore became incapable of returning to their bourgeois lifestyles, formed fascist militia and populist combat troops in the presence of a nationalist, anti-democratic military ideology after the war.[72]

Secondly, post-war economic crises have pushed the masses of petty bourgeois and peasantry into poverty. These poor and angry masses have detached from the bourgeois-democratic mass parties they have pursued until then and gathered around military-nationalist militias and offensive masses with a sense of resentment and anger toward democracy.[73]

Thirdly, the post-war economic crises also reduced the profits of the capitalist class. The capitalist class, whose profits were in danger, had to increase the share of exploitation in order to close this gap. It was also determined to break the resistance of the working class. Just as in the case of Germany, this capitalist class tried to increase exploitation and break the resistance of the working class in order to sustain their own profits. However, it is doubtful that this can be done within the rules of democracy. It uses the masses of rebellious petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, which were piled up around fascist and popular militias to scare the working class and put it

[72] August Thalheimer, Otto Bauer, Angelo Tasca, **Faşizm ve Kapitalizm**, Trans. Rona Serozan (İstanbul: Sarmal Publisher,1999) p. 90
[73] Ibid, p. 90

in the defensive trenches and then demolish democracy. It forces the state apparatus to impose weapons on fascist militias for acts of violence against the working class. In the last phase, it ensures that state power is transferred to the fascists.[74]

If there is a positive change in production methods, this may lead to an increase in the level of welfare, differences in class relations, traditions and customs. But if the political and institutional apparatus does not develop in the same way, then the need for community support increases. After a certain level, this inconsistency becomes unbearable. Institutions need to be deeply and suddenly overturned upside down, and they need to be changed to fit a new social order. Such a situation that carries the revolutionary self leads to the repressive system, dictatorship, which has the task to create or to prevent the change.[75]

Fascism continued its existence for about 25 years in Italy, where it first emerged as a political movement. After a series of political, economic and social problems, fascism, which came to power in 1922, took the form of a ruling practice under the leadership of Benito Mussolini's party. Fascism, which took its foundation from the promises it made to the masses of the problematic areas in Italy, came to power with the material and moral support of the capitalist class and thus initiated the process of changing the fate of Europe.[76]

Although Italy has hosted fascism in its inauguration, fascism also begun to take place in Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler after World War I. Parallel to Italy and Germany, fascism spread throughout Europe and found a place to play a major role in the politics of such countries as France, Austria, Spain, Hungary and Romania.[77]

[74] Ibid, p. 90
[75] Maurice Duverger, **Diktatörlük Üstüne,** trans. Bülent Tanör (İstanbul: Dönem Publisher, 1965) p. 13
[76] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 20
[77] Robert O. Paxton, **The Anatomy of Fascism** (New York: Alfreda A. Knopf, 2004) p. 68-75

3. FASCISM IN ITALY

3.1. The History of Fascism in Italy

Fascism, one of the most striking historical events that influenced 20th century Europe, emerged in Italy, which had united in 1886 and had not established a stable order after that. The inability to provide permanent solutions to some of the problems that had arisen since the establishment of the national unity of Italy led to fascism which promised stability to the whole society.

After the First World War, a reaction began against liberalism in many European countries. Irregularity and instability in society because of the war were common. People felt they needed a more disciplined regime. This need has been instrumental in strengthening the dictatorships and establishing new dictatorships. One of the pioneers of these countries is Italy. Italy's failure to produce permanent solutions to several problems after providing the national unity, led to fascism in Italy as a final solution in 1922.

There are some basic elements to characterize the period of chaos after the establishment of the Italian union. One of these elements is that after the unification of the North and South Italy, the views of the inhabitants of these regions were different from each other, due to the economic, cultural and social differences. The gap that emerged after the unification could not be remedied, and genuine unity could not be achieved. In the north there were relatively rich, strong, cultured and educated managers, large landowners and industrialists; and in the south there was a very poor population that was mostly interested in agriculture.[78]

Another characteristic of this period is Italy's economic backwardness and unstable economic growth compared to other European countries. This situation created an obstacle for Italy to increase its international reputation.[79] In addition to

[78] Frank McDonough, **Conflict, Communism and Fascism, Europe 1890-1945** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 67
[79] John Pollard, **The Fascist Experience in Italy** (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 5-6

this, the lack of stable administration in Italy and the collapse of many coalition governments in this period proved that the Italian unity was not fully established.

One of the factors that caused this confusion in Italy was most importantly the First World War and the process that followed it. In this process the confusion reached its peak and made it possible for fascism to emerge as a result of these developments.

Italy entered the First World War with faith and hope that they would win the war. But the outcome of the war brought great disappointment and devastation to the country. After the war, the country's economy suffered a serious shock. When the war ended, the internal state of the country was in political upheaval. Many streams of thought emerged; besides the liberal democracy of Italy, there was an increase in other ideologies such as syndicalism, socialism and communism. Under the influence of these ideologies and movements, workers begun to coalesce. They wanted to be part of the management and the profit of the factories. These economic and ideological traumas caused governments to change many times; however, domestic policies were still unbalanced, and governments lost their authority.

Even though Italy was a victorious state in the war, the following years brought great challenges, difficulties and intransigent conflicts for Italy. From the beginning of First World War, until the beginning of fascist power, considering the situation in Italy and this period, there were some reasons why Italy was dragged into this kind of chaos and reasons for the emergence of fascism in Italy and its coming to power. After the First War, many economic troubles emerged. After the war, Italy's economy was characterized by high inflation and price increases, unpaid war debts, raw material and food shortages, high unemployment and a decline in wages.[80] The soldiers who returned from the war faced unemployment. The value of money was decreasing day by day, which increased the controversy between workers and capitalists. The inadequacy of the limited monarchy and liberal democratic institutions provided by the Constitution of 1848 became apparent. A large-scale production to ensure the requirements of war during the war, had become a very difficult problem to adapt this past industry to the peace economy. This economic collapse after the First World War caused the country to enter an irreversible process by triggering the social movements in the country. Especially the transition of the masses of workers and peasants to the

[80] Martin Blinkhorn, **Mussolini and Fascist Italy** 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994) p. 14

movement in a revolutionary direction has led the class of capital, the landowners and the church to great concern.

Italian people could not reap the benefits of the difficulties and their sacrifice they experienced in the war. This led to the dissemination of the idea that Italy was deceived by its allies.[81] They believed that the French and the British, that is, their allies in the war, were deceiving them when the peace was attained. According to the Italians, Italy was victorious in the war, but was defeated at peace conferences. The authority of the government, which failed in domestic and foreign policy, was shaken.[82]

Indeed, although Italy was on the victorious side of the war, it seemed like it was a defeated country after the war. An atmosphere of discomfort and dissatisfaction, similar to the atmosphere in the war-torn countries covered all of Italy since the beginning of 1919.[83]

In Mussolini's words, "By the end of the war, Italy had fallen into a dangerous anarchism. The victory of Vittorio Veneto was never a turning point in the awakening of national consciousness. On the contrary, the defenders of the country had been turned into targets of insult everywhere. Officers and soldiers were frequently involved in attacks. Those who were injured or exiled from the front were being chased away as murder criminals. Seeing news of the strike every day in the newspapers now began to be considered normal and ordinary. It was almost forgotten that the country had just come out of a great war. Factory owners had excessive desires that were not within the financial possibilities. Moreover, threat of strikes had begun. The unions, however, were not strong. That is why the workers' communities, which were dragged into action against the employers, became hungrier and more miserable." [84]

Industrialists, who increased their production during the war, achieved high profits. In the post-war period, these profits declined and the heavy industry that produced weapons was forced. Finding cheap raw materials was no longer possible, as Italy did not have colonies like other advanced countries. This meant that profits

[81] Marco Tarchi, "Italy: Early Crisis and Fascist Takeover", ed. D. Berg-Schlosser & Jeremy, **The Conditions of Democracy in Europe 1919-39** (USA: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000) p. 297
[82] Paul Guichonnet, **Mussolini ve Faşizm**, Trans. Tanju Gökçol (Ankara: İletişim, 1998) p. 38
[83] Giampiero Carocci, **Faşizmin Tarihi,** Trans. M. Yılmaz (İstanbul: Remzi Bookstore,1965) p. 6
[84] Benitto Mussolini, **Faşizm-Faşist Devlet** Trans. Serhat Toker & Mine Tekin (İstanbul: Toker Publisher, 1998) p. 42

and wages would be reduced, and this would certainly have an impact on the social scene as well. Social tension increased as the working masses began to use violence instead of organizing to live in better conditions.[85] The existence of a weak, unstable state that cannot prevent violence has contributed greatly to the fascist power by dragging the popular masses into fascism.[86]

The Italian people did not suffer only from the internal turmoil. At the same time, the foreign policy of Italy in the postwar period was full of negativity for the country and its people. People were disappointed and dissatisfied during this period in which international relations deteriorated, and Italy could not find what it expected. This negative situation also led to the popular support of powerful fascist nationalist politics and propaganda. Mussolini's goal was to create the old Roman Empire in the Mediterranean. The national self, which the Italians had always felt the lack of, would be presented to them by the fascism promised by Mussolini. The reconstruction of the Roman Empire would now become a national ideal.

Although all these reasons have led to socialist empowerment from day to day, it has in fact strengthened the chances of direct power for fascism. The troubles brought about by the war justified the socialists who had opposed the war from the very beginning. The socialists suggested that Italy would be defeated in the war and this would lead to a revolution as it did in Russia. According to the orthodox socialists' view, big industrialists and farmers who fear communism supported fascism in monetary terms.[87]

This chaotic environment in the country caused the deterioration of political stability. There were constant conflicts between the governmental forces and the socialist groups, and the unions and the left groups were considered responsible for them. The first organized reaction against the violence of these socialist workers' movements came from big industrialists and landowners. The fascist groups of Mussolini, who fought against the violent left groups, were saviors in the eyes of the public. These groups were trying to prevent workers' meetings and the actions of left-

[85] Gencay Şaylan, **Çağdaş Siyasal Sistemler** (Ankara: TODAİE, 1981) p. 115
[86] Walter Laqueur, **Fascism A Reader's Guide; Analysis, Interpretations, Bibliography** (USA: University of California Press, 1976) p.129
[87] Paul Guichonnet, **Mussolini ve Faşizm**, Trans. Tanju Gökçol (Ankara: İletişim, 1998) p. 38

wing political organizations by force. [88] Thus, in this period, Italy became the scene of an intense effort to undermine the socialist movement. Thus, it is possible to say that another factor that made the emergence of fascism possible was the efforts to end socialist revival. As a result, fascism on the one hand developed from the search of the socialist movement to eradicate the class of capital, and on the other hand, from practical considerations such as ending the intense discomfort in the political, economic and social spheres.[89]

In 1914, there was a great debate about whether Italy would enter the war in the country. At that time Benito Mussolini was the editor of the Italian Socialist Party's newspaper "L'Avanti". Despite the Italian Socialist Party's struggle against the war, Mussolini was under the influence of the nationalist movements favoring the start of the war and began to write pro-war writings and campaigns.[90] Mussolini argued in the Avanti magazine, the publication of the Socialist Party, that Italy must enter war with the Entente States without consulting the party's competent organs. He expressed his thought as follows; "From now on we are all just Italian and we are nothing but Italian… There is only one cry from our hearts: Viva l'Italia!" (Long live Italy!)[91]

Mussolini was removed from the socialist party due to his propaganda for the inclusion of the eastern part of the Adriatic Sea to Italy, which was under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Mussolini's behavior gathered great reaction from the socialists therefore the Socialist Party broke ties with Mussolini. Mussolini, interrupted by the Socialist Party and its publication Avanti, began to publish a newspaper in Milan called *Il Popola d'Italia* (The Public of Italy) and he began to spread his pro-war ideas through this newspaper.

The young people who advocated the need to enter the war were called "interventionist" (*interventista* - pro-war). These young people were attacking the members of the government and members of parliament who seemed to be holding the side of Entente's armies. The Italian Government directed all its power and energy on

[88] Hüsamettin İnaç, Selami Erdoğan, **"Toplumsal Bir İdeoloji Olarak Faşizm: SosyoPolitik Bir Analiz"** (Liberal Düşünce, Volume 35, 2004) p. 62
[89] Frank McDonough, **Conflict, Communism and Fascism, Europe 1890-1945** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 68
[90] Aydın Yalçın, **Faşizmin Doğuşu** (Ankara: Ekonomik ve Sosyal Press, 1978) p. 52
[91] Hanifi Macit, **Faşizm ve Nazizm** (Ankara: Savaş Publisher, 2007) p.18

diplomatic negotiations and intrigues in order not to participate in the war.[92] However, despite all the efforts of the Government, Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary on May 25, 1915, joining the First World War with England and France.

Italy, with the intensive propaganda of Interventionists, entered war and took its place among the victorious states at the end of the war. This pro-war movement, called *Interventismo*, formed the basis of the "*Fasci di Combattimento*", a source of Italian fascism.

Fascist governance in Italy was established by taking advantage of such complex economic and political conditions. Although an ineffectual peasant movement in the name of "fascist" took place in Sicily, Italy in 1893, the source of Italian fascism is the "*Fasci di Combattimento*" (fighting leagues / league of combatants) movement.

A few months after the end of the First World War, on 23 March 1919, Mussolini established the first "*Fasci di Combattimento*" in Milan. By 1919 there were about 30 Fasci Associations with a total membership of 870; and by the end of 1921, the number of Fasci associations had increased to 834, while the total number of members increased to 249,000.

Fasci di Combattimento, emerged as a product of Italy's widespread social structure, and was popular among nationalist gangs against both leftist movements and liberal democracy. These gangs were assembled at the Rome Congress in November 1921, and the National Fascist Party (*Partito Nazionale Fascista*) was established.[93]

The Fascist Party, a supporter of the authoritarian regime, also tried to fulfill the promises made to Italy during the First World War. It was a disciplined and nationalist party, which was strongly opposed communism and liberal democracy. Fascists used nationalism and anti-capitalist rhetoric together to provide mass support. Mussolini preferred a culture-based nationalism, promising to return to the Roman Empire. The re-establishment of the Roman Empire became a national ideal with Mussolini. The nationalist fascist discourse was addressed to all Italians. Because for

[92] Benitto Mussolini, **Faşizm-Faşist Devlet** Trans. Serhat Toker & Mine Tekin (İstanbul: Toker Publisher, 1998) p. 42
[93] Hatice Örs, Faşizm: **Modernitenin Karanlık Yüzü**, Hatice Örs (Ed.). **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler** (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2010) p.499

Italians, who have not been able to achieve political unity for centuries, a strong and united Italy seemed very attractive.

Nevertheless, only nationalism was not enough to provide mass support. Thus, the fascists resorted to anti-capitalist rhetoric to win the workers. But they produced a different model in order not to lose the support of the capitalists. The fascists who presented the corporatist model did not reject private property but claimed that all property belonged to the society. According to this model, the wealth of the country is only temporarily held by the capitalists, and in fact belongs to the whole nation. Moreover, employees working through corporations were also shareholders and thus they could have private ownership.

