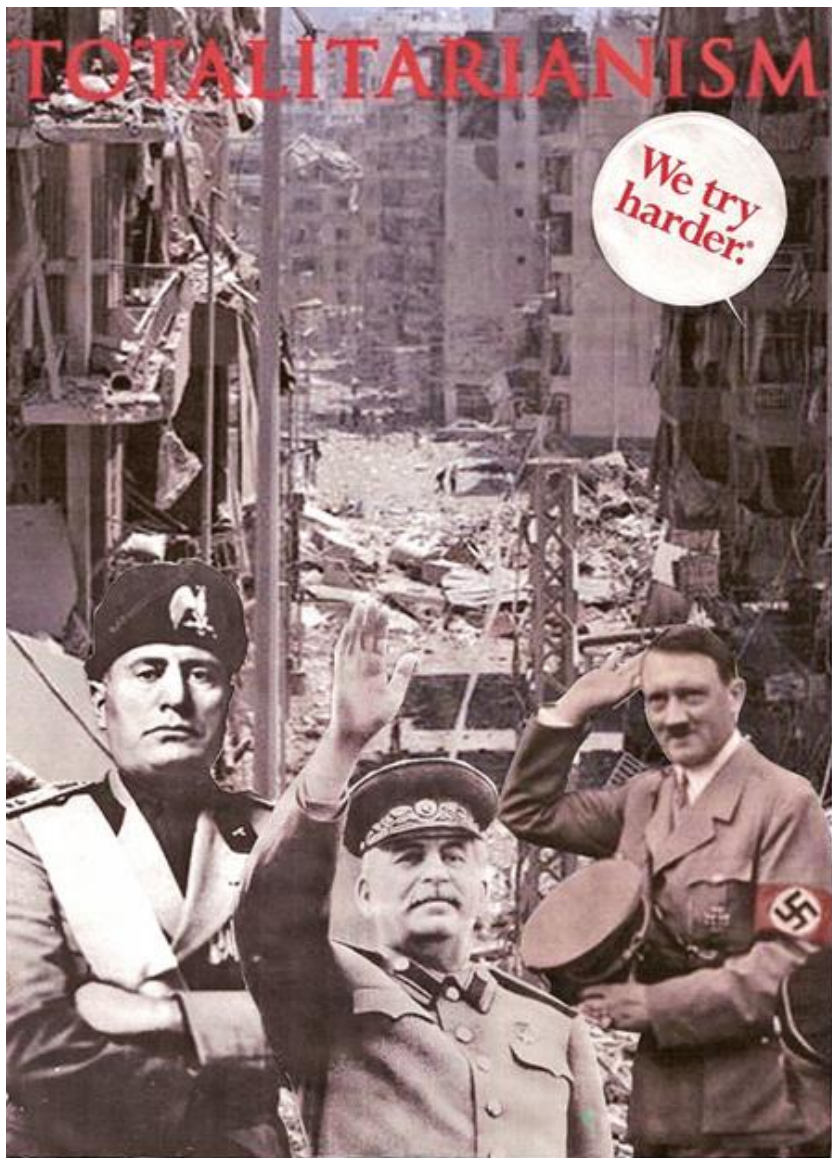


University College Maastricht
Period 4
2016/2017
Course HUM3019

Coursebook

Totalitarian Temptation



CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
Theme	4
Totalitarianism: A Brief Introduction	4
Lectures	6
Examination	6
Readings	8
Course Direction	8
ASSIGNMENTS	9
Assignment 1 Theories of Totalitarianism	10
Assignment 2 A Radical Utopia: German National Socialism	121
Assignment 3 The Perfect Totalitarian State: Italian Fascism	143
Assignment 4 From Socialism to Despotism: The Appeal of Communism	15
Assignment 5 Fundamentalism: between Modernity and Reaction	147
Assignment 6 Populism in the 21 st Century	Error! Bookmark not defined. 9
Assignment 7 After the Holocaust	Error! Bookmark not defined. 1
Assignment 8 Making Sense of the Communist Experience	243
Assignment 9 Forgetting and Remembering the Spanish Civil War	245
Assignment 10 Apartheid: Social Engineering in a Post-Colonial Society	287

INTRODUCTION

*Totalitarianism is not only hell
but also the dream of paradise,
the age-old dream of a world
in which all live in harmony,
united by a sincere communal will
and a shared set of beliefs,
and without secrets from each other.*

Milan Kundera

Theme

This course is aimed at the study of twentieth-century totalitarianism, both in its theoretical dimension and in its specific manifestations, including Italian Fascism, German National Socialism and Soviet Communism. The basic question is to what extent each of the national movements should indeed be viewed - from a theoretical angle - as totalitarian. We will consistently consider theories of totalitarianism in relation to concrete historical contexts. Attention will also be devoted to theories which apply the concept of totalitarianism to Western society as a whole.

Totalitarianism is essentially a phenomenon of the first half of the 20th century. Its shadows and legacies, however, continued to play a pivotal role in Europe's postwar development. Intellectuals and scholars debated its consequences long after the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945 or Stalin's death in 1953. This course is therefore divided into two separate parts. The first 6 assignments will deal with totalitarianism in its historic dimension; the next part will mainly concentrate on the memory and legacy of totalitarianism in Europe. How have societies dealt with this legacy? We will look into contemporary issues and debates in three specific countries. Furthermore, fundamental issues such as continuities and discontinuities between historic events and contemporary political developments will be addressed as well.

