

**Senior Scholars:  
Interwar Europe:  
Working Out Modernity  
in the Midst of Crisis**

Fall 2019  
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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

**Two Faces of Fascism**

- Ernst Nolte
  - 1963, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche (Fascism in its Epoch)*
  - 1965, *Three Faces of Fascism*

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Ernst Nolte  
**Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche**  
Action française  
Italienischer Faschismus  
Nationalsozialismus  
Piper

A MENTOR BOOK  
THREE FACES OF FASCISM  
ACTION FRANÇAISE  
ITALIAN FASCISM  
NATIONAL SOCIALISM  
BY ERNST NOLTE

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## Two Faces of Fascism

- *Three Faces of Fascism*
  - Italian Fascism
  - German Nazism
  - *Action Francaise* of Charles Maurras

## Two Faces of Fascism

- Fascism functions at three levels:
  - In world of politics as form of opposition to Marxism
  - At sociological level of opposition to bourgeois values
  - In “metapolitical” world of history of grand ideas as form of resistance to “transcendence,” to “spirit of modernity”

## Two Faces of Fascism

- Fascism as the great “anti” movement
  - Anti-liberal
  - Anti-communist
  - Anti-capitalist
  - Anti-bourgeois

## Two Faces of Fascism

- At the core of fascism is nationalism and particularism opposed to the international and universalism of Marxism and liberalism

### Two Faces of Fascism and One Failed Experiment in Liberal Nationalism

- First Austrian Republic
- Various Hungarian Republics in 1918-20 followed by Kingdom of Hungary, which never had a King
- First Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1939



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### First Austrian Republic

- October 12, 1918, Kaiser Karl I met with largest German parties to seek new form of state
  - German Nationalists, largest party, wanted constitutional monarchy of free nations
  - Christian socialists wanted to maintain monarchy and federation of nations
  - Social Democrats wanted a republic, either as a federation of nations or for German part of Austria to join Germany



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### First Austrian Republic

- October 16, 1918, Kaiser Karl I published manifesto offering to convert Austria-Hungary into federation of nations
  - Too late, as Czechs and Slovaks were already creating independent states
  - Hungary moving toward independence
  - Spurred *Reichsrat* of Austria to meet



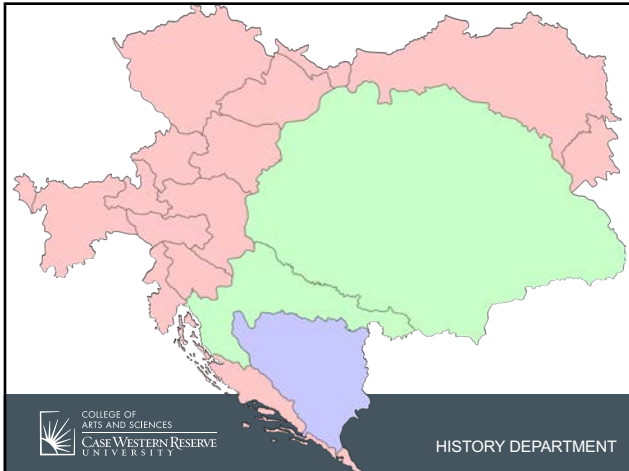
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### First Austrian Republic

- October 21, 1918, Cisleithanian Austrian *Reichsrat* (elected in 1911) met in Vienna
  - Proclaimed itself “Provisional National Assembly for German-Austria”
  - Represented ethnic Germans in all of Cisleithania
  - Included delegates from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia who had refused to join new Czechoslovak state
  - October 30 created new German-Austrian State Council
  - November 11, Kaiser Karl I relinquished right to take part in Austrian affairs of state (did not abdicate)