Italian people who were upset because of the chaos they were in, were influenced by the disciplined spirit of fascism and fascism was chosen as a salvation. Therefore, Mussolini's fascist party gained an advantage. After that, the fascist party quickly spread and developed among intellectuals, soldiers and the public at large. Various right-wing groups in Italy, within serious economic and political straits, soon gathered in the Fascist Party. For when Mussolini pledged to solve the problems in the country and return to the powerful times of the Roman Empire, his words have been based on the nationalist feelings of the Italian people, who have been willing to be one of the most powerful states in Europe since 1871.[94]

In this period, the Italian people surrendered to Mussolini's sense of social desperation that expressed the phrase "Proletarian Nation".[95] When the war was over, Mussolini began to involve former soldiers, unemployed, students and non-pro-socialist workers in this movement, called as "*Fasci di Combattimento"*. The factors that contributed to this movement were; some uncertain reforms, extreme nationalism and the idea of a war especially against the socialist-communist movement. The organization established as a youth organization of the *Fasci di Combattimento* and called Blackshirts (*Squadristi*) launched a war against political dissidents, especially communist groups and striking workers. At that time, the fascist movement was seen

[94] Oral Sander, **Siyasi Tarih 1918-1994** (Ankara: İmge Bookstore, 2004) p. 25
[95] Ibid, p. 113

as a paramilitary organization rather than a political-bureaucratic entity.[96] The group was constantly increasing the number of its members.[97]

The failure of the weak governments in military and foreign policy in the post-World War I period was also a key reason for the emergence of fascism. In the negotiations after the war, the Italians were in complete frustration. Italy thought it had been betrayed because the lands it had long been demanding was given to other states. This led to a national anger against foreigners; the feelings of nationalism were mobilized. At the meeting of the *Fasci* Association in 1920, Mussolini, who had abandoned his old socialist considerations, talked about the positive contributions of property-bourgeois classes that increased national wealth and welfare. He talked about the harmonious adjustment of the interests of the working class and the national interests. The *Fasci* staff, who used the desperation of the Italian people well, quickly filled up with former soldiers, students and young people.

In the general elections held in November 1919, the justification of the socialists who opposed the war was used as a very good propaganda tool and the Italian Socialist Party became the first party, taking 156 out of 508 deputies.[98] The socialists began to show their revolutionary attitudes everywhere. In September 1920, in northern Italy, factory confiscation of workers further increased the confusion that had begun. Half a million workers took over 600 factories. They surrounded the factory with armed guards. Audit committees were established. Bankers, big industrialists and big landowners were waiting the social revolution in fear, which would be at their expense.

Although the socialist revolution was so close to reality in Italy and the conditions were very favorable, socialists did not come to power and did not achieve the expected social revolution. The Socialist Movement could not fulfill the expectations. It was opposed to almost everything but could not build anything in place of what it was dissenting. At this point Italy was waiting for a solution. This solution was a right-wing dictatorship called "fascism".

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[96] Michael Mann, **Fascists** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p. 95
[97] Marco Tarchi, "Italy: Early Crisis and Fascist Takeover", ed. D. Berg-Schlosser & Jeremy, **The Conditions of Democracy in Europe 1919-39** (USA: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000) p.307
[98] Ibid, p. 305

The process of change and development of the position of fascist movement in Italian politics that was targeted by Mussolini was clear. While the participation of the unions that were against socialism and war was very limited, the participation in the Fascist Party between 1921 and 1922 increased from 3 thousand to 300 thousand (Table 1). Fascism was supported by both the middle class and the dominant political power and doubled its power with an increase in membership between 1919 and 1921 from 17,000 in 1919 to 310,000 in 1921.[99] For the fascists who won only 35 Members of Parliament in the 1921 elections, this was not a bad result.[100]

Table 1. Number of Members and Groups of Fascio di Combattimento between 1919-1922

Month / Year	Members	Groups
December 1919	870	31
December 1920	20,615	88
March 1921	80,476	317
April 1921	98,399	471
May 1921	187,098	1,001
June 1921	204,506	1,192
July 1921	209,385	1,228
August 1921	212,919	1,253
September 1921	213,631	1,268
October 1921	217,072	1,311
November 1921	217,256	1,318
December 1921	218,453	1,333
April 1922	219,792	1,381
May 1922	322,310	2,124
December 1922	299,876	3,424

Marco Tarchi, "Italy: Early Crisis and Fascist Takeover", ed. D. Berg-Schlosser & Jeremy, **The Conditions of Democracy in Europe 1919-39** (USA: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000) p.307

The May 15th elections did not make a meaningful change in the power balance of the political parties in the parliament. Mussolini was elected as a deputy in Milan and Bologna.[101]

[99] Giampiero Carocci, **Faşizmin Tarihi,** Trans. M. Yılmaz (İstanbul: Remzi Bookstore,1965) p. 18
[100] Marco Tarchi, "Italy: Early Crisis and Fascist Takeover", ed. D. Berg-Schlosser & Jeremy, **The Conditions of Democracy in Europe 1919-39** (USA: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 2000) p. 305
[101] Benitto Mussolini, **Faşizm-Faşist Devlet** Trans. Serhat Toker & Mine Tekin (İstanbul: Toker Publisher, 1998) p. 59

Parallel to this increase in the rate of participation in the movement, the Fascist Party, which entered the parliament with 35 representatives in the 1921 elections, reached its goal of starting the march of Rome in 1922 with the support of the army, the church, the capitalist class and the middle class in order to establish the country and restore the state.[102]

In the beginning of 1922, Italy was fully involved in the economic crisis. Banco di Sconto, one of Italy's biggest banks, went bankrupt. This was followed by the bankruptcy of trading companies. The state treasury was empty. At the same time, the current government had not been able to plan solutions to ease the crisis.[103]

After the middle of 1922, fascism became a stronger political organization than the state. It also attracted the mass of workers through nationalist unions and began to organize even in the villages. No traces were left from the power of socialism. Fascist armament organizations have always supported state forces, and sometimes even replaced the state forces. But sometimes they were taking stand against the state. It seemed as if there were two administrations in the country. In many problems, the civil fascist army overshadowed state authority and state power. After the railway workers' strike in August was prevented by the fascist forces, Mussolini began to talk about the occupation of Rome in his speeches in various cities. He said that the state would definitely become Fascist.[104]

The general strike of the workers paralyzed the economy. Upon the complexity of the circumstances, the Black Shirts of the Fascist Party marched from Naples to Rome in August 1922. This was the preparation for the government coup d'état. The King's only option was to authorize the Fascist Party. On October 30, 1922, Mussolini was appointed as Prime Minister. This was the beginning of Mussolini and the fascist dictatorship in Italy. This dictatorship would continue until 1943.

Thus, fascism made the decision to make a revolution. On October 16, 1922, fascist leaders held a meeting in Milan. The movement would start all over Italy. Fascist commanders gathered in Florence on October 25, 1922 to take the final order.

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[102] Frank McDonough, **Conflict, Communism and Fascism, Europe 1890-1945** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p. 69-70
[103] Benito Mussolini (co-written by Giovanni Gentile), **The Doctrine of Fascism** (Rome: Ardita Publisher, 1932) p. 19-22
[104] Ibid, p. 23.

The next day, Prime Minister Facta was invited to resign. But Facta still thought he could stop fascism. So, he did not comply with the call for resignation. Thus, on October 27, 1922 "Fascist Mobilization" was declared. Mussolini issued a statement to the public and declared that the exact time of the fight had come. Prime Minister Facta declared martial law. However, martial law could not prevent the fascist groups from reaching the centers of movement. The king immediately returned to Rome, from San Rossore where he was at the time, when the situation became a serious danger and the possibility of excessive incidents occurred. As soon as the King came, Facta immediately presented his resignation, and at the same time decided to sign the martial law decision. However, the king did not sign the martial law and ordered that he immediately leave.[105]

With the resignation of Prime Minister Facta and the removal of martial law measures, the victory of fascism was confirmed. Mussolini clearly forced King III. Victor Emmanuel to give him the administration of the country. While the Black Shirts of the Fascist Party were marching from Naples to Rome, preparing for a government coup; the King could not find any other solution than to give the government to the Fascist Party.[106]

Eventually the expected invitation came, and the King invited Mussolini to Rome to establish the government. On the evening of October 29, 1922, Mussolini moved from Milan to Rome for his new assignment. On October 29, 1922, Mussolini, who was 39 at the time, became the youngest prime minister of the country. This date was the beginning of Mussolini's fascist dictatorship in Italy, which continued uninterrupted until 1943. On October 30, 1922, he went to the palace and presented the government list to the King and said: “The exalted King! I bring you the Vittorio Veneto Italia, which has been blessed with new victories.” Thus, fascism came to power; there was no obstacle left in the way of creating a fascist state that Mussolini had longed for.

[105] Ibid, p. 37-41
[106] Marco Tarchi, “Italy: Early Crisis and Fascist Takeover”, ed. D. Berg-Schlosser & Jeremy, **The Conditions of Democracy in Europe 1919-39** (USA: St. Martin’s Press, Inc., 2000) p. 317

3.2. The Characteristics of Fascism in Italy

The fascist movement, which emerged as a reaction to socialism in Italy in the post-war period, and later became the fate of Italy through the March on Rome, succeeded in attracting the masses with various promises such as strengthening the foreign policy of Italy, ensuring stability in domestic politics, bringing economic order, strengthening the Italian army and weapons. Fascism was strengthened with the support of the masses in the first stage. Subsequently, it was imposed on society by various laws and by the actions of paramilitary groups. Thus, fascism led to the emergence of totalitarianism in Italy.[107]

Considering the general approach and political line of Italian Fascism, the main characteristics and the most basic features of this regime can be analyzed under some themes as state, individual, leader, socialism and liberalism, nationalism, propaganda, education and militarism.

3.2.1. The State

The most unique aspect of Italian fascism is related to the value attributed to the state. The fascist state first emerged in Italy between the two world wars. Its founder, Mussolini, called it the “corporate state”.

When the fascist state is considered from a social perspective, it is seen that the society has a corporate structure and that the state is not based directly on individuals but based on social institutions. In this respect, the fascist state is defined as the "corporate state".

In the fascist state, the emergence of the society and the role played by the individual in this matter are desired to be explained on the basis of sociological and historical facts. After the corporatist state seized power and was established in Italy, the idea about society was that society was not a structure that could change depending on the will of individuals. Society did not consist solely of the individuals, that the purpose of society was not merely to ensure that individuals achieved their goals, and that ideas that focused on the individual were not reconciled with historical facts.

The right to be represented in the fascist state is not accorded to individuals but to social institutions. Thus, the system of corporate representation emerges as a natural

[107] Nicos Poulantzas, **Faşizm ve Diktatörlük** Trans. Ahmet İnsel (İstanbul: İletişim Publisher, 2004) p. 65-67

and logical consequence of the social foundation upon which the fascist state is based.[108] The issue is the representation of interests in corporate representation. The corporate council must represent all entities that fulfill a function in society.

In the political structure of the fascist state, it is necessary to represent not the individuals, but the social institutions and the interests represented and protected by these institutions. Because, in this state system, people do not have rights, but they have duties. People have value according to the importance of their functions in society.

In fascism, the state is the sovereign and the authority. The state, which governs all the forces in society, also keeps them under strict control. The fascist state, which is hierarchically above the individual, has an unlimited and almost unquestionable superiority in representing and realizing the national interests of the Italian nation. In the fascist regime, the belief that the existence of the individual can only be understood within the state, necessitated the unconditional obedience of the masses to the state. [109] The state in fascism has the authority to intervene social, political, moral and economic areas and structures. In fascism, the state was considered the most sacred of the values; however, the state, which was the object of Italian fascism, was perceived as a tool in Nazism.

In fascism, the state is not a structure formed by individuals, but a living organism based on social institutions. Mussolini also expressed this with the following expressions: "All within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state." It is clear that; everything is subject to the state. Parallel to the views of the Fascist ideologue Gentile, Mussolini, in another statement he made at the first assembly of the regime in 1929, states the sanctity of the state as follows: "For fascism, the state is not just a night watchman that is interested in the personal security of the citizens. The state, which cannot be reduced to purely material goals, is not just a political organization. For fascism, the state is a spiritual and moral phenomenon".[110]

It is a fact that the Italian fascist state has put all the forces in society under strict discipline. The fascist state has the authority to intervene in moral, religious,

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[108] Ayferi Göze, **Liberal, Marxist, Faşist, Nasyonal Sosyalist ve Sosyal Devlet** (İstanbul: Beta Publisher, 2005) p.115

[109] John Pollard, **The Fascist Experience in Italy** (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 126

[110] Benito Mussolini (co-written by Giovanni Gentile), **The Doctrine of Fascism** (Rome: Ardita Publisher, 1932) p.29-31

social, political, social justice and economic activities. In other words, the state has the right and authority to interfere in all kinds of activities of the people; the state has a vision of its own about each field and a program it wishes to realize. It is accepted that the source of law and justice is the state; In addition, freedom is regarded as a concept that the state recognizes to the extent that it is appropriate to its interests.

One of the most basic conditions of the fascist state is the creation of a "one-party" structure. The one-party structure is the only way to take full control of state power, to suppress all other projects, different opinions, or even to suppress the opposition. In this way, it is raised to a position that covers the political sphere, and also the social, economic, cultural areas. Secondly, "party and state are integrated". Fascist party members are assigned to all state duties, all functions of the state are transferred to the party, the ideology of the party and the ideology of the state are equalized, and the party is transformed into a separate state within the state, and the judiciary, like the legislature and the executive, is taken to the state's monopoly.[111]

3.2.2. The Society and The Individual

In the fascist state, society is not a pile of people who live side by side. The society consists of various social organizations and associations which are created by people connected with natural, biological, emotional, religious, geographical, professional and other affinities and interests. Human beings come to the world in the family organization which is the first and the oldest of social organizations; and they get involved in social organizations that pursue wider and diverse purposes to ensure wider and broader interests and to respond to a variety of material and spiritual needs and interests. It is only within the institutions and with the help of other individuals that people can develop their material and spiritual existence in the direction they want to develop and achieve their goals.

“Organic theory” was included in the fascism. In fascist ideology, individuals are not the base and source of the society. The base and sources of the society are social institutions that are formed by individuals and meet various needs and protect various interests. According to organic theory, society is like the human body. The relationship between the roles, nature, functions and organs of the human body is the same as the role, nature, functions and relationships of social organizations in society. In these

[111] Hatice Birsen Örs, **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler,** 4th ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2008) p. 496 -497

organs, individuals are like organic cells. According to this, society is a body; social organizations are the organs that fulfill the various functions of this biological whole; and the individuals are organic cells that dissolved and fused in these organs. Thus, the society is accepted as a sociological, historical fact and an organic, biological whole in the fascist state.