Totalitarianism: A Brief Introduction

The concept of totalitarianism dates from the 1920s and originated in Italian Fascism, which used the concept to present itself as some sort of countermovement with its own distinctive objectives. Soon, however, it was used in a much broader sense. In the thirties, totalitarianism was used to refer to German National Socialism and later on, during the Cold War in particular, it became synonymous with Soviet Communism. In all the above cases, the concept of totalitarianism in its broadest definition represents a dictatorial regime which aims to control all dimensions of social and cultural life. It appears to be a modern phenomenon and, as such, the question remains as to what extent totalitarianism differs from other or previous forms of dictatorship: tyranny in antiquity, absolutism in the early modern period, and Bonapartism and Caesarism in the nineteenth century.

Although there is no all-embracing definition of the phenomenon of totalitarianism, one of the basic features that distinguishes modern totalitarianism from previous forms of dictatorship is the role of ideology. All forms of modern

totalitarianism are founded on an ideology which legitimizes the regime. This ideology appeals to the masses and seeks the loyalty of the population in an effort to legitimize its hegemony. It is this aspect which distinguishes totalitarianism from absolutism. Absolute rulers are always legitimized beforehand by tradition, by the principle of dynastic succession, and, finally, by the royal claim to divine right. In accordance with this doctrine, absolute sovereigns are not in any respect accountable to the people. By contrast, totalitarianism depends on popular support, which is precisely why it should be understood as a modern system. Regardless of the level of dictatorship of a totalitarian regime, it is part of the era of democracy. The totalitarian regime can be called democratic because it needs the loyalty of the people. And although the principle of the ruler's accountability to the people is merely pretence, the leadership cannot function without the construction of the illusion of democratic support. Propaganda is used to suggest the existence of such backing, whereas the same purpose is served by the terror needed to silence dissidents.

To be sure, the relationship between totalitarianism and democracy is paradoxical, because totalitarian regimes usually seek to undermine democracy by appealing to it. There are, in fact, two completely contrary notions of "democracy" at stake. Totalitarianism stresses the collective - class, nation, race, or "Volk" (people) - to which all individual liberty is subordinate, whereas, by contrast, liberalism's notion of democracy emphasizes the rights of the individual as the basic principle of a pluralistic system with parliamentary control. The totalitarian ideology is founded directly or indirectly on Rousseau's concept of the "general will", thus highlighting the necessity of unity and harmony of the collective, leaving no room for individual deviation. Particularly after the First World War, such collectivist ideas gained a lot of ground and determined the fate of many European countries. The Russian Revolution dates from 1917, Mussolini acceded to power in 1922, and Hitler's dictatorship became legitimized in 1933. Other European countries too fell under the spell of totalitarianism, notably Spain under Franco and Portugal under Salazar, while during the same period anti-democratic views won support in countries like France, England, and the Netherlands.

Obviously, the elements from which twentieth-century totalitarian ideologies were derived had existed for quite some time already. Traces of anti-democratic, illiberal, nationalistic, and racial sentiments can be found in European history since before the French Revolution. The question remains to be answered, though, as to why these ideas could gain such massive support, especially during the 1920s and 1930s. This question, which is primarily a historical one, suggests a more fundamental problem as well: what are the social and cultural conditions under which totalitarian ideas gain support and what people are specifically attracted to such ideas? Finding answers to these questions is still of interest in today's world.

The fundamental questions raised by totalitarianism are even more pressing because totalitarian regimes tend to be supported by intellectuals, writers, and artists who formulate, represent, and propagate the ideology to a wider audience, thus legitimizing dictatorship through their elite status. Even after Stalin's large-scale purges had become common knowledge, Soviet Communism continued to be supported by prominent Western intellectuals and "fellow-travellers". Intellectuals like the poet Ezra Pound and the philosopher Gentile made no secret of their

admiration for Mussolini. In France, well-known supporters of fascist or Nazi ideas included intellectuals like Céline, Montherlant, Drieu Larochelle, and Brasillach. In the case of Germany, reference is made to the direct contribution to Nazi hegemony by individuals such as Heidegger, Leni Riefenstahl, Arno Breker, Emil Nolde, and, to some extent, Ernst Jünger and Gottfried Benn.

Yet perhaps we should not overlook the fact that regimes that have perpetrated outrages, which, in retrospect, are so evident and easy to condemn, may also have been, for some at least, the epitome of an idealistic hope for a better future. By denying the reality of this idealist component, we run the risk of underestimating the real appeal of totalitarian ideologies, as a result of which we may fail to perceive their true danger.

