

# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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## Review

Reviewed Work(s): *A History of Fascism, 1914-1945* by Stanley G. Payne; *Fascism: A History* by Roger Eatwell; *Fascism: Past, Present, Future* by Walter Laqueur

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tional Development and U.S. policy toward the multilateral lending institutions, U.N. agencies, and other assistance organizations. Ruttan distinguishes six different phases of assistance policy since World War II, emphasizing the degree to which policy was shaped, with detrimental effects, by domestic political interests. Although ably researched, this is in many ways a dispiriting book. The financial gap between what the author thinks desirable and what is politically feasible is so large that his suggested reforms seem like an exercise in futility.

## Western Europe

STANLEY HOFFMANN

*A History of Fascism, 1914-1945.* BY STANLEY G. PAYNE. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996, 613 pp. \$39.95.

*Fascism: A History.* BY ROGER EATWELL. New York: Allen Lane, 1996, 432 pp. \$32.95.

*Fascism: Past, Present, Future.* BY WALTER LAQUEUR. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, 263 pp. \$25.00.

Fascism continues to fascinate historians and political scientists, both because the crushing of the fascist states in World War II did not completely destroy it as a political force and because it is so elusive a phenomenon. Payne recognizes that "the search for an adequate theory or interpretation of fascism has generally ended in failure." But he provides a list of mainly European factors that lead to its development. He calls fascism "a form of revolutionary ultra-nationalism for a national

rebirth that is based on a primarily vitalist philosophy, is structured on extreme elitism, mass mobilization, and the *Führerprinzip*, positively values violence as ends as well as means, and tends to normalize war and/or the military virtues." But there were many different kinds of fascism, and Payne (and also the historian Robert Paxton) has reminded us that fascism as a movement struggling to get to power is different from fascism in power. Attempts to link it to specific social forces, a given stage of economic development, or a type of personality are not convincing. But Payne's book is particularly impressive because he tries to distinguish fascism from the radical right (more linked to religion, like the *Action française*) and the conservative right. He recognizes that the borders between them are porous and does not pay much attention to the left-wing origins of or influences on fascism so often stressed by the Israeli historian Zeev Sternhell. Insofar as any study can be called definitive, this is it.

Eatwell covers much of the same ground, but he is less interested in the theoretical issues raised by fascism, and his narrative is breezier. Less rigorous in trying to distinguish fascism from other kinds of authoritarian movements, he includes a chapter on France in the 1930s and during the war and a chapter on fascism's fiasco in Britain. Almost half the book describes post-1945 "neofascist" movements and parties in Italy, Germany, France, and Britain; more analysis would have been welcome. Laqueur, skeptical of theories, pays attention to the main components of fascism (doctrine, leaders, a single party, terror, and propaganda as well as relations with the church). The second part of his book, on postwar neofascism, emphasizes the

## Recent Books

fear of immigrants and the denial of the Holocaust. More original is the third part, called "Postfascism," in which he discusses "clerical fascism" in the Third World, mainly Islamic fundamentalism. He also looks at the prospects for a fascist revival in Russia and Eastern Europe. It is a sweeping survey, but the author's judgments are not particularly striking.

*The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis.* BY HERBERT KITSCHOLT. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996, 332 pp. \$49.50.

Having previously studied European social democracy, the political scientist Herbert Kitschelt now applies his erudite and systematic mind to the new radical right. He focuses not on "simple class conceptions and related occupational distinctions," but on "the process of political preference formation in advanced capitalism" and the "demand" for rightist parties. On the supply side, he finds that the radical right is successful when a "convergence of Social Democratic and Moderate Conservative parties, together with an extended period of government participation by the moderate conservatives . . . creates the electoral opening for the authoritarian right that induces voters to abandon their loyalty to established conservative parties." He carefully distinguishes the new right from fascism: the former advocates the free market and is "the offspring of the postindustrialization of advanced capitalist economies," while the latter "originated in the problems of rapidly industrializing societies with weak democratic institutions . . . and severe economic crises." The theoretical

chapters, with their batteries of hypotheses and dense analysis, are difficult, but after 90 pages of social science prose there are informative case studies of France, Scandinavia, Austria, Italy, Germany, and Britain. On the whole, political opportunity in the "electoral market" proves superior to other theories, as Kitschelt points out repeatedly.

*Politics after Hitler: The Western Allies and the German Party System.* BY DANIEL E. ROGERS. New York: New York University Press, 1995, 206 pp. \$40.00.

*German Politics, 1945-1995.* BY PETER PULZER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996, 195 pp. \$39.95 (paper, \$14.95).

These two books are complementary. Rogers, a historian, makes an important contribution to the history of the Allies' occupation of western Germany by concentrating not on programs aimed at reforming German political culture but on efforts to revive and reorient party politics. He argues that Britain, the United States, and France played a major role in reshaping the party system. While he finds little evidence that they were relatively indulgent toward the right after the Cold War began, he shows that they were concerned with preventing both reaction and revolution, a revival of nationalism including that of Kurt Schumacher's Social Democratic Party (SPD), and splinter parties, and that the system of licenses and authorizations resulted in a limited number of moderate parties. This fine monograph tells a complex success story clearly and intelligently.

Pulzer, a political scientist at Oxford,

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