Fascism, which is clearly opposed to individual and individualism, attempts to make the individual an organic part of society by removing the individual from its own value. This is accomplished by creating a "total" society consisting of a single type of living; monotonous, amalgamated people and all areas of life unified by penetrating into all spheres of civilian life; from educational to fine arts, literary to recreational forms, through a party integrated with the state.[112]

As a result of the absolute value attributed to the state in fascism, the individual has disappeared in the fascist regime. Fascism is not an ideology that sees the individual as a value in itself. In this sense, the individual does not have a value and meaning in the abstract sense. According to this idea, organic society model was adopted in the fascist regime. The value of individuals is determined in line with the tasks they perform within the society and the state.[113]

According to the model of organic society in the fascist state, every source of authority and right is in relation to the task that people have. The right to be represented in the political organization of the state can only be obtained to fulfill a function. The right to be represented in the political organization of the state has been recognized for these social institutions, since the important functions in the state are assumed to be fulfilled by social organizations. Individuals have been accepted to be represented only through these organizations and their involvement in these organizations.

All the political structures in which the state is exalted, and the individual is ignored can be defined as authoritarian, totalitarian and dictatorial. Totalitarianism is a political system that combines state and society with each other in a certain unity, harmonizes each other and imposes a common world view on society, for which it is necessary to use all kinds of oppression and force in its sovereignty. In the totalitarian system, society is controlled by subordinating it to a program within an ideological totality. Totalitarianism is established through widespread ideological cheating, public

[112] Ibid, p. 496-497
[113] Ayferi Göze, **Liberal, Marxist, Faşist, Nasyonal Sosyalist ve Sosyal Devlet** (İstanbul: Beta Publisher, 2005) p. 130

terror and cruelty as a political system that controls society in all aspects. The pursuit of total power through politicization of all aspects of social and personal existence separates totalitarianism from both autocracy and authoritarianism. Totalitarianism implies the complete destruction of civil society and eliminates the special.[114]

The state is the authority in the political structure where such an understanding is central. Because they force their citizens to obey the state. In this way, the individual has disappeared within the state which has been sanctified. The individual who is perceived only as a cell of a living organism is not a value in itself. In Italian fascism, the individual is not singular; it is a social being prone to be social from its creation.

In Italian fascism, the idea of equality was rejected, and a hierarchy of people emerged. There are three types of people with different qualities in the design of society in Fascism. According to fascism; a leader who possesses the most advanced talents is the first of these types that make up the society. The second type consists of warrior elites who represent heroism and sacrifice. And finally, the third type in society consists of weak and lazy individuals who are condemned to obey.[115]

3.2.3. The Leader *(Il Duce)*

One of the leading concepts in fascism is also the leader. The leader has charismatic characteristics and is the representative of the holy state. The leader has the ability to increase the awareness of the unconscious masses and to mobilize these masses. The leader, who is positioned as the highest person in society, must have full authority.[116] In Italy, the fascist state has been identified with Mussolini. Mussolini has managed to create a leading cult that is focused on himself. According to Mussolini, who called himself the *Duce* (leader), *Duce* was both the head of the state and the army, and the compassionate father of the Italian people. According to him, a politician, as an artist should be able to address both the body and the soul.[117] The belief in the community was that the *Duce* was always right. And this provided an indisputable obedience to Mussolini.[118]

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[114] Andrew Heywood, **Political Ideologies** (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 2003) p. 255
[115] Ibid, p. 269-270
[116] Robert O. Paxton, **The Anatomy of Fascism** (New York: Alfreda A. Knopf, 2004) p.217-218
[117] Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi**, Fascist Spectacle – The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy** (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) p. 15
[118] John Pollard, **The Fascist Experience in Italy** (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 60

Italian fascism tried to establish a state organization in accordance with its teachings. Nevertheless, the fascist regime apparently did not change the limited monarchy regime, which was established by the Constitution of 1848, and the Constitution could not be repealed. The king, the ministers and the senate were still present, but they had no significance in practice.

According to the Constitution of 1848, the executive power was at the monopoly of the King. But in practice the situation was different. The authority of the King and all other state organs was not as effective as that of the new ruler. The ruler was dominant in every matter. He was called "the chief", his powers of rule were unlimited not only in the executive domain but also in the legislative domain.

This situation was entirely suitable for the fascist view. According to fascism, 20th century would be the "chief's" age. The nations were able to reach the consciousness of their own existence only by the enthusiasm of the extraordinary man who represented it. The chief was the man who hears the pulse of the masses and expresses their ambiguous feelings with open ideas. Mussolini asserted that his experiences had earned him the ability to engage in the psychology of the masses and to sense and hear what people want at a given time. Nothing could limit the powers of the chief who has all the authority. "Mussolini is always right."[119] In fact, the chief was placed in the position of a semi-god; through media, radio, press and cinema, he was seen everywhere and every day.

The superior condition of the chief arises from the spheres of action, not from the law. Fascism has little respect for law. The legal texts relating to the authority of the chief were written solely to support and approve the superior condition arising from the practice of the chief.

Mussolini, whose authorities increased significantly, had increasingly began to control and intimidate society. For example, such laws had been enacted that a "suspected" person could be immediately dismissed and put in jail. In another example, the elected mayors were taken from their duties by government and replaced with new ones, thereby reducing the powers of all local governments.[120]

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[119] Andrew Heywood, **Political Ideologies** (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 2003) p. 224

[120] Hatice Birsen Örs, **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler,** 4th ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2008) p. 500

3.2.4. Socialism and Liberalism

Mussolini thought that one of the main problems of the old regime was class conflicts and he severely criticized socialism and liberalism. The fascist regime aimed to create a classless society in order to increase national consciousness and national interest.

Fascism accepted the reality of classes in society. But it was against the state administration that caused the class difference. The worker and the employer could no longer be hostile to each other. Their interests were not private. These are the general interests of production that characterize the nation's high interests.[121]

The fascist state claims to be the state of all nations, not of any class, and argues that it has brought a national agreement for the classes in society. Fascism does not accept a source of law outside the state. There is only the state as a source of law. Law is at the disposal of the state.

The fascist state is seen politically as a state in which the system of corporate representation is accepted. The corporatist system was implemented to avoid class conflicts and to increase the general interest in production. Corporate representation is the representation of the various social institutions and various interests represented by them in the political structure of the state, within the political organization, which is accepted as the foundation of society and state in the fascist state. Between 1925 and 1939 the establishment of the corporate state model, which would provide social cohesion and guarantee economic development, was ensured.[122]

In the corporatist state, main objective is to organize a collaboration between employees and employers. Otherwise, social classes fall into disagreement with each other and harm national interests. The mutual duties and responsibilities of the classes are emphasized. As a result, all the trade unions opposing the regime were abolished. Although it is aimed to increase the national interest, it is argued that, the corporation system only contributes to the welfare level of the capitalists and the power of the state.[123]

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[121] Benitto Mussolini, **Faşizm-Faşist Devlet** Trans. Serhat Toker & Mine Tekin (İstanbul: Toker Publisher, 1998) p. 136-138

[122] Martin Blinkhorn, **Mussolini and Fascist Italy** 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994) p. 29

[123] Frank McDonough, **Conflict, Communism and Fascism, Europe 1890-1945** (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p.73

3.2.5. Nationalism

The fascist system is a system based on nationalism. The difference between Italian and German nationalism is that nationalism in Italy is based on culture, while in Germany it is based on race. Another important feature of the fascist movement in Italy is that it represents a radical version of nationalism. After the First World War, a national awakening took place in Italy with the frustration experienced in the country. The nationalist movement has been initiated to compensate for the loss of prestige and political power of Italy against other European countries.[124]

3.2.6. Propaganda

In fascist Italy, propaganda activities had been one of the most important factors in gaining mass support. In fascism, intense propaganda activities have been resorted to connect individuals to the system, to make these commitments permanent, and to provide total loyalty and obedience to the established order.[125]

In the propaganda of fascist Italy, Mussolini often used the idea that the past would be revived. The idea that the Roman Empire would be revived and led Western civilization as it once was. This thought promised a return to the great military supremacy of the Roman Empire.

There was a strong control over the press. Especially through the newspapers, Mussolini was shown to be energetic and fit in every way. Even in press media it was forbidden to even write that Mussolini suffered from cold or flu.[126]

The use of communication tools such as cinema, radio, exhibition, poster and brochure were also an important feature of Italian propaganda. But cinema in Italy was used less effectively as in Germany. Because Italian people were not very interested in state-made films and political and serious films; they were showing more interest in works that are subject to luxury life, and film companies were predominantly in the hands of the private sector in Italy.[127]

The propaganda tool that was used more effectively than cinema in Italian fascism was radio. Great importance was given to radio in Italy and Germany because it could be centrally controlled. For this reason, radios were placed in houses, lounges,

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[124] Stephen J. Lee, **Avrupa Tarihinden Kesitler, 1789-1980**, Trans. S. Aktur (Ankara: Dost Publisher, 2002) p. 216
[125] John Pollard, **The Fascist Experience in Italy** (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 57
[126] Sezer Akarcalı, **2. Dünya Savaşında İletişim ve Propaganda** (Ankara: İmaj Publisher, 2003) p. 142
[127] Ibid, p. 145-146

even villages where the villagers were gathering in the evenings, and government announcements were made accessible. Speakers were also placed in city squares for this purpose.

Another propaganda tool in Italian fascism was exhibitions. In these exhibitions, the medals and bloody uniforms of the deceased were exhibited during the Roman March, whereby the regime remained alive in the mental worlds of the people.

However, despite being more experienced in propaganda activities, propaganda in Italian fascism was not as effective as it was in Germany. The main reason for this is the fact that the Nazis set up a ministry of propaganda and brought Goebbels, one of the most important names of the party, to the head of this ministry. The establishment of the Propaganda and the Press Secretariat in Italy could only take place in 1933, after being influenced by Goebbels.[128]

3.2.7. Education

In Italian fascism, immense importance had been attached to young people and their education in order to maintain a steady regime. Fascism was trying to direct young people to technical education rather than university education. Their anti-intellectual nature and conservative understanding were the reasons of their opposition to status changes that would be achieved through higher education. Under the campaign of fascism for new generations, the curricula of the schools were determined by the state and an education program that focuses primarily on national history, physical education and military training was prepared.[129]

3.2.8. Militarism

Fascism includes militarism in its discourses as well as in its actions. The fascist regime in Italy realized the militarization of the entire society. In fascism, which represents the extreme version of nationalism, life is perceived as a struggle between people. The national identities are defined by several 'enemies'. For this reason, the adoption of a militarist discourse and lifestyle has become inevitable. In the fascist regime there was also a military discourse and discipline in the slogans, marches, visual symbols and myths.

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[128] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 69
[129] John Pollard, **The Fascist Experience in Italy** (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 70-71

4. NATIONAL SOCIALISM IN GERMANY

4.1. The History of National Socialism in Germany

The disappearance of the line between the state and society and the wholesale politicization of society have often been used as the most distinctive feature that distinguishes totalitarianism from other repressive administrations.

Rand summarizes the situation as follows: “The political ideas, communism and National Socialism, which are the scenes of the two countries, are inevitably a common thing. Both emerged on the post-war and crises of this period and strengthened against social and economic moral destruction. They contemptuously threw away the centuries-old European political experiments, parliamentary negotiations and debates, which were developed as more stable and more viable ways to replace the dictatorship. In fact, although Wilson had dragged the United States into war to 'make the world more secure for democracy', the First World War ended with the opposite outcome; democracy did not lead, but created three dictatorships: Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany.”[130]

Fascist movements in Italy and National Socialist movements in Germany are the currents of the best examples of authoritarianism and right-wing totalitarianism. Totalitarianism is a post-war formation. This situation applies to both the Italian example and to the German example separately. Various political scientists have approached this fact and have drawn conclusions. For example, “According to Benedetto Croce, this system was not a political expression of any class interest, but a consciousness depression, a crisis of civilization and a result of war, created by war.”[131]

First World War pushed Hitler, the man who dragged societies into a great economic depression and who would change the fate of Germany and Europe, into the

[130] Ayn Rand, “Savaşın Kökleri”, Trans. Atilla Yayla, ed. Atilla Yayla, **Sosyal ve Siyasal Teori**, (Ankara: Siyasal Bookstore, 1999) p. 442
[131] Ernesto Laclau, **İdeoloji ve Politika** (İstanbul: Belge Publisher, 1998) p. 87

political arena. Germany voluntarily joined the war in 1914 and by the 1918 defeat, Hitler's hostility towards Marxism and the Jews increased. Since, according to him, the war was lost because of the betrayal of the Jews.

At the end of the war in Germany, political and economic situation tended toward collapse. Socialist uprisings took place in various parts of Germany. After the proclamation of the Republic, these uprisings grew steadily, and Germany was in total chaos. The Communists also played an active role in these conflicts. In the environment created by these conflicts, under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, the German Social Democrats formed a "German Communist Party" at a congress in Berlin on 29 December 1918. The German Communist Party attempted a coup to overthrow the socialist government.

Versailles treaty, signed at the end of the war, was imposed on Germany by the victorious states. This peace treaty was met with great reaction in German public opinion. Both the Rightists and the Leftists reacted to this treaty. It was an opportunity for some generals to make a right-wing coup d'état. This coup was a way to respond to the previous leftist coup. Along with the Versailles peace treaty, most of the active officers in Germany were removed from the army; these officers formed the management part of the voluntary regiments and offensive troops, that were established after the war.[132]

Thus, the military representatives of National Socialism, the first representatives, were established. However, the real power and efficiency of these associations depended on their ability to involve wider masses in their ranks. For this, the movement had to spread to the base of the people. However, there was no need for much effort to achieve this goal. Because this public movement was formed in the first years after the war, it was clearly strengthened during the inflation period that pursued the war.

All these elements provided a suitable ground for the adoption of radical movements in post-war Germany. Adolf Hitler's political career was based on the atmosphere in Germany. Hitler has benefited from the instability within the country in

[132] Fahir Armaoğlu, **20. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi** (İstanbul: Alkım Publisher, 2004) p. 146

a very 'successful' manner and came to the stage of history as a representative of a movement addressing the aspirations of the masses.[133]

In 1919, Hitler attempted to establish a new party by connecting with the former military circles. In his view, this party should have been a movement that would ensure the participation of large masses of people. Finally, he entered the German Workers Party. Hitler began his political career in 1919 as a member of the German Workers' Party. In 1920 he reorganized the party and renamed it the National Socialist German Workers' Party, (*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* - NSDAP).[134] The party has emerged from the *Volkisch* movement which was representing a nationalist discontent. The party developed rapidly and movements against Marxist acts were organized with these troops.

While the German democracy was shaking between the dictatorship dangers of the left and the right, the economic situation was going towards chaos day by day. Production and economy hit bottom. Political unrest was also destroying economic life.

The year 1923 was the highest point of the economic crisis. The effect of the left-winger's provocations also increased the strikes in the country and people began to damage shops. On the other hand, the leader of the National Socialist Party, Adolf Hitler called the government "The Government of Robbers" and wanted a dictatorship.