List of Lectures

Lectures for the course will take place on Mondays or Thursdays between 13:30 and 15:30 in FASoS (Turnzaal; GG90-92 A0). Here is the list per week. For the exact dates, please check your timetable on studentportal:

Week 1: Introductory Lecture: Georgi Verbeeck

Week 2: Universal Fascism: Pablo del Hierro

Week 3: The story of communism: Ferenc Laczó

Week 4: The Holocaust in Pop Culture: Ruud Klomp

Week 5: Transitional Justice: a comparative approach: Lucas Lixinski

Week 6: Apartheid in South Africa: Georgi Verbeeck

Week 7: Fundamentalism: Sjaak Koenis (This last lecture is optional for UCM students)

Examination

Final Paper

Imagine that you are a historian specializing in memory studies in countries with a totalitarian past. As such, you are approached by the United Nations Human Rights Council, which is asking you to write a report on one of the following sites:

- 1) The Victory Monument in Bolzano (Italy)
- 2) Mussolini's burial crypt in Predappio (Italy)
- 3) The Bronze soldier of Tallinn (Estonia)
- 4) Valley of the Fallen, El Escorial (Spain)
- 5) Pazo de Meirás (Spain)
- 6) Hitler's house in Braunau am Inn, (Austria)
- 7) Budapest's 'Memento Park' (Hungary)
- 8) The Monument to the Fallen in Service to and Protection of the Polish Republic in Warsaw (Poland)
- 9) Monument to the Four Sleepers in Warsaw (Poland)
- 10) Memorial to the fallen Red Army soldiers by Czech sculptor Jaroslav Horejc (1949) in Varnsdorf, North Bohemia, (Czech Republic).

- 11) Cemetery Mausoleum of Soldiers of Russian Army, Warsaw (Poland)
- 12) Partisan Memorial Warsaw (Poland)
- 13) "1,300 Years of Bulgaria," in Sofia (Bulgaria)
- 14) Grutas Park near the small town of Druskininkai (Lithuania)
- 15) Soviet Army Monument in Sofia (Bulgaria)
- 16) Bronze statue of a girl in front of the Japanese consulate in the southern port city of Busan.
- 17) Statue of Cecil Rhodes is removed from the University of Cape Town (South Africa)
- 18) Monument to Louis Botha in Durban (South Africa)
- 19) Statue of the Zulu King Dinuzulu also in Durban (South Africa)
- 20) Voortrekker Monument. Pretoria, South Africa.
- 21) The Senso-Ga collection in Japan.
- 22) Monuments to Pinochet in Chile.

Pick **one** of the abovementioned controversial monuments and write a report based on the following guidelines:

- The first part of the report (**Mid-term**), will deal with the historical background of the site and, more importantly, with the analysis of the nature of the totalitarian regime that built and placed it. This first part should be **1500 words and will equate to 30% of the final grade for the course**. You will receive **written feedback** on it, and also you will be able to discuss it with your tutor in an individual session (TBD, probably on the 8th of March). This feedback shall be used to improve the final report.
- The second part of the report shall incorporate a thorough analysis of the site from the perspective of memory studies (final examination). It will include a study of the impact that the site has in the overall politics of memory currently carried out by the hosting country. Moreover, the report shall contain a practical recommendation regarding the future of the site. Specifically, you need to clarify for the United Nations what shall be done with the site and why. Said recommendation ought not to be based on personal considerations, but on a critical reflection grounded on the main tenets of memory studies. **This part should be 3500 words long (including the revised historical background) and will equate to 70% of the final grade for the course.**

The final deadline for the mid-term will be on the **26th of February (upload to safeassignment by 18:00)**. For both the mid-term and the final paper, you will be requested to search for the necessary secondary sources.

Deadline for the Final Paper: 30th of March, upload to safeassignment by 18:00.

Readings

In this course we will use an e-reader which you will find on Eleum. In addition, obligatory reading consists of:

Tzvetan Todorov

(2005). *Hope and Memory : Reflections on the Twentieth Century*, London, Atlantic Books.

Recommended reading includes:

Hannah Arendt

(1973 [1951]). *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Karl Dietrich Bracher

(1984). *The Age of Ideologies. A History of Political Thought in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Tom Buchanan

(2006). *Europe's Troubled Peace 1945-2000*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Eric Hobsbawm

(1994). *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*. London: Michael Joseph.

Tony Judt

(2005). *Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945*. New York: The Penguin Press.

George L. Mosse

(1988). *The Culture of Western Europe. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Course Direction

Dr. Pablo Del Hierro

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASoS)

Department of History

E-mail : Pablo.Delhierro@maastrichtuniversity.nl

Tutorials

Ruud Klomp

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASoS)

Department of History

E-mail : R.klomp@maastrichtuniversity.nl

ASSIGNMENTS

ASSIGNMENT 1

THEORIES OF TOTALITARIANISM

"The basic features or traits which we suggest as generally recognized to be common to totalitarian dictatorships are six in number. The "syndrome", or pattern of interrelated traits, of the totalitarian dictatorship consists of an ideology, a single party typically led by one man, a terroristic police, a communications monopoly, a weapons monopoly, and a centrally directed economy.... These six basic features, which we think constitute the character of totalitarian dictatorship, form a cluster of interrelated traits, intertwined and mutually supporting each other, as usual in "organic" systems." Carl Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski (1963), *Totalitarian dictatorship and autocracy*, p. 9.

"If lawfulness is the essence of non-tyrannical government and lawlessness is the essence of tyranny, then terror is the essence of totalitarian domination." Hannah Arendt (1975), *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 465.

"Propaganda, in other words, is one, and possibly the most important, instrument of totalitarianism for dealing with the nontotalitarian world; terror, on the contrary, is the very essence of its form of government." Hannah Arendt (1975), *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, p. 344.

