I. The Enlightenment: Promise

A. Democracy

1. liberation from arbitrary authority

2. freedom to collectively determine destiny

3. new ideals

a. citizens

b. rights

c. common or public good

4. new authority: reason and law

B. Reason and science

1. explain and control natural world

2. explain and control social world

3. classical social theory: from science to utopia

C. Capitalism

1. laws of marketplace

2. overcoming scarcity

a. abundance

b. success

D. The Proud Tower: Barbara Tuchman

II. The End of the Enlightenment

A. Twentieth century

1. social factors

a. urbanization

b. industrialization

c. secularization

d. mass democracies

2. consequences

a. gemeinshaft to geselleshaft

b. public

i. anomic

ii. alienated

3. Secular ideologies vs Great Chain of Being

B. The Great War: WWI

1. Human casualties

2. Institutional casualties

a. democracies and propaganda

b. capitalism, imperialism, and war

c. science, technology and war

d. social theory: reason, science, and progress

III. Anti-Enlightenment (anti-democracy)

A. Fascist Social theory (Le Bon, Nietzsche, Pareto)

1. natural hierarchy

a. individuals

i. natural elite

ii. nobles (Nietzsche)

b. races

2. democracy

a. leveling

i. undermines natural hierarchy

ii. constrains their power to act

b. world by and for masses ( remember Le Bon)

i. rights

ii. citizenship

iii. mediocrity, philistines

1. masses motivated by sentiments (Pareto)

3. life force

1. works through natural elite

i. life affirming: courageous, honorable, heroic, creative

ii. leaders and creators (Nietzsche: ubermensch)

b. works through specific races

c. masses fear life

4. twilight of the idols (Enlightenment)

a. bourgeois (Christian and secular) morality

i. denies life force (life denying)

ii. constrains natural elite

iii. power to the weak: slave morality

iv. ubermensch

b. science

i. power over nature

ii. power over human beings

iii. power over human beings: conformist sheep

b. reason

i. everything can be explained

ii. classification and categorization

iii. fear of life: unusual, unique, mysterious

iv. disenchantment

5. new ideology: fascism

a. nationalistic

i. unique

ii. sacred: embodies life force

iii. “holy mission”: ordained by god

iv. conflict: good vs evil (eternal enemies)

v. violence is necessary/justified

vi. leader: personally embodies mission

vii. leader: leads by will and instinct, not reason

1. “the people”

i. identity: “we” (not individual, not citizen)

ii. meaning: service to nation

iii. highest “calling”: patriotism

iv. values: honor, courage, sacrifice

v. rights: to serve and obey

c. nostalgic

i. idealized/romanticized past

ii. recovery and renewal: new world

B. Fascist nation

1. strong centralized government

a. dictator= nation=sacred mission

i. power in concentrated

ii. Fuhrer, Duce, Caudillo

b. single political party

c. rituals, spectacles, symbols

2. centralized and highly concentrated economy

a. government controlled

b. large corporations

c. merging of economic and political goals

i. expansion, resources

ii. Nazis/Lebensraum

d. anti-labor

3. military: dominant and privileged institution

a. security from enemies: within and without

b. disproportionate share of resources

c. disproportionate influence on policy: military solutions

d. military values: obedience, respect for authority, courage,

heroism: Italy “believe, obey, fight”

e. universal male conscription: service and sacrifice

f. takes a dominate place in cultural life: rituals, ceremonies,

holidays (reinforces lying world)

4. mass media

a. centralized

b. concentrated

c. propaganda

i. fear

ii. scapegoating, demonization

iii. lying world

5. Legal and Criminal Justice system

a. internal security

b. “creating”, pursuing, and convicting enemies

of the state

c. severe penalties

6. Education

a. history as myth

b. reinforce the “lying world”

c. fascist values

7. Marriage and Family

a. nuclear family

b. women in domestic sphere

c. procreation is service to country

8. The People

a. Function of the nation

b. Life lived for the Nation: sacrifice to mission

c. Patriotism

d. Dissent: sacrilege

C. Example: Nazi usurpation of power

1. political system

a. elections

b. legislation

c. violence

2. administration: appointments

a. indoctrination

b. loyalty oaths

3. church: “elections”

4. public sphere: control

a. media: information

b. public space

6. social construction of fear

1. Jewish Question

b. socialists, communists

c. other countries

D. Failure of German institutions

a. “oppositional” political parties

b. legal system: judges and prosecutors

c. education

d. military

e. Church

E. The failure of the German people

a. occupied with everyday world

b. respect for authority

c. Nazis not taken seriously

d. for most nothing changed

F. At some point it was just too late

a. individual resistance would be self destructive

b. go along, leave, or go to concentration camp

G. Political Process Theory and Fascism

1. Social Strain

a. global depression: failure of capitalism

b. failure and fear of democracy: “the crowd”

c. rise of socialism and communism

d. WWI: Treaty of Versailles

e. Tradition vs Modernity

2. political opportunity

a. lack of elite consensus (1923)

b. breakdown of institutions

3. cognitive liberation

a. legitimation crisis

b. new ideologies: socialism, communism, fascism

c. success: Italian Fascism

d. Fascist propaganda: “lying world”

4. indigenous organizations

a. political parties

b. paramilitary: Freikorps

c. military

d. church

e. youth groups: The Old Prussia Athletics Club, The German National Youth Association

5. formal movement organizations

a. “the party”

b. parallel government

c. paramilitary (Black Shirts, Brown Shirts, Minute Men)

d. youth organizations: Hitler Youth

e. church: German Christian Movement, Protestant Reich Church

6. external support: coalition with wealthy elite

III. It Can’t Happen Here

A. Windrip: Huey Long (11% of popular vote)

B. Sarason: Gerald L.K. Smith

a. Share the Wealth

b. $5000 per family

c. guaranteed income

c. Coughlin’s plan

1. National Union for Social Justice:
2. “organized lobby for the people” against “the mighty lobbies of wealth.”

d. Sixteen principles