The French provoked separatist movements to break the Germans' resistance to them. When France invaded Germany's Ruhr region in 1923, they worked on to destroy the fanatical nationalist sentiments of Germans. Eventually, their populated military unit entered the northern border of Bavaria and marched to Berlin. Germany was already in danger of falling into the hands of a fascism. In November 1923, the National Socialist Workers' Party under the leadership of Hitler and Ludendorf attempted a government coup d'état and even seized the government for a few days.[135]

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[133] Roderick Stackelberg, Sally A. Winkle, **The Nazi Germany Sourcebook: An Anthology of Texts** (London: Routledge, 2002) p. 47

[134] İbrahim Artuç, **Hitler ve İkinci Dünya Harbinin Kaderi, Bir İnsanın ve Bir Harbin Öyküsü** (İstanbul: Kastaş Publisher, 1982) p. 15

[135] William Shirer, **Nazi İmparatorluğu: Doğuşu, Yükselişi, Çöküşü,** trans. Rasih Güran (İstanbul: İnkılap Bookstore, 2003) p. 127

However, with the support of democratic institutions and the bourgeoisie, fascist aggression was deterred for a while.

The battle of the Ruhr proved how insignificant it was to resist the victorious forces. The German citizens were then in need of the help of capital-rich Western states to be able to strengthen the German Mark, reach a reasonable deal in war reparations, and obtain the loans, especially for the re-establishment of German businesses. That is, at that time, nothing much was gained from a nationalist-fascist adventure.

With the strengthening of Mark, the steady increase in the prices of German goods and the fluctuation of foreign credits, the populist movement was stopped. Small bourgeoisie and peasants also begun to follow the traces of democratic parties. In this period Hitler's National Socialist Party was an inactive community. However, when the 1929 crisis exploded, fascism resurfaced. The petty bourgeoisie and the peasants began to join the National Socialists.[136] The number of members of the National Socialist Party began to rise with rapid acceleration (Table 2).

Table 2. Membership of the National Socialist Party 1919–1945

Year	Members	Year	Members
1919	55	1937	2,793,890
1921	3,000	1938	3,900,000
1923	55,287	1939	4,985,400
1928	96,918	1940	5,339,567
1930	129,563	1942	7,100,000
1933	849,009	1944	7,600,000
1935	2,493,890	1945	8,000,000

Richard J. Overy, **The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia** (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004)

In the elections of 1928, NSDAP received only eight hundred thousand votes from thirty-one million total votes, with a rate of 2.8%. In the 1930 elections, they increased their votes to 18.3% and became the second party. The 1920s did not pave the way to power for the Nazis. However, no party in the elections won the majority,

[136] August Thalheimer, Otto Bauer, Angelo Tasca, **Faşizm ve Kapitalizm**, Trans. Rona Serozan (İstanbul: Sarmal Publisher,1999) p. 97

coalition governments were set up behind each other, and all were overthrown in three or four months. The Nazis were the only party at the end of each election that had gained a little more power than the other parties.[137]

Hitler acknowledged the importance of voting in the political elections and accepted that the party could only come to power by votes. Election propaganda was primarily directed at industrial workers. However, the interest of the Protestant peasants, who were badly affected by the agricultural crisis in the 1928 elections was noteworthy. Since then, Nazi propaganda begun to work towards conservative voters, and these efforts had significant impacts on election results as planned. The Nazis won most of their votes from conservative voters as a result of their work in the elections. Although the left posed fewer threats compared to the time before the war, the Nazis launched an intimidation campaign against the Socialists, Communists and Catholics. Thus, they presented themselves as the true representatives of the people and the only force to rebuild the order.[138]

The slogan "Let's try them out" attracted great attention among the uneducated masses in the slums. Because "they" would give them everything they wanted, or people understood it through unlimited and abstract promises. The Nazi election promises continued as follows; to cleanse the areas in public institutions, especially in universities where the leftists and Jews dominated the majority and to hire unemployed people instead, to find jobs for all unemployed people, to provide them with a house and a car, and to send all the employees on vacation on a ship.

In July 1932, the Nazis increased their votes to 37%. But still they didn't have enough seats in the parliament to govern. When Hitler established his cabinet in 1933, he had only three ministries from eleven ministries. The widespread perception among people was that Hitler, who had only three ministries from the eleven ministries, could not make an attempt against democracy. Though Hitler intended to make such an attempt, general belief was that he could not succeed. That became the tradition of postwar Germany influenced by the political instability. The leaders always fell out of power within three or four months, without reaching their goals. But things did not develop as anyone planned. Hitler's entry into the prime ministry was not a force which

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138 Kevin Passmore, **Fascism: A Very Short Introduction** (UK: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 66-67

could end in three to four months. Contrarily, this event prepared the groundwork for the establishment of a totalitarian administration to rule Germany by the end of World War II.

Just like Italy, Hitler's success came through the support of conservative alliances and pressures from the streets. Conservative politicians were in a hostile attitude against the Republic. After that, the Elites began to think that no republic could succeed without the support of the masses. The army also feared the hostile attitudes of the Communists and the Nazis. On 30 January 1933, Hitler was made chancellor as a result of the increasing pressure of the conservatives.[139]

The date of February 27, 1933 undoubtedly meant a great deal to Hitler's ultimate goal as a minority with only three ministries in the cabinet of eleven ministers. Because on that day, the Reichstag (Assembly) building was burnt down; and the same evening of the attack, it was declared to be the work of the communists. With this fire, Hitler got the right to detain all the communists in the country; With the "Decree of the Protection of the People and the State" which was adopted on February 28, 1933, all freedoms in the constitution were restricted and the government was granted extensive powers. Under the pretext of the Reichstag fire, the freedom of press and association was suspended. The Act of Enactment, which was passed on March 23 by Reichstag, was the basis of the dictatorship. In the following weeks, trade unions were quickly banned by the exercise of these laws, and in line with the powers of these laws, non-Nazi right-wing parties were easily dispersed.[140]

On March 5, 1933, the Nazis won the election with 43.9% of the vote. On March 23, 1933, Hitler succeeded in imposing the "Authority Law" in parliament. With this law; the rights to legislate, to monitor the budget, to authorize the ratification of agreements with foreign states, to amend the Constitution were taken from the parliament and given to the cabinet for four years; it was accepted that the laws that the prime minister would take may be contrary to the constitution. Thus, parliamentary

[139] Kevin Passmore, **Fascism: A Very Short Introduction** (UK: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 67-68
[140] Ibid, p. 67-68

democracy in Germany ended and the period of National Socialist dictatorship was opened.[141]

Hitler came to power by making use of the opportunities provided by the constitutional order, demolishing the democratic order and establishing a dictatorship instead. Until the Reichstag fire, Hitler did not resort to anti-democratic means in order to establish a desired regime. The only problem that arises in this case is democracy itself. Democracy could not protect itself against its enemies, it was a regime of freedom, and it defined these freedoms to its own enemies, which was a very different situation when Hitler was the enemy. Because Hitler's National Socialism and Mussolini's Fascism, "Fosters hostility to all kinds of democracy; and are strongly opposed to the right of self-determination of the masses that they see only as disciplined and obedient. It despises the tendencies towards peace, prosperity and serenity and praises those who stand against these tendencies as heroic warriors. All life is shaped around nationalism created by war."[142] Due to these characteristics, it is quite natural that these systems reflect political life in the form of general dictatorships.

The example of National Socialism is interesting in that it did not make any significant changes in the institutions of the former constitutional order and came to power by election. An anti-democratic system used democratic methods to come to power, and in doing so, initially prevented any possible reactions, and so the public was easily deceived. When looked from the outside, there seemed to be a practice of democracy in Germany, but the reality under this external view was different. After Hitler came to power, he established a regime that completely rejected democracy. National Socialism is a totalitarian dictatorship based on public vote, in which all forces are gathered in one hand. Hitler made the whole system by using the freedoms that the democracy provided to him and his party. Indeed, democracy could not protect itself against such a threat that would destroy it and could not take measures.

Duverger called these types of dictatorships "sociological dictatorships". According to Duverger, there are two types of dictatorship: sociological and technical dictatorships. The first one is internal. It emerged from the situation in the society;

[141] Ayferi Göze, **Liberal, Marxist, Faşist, Nasyonal Sosyalist ve Sosyal Devlet** (İstanbul: Beta Publisher, 2005) p. 126
[142] August Thalheimer, Otto Bauer, Angelo Tasca, **Faşizm ve Kapitalizm**, Trans. Rona Serozan (İstanbul: Sarmal Publisher,1999) p. 92-93

even from the depths of the society. Sociological dictatorships were born as a result of structural and religious crises in society. These crises were clearly present in the case of Germany. The second type, that is, technical dictatorships is external. It born out of factors outside the community. Instead of responding to the needs of the nation, a significant part of the population, it meets the specific needs of the particular organism that makes it up.[143]

4.2. The Characteristics of National Socialism in Germany

The post-war crisis in Italy led to the strengthening of Mussolini's fascism. There was a chaotic political and economic life in Germany. Hitler's fascism, in his own words, National Socialism, ruled the fate of the German nation for 12 years. And it had the biggest share in the emergence of World War II, which caused the deaths of 40 million people.

The main reasons for the formation of Italian and German fascism are similar, and there is a difference between the two countries after the First World War. Italy was victorious in the war, and at least gained some benefits. Germany, on the other hand, was defeated by war, lost many lands, colonies, raw material resources, its army was disbanded, and loaded with heavy financial burdens. Although the resulting depression in Germany initially helped the socialists to gain power, German socialists could not assess this opportunity and could not change the existing order. Due to the increasingly depressed situation, the German nation began to look for a new savior and found it in Hitler, who came to the political scene with the great support of finance capital and broad propaganda. Hitler walked on the same path of Mussolini, who had come to power in Italy; but he went farther, both inside and out, by following a more daring policy, and influenced the history of humanity at a given time.[144]

In Germany, defeated by the war, the middle class was almost destroyed, and the old middle class became the proletariat. This profound gap between the classes led to policies that could lead people more easily. Hitler, a good propagandist, used this current situation very well.

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[143] Maurice Duverger, **Diktatörlük Üstüne,** trans. Bülent Tanör (İstanbul: Dönem Publisher, 1965) p. 13-16

[144] Doğan Özgüden, **Faşizm** (İstanbul: Bookshop Trade Ltd. Company, 1966) p. 35

Hitler, in his own words, identified the sources of the problems of the German nation in Vienna, where he went for education and helped him to create all his ideas for the future. Hitler began his political career in 1918 as the seventh member of the executive committee of the German Workers' Party.[145] The German Workers' Party (DAP) was founded in 1904, with the purpose of defending the privileges of German high-skilled workers and artisans. However, it was affected by Hitler's policies and quickly evolved into a chauvinist and anti-Marxist direction. The combination of the ability to communicate comfortably with people and being a good propagandist made it easier for people to recognize him and gather around him in a short time. At the Vienna meeting in August 1918, the party not only changed the name of the German Workers' Party (DAP) to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), but also launched a new program (the twenty-five-point program) to win the support of the middle-class audiences for Hitler's movement.

The aim of the establishment of NSDAP was to eliminate the economic, political, and intellectual pressure on the German working population, to liberate the workers and to ensure full equality in all rights in the social and political sphere. NSDAP was defending the interests of all production factories and believed that the economic and social improvement could only be achieved by bringing together all the workers within the framework of nationality. The party defined itself as strictly nationalist (*volkisch*) and opposed to the privileges of capitalists, nobles, the Church, and most importantly, rejected the overwhelming power of the Jewish trading spirit in every aspect of public life.[146]

Hitler, under the leadership of the National Socialist Party, announced a twenty-five-point program and this program revealed what the party was based on.[147] At this point, the fact that German National Socialism differs from Italian Fascism through a twenty-five-point program shows that it was a doctrine that had been determined before it came to power. Some of the elements announced in this program can be summarized as follows:

[145] William Shirer, **Nazi İmparatorluğu: Doğuşu, Yükselişi, Çöküşü,** trans. Rasih Güran (İstanbul: İnkılap Bookstore, 2003) p. 337
[146] Robin Blick, **Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement** (London: Steyn Publications, 1975) p. 183
[147] Ibid, p. 183

4.2.1. Race

Even though it is not the first instance of the fascist state system, in the German model, the importance of "race" and "*führer*" principles and the use of effective propaganda is striking. The underlying constituents of National Socialism are "*Volksgemeinschaft*" and "*Führer*".

Volksgemeinschaft refers to the whole of the German people based on race unity. This whole, created by the German people on the basis of race, is to be governed and directed by a *Führer*. *Volksgemeinschaft* is the center of gravity of the system.

The *Volkisch* movement has an ideology consisting of extreme nationalism, racial anti-Semitism, and mystical beliefs about a unique social scheme of the Germans. The basis of the *Volkisch* ideology, based on the struggle for survival, emphasizes the need to expand towards the eastern regions where the Slavic population was located, to eradicate the roots of the Jewish spirit and to provide racial purity, in order to ensure the survival of the nation by referring to the social Darwinist idea.[148]

The *Volkisch* movement, defends the uniqueness of German language, history, spirit and race. This movement created intellectual grounds that enable the rapid internalization of nationalist sentiments, especially in the post-World War I chaotic environment.[149]

The idea of racist nationalism adopted in National Socialism is the heritage of the Volkisch movement, which began to develop in Germany in the 19th century and influenced Hitler's rule in the following years. The Volkisch movement, one of a series of radical nationalist, racist and anti-Semitic groups, emerged as the defender of unity and integrity in German society with blood ties. This movement, which opposes rapid industrialization, economic fluctuations, urbanization and democratization, as well as any idea of equality and individual rights, focused on the preservation of traditional values, the purity of blood and the authentic cultures. Defending the supremacy of the German race, the Volkisch movement advocated that all ethnic cleansing activities must be carried out in order not to deteriorate the purity of the race, and in 1905 the German Society for Racial Hygiene *(Deutsche Gesellschaft für Rassenhygiene)* was

[148] Ian Kershaw, "The Hitler Myth: Image and Reality in the Third Reich". Ed. D. F. Crew, **Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945** (London: Routledge, 1994) p. 201-203
[149] Richard S. Levy, **Antisemitism: A Historical Encyclopedia of Prejudice and Persecution** (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio Press, 2005) p. 743

established. The anti-Semitic attitude of the *Volkisch* movement, which greatly influenced the minds of Hitler and members of National Socialism, provided an important source for Hitler's policies.[150]

The antisemitism of Hitler's rule was racist antisemitism, following a hostile attitude towards Jews in the 19th century, based on race and blood. Racist antisemitism settled in Germany, which defended the biological superiority of the Aryan race, reached the highest level with the Nazi era.[151]

The adopted racist anti-Semitic approach became absolutely visible in the political arena with the NSDAP coming to power in 1933. Throughout Hitler's administration, intensive efforts were made to place antisemitism on a scientific ground. Hitler's power, which argued that anti-Semitism was based on "scientific facts", advocated that the "logic" dimension of the society's anti-Semitism should be understood as much as the emotional dimension and this view led to the development of a special academic literature on this subject.[152]

Anti-Semitism in many countries of Europe depends on religious, cultural and economic reasons. But Nazism's anti-Semitism was not solely because of Jewish ideas, beliefs or economic activities; but was believed that they threatened the purity of the German race with their existence. This kind of biological discrimination also applies to Slavs, blacks and gypsies, that the Nazis found dangerous.[153]

"None but members of the nation may be citizens of the state. None but those of German blood, whatever their creed, may be members of the nation. No Jew, therefore, may be a member of the nation."[154] With this article of the program the superiority of the German race was emphasized. A sharp distinction was made between those carrying German blood and those not carrying, and only those with German blood were considered citizens in the German National Socialism.