"What, then, is the value of 'totalitarianism' as a concept? The evidence that has been adduced suggests that it stands for a distinct and new form of government which first became possible in the age of mass democracy, of modern technology and of twentieth-century nationalism. It can vary in its extent, in its success, in its totality - from the relative failure to erect a system of total power in the cases of Mussolini and Nkrumah, to the relative success of Hitler and Stalin. It is not a fixed and immutable form: it can change and evolve, as well as end in collapse and overthrow." Leonard Schapiro (1972), *Totalitarianism*, p. 124.

"Where, as in the absolute monarchy, power is primarily exercised through the traditional bureaucratic instruments of coercion, its operation is governed by abstract, calculable rules, although their execution often may be arbitrary. Absolutism, therefore, already contains the major institutional principles of modern liberalism. Totalitarian dictatorship, on the other hand, is the absolute negation of these principles, because the main repressive agencies are not courts and administrative bodies, but the secret police and the party". Franz Neumann (1964), *The Democratic and the Authoritarian State. Essays in Political and Legal Theory*, Ch.9, cited in Schapiro, 1972, p. 104.

"The theory of totalitarianism in almost all its forms assumes that certain similarities in the exercise of power in communist and fascist states are more important than the far greater differences between their socio-economic structures and their political aims. The concept of totalitarianism lacks a concrete historical dimension and thus tends to become a seriously abstracted typology which mistakes certain appearances of similarity (which are often highly strained) for an essential identity." Martin Kitchen (1985), *The Theory of Totalitarianism*, p. 32.

"Totalitarianism is one of the oldest political philosophies in the world. For a state to be deemed totalitarian it is sufficient that the functions of the state and the society be the same."

Paul Hayes (1973), *Fascism*, p. 39.

Readings

Michael Halberstam

(1990). *Totalitarianism and the Modern Conception of Politics*, New Haven-London: Yale University Press, pp. 36-45. (Reader)

Peter Grieder

(2007). Defence of Totalitarianism Theory as a Tool of Historical Scholarship. – In: *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 8 : 3-4, pp. 563 – 589. (Reader)

Michael Geyer and Sheila Fitzpatrick (Eds.)

(2008), *Beyond Totalitarianism: Stalinism and Nazism Compared*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 1-37 (Library)

Tzvetan Todorov

(2005). *Hope and Memory: Reflections on the Twentieth Century*, London, Atlantic Books, pp. 5-47. (Chapter 1)

Recommended Readings

Lars Rensmann (2011). Political Terror in the Age of Global Modernity: Adorno's Critical Theory of Totalitarianism Revisited, *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 12:1, pp. 3-26

Eric Hobsbawm (1994). *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*. London: Michael Joseph.

Mark Mazower (1998). *Dark Continent. Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Penguin Press.

ASSIGNMENT 2

A RADICAL UTOPIA: GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Carl Schmitt (1888–1985) was one of Germany's leading professors of international and public law between 1921 and 1945, a position which he used to become the most authoritative legal theorist of the Conservative Revolution and hence a continuing influence on an important current within neo-fascism (Texts 193–5). He became Chancellor Schleicher's adviser, but was able to make an even greater contribution to the theoretical rationale for the destruction of democracy and human life after he joined the NSDAP in early 1933. As State Counsellor for Prussia he produced articulate rationalizations of the Röhm Purge, the 'cleansing' of the judiciary and the Civil Service from 'the Jewish spirit', and Nazi imperialism. Here we see him justifying the Führer principle as the legal basis of the Nazis' 'total State'.

National Socialism does not think in abstractions and clichés. It is the enemy of all normative and functionalist ways of proceeding. It supports and cultivates every authentic substance of the people wherever it encounters it, in the countryside, in ethnic groups [*Stämme*] or classes. It has created the hereditary farm law;²³ saved the peasantry; purged the Civil Service of alien [*fremdgeartet*] elements and thus restored it as a class. It has the courage to treat unequally what is unequal and enforce necessary differentiations.[. . .] In a different way, but out of the same awareness of the specific properties of what has its own organic development, National Socialism is able to do justice to the concrete differences between the village, rural town, industrial community, city, and metropolis in the sphere of communal autonomy without being impeded by the erroneous concepts of equality imposed by a liberal democratic scheme of things.

The recognition of the plurality of autonomous life would, however, immediately lead back to a disastrous pluralism tearing the German people apart into discrete classes and religious, ethnic, social, and interest groups if it were not for a strong state which guarantees a totality of political unity transcending all diversity. Every political unity needs a coherent inner logic underlying its institutions and norms. It needs a unified concept which gives shape to every sphere of public life. In this sense too there is no normal State which is not a total State. The more varied the points of view which dictate regulations and institutions of the different spheres of life on the one hand, the more clearly a uniform, cogent, overriding principle must be recognized and adhered to on the other. Every uncertainty and dichotomy becomes the source of forces which start out as neutral towards the State and then become antagonistic to it, and hence the focus for pluralistic fragmentation and disintegration. A strong State is the precondition for the strong and autonomous vitality of its diverse constituent parts. The strength of the National Socialist State lies in the fact that it is from top to bottom and in every atom of its existence ruled and permeated with the concept of leadership [*Führertum*]. This principle, which made the movement strong, must be carried through systematically both in the administration of the State and in the various spheres of self-government, naturally taking into account the modifications required by the particular area in question. But it would not be permissible for any important area of public life to operate independently from the Führer concept.