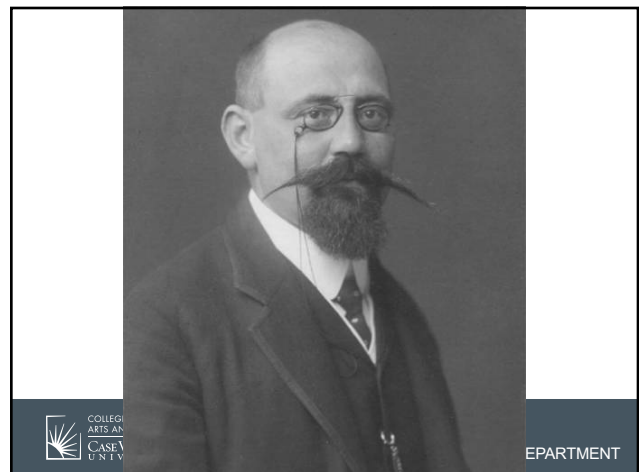
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### First Austrian Republic

- November 11, 1918, National Assembly declared Austria a republic and named Social Democrat Karl Renner provisional chancellor

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### First Austrian Republic

- November 13, 1918, National Assembly asked Germany to start negotiations for union
- November 15 sent telegram to President Wilson asking for support for union of Germany and Austria
  - Argued that Austria had never been a nation
  - No “Austrian” identity
  - Unifying force had been loyalty to Habsburg dynasty
  - With Habsburgs gone, Austrians were simply Germans and should be part of Germany



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### First Austrian Republic

- March 12, 1919, Constituent Assembly declared that German-Austria was a constituent part of German Republic
  - Strongly supported by German Nationalists
  - Strongly supported by Social Democrats
  - Less supported by Christian Socialists



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### First Austrian Republic

- June 2, 1919, draft peace treaty with Austria showed Allies clearly opposed to union between Germany and Austria
  - Treaty of St. Germaine, signed September 10, ratified October 17, required Austria to change its name to “Republic of Austria”
  - Article 88 of Treaty required any change to Austrian independence had to be consented to by Council of League of Nations
  - Treaty of Versailles forbade union between Germany and Austria
  - St. Germaine added to Austria the Burgenland, historically part of Hungary



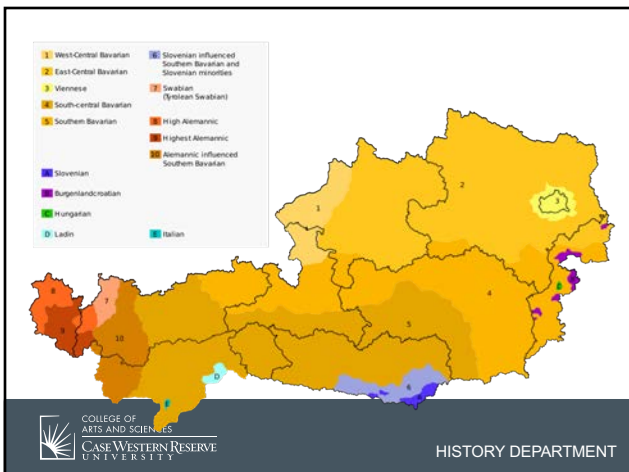
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### First Austrian Republic

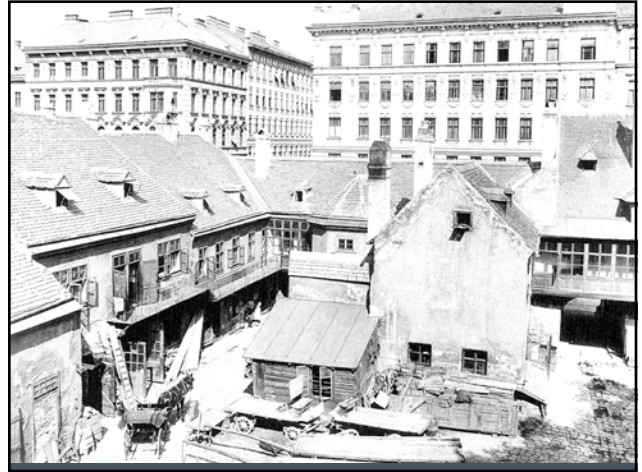
- New Austrian Republic lost significant territories whose populations were majority German
  - Sudetenland to Czechoslovakia
  - South Tyrol to Italy
  - Portion of Alpine provinces to Yugoslavia
  - Avoided loss of southeastern Slovenia and Burgenland