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[150] Roderick Stackelberg, **Hitler's Germany- Origins, Interpretations, Legacies** (London: Routledge, 2009) p. 51-52
[151] Alan E. Steinweis, **Studying the Jew, Scholarly Antisemitism in Nazi Germany** (London: Harvard University Press, 2008) p. 24
[152] Alan E. Steinweis, **Studying the Jew, Scholarly Antisemitism in Nazi Germany** (London: Harvard University Press, 2008) p. 8-22
[153] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 172
[154] Robin Blick, **Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement** (London: Steyn Publications, 1975) p. 199-201

National Socialism suggests that some races are superior to other races. It accepts this as a scientific fact. The northern Aryan race is at the head of superior races. There are Jews and colorful races in the lower races. According to the teaching of National Socialism, humanity will face great catastrophes if the order of this hierarchy among races is not followed. Furthermore, the mixing of races, that is, the hybridity, leads to the degeneration of mankind. According to National Socialists, the social deterioration brought about by hybrids was already observed in France. With the influence of political reasons over time, the National Socialists changed their views on the issue of race and began to deny that colored races were inferior races when they needed to establish relations with the Japanese. The concept of inequality between races is most clearly seen in antisemitism in practice.

According to National Socialism, the individual is not a social reality, but a social organization that is real. There are similarities between human communities and biological organisms. The individual is no different from a cell in the organism. The individual is a cell within the society and has no personality. Society is not a whole that is formed of individuals, but a collective personality. Individuals melt and disappear in this collective personality. Every social organism, like all biological organisms, does not consist of cells of the same type. When organisms develop a little, differences occur in the functions and qualities of the cells. There are also people of different races within the social organism. There are people from superior races, people from harmful races, people of ordinary race. It is necessary to throw them away from the organism. German society cannot stay outside of this rule. Not all Germans come from the superior northern race, but a small minority have superior race, and this race is loved by God. These exalted people are previously appointed to the administration of society. The understanding of race in National Socialism is based on the idea of race unity.[155]

The basic assumptions of racial theory are clearly explained in Mein Kampf. These can be briefly summarized as follows. Firstly, social progress occurs at the end of a struggle for survival in which the most suitable is selected and the weaker is

[155] Ayferi Göze, **Liberal, Marxist, Faşist, Nasyonal Sosyalist ve Sosyal Devlet** (İstanbul: Beta Publisher, 2005) p. 128-129

destroyed. This struggle takes place within a race and thus presents a natural set of elites and it occurs between cultures that describe the innate nature of different races.

Secondly, the hybrid breed that results from the mixture of two races causes degradation in the superior race. Such racial mixes are the cause of cultural, social and political collapse; but the breeds tend to disappear, so the race can purify itself.

Thirdly, although cultural and social institutions define the direct creative forces of race, all higher civilizations or important cultures are the product of a race or of several races. In particular, we can divide races into three types: culturally creative, or Aryan race; culturally bearing races that can take things from other cultures and follow them, but do not create them; and culture-destructive races, especially Jews. Culturally creative races need the help of ordinary and dependent races for jobs such as labor and services.

Fourthly, the idea of self-preservation of the culturally creative Aryan race is not self-protection for reasons of selfishness; it turned into the idea of wanting to protect itself for the benefit of society. According to them; their presence of the Aryan race is in the interests of the whole nation. The main features of the Aryan race are superiority and idealism rather than intelligence.[156]

4.2.2. The Leader *(Der Führer)*

Another essential feature of National Socialism is the existence of the leader culture. Just like the divinity attributed to Duce in Italy, Hitler was the singular Fuhrer in the history of National Socialism. Hitler's position within the party, as well as within the regime, was very central. Hitler as a Führer; was represented and perceived as a representative of the unity of the nation, the justice, the moral values, the interests and the honor of Germany. Hitler was presented as the only person capable of meeting the interests of the German race with his talent and intelligence. The Führer's unlimited, unquestionable and monopoly power was the key element that united, activated and legitimized the National Socialist regime. Hitler, who argued that masses need an idol

[156] George Sabine, **Yakınçağ Siyasal Düşünceler Tarihi,** Trans. Özer Ozankaya (İstanbul: Cem Press, 2003) p. 383-384

to be mobilized and emphasized the importance of popular leader figure at this point, succeed to identify himself with National Socialism.[157]

As it is known, the concept of people has an important place in the concept of western democracy. But the understanding of "people" on which National Socialism is based is different from the people's understanding of democracies. This people (public) concept is a mystical concept. *Führer* is glorified in the broadest manner. Relations between the public and the *Führer* are not similar to that of a normal president of the state. It's not liked a commander's relationship with his soldiers. The relationship between the *Führer* and the people is not based on logic; it is based on a number of illogical mystical concepts. The *Führer* hears all the wishes of the nation in his own self, he determines the historical fate of the nation and the commands that he gives are unquestionably followed. The means of realizing the relationship between the people and the *Führer* is the public vote. The *Führer* asks the public whether he is wanted, and he wants to be empowered. As a result of prior preparations, the results always give that the majority of the public support the *Führer* in public votes. In this case, the state mechanism is nothing more than a vehicle in the hands of the *Führer*.[158]

4.2.3. The State *(Reich)*

All power and authority must be gathered in the Reich (the former German State). The state has an importance above all else. It must be accepted unconditionally for the welfare of the nation.

"That all the foregoing requirements may be realized we demand the creation of a strong central power of the Reich. Unconditional authority of the politically central Parliament over the entire Reich and its organization in general. The formation of Diets and vocational Chambers for the purpose of executing the general laws promulgated by the Reich in the various States of the Confederation. The leaders of the Party swear to proceed regardless of consequences - if necessary, at the sacrifice of their lives - towards the fulfilment of the forgoing points."[159]

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[157] Ian Kershaw, "The Hitler Myth: Image and Reality in the Third Reich". Ed. D. F. Crew, **Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945** (London: Routledge, 1994) p. 202
[158] Murat Sarıca & Rona Aybay, **Faşizm** (İstanbul: İzlem Publisher, 1965) p. 71-72
[159] Robin Blick, **Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement** (London: Steyn Publications, 1975) p. 199-201

According to Nazis, the parliamentary government led to the division of political structure into parties and unstable coalitions. Hence, the real national interests were ignored. Political parties were creating divisions and differences among the people by talking about different ideologies and interests. The national goal would be expressed not by the parties, but by an all-encompassing movement such as Nazism. Nazism, which had a one-party understanding, was therefore against political parties.[160]

4.2.4. Socialism and Nationalism

"In view of the enormous sacrifice of life and property demanded of a nation by every war, personal enrichment through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand therefore the ruthless confiscation of all war profits…We demand that there shall be profit-sharing in the great industries."[161]

According to Hitler, neither capitalism nor Marxism was suited to the spirit of the Germans. Therefore, Marxism as well as capitalism must be considered in analyzing Hitler's views: Hitler's socialism is not a Marxist socialism. On the contrary, it sees Marxist socialism as one of its greatest enemies. Because Marxism is an international teaching based on materialism. National Socialism, on the other hand, is opposed to materialism and is based on extreme nationalism. From this point of view, it is clear that; there are great contradictions between these two doctrines. Even the fact that Karl Marx is a Jew is enough to make Hitler's followers an enemy of his teachings.

Nazism aimed at eliminating class conflicts because class distinctions do not reconcile differences in national unity, and class consciousness is a phenomenon raised by Marx and communist parties. Workers' Unions: These unions expressed the class interests of the working class. According to the Nazi understanding, the working class was no different from other German citizens. Therefore, the working class should not have different interests and demands than other citizens.[162]

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[160] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 172

[161] Robin Blick, **Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement** (London: Steyn Publications, 1975) p. 199-201

[162] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 172

The ideological war against communism served the strategic, economic and geopolitical purposes of Germany. Because Nazism was against not only the communists in the country, but also against Soviet Russia, the homeland of communism. What must be done was to eliminate the German Communist Party and to stop the spread of international communism from Russia.[163]

4.2.5. The Greater German Reich

"We demand the union of all Germans, on the basis of the right of the self-determination of peoples, to form a Great Germany."[164] The whole German nation must be gathered in a large German state, because the different nationalities living in the same geography made it difficult to transport the German blood.

4.2.6. Enlargement Policy and Living Space (*Lebensraum*)

"We demand land and territory for the nourishment of our people and for settling our surplus population."[165] New lands, colonies must be seized to feed the German people and employ the growing population: Here, Hitler clearly shows how he looks at foreign politics. According to Macridis and Hulliung, there are three main reasons for justifying the "enlargement policy" of Nazism. These are ideological, strategic and economic reasons.[166]

The issue referred to as the ideological cause was the desire to create a total system. The policy that must be followed in order to realize this demand would be developed in order to take the neighboring countries under their own ideology and control, and to eliminate any power that can compete with them. In this context, France and Soviet Russia were the first two countries which Nazism had to control and exterminate.

The issue started as a strategic reason for Germany; but Germany, unlike the countries around it, could not expand its colonies and saw itself as a country compressed into Central Europe. That is why Nazism used expansive politics as a vehicle for Germany to become a dominant country all over the world and Berlin to

[163] Ibid, p. 172
[164] Robin Blick, **Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement** (London: Steyn Publications, 1975) p. 199-201
[165] Ibid, p. 199-201
[166] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 175

become the new regal capital. The first thing to do as a starting point was to launch an offensive against England and the Netherlands, which had made great strides in colonization.

The desire to create new "living spaces (*lebensraum*)" can be shown as an economic reason. While World War I created countries that controlled the world's wealth, such as America, England and France, it also caused poverty and proletarianization of some states such as Germany, Italy and Japan. In order to reverse this policy, expansionary politics and pro-war politics were deemed necessary.

4.2.7. Law

"We demand that the Roman Law, which serves the materialistic world order, shall be replaced by a German common law."[167] The Law of Rome must be replaced by the German Law. The law must be in accordance with the spirit of the nation. As a matter of fact, the German legal system was very different from that of England and France. Compared with these countries, the Roman legal system had limited application in the German states. Here, Hitler, acting on such a ground, would use this tendency as an instrument of propaganda for politics.

4.2.8. The Versailles and St. Germain Treaties

"We demand equality of right for the German People in its dealings with other nations, and the abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and St Germain."[168] The Treaty of Versailles had provided great interests to Britain and France, it was an agreement that had to be overtaken and challenged in the name of Germany's freedom and its reputation.[169] Nazis argued that Versailles and St. Germain Treaties should be annulled. The colonies lost by Germany must be returned and freed from the obligations imposed. Because these treaties took away the colonies from Germany, military service was forced out, the numbers of soldiers were reduced, and in addition, heavy war compensation had to be paid.

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[167] Robin Blick, **Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement** (London: Steyn Publications, 1975) p. 199-201
[168] Ibid, p. 199-201
[169] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 172

4.2.9. Propaganda

The NSDAP government was actively and systematically involved in propaganda activities in order to disseminate National Socialism to the masses. The propaganda activities that the Mussolini government had benefited in large measure were pursued more heavily during Hitler's rule and even the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and *Propaganda* was established in 1933 under the direction of Joseph Goebbels. The main purpose of propaganda activities was to convey the principles of National Socialism to the masses through various means such as art, music, theater, film, books, radio, educational documents and press. These activities were interpreted by Hitler as realized for the following purposes; "to gather support, to create the human material for the new doctrine, to announce a doctrine to all members of the nation and to make them accept it."[170] In the direction of these activities, Hitler, aiming to win the support and unquestioning obedience of everyone, tried to prepare the propaganda discourse as far away from the scientific ground as possible, made it simple and unpretentious in order to appeal to all audiences.[171]

The propaganda activities carried out in this direction were applied by using various techniques. For example, when the words of Jewish, communists, liberals and democracy were used in a demeaning language and the fears, hatred, and prejudices of the masses were fueled, the feelings of affection and fraternity of the masses were to be increased in favor of power. In addition, Hitler was often depicted in everyday life in order to provide an integration between the leader and the masses within the activities. Furthermore, there were serious pressures in propaganda activities to prevent certain events, such as criticism of the system and the conduct of the opposition; and if necessary, the correct information was distorted, and violence was used.[172]

As a result of all these efforts, it was aimed to ensure that the masses were not aware of certain facts related to both the power and the events in the country, and to create individuals who cannot question the regime. One of the most intensively used vehicles in the propaganda activities led by Goebbels was cinema. Along with the

[170] Adolf Hitler, **My Battle,** Trans. **E. T. S. Dugdale** (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933) p. 46
[171] Ayferi Göze, **Liberal, Marxist, Faşist, Nasyonal Sosyalist ve Sosyal Devlet** (İstanbul: Beta Publisher, 2005) p. 189
[172] Julius Yourman, **Propaganda Techniques within Nazi Germany** (Journal of Educational Sociology, 13(3), 1939) p. 149-158

"Reich Cinema Law" issued in 1934, a censorship system that encouraged 'good' movies and banned 'bad' movies was introduced.[173]

4.2.10. Press

"That non-Germans shall be prohibited by law from participating financially in or influencing German newspapers, and that the penalty for the contravention of the law shall be suppression of any such newspaper and the immediate deportation of the non-German involved. It must be forbidden to publish newspapers which do not conduce to the national welfare. We demand the legal prosecution of all tendencies in art and literature of a kind likely to disintegrate our life as a nation, and the suppression of institutions which militate against the above-mentioned requirements… We demand legal warfare against conscious political lies and their dissemination in the press."[174]

A genuine German press should be established. The necessity to remove Jewish elements from the German press to establish the German press was expressed.

4.2.11. Education

"With the aim of opening to every capable and industrious German the possibility of higher education and consequent advancement to leading positions the state must consider a thorough reconstruction of our national system of education. The curriculum of all educational establishments must be brought into line with the requirements of practical life. Directly the mind begins to develop the schools must aim at teaching the pupil to understand the idea of the state. We demand the education of specially gifted children of poor parents, whatever their class or occupation, at the expense of the state."[175]

The whole education system must change. The education system should be based on respect for the state and practical knowledge should be given importance.

4.2.12. Religious Beliefs

"We demand liberty for all religious denominations in the state so far as they are not a danger to it, and do not militate against the morality and moral sense of the

[173] David Welch, **Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933–1945** (London: I.B.Tauris Publisher, 2001) p. 13
[174] Robin Blick, **Fascism in Germany: How Hitler Destroyed the World's Most Powerful Labour Movement** (London: Steyn Publications, 1975) p. 199-201
[175] Ibid, p. 199-201

German race. The party, as such, stands for positive Christianity, but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular confession."[176]

Religious beliefs would be released as long as they do not jeopardize the existence of the state and harm the German race.