(Carl Schmitt – The Legal Basis of a Total State. In : Roger Griffin (1995) – *Fascism*. Oxford/ New York : Oxford University Press, pp. 138-139).

Readings

Conan Fischer

(2011). *Europe between Democracy and Dictatorship 1900-1945*. Chichester: Wiley – Blackwell, pp. 208-234. (Library)

Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Ippermann

(1991). *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 44-73. (Library)

Michael Wildt

(2010) *An Uncompromising Generation. The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office*, University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 125-164 (Library)

Ian Kershaw

(1993). The Essence of Nazism: Form of Fascism, Brand of Totalitarianism, or Unique Phenomenon? pp. 20-46. - In: Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship. Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*. London: Edward Arnold. (Library)

Documentary

Laurence Rees, *The Charisma of Adolf Hitler* (2012)

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gorbcDL1J0E>)

Primary Sources

Nuremberg Laws (1935)

http://multivu.prnewswire.com/mnr/archives/45819/docs/45819-Translation-Blood_and_Honor.pdf

Recommended

Tzvetan Todorov

(2005). *Hope and Memory: Reflections on the Twentieth Century*, London, Atlantic Books, pp. 177-186 (*The Achievement of Primo Levi*, chapter 4).

Geoffrey H. Eley. (2013). *Nazism as fascism: violence, ideology, and the ground of consent in Germany 1930-1945*. London [etc.]: Routledge.

Ian Kershaw (2008). *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution*. London: Yale University Press (pp. 49-59.).

Michael Wildt

(2010) *An Uncompromising Generation. The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office*, University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 3-18

Rachel E. Boaz (2012). *In search of "Aryan blood": serology in interwar and National Socialist Germany*. Budapest [etc.]: Central European University Press.

ASSIGNMENT 3

THE PERFECT TOTALITARIAN STATE: ITALIAN FASCISM AND ITS IMPACT IN EUROPE

Giovanni Gentile (1875–1944) was a neo-idealist philosopher who became increasingly concerned with the rooting of individual moral will in the ethical state to overcome the contemporary decadence of existence under liberalism. This converted him progressively to Nationalism, interventionism, and, after the March on Rome, to Fascism. Between 1923 and 1929 a stream of prestigious appointments and honours encouraged his prolific activities as the self-appointed philosopher of Fascism, his two most notable being to write the Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals and the first part of the article on Fascism in the Enciclopedia Italiana (1932), which he edited. After the controversy caused by his attacks on the Lateran Pacts in 1929 (he wanted Fascist spirituality to replace Christianity), he withdrew from active politics, only to resume them again at the end of the regime and under the Salò Republic. In this passage he gives his gloss on the myth of the 'two Italies' which was first propagated by the Florentine avant-garde (see Adamson 1993). It articulates two important themes of regime Fascism: its function as an (ersatz) religion, and as a 'totalitarian' state.

We see two Italies before us: an old one and a new one: Italy of the past centuries which is our glory but it also a sad legacy which weighs on our shoulders and our spirits: let's be frank, it is also our shame, a shame we want to expunge and make up for. It is precisely that great Italy which occupies such an important place in the history of the world. The only Italy, one might say, which is known, studied, and researched by all civilized peoples, and whose history is not a particular history, but an epoch in universal history: the Renaissance.[. . .] The Italy of foreigners, and not of Italians. Italians without faith, and hence absent. Is not this the old Italy of decadence? [. . .]

Let us add new monuments to the old ones if we feel like it. Let us erect them on our squares to steel our characters, to honour the living more than the dead in the consecration of recent memories, which at bottom are more glorious than any which Italian history has to offer, and, paying tribute to generous memories, to raise our consciousness of being the free citizens of a great nation. For where 'nation' is understood in this way, even liberty is less a right than a duty: a prize which is only achieved through the self-denial of the citizen prepared to give everything to his Fatherland without asking for anything in return.

Even this concept of the nation, which we see as central, is not a Fascist invention. It is the soul of the new Italy which slowly but surely will prevail over the old. Fascism, with its keen sense of the wave of nationalism which drew Italians to the fire of the Great War and enabled them to endure victoriously the tragic ordeal, with its radical reaction against the materialists of yesterday who tried to pooh pooh the value of that ordeal [. . .] Fascism does everything to remind the people of the greatness and beauty of the sacrifice that has been made as its greatest legacy for the future.[. . .]

How many times has Fascism been accused with obtuse malevolence of barbarity? Well yes: once you understand the true significance of this barbarity we will boast of it, as the expression of the healthy energies which shatter false and baleful idols, and restore the health of the nation within the power of a State conscious of its sovereign rights which are its duties.[. . .]

Do not forget, the ethical State of the Fascist is no longer the agnostic State of the old liberalism. Its ethics derive from spirituality: a personality which is awareness; a system which is will.[. . .] The State is the will of the nation writ large, and hence its intelligence. It ignores nothing, and it involves itself in everything which has a bearing on the interests of the citizen—which are its own interests—either economically or morally. *Nihil humani a se alienum putat.*²⁹ The State is neither a huge façade, nor an empty building. It is man himself: the house is built, inhabited and animated by the joys and sorrows which derive from the labour and from the whole life of the human spirit.[. . .]

Gentlemen, Fascism is a party, a political doctrine. But Fascism [. . .] while being a party, a political doctrine, is above all a total conception of life. Like the Catholic, if he is Catholic, invests with his religious feelings the whole of his life [. . .] so the Fascist, whether he is writing in newspapers or reading them, going about his private life or talking to others, looking to the future or remembering the past and the past of his people, must always remember he is a Fascist!

Thus he fulfils what can really be said to be the main characteristic of Fascism, to take life seriously. Life is toil, is effort, is sacrifice, is hard work; it is a life which we know full well is not for fun: there is no time for fun.

Before us there always lies an ideal to realize: an ideal which gives us no rest. We cannot waste time.

['Che cosa è il fascismo?'] [What is fascism?], lecture delivered in Florence on 8 Mar. 1925, repr. in *Che cosa è il fascismo* (Vallecchi: Florence, 1925), 14, 28, 32-3, 36, 38, 63.]

(Giovanni Gentile - Fascism as a Total Conception of Life. In: Roger Griffin (1995) - *Fascism*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 53-54).

Readings

Giuseppe Finaldi

(2008). *Mussolini and Italian Fascism*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, pp. 56-84. (Library)

Emilio Gentile

(2004). "Fascism, totalitarianism and political religion. Definitions and critical reflections on criticism of an interpretation" in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 5:3, pp. 326-375. (Reader)

Robert O. Paxton

(2004) *Anatomy of Fascism*, London: Vintage, pp. 68-86 (Library)

Documentary

Biography : Benito Mussolini. Italy's Nightmare

(<http://documentaryaddict.com/films/mussolini-italy-s-nightmare>)

Primary Sources

Benito Mussolini & Giovanni Gentile (1935). The Doctrine of Fascism. In: *Fascism Doctrine and Institutions*. Rome: Ardita Publishers, pp. 7-42.

<http://www.upf.edu/materials/fhuma/nacionalismes/nacio/docs/muss-doctrine.pdf>

ASSIGNMENT 4

FROM SOCIALISM TO DESPOTISM: THE APPEAL OF COMMUNISM

"I was thoroughly attracted by the idea of Marxism. It provided me with a rational, non-sentimental vision on history. It offered me an overall explanation for both past and future developments. I was deeply impressed by its purely humanistic and anthropocentric world view."

Über Marxismus, Christentum und Totalitarismus. Ein Interview mit Leszek Kolakowski, p. 413. – In: Hans Maier (1996), *'Totalitarismus' als 'Politische Religionen'. Konzepte des Diktaturvergleichs*.

"Stalinism as the highest stage of Communism... The end of World War II meant the beginning of a short historical episode during which the attraction of Soviet Communism reached its momentum. It deeply influenced the way of thinking of 20th century mankind. The fairy tale of communism was soon to be destroyed. It was the end of the past of a universalistic utopia."

Francois Furet, *The Passing of an Illusion. The Idea of Communism in the Twentieth Century*.

"In Russia and in Germany – and wherever totalitarianism penetrated – men were fired by a fanatical Faith, by an absolute unquestioning certainty which rejected the critical attitude of modern man. Totalitarianism in Russia and Germany broke the dikes of civilization which the nineteenth century had believed lasting."

Hans Kohn, cited in Richard Overy, *The Dictators. Hitler's Germany – Stalin's Russia*, p. xxxi.

Readings

Archie Brown

(2009). *The Rise and Fall of Communism*. New York: Harper Collins, pp. 117-134. (Library)

Jay Bergman

(1998). Was the Soviet Union Totalitarian? The View of Soviet Dissidents and the Reformers of the Gorbachev Era. *Studies in East European Thought*, 50, 4, pp. 247-281. (Reader)

Martin Malia

(2003). The Soviet Tragedy. A History of Socialism in Russia. – In : David L. Hoffman, *Stalinism. The Essential Readings*. Oxford : Blackwell Publishers. (Library)

Abbott Gleason,

(1995). *Totalitarianism : the inner history of the Cold War*, Oxford University Press, Chapter 7. (Library).

Documentary

Joseph Stalin: Red Terror

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oVBzNEgtBZQ>)

Hitler and Stalin : Twin Tyrants

(<https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL8F94EA6BED55130C>)

Primary Sources

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1848). Manifesto of the Communist Party.
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/pdf/Manifesto.pdf>

Recommended

Tzvetan Todorov

(2005). *Hope and Memory : Reflections on the Twentieth Century*, London, Atlantic Books, pp. 177-186 (*The Achievement of Vasily Grossman* pp. 48-73, chapter 1).

David Held

(2006). *Models of Democracy*. Stanford : Stanford University Press, pp. 96-122. (ER)

ASSIGNMENT 5

FUNDAMENTALISM BETWEEN MODERNITY AND REACTION

"In the Protestant milieu of the USA, fundamentalism crystallized in response to liberals' eagerness to bring Christianity into the post-Darwinian world by questioning the scientific and historical accuracy of the scripture. Subsequently, the scourge of evolution was linked with socialism, and during the Cold War period, with communism. This unholy trinity came to be regarded as a sinister, atheistic threat to Christian America...It is to be suggested that to understand the success of the Moral Majority, an alliance between the conservative forces of the New Right and the fundamentalist wings on the mainly Southern Baptist Churches, we have to appreciate these fears, as well as the impact of a host of unwelcome changes - in attitudes to 'morality', family, civil and women's rights, and so on - which have, in the wake of economic transformations since the Second World War, penetrated especially the previously insular social and cultural world of the American South."