[176] Ibid, p. 199-201

5. COMPARISON BETWEEN ITALIAN FASCISM AND GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Fascist regimes have common features. These features apply to both Italian fascism, that is the "ideal type" of fascism, and to German Nazism, which is a derivation of Italian fascism. But Hitler and Mussolini never liked the fact that their fascist regimes were compared. Mussolini even expressed this discontent in one of his speeches. "I should be pleased, I suppose, that Hitler has carried out a revolution on our lines. But they are Germans. So, they will end by ruining our idea." Indeed, there are differences between these two regimes that should not be overlooked.

5.1.The Similarities and Differences Between Italy And Germany In Terms of Fascist Regimes

5.1.1. German Racism and Italian Nationalism

The fascist system is based on nationalism. The difference between the two models is that this nationalism is based on culture in Italy, and race in Germany. The racial theme influenced Germany from the social structure to the economic structure and made Germany different from Italy in terms of fascist practices.

The main characteristics that characterize National Socialism are strict racism and antisemitism. Nazism has always emphasized the superiority of the Aryan race and the idea of "Racial Hygiene". But in Italian fascism, there is no racial ideology as in Nazism. The essence of Italian fascism is not racism, but nationalism and patriotism.

Italian Fascism is a form of authoritarian and populist style of administration based on the leading culture and aggressive nationalism. There was the dream of reviving the Roman Empire with imperial ambitions. An attempt was made to create a spirit of unity through the image of external enemies. The desire to meet a good and great nation made it possible for the Italian nation to become more prevalent in its expansionist and militaristic cultural nationalism, which allowed them to consider themselves superior to other nations.

Until 1938, the word "race" was not biologically expressed in Italian fascism. The word race was considered an expression of “nobility”. After 1938, a racist discourse with biological connotations became widespread in fascism.

The idea of racism in Italian Fascism was weaker than in German Nazism. Instead of racist policies based on Hitler's understanding of racial state and blood, a nationalism based on culture was mentioned in Italy, and in this sense, issues such as language and history were emphasized for unity.[177]

Although racist approaches were intensified at some point after the agreement with Germany, where the racial tradition had been strong for years, there was not a superior race ideology in Italy, as in Nazism. However, like Nazism, fascism has a political history full of wars. At this point, however, the German Nazism, which determined and set aside all Eurasia as a habitat for the new order in Europe, had a more ambitious political project than Italian Fascism.

Fascism, unlike Nazism, was not antisemitic in origin. Antisemitism was also included into Italian fascism by German influence. In 1938, after establishing close relations with Germany, Fascist Italy resorted to repressive measures against the Jews, making anti-Semitic laws for the first time. But antisemitism in Italy never reached the levels of Germany.[178] While the Nazi regime massacred the Jews, the Italian fascists used different methods such as confiscation and deportation.

5.1.2. The Perception of the State

In Germany and Italy, the political structures of fascist state practices were almost similar. The main difference is the interpretation of the state. In the case of the Italian example, the aim is the state. In the German case, the state is an instrument for maintaining superior Aryan racism. Indeed, this difference between Nazism and fascism stems from the difference in the perception of the concept of the "state" of Germans and Italians. This conservative politics influenced all areas in Germany. Hitler shaped his whole policy on the concept of race and never hesitated to put this idea into practice.

[177] Hatice Birsen Örs, **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler,** 4th ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2008) p. 508
[178] Aydın Yalçın, **Faşizmin Doğuşu** (Ankara: Ekonomik ve Sosyal Press, 1978) p. 65

In Nazism under the leadership of Hitler, since there was a racial state based on the superiority of the white German race and a *Volkisch*-society conception, other nations were denied within the borders of the country. In the words of Hitler, "*volkisch*-society depends on blood and racism, not on the citizenship established within certain borders or geographical regions."[179] "The task of the race state is to ensure the existence of the race and its consolidation."[180]

According to the Italians fascists, the state is not created by the nations, on the contrary, the nation is created by the state.[181] And not only the Italians, but all the people who agreed to live within the borders of that state, were included into this understanding of nation. Thus, fascist actions continued without racial discrimination in Fascist Italy.

In the framework of the "New Order" / "New World Order" concept developed by Hitler, the German Nazis aimed to bring together people from all around the world from the Aryan race, especially in Europe, within the borders of Germany. Hitler imagined a hierarchical world to be established under the hegemony of the Aryan race and accepted the race principle as its basis and called it the "New Order". Acting from the two German kingdoms that had been established and demolished, Nazi Germany was called the "Third *Reich*", the Third Kingdom. The Third Reich would go on for a thousand years and replace the existing order in Europe with the New Order.

The Third Reich era in Germany represented the fascist state. Together with Italy, this period in Germany provided a very clear example to understand the basic features of fascism. The defining characteristics of the National Socialist regime are that Hitler's power represents a radical break with Italy's fascism. Differing in the axis of national identity, both regimes resorted to similar ideal arrangements, violence, terrorism and propaganda activities they developed with a nationalist drive. With the political policies aimed for racial unity in Germany, the fate of each German citizen became tightly connected to the *Volksgemeinschaft* and Hitler's rule became more intolerant and hostile to 'foreigners'.

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[179] Osman Öndeş, **Yabancıların Gözüyle Hitler. Dünyanın Hitler'e Bakışı** (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Publisher, 1989) p. 89

[180] Adolf Hitler, **My Battle,** Trans. **E. T. S. Dugdale** (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933) p. 328

[181] Benitto Mussolini, **Faşizm,** 1st issue, trans. Vedad L. Ersan (İstanbul: Kağan Bookstore, 1966) p. 13

The Italian fascists, rather than Hitler's concept of a “race state”, were aiming to bring the old elite together and to revitalize a powerful state based on traditional power, or rather the revival of the Roman Empire. Mussolini, with the aim of recreating the old Roman Empire in the Mediterranean, and with a myth of the golden age, made it possible to adopt the expansionist idea of nationalism. Mussolini consistently emphasized Italy's glorious past with references to ancient Rome.[182]

5.1.3. The Political Order and One-Party Rule

Fascist system is based on one-party rule. Fascism in Italy and Germany had common hostility to the parliamentary regime. Both Mussolini and Hitler made it clear that they did not trust the parliamentary system and made initiatives in order to disqualify the parliamentary establishment. Both leaders did not hesitate to describe this parliamentary regime as a deteriorating regime.

In the Italian case, although not fully parliamentary, new assemblies were formed, namely the Great Fascist Council and the National Assembly of Corporations. The Great Fascist Assembly was like a party organization in terms of its qualities as it consisted of members of the National Fascist Party. In addition, the fact that all the members of the National Assembly of Corporations were members of the National Fascist Party, also clearly demonstrates the party-state integration in Italy.

Although there are political representatives in the Italian and German fascist systems; the rule of a single-party political structure in two countries removes the meaning of these political institutions. In the case of Italy, these institutions could not go beyond being consultative structures, and the influence of the leader on the state structure remained the same.

The leader in the fascist system is the most important authority and the party is of secondary importance. Italian Fascism is based on a one-party system as in all totalitarian regimes. The state is fully united with this single party, which advocates acting in the interests of all people. Because only in this way the state can be fully captured, and the opposition can be destroyed.

[182] Stephen J. Lee, **Avrupa Tarihinden Kesitler, 1789-1980**, Trans. S. Aktur (Ankara: Publisher, 2002) p. 216

Nazism clearly emphasized the superiority of the party over the state. As a result, the Nazis destroyed the old normative and institutional systems. Parliament, the most important organ of the traditional state, was abolished. The leader of the Nazi Party was the only authority that decided on all areas of government policy. Although the Italian fascists developed new institutions, no major changes were made to the existing order.

Another noteworthy difference was that the Italian fascists were trying to put the state on a corporatist structure both economically and politically. Nazism, on the other hand, did not attempt to establish even a superficial corporatism. Corporatism is a form of social organization in which only important institutions and organizations under the control of the state are involved in the taking of important economic and political decisions concerning the society, where the individual activity is lost, or the individual can participate in the decision-making process only through these organizations and in a limited manner.

In Mussolini's words, Nazism is different from fascism in terms of the way it seizes power. Mussolini seized the power with the organization of the March on Rome. In other words, Fascism came to power through coup d'état.[183] National Socialism, however, was not revolutionary. Nazism didn't to seize power by force. Hitler wanted to take over the administration within the limits of legitimacy, and he succeed. The Nazis could not prepare a Constitution of their own. However, in Fascist Italy in 1926, the Constitution emerged, which envisaged the establishment of the state institution on a corporate basis.[184]

Italian Fascism had a corporate economic system. In this context, the economic structure is divided into sectors, which are called corporations, and it is ensured that these sectors act under the strict authority of the state. Italian Fascism has the claim that class conflicts are to be eliminated by this economic system.[185]

[183] Benitto Mussolini, **Faşizm,** 1st issue, trans. Vedad L. Ersan (İstanbul: Kağan Bookstore, 1966) p. 24
[184] Aydın Yalçın, **Faşizmin Doğuşu** (Ankara: Ekonomik ve Sosyal Press, 1978) p. 63
[185] Hatice Birsen Örs, **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler,** 4th ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2008) p. 501

5.1.4. Economy and the Social Classes

The fascist system, which attached great importance to the centralization of the economy, led to the formation of corporations in Italy. But Germany did not create such a clear economic order. Both models did not have a fixed plan on a fascist model, so the economic order failed to deliver the intended results. Especially for the German example, it can be said that it did not have a specific economic system. Since Hitler predominantly adopted a racist policy, the system lacked economic developments. While fascism was in power in Italy, it made some positive and negative changes in the lives of all social classes. In this process, for example, the experiences of fascism of the middle classes, which became disadvantaged with the strengthening of the capitalist class, resulted in different forms, as a result of policies that encouraged the development of the industry.

As the economic and political situation worsened, the tendency to vote for a large and powerful national party that protected interests rather than a small and weak party increased. A large part of the Nazi's votes came from the middle class. But NSDAP was not only a middle-class party. The Hitler movement could be claimed to have received votes from all over the society.[186] Thus, the Nazis, who addressed all "races" rather than certain classes or groups, were supported by those under economic pressure. One of the most important features of National Socialism, the slogan of anti-Semitism, was able to bring together even the most contradictory classes such as the bourgeoisie and the lower layers of society.[187]

The working class was never at the forefront of this system and suffered further under the system. Although the fascist system appears to represent the petty bourgeoisie and the working class, it was in the interest of the bourgeoisie in all its practical matters. In fact, fascist ideology, in the example of both countries, played a dual role before coming to power and received great support from the workers. But nothing happened in favor of the workers, and the workers became even more oppressed. It is obvious that the financial support of the capitalist system and the big industrialists are influential in the development of fascist power.

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[186] Ian Kershaw, "The Hitler Myth: Image and Reality in the Third Reich". Ed. D. F. Crew, **Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945** (London: Routledge, 1994) p. 353

[187] Ernesto Laclau, **İdeoloji ve Politika** (İstanbul: Belge Publisher, 1998) p. 105

The capitalist class supported fascism for the protection of its own interests and as a result of this support secured their interests by establishing a totalitarian order that ruled the whole society with one-man administration and prevented any rebellion and social development from taking place. Because of this feature, it can be said that fascism established a reactionary dictatorship which prevented social changes and repressed class conflicts. Especially after the First World War, capitalists which gave vital importance to the prevention of the socialist revolutionary spirit which was rising both in Italy and Germany, took the responsibility of the task of fighting against socialism.

Thanks to the existence of the anti-doctrinal attitudes, fascist movements could easily associate with all classes in society and could engage people from different classes with different propaganda activities. Fascism, as demonstrated by the studies of theoretical fascism, provides necessary financial support to maintain the interests of the capitalist class on the one hand and to stay in power. On the other hand, it provides a material and spiritual foundation to the middle classes in economic and social disadvantages. Especially with the antisocialist stance, social classes with different interests were enabled to be associated with each other. Along with the goal of realizing economic interests, which is the main motivation of the capitalist class, the strengthening of the socialist movements outside the borders also led to the rapid support of the fascist forces.[188]

5.1.5. Anti-Individualism - Individuals as a Part of Living Organism

Hitler and Mussolini demanded a unification and "nation at arms" so that they could continue their war. At the same time, these two leaders demanded the rejection of pluralist views and identities. National unity and integrity are important factors in national socialism and fascism. In addition, they define not only an external enemy that threatens their troops, but also an internal enemy. Both Hitler and Mussolini expressed that the contents and designs of the ideologies should be absolute, unique and in possession of the power of every aspect of life. This ideology should control any individualism that can work against a collective, homogenous spirituality based on national unity.[189]

[188] Çetin Özek, **Direnen Faşizm** (İstanbul: İzlem Publisher, 1966) p. 180
[189] John Rawls, **Collected Papers** (USA, Harward University Press, 1999) p. 361-362.

In both systems, which are considered as repressive, the individual has no rights of defense against the state. Individuals are dissolved in these state models. The individual does not have the freedom to defend himself/herself against the state or to provide protection from the state. The individuals are only obliged to fulfill the assignments given to them and they gain meaning in the context of the assignments they have fulfilled.

In Hitler's words, Homogeneous consciousness is a necessary instrument for the "*volk*'s state". Hitler explained that the importance of the mind is greater than the agreements, the walls or the weapons. According to Hitler, the minds of people were the "living walls" of men and women. Those people who loved their homeland and who had nationalistic enthusiasm could be used as a tool to achieve Nazism's purposes.[190]

In Italian Fascism, the state was blessed extensively, and as a distinctive feature of totalitarian regimes, people were seen as dependent on the state; all educational and propaganda possibilities were being used for this purpose, that is, to increase people's commitment to the state and to emphasize the importance of the state. Furthermore, the person who was regarded as a servant of the state was meaningful only as a part of the society.

The purpose of the fascist rule in Italy was to create submissive masses by controlling the views of the individuals and to intervene directly in the social life with an anti-freedom attitude which imposed a single type. The role of the human element was a function of the state. In fascism, the assumption that democracy will lead to the emergence of anarchy in society is dominant. The important thing is to provide social discipline and to direct people in the desired way.