Lionel Caplan (1987), *Studies in Religious Fundamentalism*, p.6.

"Religion has always been a disruptive force. When Marx famously described religion as "the opium of the people", he was painting only half the picture. It is true that religious leaders often provided spiritual sanction for the status quo. (...) But religious ideas have also inspired revolutions, and, simply by asserting that there is some power higher than the monarchs and magistrates of this world, religion always has the potential to shake the settled order."

Steve Bruce (2000), *Fundamentalism*, p.1.

"Self-determination, the autonomy of the individual, asserts itself in the right to race his automobile, to handle his power tools, to buy a gun, to communicate to mass audiences his opinion no matter how ignorant, how aggressive, it may be...The established values become the people's own values...and the choice between social necessities appears as freedom."

– Herbert Marcuse

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ASSIGNMENT 6

POPULISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

"I would caution against fueling cheap populism. First of all, every German who has spent a vacation in Greece knows that the standard of living there isn't higher than it is in Germany. Second, Greece is paying a high price for European assistance."

- Wolfgang Schauble

"Populism is folkish, patriotism is not. One can be a patriot and a cosmopolitan. But a populist is inevitably a nationalist of sorts. Patriotism, too, is less racist than is populism. A patriot will not exclude a person of another nationality from the community where they have lived side by side and whom he has known for many years, but a populist will always remain suspicious of someone who does not seem to belong to his tribe."

- John Lukacs

"Almost all religions from Buddhism to Islam feature either a humble prophet or a prince who comes to identify with the poor, but what is this if not populism? It is hardly a surprise if religions choose to address themselves first to the majority who are poor and bewildered and uneducated."

— Christopher Hitchens, *God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything*

"Watching Nigel Farage rudely insult fellow members of the European Parliament today - the first occasion they were all assembled in Brussels since the tragic 'Brexit' referendum result - made me feel utterly ashamed to be British. Let it be known that Nigel Farage is the very epitome of a narrow-minded 'Little Englander' who does not represent the vast majority of outward-looking people from Great Britain. His shameful and unofficial campaign to convince the British electorate to leave the European Union was peppered with lies and deceit. His populist and xenophobic rhetoric has also subsequently contributed to ugly scenes of racial abuse and hate crime directed at Eastern European nationals and ethnic minorities living and working in the UK, in the wake of the referendum result. Fellow Europeans, world citizens, let this be a wake-up call. Deny your own domestic peddlers of populism and nationalism the opportunity to follow the example of this unelected, disrespected maverick, intent on making a name for himself, for he has unwittingly unleashed a wrecking ball on Britain's future economic prosperity, cultural diversity and social harmony."

— Alex Morritt, *Impromptu Scribe*

"What in Mandela was seen as an almost saintly ability to conciliate could, in a lesser man, be read as weak-kneed populism."

— Mark Gevisser

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ASSIGNMENT 7

AFTER THE HOLOCAUST

“Forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation; thus the progress of historical studies is often a danger for national identity... The essence of a nation is that all individuals have many things in common, and also that they have forgotten many things.”

Ernst Renan, cited in Tony Judt (2005), *Postwar*, p. 803.

“The only patriotism that does not alienate us from the West is a patriotism of commitment to constitutionalism (“Verfassungspatriotismus”). Unfortunately, a loyalty to universalist principles of constitutionalism, one anchored in conviction, could be inculcated in the cultured German nation only after – and by virtue of – Auschwitz. Whoever wants to suppress the blush of shame about the fact by resorting to slogans such as ‘obsession with guilt’, whoever wants to summon the Germans back to a conventional form of their national identity, destroys the only reliable basis of our Western loyalty.”

Jürgen Habermas, cited in Charles S. Maier (1998) *The unmasterable past*, p.45.

“All historical work on the events of this period will have to be pursued or considered in relation to the events of Auschwitz... Here, all historicization reaches its limits.”

Saul Friedländer, cited in Tony Judt (2005), *Postwar*, p. 803.

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ASSIGNMENT 8

MAKING SENSE OF THE COMMUNIST EXPERIENCE

“Post-Communism was a culture of historical reinvention, in which political parties, state-sponsored historical institutions, cultural sites and individuals packaged the meanings and memories of dictatorship to meet the needs of a new political system. New institutions such as institutes of national memory and history commissions were established to construct and disseminate versions of the past that were deemed appropriate for the post-Communist world. In the cultural sphere, memorial museums at sites of terror and statue parks propagated their own particular understandings of the Communist past. Political parties of both left and right drew upon stories of their resistance to, or suffering under, Communist dictatorship when constructing new political identities. Many of those who had lived through Communism also regarded the process of re-working their life stories for a liberal democratic age as essential: former Communists, the socially mobile and the persecuted all presented post-Communism as an era in which they had had to adapt their understandings of their experiences of dictatorship in response to new political imperatives. Yet post-Communist cultures in central-eastern Europe were, for the most part, deeply divided over how best to come to terms with their dictatorial history.”