5.1.6. Leadership

Another difference lies in understanding the concept of the leadership. In the fascist system, the state is oppressive, totalitarian and central. This centralism is formed under the concept of the leader. Both fascism and Nazism were based on the discipline of a strict leader. In both models, leaders are the highest authority. Just like Nazism, there is a kind of charismatic leadership in Italian Fascism. It provides a form

[190] Adolf Hitler, **My Battle,** Trans. **E. T. S. Dugdale** (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933) p. 426–428.

of government based on the existence of a strong leader. In Nazism, the decision-making authority over state affairs only belonged to the *Führer*. The *Führer* was regarded as an unquestionable authority in every field. With this privilege of the leader, the *Führer* in Germany appears to be a little ahead of the *Duce* of Italy. However, this situation did not result in the leader being the only man to stand out in the Italian example. In the fascist system, the King and the Grand Fascist Council *(Gran Consiglio del Fascismo)* were able to influence politics in the production and implementation of the policies, even if the leader *(il Duce)* had a broad authority and was seen as the eternal guide of the Italian nation. Thus, while the power of the *Führer* in Nazi Germany was uncontrolled and unrestrained, *Duce,* in Fascist Italy, even though ideologically in the foreground, was also accompanied by the Great Fascist Council and the King. The reason why the leader is kept in the foreground in Germany is due to the importance given to the "race" by National Socialism. Because, according to the National Socialist doctrine, the existence of a leader who guides the German race is imperative.

5.1.7. Romanticism

The Italian Fascism shared essentially the same objectives with Nazism. Among the goals of both was to revise the resulting regulations of the First World War once again. In both regimes, a version of the capitalist system based on bourgeois rule were to be developed, subject to state control. The ideological infrastructure on which these two movements were based and developed in the opposite sense of positivism and materialism and had a romantic character. Both promised a utopian future. In addition, both movements approached politics with a skeptical point of view, placing movements above the parties.

The *Volk* ideology of Nazism was intended to be against the Enlightenment.[191] Every change that was brought about by the Enlightenment was perceived as corruption and decay in society. The closest artistic approach to this period was Romanticism." In Nazi propaganda, from the sensuous statements towards the nation to the farmer ideology that praised rural life, Nazism followed the path of

[191] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 157

Romanticism. At the same time, romantic tradition spread nationalist mysticism which is the basis for popular culture.[192]

5.1.8. Propaganda

The propaganda used as a political instrument showed its effectiveness in cultural and social life in different ways in Germany and Italy. While Germany managed to use propaganda effectively, Italy was not as successful as Germany. Because when Hitler seized power, he brought Goebbels to the Ministry of Propaganda and created a monopolistic control mechanism on culture.

Hitler and Mussolini not only used the activist and unifying propaganda as a technical device, but also propaganda was used to create a "worldview" in which people were motivated. If people create an opinion with their own reasoning in the direction of the motives and legends created with the help of the state propaganda, they would have the common goals with the state and in order to reach these goals, people would be more motivated; thus, the state could easily reach its objectives. Their primary purpose was to win the support of the masses by transforming the consciousness of the public into a desirable and formable collective form. According to Nazis, propaganda should reinforce the goal, which is based on a calculated design and serves and adapts to the public. This can be accomplished by exceeding the pseudo-uniqueness emanating from the attributes of the collective, by transforming them into an elite group, a nation-state, or a race-state, inspiring them to gather around a historical narrative.[193]

The Nazis tried to maintain their influence even in the everyday life of the Germans as a totalitarian regime. This policy became so widespread that even new celebration days were announced in Germany. Hitler's birthday, April 20, was declared Hitler's Day; Hitler's mother's birthday became German Mother's Day; November 9, the Day of Remembrance of the Deaths Who Fought for National Socialism; and the day when Hitler became Chancellor was celebrated on June 30.[194]

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[192] George Mosse, **The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism** (New York: Howard Fertig Inc., 1999) p. 23
[193] Georges Sorel, **Reflections on Violence** (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 51
[194] Richard J. Overy, **The Dictators: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia** (W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2004) p. 377

5.1.9. Youth and Education

In the structure of fascist society, youth and youth organizations have an important place; and this applies to both Italy and Germany. The future of the system was considered to be in the hands of this young group. Fascist ideology qualified itself as "young", and through this discourse made efforts to influence young people and include them within the system. Thus, in Italy and Germany, young people between the ages of 7-8 were included in fascist organizations. The young people who passed the age of adolescence, became members of the Fascist and Nazi Parties with ceremonies.

In fascism, education was used for propaganda purposes. The only difference between Italy and Germany is that race has a significant impact on education in Germany. Despite this difference, both systems had structures that were anti-intellectual and far from individualism.

Fascism was trying to direct young people to technical education rather than university education. This situation was caused by the anti-intellectual structure and also the conservative understanding of fascism about the status changes that would be gained through higher education.[195] Rather than creating an intellectual future, it was important to raise the fascist order in Italy and to establish racial insight in Germany. The fact that Germany's curriculum was based on a racist basis and that in Italy male students could carry weapons in schools and that teachers would wear fascist uniforms is an example of this anti-intellectual education form.

The Italian Fascism, which had an anti-intellectual and violent discourse, instead of addressing the mind, appealed to beliefs and emotions and was based on action. It also used the myths, symbols, rituals, anthems and slogans very successfully and intensively, so even if it was a weak ideology in terms of internal consistency, it could still attract the masses.

In the German education system under the Nazi regime, the race element was in the forefront. German students had non-scientific biology lessons. The lessons were in a racist form that made the Germans look superior. Nazi training involved physical education rather than intellectual content. Creating a pure and healthy race was perceived as more important than creating an intellectual young population. The Nazi

[195] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 68

education system was also trying to keep students away from a sense of individuality. The goal was to create a Nazi youth who would see his country above himself, keep national interests above his individual interests.

The education system served to create a homogeneous consciousness. In line with their pragmatic educational goals, both Hitler and Mussolini completely rejected the aims of the liberal social democratic worldview, which was in the process of advancing individual thought. According to Hitler, this kind of intellectual thought gave rise to the cowardly approach of the social democratic revolution and its leadership. This would not have happened if they had educated men with the pragmatic education methods instead of intellectual higher education professions such in law, journalism and professorships. Education in fascist administration was not aimed at improving mental open-mindedness and thinking. Instead, it was more important to acquire some pragmatic skills and the society gained some skills, such as those required in technology, industry and commerce, through a pragmatic educational program encouraged by the state.[196] The aim of education in schools was not to teach knowledge, but to educate citizens who were loyal to the state by imposing state ideology through education.

5.1.10. Culture

Italy did not have a common culture or even a common language. Local dialects were maintaining their existence. The combination of small towns and surrounding areas could not easily be changed with a commitment to the newly created Italy. There was a continuing hostility between the industrialized North and the rural South. As a nationalist, Mussolini wanted to create a national consciousness and an Italian nation, and the instrument he used to do so was the Italian state.[197]

The ministry of propaganda, which the fascists could not create in a decade, was created under the Nazi regime, by bringing Goebbels' Public Enlightenment and Propaganda Ministry in 1933.[198] Thus a cultural monopoly was created under Hitler's control. This monopoly was felt in every field from art to architecture. Under the Nazi regime, all modern arts were called Jewish-Bolshevik, and the works subjected to

[196] Adolf Hitler, **My Battle,** Trans. **E. T. S. Dugdale** (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933) p. 410-419
[197] Andrew Heywood, **Political Ideologies** (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 2003) p. 224
[198] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 72

expulsion from all kinds of exhibitions, regardless of the school or race of the artist. As a matter of fact, the Nazis supported the destruction of the works they were against.[199]

Both fascism and Nazism were against internationalism in culture and art. The aim of these regimes in this context was to reinforce traditional nationalism in culture and art. [200] At a meeting in May 1933, Goebbels pointed out that the purpose of politics was to eradicate internationalism from the arts, to stop the activities of the Jews, who were the agents of internationalization, and to make nationalism a great idea that would guide the cultural life.[201] But one of the most distinguishing feature of Nazism from Fascism was the return to nationalism in Nazism.

Goebbels emphasized that film and radio were very important in creating a unique culture.[202] For this reason, various films were made for propaganda purposes, praising the Hitler regime. The influence of the radio in the Italian control was not very effective because of the poverty of the country. As a matter of fact, the number of radio recordings in Germany reached 12 million in 1939, while in Italy it was 1.2 million.[203]

The Ministry of Culture was established in 1937 in Italy. It created a centralized control mechanism on film, newspaper and radio. But the same censorship could not be applied on literature and academic structures. Hence, between the early 1920s and early 1930s, the circulation of Bolshevik economists, American writers and European radical works were not hindered.[204]

In general, while the Nazis allowed classical cultures, they set a ban against modern culture. As a matter of fact, since 1933, all modern culture including impressionism, futurism, cubism, Dadaism were accepted as an enemy of the *"Volk",* and these cultural movements were defined as inhuman.

[199] Ibid, p. 72
[200] Ibid, p. 68
[201] Lionel Richard, **Nazizm ve Kültür** (Ankara: Kalem Publisher, 1985) p. 95
[202] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 61
[203] Ibid, p. 60
[204] Ibid, p. 70

According to critics, Fascism is not a reaction to modernity but is characterized by regeneration and re-enlightenment.[205] Mussolini's failure to give up futurism is one of the best examples to reflect upon.

On February 20, 1909, the Italian author Filippo Tomasso Marinetti announced the Futurist Manifesto, a new art, politics and lifestyle on the front page of Le Figaro. Futurism is a literary movement that advocated that life is in a continuous process of change and that art needed to find new forms, new ways of expression and possibilities for this rapid change in life, leaving all established rules aside. This trend, which advocated industrial illegitimacy, soon became one of the greatest supporters of Italian fascism. Futurism was not just a revolt against art and literature. It also aimed to change the structure of society. Because the idea of supporting futurism praised aggression at the same time. After the publication of the Manifesto, the increasing threat of warfare increased the interest of futurists in nationalist aggression. In the Futurist Manifesto he published, Marinetti exalted the concepts of war, "the world's only hygiene method", militarism and patriotism.

After the First World War, Marinetti did not want to fall apart from the rising fascist movement of Mussolini. He published the brochure *"Futurismo e Fascismo"* (Futurism and Fascism). Thus, the current that he initiated became an open supporter and a part of fascism.

A strong image of Italy was also created in urban architecture. Especially, Rome was rebuilt in a grand, splendid architectural style with the aim of making it a city admired by the world.[206] Nazism used classical style in architectural structures by rejecting the international architectural style. Hitler was determined to erase the traces of everything that was against his regime, and he mercilessly destroyed the architectural works from the previous period, especially during the war.

The difference between Fascist and Nazi cultural politics can be understood by looking at the difference between the number of exiles between Italy and Germany. Contrary to Germany, only a few intellectuals and artists left Italy.[207]

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[205] Andrew Heywood, **Political Ideologies** (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan Publisher, 2003) p. 223

[206] Hatice Birsen Örs, **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler,** 4th ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2008) p. 485-486

[207] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 73

The control mechanism on culture also led to the clash of different forces in Italy. The influence of the Ministry of Culture was limited in some areas, and the influence of the Ministry of National Education, established after 1937, was felt a little more. Apart from the government, however, the Catholic Church also established its own cultural network. The influence of these so-called independent voices on culture caused the Fascists to remain constantly divided on issues such as modernity-traditionalism and on relations between American-European culture and Italy.[208]

5.1.11. Population

The population for the fascist system is an element that needs to grow. In the colonialist structure of the fascist system, majority means superiority. Both models have taken various measures to increase the population. According to Mussolini, for example, the increasing number of children would increase the power of the state.[209] They aimed to increase the birth rate and reduce the mortality rate with health policies such as giving premiums to women with a large number of children; however, they received a special tax from single women.[210] Because Italy perceived nationalism as different from Germany, it did not adopt a racist policy in the context of population growth.

From 1934 onwards, Mussolini was disturbed by the state of the population. The population was not growing, it was even decreasing. Even though the birth rate was 27.5 in 1927, it had dropped to 23.4 in 1934. Mussolini insisted on the importance of the population and tried to convince the Italians to make children in order to overcome the decline in births. In his revolutionary speech in 1934, he warned the people and said that, "If we fall in numbers, we will not be able to establish the empire, we will turn into a colony."[211]

The population had an important place in Hitler's program as well. Germany tried to increase the population under the concept of race. The population that was constantly moving between urban and rural areas was a concern. The expansionist policy was also shaped by an interest in the population who lived beyond the German

[208] Ibid, p. 70
[209] Maria Macciocchi, "Gramsci ve Faşizm Sorunu", **Faşizmin Analizi,** ed. Maria Macchiocci, trans. Cemal Süreya, (İstanbul: Payel, 1977) p.136
[210] Hatice Birsen Örs, **19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasal İdeolojiler,** 4th ed. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Publisher, 2008) p.502
[211] Macciocchi, Ibid, p.162

territory. Therefore, wider territories were needed to bring that population to the German borders. Although, according to Hitler, the land was not competent to provide a rural and self-sustaining life for the population, studies on population growth were made. While decreasing the unsolicited Jewish population with the deaths of exiles and concentration camps, the rise of the superior race population, and the creation of the pure future of Aryans constituted an important place in the Hitler regime. Despite the fact that the amount of land is a negative factor; Hitler had never given up on the idea of increasing the population and preferred to acquire the geographical area necessary for the growing population, with an expanding policy understanding.

Population experts were interested in increasing the fertility rates, especially among urban groups. Some measures were taken regarding this situation. The fathers who had large families were supported by the state and provided public employment. Unmarried people had to pay additional taxes. Moreover, contraception and abortion were punished very strictly.[212]

The maintenance of the conservative structure coincided with the bourgeois values of the fascist and National Socialist groups. The family also played an important role in the preservation and maintenance of the conservative structure, both in Italy and in Germany. In this sense, fascism made woman a base for the family and imposed sanctions on singles who did not prefer to have families. At the same time, the family was seen as the only way to increase the population. The reason for the difference between family concepts of the two countries is that religion had an influence on family structure in Italy and that the concept of race is effective in Germany. In Italy, Catholicism was against divorce, while in Germany, interracial marriages were not accepted.

5.1.12. Women

Fascist view always suggests that class differences are artificial and superficial, but biologically determined sex remains unchanged.[213] As a result, these regimes never took any measures for gender inequality, and they tried to make these differences even more evident.

[212] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 58
[213] Ibid, p. 35

A striking feature of Italian Fascism is that it is a male dominated movement. There were women at the San Sepulchro meeting in 1919, when the "*Fasci di Combattimento*" (fighting leagues) were established. However, as more violence was used over time, the proportion of women among members would be no more than 1% or 2%.[214]

In both models, women were glorified as mothers who produced future generations for fascism and both models tried to get women out of the labor force, so that they would not move away from this maternity mission. Hitler tried to remove the female population from the workforce but because of the declining labor force after the war and genocide, women were forced to work in the traditional model of agricultural production, a contradiction of aims. The characteristics that Mussolini and Hitler attributed to women did not always coincide. Both leaders attributed maternity responsibilities to women, but while Mussolini described women as "second-class Italian citizens," Hitler had no such explanation.

The idea of inequality between men and women, generally accepted by Hitler's National Socialist movement, is one of the most fundamental ideas underlying the behaviors towards women. Moreover, the most prominent and radical element of the National Socialist's discourse and its practices towards women is related to its racist discourse. In other words, the aim of preserving the purity of the race, which is the most important factor in determining the political decisions of Hitler's government, the responsibilities attributed to women and attitudes towards them constitute the main motivation source. The most important task of women in the context of Nazi ideology is "motherhood". The reason for this is that the family is one of the most basic tools that Nazism uses to convey its ideology to the people. Because, through the family, the regime was able to control all individuals.