James Mark

“In the end, the party deserved condemnation not because it violated the Soviet Constitution but because it attempted, at the cost of millions of lives, to organize an entire society on the basis of a totalitarian ideology. Reaching this judgment would have required an altogether different type of tribunal. In the wake of this trial, however, there was no further attempt in Russia to pass judgment on Soviet Communism. But the issue of the Soviet regime's crimes against its own people has not gone away. It remains beneath the surface, deepening Russia's moral confusion and facilitating the rise of a new nationalist and authoritarian regime.”

David Satter

“Consequently, the Gulag issue has been increasingly ‘hotting up’ in the post-enlargement context (Zhurzhenko 2007). ‘Gulag contra Shoah’, ‘Auschwitz versus Gulag’, and ‘The Holocaust-Gulag competition’ are only some of the recent titles addressing this problem (Münch 2011; Troebst 2006; Shafir 2011; Leggewie 2010; Droit 2007). Memory of labour camps in distant Siberia was employed as a string to pull for historical interpretation to be exercised in the EU institutions. It has become an integral component of the common East European strivings to replace the demand ‘Never again Auschwitz’ with ‘Never again totalitarianism’ (Troebst 2012).”

Lidia Jurek

“My final point is that if we are going to keep pace with historical discussions in Eastern Europe, if for no other reason, we have to drop the taboo on comparing Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in so far as anyone believes in it. There are a number of good reasons to overcome this taboo. One is that it never really made any sense. If I say to you that you cannot compare Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, I am issuing a comparative judgment.

Once I say that, all I have said is “I have compared the two and I would prefer that you do not and I have the microphone.” It has no other logical content besides that one. The other reason we should abandon the taboo is that when we enforce it, we are denying the experience of Jews and others. Almost everyone who lived and suffered under one regime had some kind of contact with the other regime, precisely because the zone I am talking about—where most of the victims died—is a zone where both powers ruled. Most of the victims, at some point in their lives, even if their lives ended very quickly, had an occasion to think about which regime was better and what one should do. This is at the heart of the history of the event and comparison runs through the primary sources, Jewish and otherwise. These people were condemned to compare.”

Timothy Snyder

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ASSIGNMENT 9

FORGETTING AND REMEMBERING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

'Forgetting is a strategy that enables life to go on, although some of us keep our finger on the trigger of memory, just in case.' (Juan Marsé, *The Return of the Hero (Un día volveré)*, 1982)

'We can only forget what we have previously known. The first thing we must do, then, is to know.' (Pedro Laín Entralgo)

'Luckily for you my son, we stopped being afraid a long time ago in Spain.'
(Pedro Almodóvar, *Live flesh (Carne trémula)*, 1997)

For Spaniards, the Spanish civil war (1936-1939) remains a political touchstone of importance precisely because of the ideological uses to which it was put by the Franco dictatorship. So it also was during the transition to democracy, initiated in 1975 after Franco's natural death. Under the guidance of King Juan Carlos, appointed by Franco as his official successor, Spain chose upon a transition model based on amnesty. Reconciliation of the 'two Spains' that had affronted each other during the civil war forty years earlier was considered the only possibility for a peaceful transition towards a democratic polity.

For many years, the Spanish transition has been celebrated nationally and internationally as exemplary. However, 35 years after the death of the dictator, critics have started to denounce the transition model as a tacit *pact of forgetting*. Republican victims of the Spanish civil war, united in numerous organizations, demand recognition, reparations, investigation of the war crimes and exhumation of the anonymous graves of disappeared relatives. For them, the Spanish political transition did not produce reconciliation with the past.

In 2010, two descendants of Francoist victims, Dario Rivas, the son of a Republican mayor shot in 1937, and Inés García Holgado, daughter of an Argentine doctor who died fighting for the Republican in the war, denounced Francoist crimes committed from 1936–1977 in the courtroom of Judge María Servini de Cubría in Buenos Aires. Their denunciation was supported by a plethora of Spanish and Argentine human rights organisations, such as the Argentine League for Human Rights, The Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo,⁸ and the Permanent Assembly of Human Rights, as well as the ARMH (Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory). But why did these people turn to a South American country, a region often associated with turbulent politics and dictatorial regimes, searching for help?

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ASSIGNMENT 10

APARTHEID: SOCIAL ENGINEERING IN A POST-COLONIAL SOCIETY

“All countries are unique, but some are more unique than others. South Africa represents a very special case: a former colony establishing a colonial order, a civilized nation institutionalising racism as an official state doctrine, an old democracy for the benefit of a minority, a country where capitalism shows progressive trends and where state planning policy tends to be reactionary. Last but not least: belonging to the African continent while refusing to be an ‘African’ state.”

J.A.A. van Doorn, *Een kwestie van overleven. Notities over Zuid-Afrika*, 1991.

“South Africa and Germany are similar in a sense that Nazism was declared a crime against humanity and so was Apartheid.”

A.M. Omar, *Foreword*, in: *Confronting Past Injustices*, 1996.

“We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South African, will be able to walk tall... a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world.”

Nelson Mandela, *inaugural speech as South African president* May 10, 1994.

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