Mussolini's demand for population growth made Mussolini's point of view on women always limited to women's reproductive and maternal duties. Legal regulations were made in policies to remove women from labor.

[214] Michael Mann, **Fascists** (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p. 101

5.1.13. Religion

In the fascist system, religion is an element to be neutralized in the system. In no way could Italy succeed in doing so, Germany at least managed to keep this effect out of the system. However, in both models, the fascist system used religion for its own interests.

Fascism, reconciled with the church, maintained its alliance with the church, especially at the point where women are imprisoned under the responsibility of being "mothers" in their homes, where women were not employed and the masses of ignorant peasants were controlled.[215] Mussolini never completely destroyed Pope's influence.[216] Moreover, the fascist regime confronted with a national church with a strong influence in all social areas of life, from high culture to popular tradition and morality.[217]

Fascism was an anti-clerical structure in Protestant-dominated Germany and was more attentive to racist practices. On the other hand, fascism in Catholic Italy displayed a more respectful attitude to religion. The effectiveness of the fascist regime is based on intellectual fortitude and manipulation and dominance over people in every aspect of life to maintain power.

Religious groups were as distant to the Nazis as possible.[218] Nevertheless, the Nazis intended to remove all religious groups, except for the Catholic and Lutheran Churches, and to put these two churches under their control. Nazism needed a religion within the propaganda that would support the individuals to sacrifice themselves for the land.

5.1.14. Militarism

Both Italian and German fascist leaders rejected the “universal embrace” associated with the humanist worldview with the same way of thinking. Mussolini thought that this humanist worldview was against nationalism and was responsible for the fall of the nation. In fascist ideology, the concept of universal embrace has no place. In line with the ideology of fascism, it creates an enemy that would threaten its own superiority and unity. People, as a member of their community, must protect their

[215] Maria Macciocchi, “Gramsci ve Faşizm Sorunu”, **Faşizmin Analizi,** ed. Maria Macchiocci, trans. Cemal Süreya, (İstanbul: Payel, 1977) p.136
[216] Heinz Lubasz, **Fascism: Three Major Regimes** (New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1973) p. 48
[217] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 55
[218] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 178

troops against enemies and be vigilant. They should not allow the enemies to deceive them with their misleading views. This is the exact opposite of the concept of universal embrace. This common point of view is also evidenced by the ideas of the Nazis and the Italian Fascists. Thus, military power and militarized nations were at the center of both states.[219]

As a result of the perspective that perceived the world as a battlefield between the people which created the concept of the enemy and rejected the universal embrace; the armed forces were considered natural and necessary by both Fascism and Nazism. Both Hitler and Mussolini agreed that militarism was based on natural laws. The shared vision of Hitler and Mussolini's view of the inequality of different groups and a vision based on the survival of the strongest people, their own nation, constituted the basis of the militaristic stance.[220] The nations sought to ensure their existence, to survive and to protect their lands from external influences. According to Hitler, Lebensraum was a natural need and humanitarian law.[221]

The army had an independent and important place for both Italy and Germany. However, the importance of the army was different for the two models. Mussolini did not give much importance to the army until the Second World War. But with the Nazis' expanding power and expansionism in Germany, Mussolini also increased the value he gave to the army. the tendency to move with Germany is the reason for the change in Mussolini's attitude.

In Italy, the army was able to perform certain tasks, such as providing order and training soldiers. In this respect, the army provided an independent status under the fascist regime.[222] Mussolini thought it would be harmful to involve the army in politics. According to Mussolini, officers should only engage in their own duties. The army should not be dragged into political currents.[223]

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[219] Mussolini, **Fascism: Doctrine and Institutions**, p. 20
[220] Adolf Hitler, **My Battle,** Trans. **E. T. S. Dugdale** (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933) p. 135
[221] Raoul De Roussy de Sales, **Hitler: My New Order** (London, Octagon Press, 1973) p. 103
[222] Alexander Degrand, **Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany** (London: Routledge, 1917) p. 38
[223] Benitto Mussolini, **Faşizm-Faşist Devlet** Trans. Serhat Toker & Mine Tekin (İstanbul: Toker Publisher, 1998) p. 132

In Nazi ideology, the army had the idea that it would regain its power and regain its old strength under the Nazi regime. The army's desire played an active role in society and the Nazis fulfilled their demands to a large extent.[224]

Mussolini's power was overthrown by internal forces, and the Italian fascists were not judged on an international platform compared to the Nazis. The number of political victims of Italian fascism is significantly less than that of Nazism. As the fascist regime killed and executed its opponents, the imposition of the death penalty against opponents was relatively rare in Italy.

[224] Roy Macridis, Mark Hulliung, **Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements and Regimes** (New York: HarperCollins Publisher Inc., 1996) p. 177

6. CONCLUSION

Fascism has been one of the most fundamental forces that control European politics, especially in the period between the First World War and the Second World War. During this period, fascism shaped the destiny of millions of people. As an important phenomenon, fascism has been the subject of intense academic interest and has been subject to many different evaluations. Studies for analyzing fascism started with the emergence of fascism for the first time in Italy. From this period onwards, many different elements of fascist essence have been introduced and many different definitions of the concept have been made.

Throughout the study, the basic elements of the fascist state system and the differences and similarities of the two modes of practice, Italy and Germany, were discussed. The aim of this study was to survey, first in Italy and later in Germany, the conditions and situations that gave birth to fascism after the First World War. After fascism came to power, the domestic and foreign policies of both countries were presented in the perspective of time. It has been suggested that the main differences of Italian Fascism and German National Socialism emerged with the practices in the process of constructing the power of the state. A comprehensive comparison was made between Italian Fascism and German National Socialism on the important aspects of the state administration and social life.

Fascism is a political ideology based on the authoritarian or totalitarian state. In the example of Italian fascism, the authoritarian state is seen as a state with the other institutions such as parliament, church and the military forces. In the example of German national socialism, the totalitarian state is seen where all powers are under state control and there is no authority against the authority of the state. The Fascist Party, founded by Benito Mussolini, became a model for many nationalist ideologies by increasing its visibility and influence in the country's politics after coming to power in Italy. With movements such as national socialism which have taken Mussolini's system as an example, fascism has become a powerful ideology.

Fascist ideologies have some common features in terms of the situation and the historical period in which they emerged. During World War I, the first fascist movements were inspired by nationalist workers' movements in Italy. Fascism is considered an extreme right-wing totalitarianism that combines some leftist ideas and nationalist ideologies. It can be described as an ideology that opposes communism, Marxist socialism, democratic and liberal order. Although fascism is generally placed on the far right in the political spectrum, it has been argued by political scientists that this definition is not sufficient. The view from the extreme right ideology is that it is revolutionary and is an advocate for innovation. However, rather than being revolutionary, fascism is more prone to maintaining the old form of the nation. Fascist ideology favors a totalitarian political power and management style because it assumes that freedom in society increases internal conflict and harms the nation.

In Germany and Italy, fascist administrations initially came to power in a democratic way. Fascism, known as an anti-democratic system, came to power by using democracy and thus prevented possible reactions. After coming to power in both Germany and Italy, it became a regime that completely rejected democracy. These administrations, known as repressive regimes, were supported by the majority of the people of the country they were in, especially in Germany. The aim of fascism is to integrate a society under the notions of unity and solidarity, national values and historical consciousness. Although it is patriotic and nationalist, it can reach racist dimensions especially in national socialism. The adoption of nationalist or racist ideas varies by country; for example, while the concept of “Italian citizenship” is in the forefront in Italian fascism, the idea of “carrying German blood” is in the foreground in the German national socialism. Mussolini's doctrine emphasizes the concept of citizenship, while Hitler's doctrine emphasizes blood ties. While Italian fascism was mostly nationalist, German national socialism is racist.

According to the fascists who were led by Mussolini, the state was integrated into the nation and not only the Italians, but all the people who accepted to live within the boundaries of that state were taken into consideration. For this reason, fascist actions were carried out without race discrimination. In Nazism led by Hitler, other nations were denied at the borders of the state because of the understanding of a nation and state based on the superiority of the German race. According to Nazism, the Aryan race is superior to all other races and nations, so the main purpose of the Nazis is to

gather people from around the world and especially the Aryan race from the Europe, to the land of the German people. Contrary to Nazism, Fascism is not antisemitic in origin. Antisemitism became a part of Fascism with the German influence after Italy allied itself with Germany.

When the general evaluation of the fascist state system is made, it is seen that there is a totalitarian and authoritarian system in which the individual is not accepted as a value or an asset. Fascism is based on a strict discipline like Nazism. However, this has no radical consequences as in the German dictatorship. Duce is brought forward in the forefront of the ideological front, but the Great Fascist Assembly and the king are also having authority. Italian fascism is much more based on the reconciliation of sovereignty of the elites of the old monarchy, of the military, of the industry and of the church. Nazism eliminated the relationship with traditional social strata in a short period of time. In Nazism, the party's superiority over the state is clearly emphasized. As a result, the Nazis abolished the former normal and institutional systems. On the other hand, the Italian fascists have developed new institutions, but they have not dealt with the existing order.

Fascism has a structure that is contrary to the principles of individualism, liberalism and rationality which are identified with the modern period. Rationalism, which is one of the principles that modern society contains, aims to establish a humanity based on the individual. Even the principle of equality was derived from this situation. The modern society was suppressing the sense of hierarchy in the social order. In other words, modern democracy has declared formal equality of individuals. In contrast to this understanding of the modern society, in fascism a person gains value and assets according to the functions it performs in the society. It is not accepted in fascist ideology that the person is free and equal from birth. According to fascist ideology, people are social or communal creatures by creation. The concept of absolute inequality is the founding idea of fascist theory because according to fascism, by nature, humans are not biologically equal. People do not have the rights and freedoms they can defend against the state. The state manages all the activities of the person, loads duties to the person and expects absolute obedience from them. This inequality also exists between races, some races are inferior, others are superior; and also, inequality exist within races, for example, only some people in the Aryan race has the ability to manage others.

The rise of fascism, which came into prominence in the period of Critical Theory, was considered by the Critical Theorists as the peak point of the Enlightenment process. According to critical theorists, Enlightenment is a process that aims at each individual to have critical thinking capacity. Thus, individuals will be free. As an objective consequence of this situation, free individuals will be unblocking the obstacles for others. Enlightenment is an objective situation which is relating to the whole species, and it is even the sanctions imposed on nature. The enlightened mind no longer considers taboo or dogma; critical, experimental and instrumental thinking came to the fore in the enlightenment. However, within the enlightenment, a different and self-destructive life style emerges in the formal thinking created by modernization. Enlightenment process has some results such as the eradication of freedom or exclusion of religion. These are evaluated as advances in the interest of fascism. In their Dialectic of the Enlightenment, Adorno and Horkheimer, who conducted a profound analysis of the Enlightenment, proceed through asking that; instead of reaching a truly human situation, why humanity has sunk into a new kind of barbarism.

Modernity evaluations and criticisms of the Frankfurt School theorists are also linked to the Enlightenment process because modernity interprets as a continuation of the Enlightenment. According to Critical School, Modernity removes randomness, irregularity, and production defects from life. Instead, it brings the concepts of high efficiency, rational order, serial and efficient production into life. Modernity is rational, logical, does not include emotions and aims to progress. According to Bauman, with the rational programming, bureaucratization, organization skills, systematic operation and perfect methodology provided by modernity; suitable conditions for the Holocaust have been established. The reason and the mainstay of this barbarism, seen in the fascist period and caused by the massacres of millions of people, is the modernity itself, which is believed to lead the society forward.

It can be suggested that the fascist system needs to be examined in the context of human rights by taking up further studies. While the enlightenment period and the following process of modernity were predicted to make progress for mankind, it was also mentioned that this process also facilitated the work of fascist ideologies. On the other hand, the enlightenment period made great progress in human rights, but the world wars, which revealed the most important and impressive results of history, strengthened the foundations of fascism in the 19th century.

The state is a hierarchical system that is needed by society after a certain growth and development to ensure the social functioning and to prevent chaos in the society. Each person in the society waive some of their rights for other people when they accepted state as a responsible system. It aims to develop the principles of community living together by establishing an integrated structure.

Philosophical foundations of human rights are based on the views of the ancient philosophy which also includes the ideas and views Greek philosophers Socrates and Epicurus. The assumption that the society is founded by people's own will, transferring all the personal rights and freedoms that people knowingly and willingly possess, and create a social life is an important concept of "The Social Contract".

The theory of Social Contract emerged from the argument that people lived as abandoned before they lived in society, and that there was no order regulating the relations between them. The main idea of this theory is that, despite the instincts of people harming each other, it is the idea to find ways to live together better to produce, to share resources, to gain more benefit and to secure the interests of the society first, then to establish the social rules and then the state. With this agreement, people agree to adapt to the orders and sovereignty of state institutions. Thus, the power of the relatively stronger in nature has also been legalized in the state system.

Although this contract is made to ensure order and justice in society, the influence of the person who comes to the administration cannot be ignored. As the majority of power is transferred to this person by the community, how this person will use his authority is very important for the future of the society. However, the personality traits, political attitudes and opinions of the person with power are important and even the existence of social consciousness sometimes cannot prevent the abuse of power. The most obvious example was in Italy under the leadership of Mussolini and Germany under the leadership of Hitler in the fascist period. People's declarations of will and conscious society are not enough conditions for the good use of power. A leader elected by the majority of society by their own free will may not respect the rights and freedoms the community handed over to him and that, as in fascist administrations, can cause society to experience problems in human rights.

In general respect, the fascist state and fascist ideology are opposed to individualism which brings the individual freedoms to the forefront. In fascism, which

is a totalitarian ideology, the most important being is the state. The state is more important than the law; the creator of law and freedoms is the representative of the public interest. The person does not have any meaning to the state, and there cannot be a desire for rights and freedom. The granting, abolition, or limitation of freedoms belongs entirely to the state. The right to represent the state belongs to the fascist party. The leader is considered as the state itself.

As a common feature of the regime of the two countries, fear is used by the government as a mobilizing tool on the masses. Because of the enemy's fear and security need, the people under the fascist regime are convinced that human rights can be ignored in certain circumstances. People tend to ignore, even approve, practices such as torture, political assassination. In order to eliminate the enemy, which threatens the security and integrity of the country, people participate in protests in crowds. In the definition of this enemy there are groups such as racial, ethnic or religious minorities, liberals, communists, socialists or terrorists.

In the light of the nature of the fascist ideology and the ideas it advocates, it can be said that it is far from the idea of human rights. In the view of such information, further studies on the relationship between fascism and human rights can be carried to contribute to this field.

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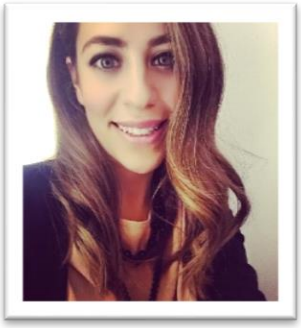
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