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### First Austrian Republic

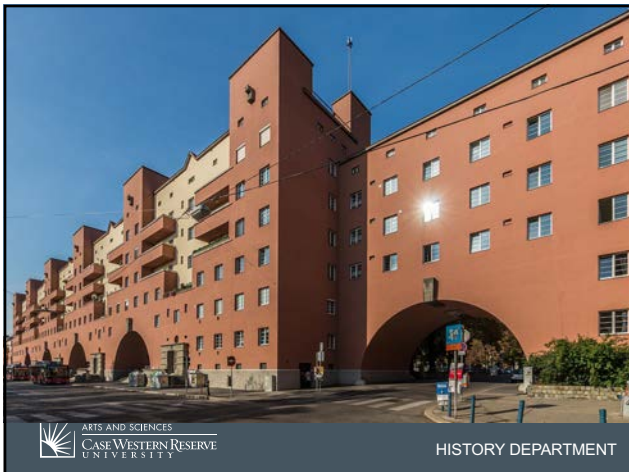
- No political party ever gained parliamentary majority
- Always governed in some coalition
  - In legislative elections of October 17, 1920, Social Democrats lost majority, remained in opposition until 1934 when they were banned
  - Christian Socialist Party, with close ties to Catholic church, usually governed in coalition with Greater German People's Party (Landbund)
  - Christian Socialist Party same as prewar anti-Semitic party of same name, led by Karl Lueger, Mayor of Vienna
    - "Wer Jud' ist, bestimme ich."



### First Austrian Republic

- Social Democrats lost majority but maintained electoral strength
  - After 1930, largest party
  - Always governed Vienna until 1934
  - “Red Vienna” with active municipal socialist program
  - *Gemeindebauten* or public housing
  - Source of continued tension between conservative national government and socialist Vienna municipal government
  - Countryside arrayed against Red Vienna
  - Traditional society against cosmopolitanism and modernity

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### First Austrian Republic

- Both sides maintained political paramilitary forces of demobilized soldiers
  - Social Democrats had *Republikanischer Schutzbund*



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Republikaner, Bild 102-0029  
 Foto: Wally, Getty / J. Schiller 1908-04  
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### First Austrian Republic

- Both sides maintained political paramilitary forces of demobilized soldiers
  - Social Democrats had *Republikanischer Schutzbund*
  - Right wing had *Heimwehr*



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### First Austrian Republic

- July Revolt 1927
  - During political clash in Schattendorf in Burgenland, Heimwehr shot and killed an old man and a child
  - July 14, 1927, shooters acquitted in a trial
  - Leftwing protestors in Vienna burned the Ministry of Justice
  - Police and army shot and killed 89 demonstrators and wounded 600 more
  - Socialists called general strike that lasted for 4 days
  - Political violence continued to escalate

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### First Austrian Republic

- Chronic economic crisis caused by dissolution of economic network of Austro-Hungarian Empire
  - Austrian Republic lacked industry and was not self-sufficient in food
  - Successor states still depended on Vienna banks for public finance
  - Newly erected borders brought tariffs and other trade barriers, creation of new currencies and thus transaction costs
  - Hampered all trade and industry
  - Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Italy imposed trade blockade on Austria in 1920, leading to massive inflation and need for aid from western Allies



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### First Austrian Republic

- Economy stabilized in mid-1920s, but very vulnerable
- Great Depression hit Austria very hard
  - Collapse of Creditanstalt in 1931
  - France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania blocked customs union with Germany in 1931



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### First Austrian Republic

- Political crisis came to head on May 20, 1932, which Engelbert Dollfuss of Christian Socialist Party took power
  - Influenced by chaos of Depression, example of Italy, and by 1931 Papal encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* that attacked liberalism and socialism in favor of corporatism, Dollfuss moved party and Austria toward dictatorship, centralization, and fascism



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### First Austrian Republic

- Christian Socialists had to compete for right-wing voters with Austrian National Socialist Party
- Austrofascism tied Austrian identity to Roman Catholic traditionalism, as means to show why Austria should not join predominantly Protestant Germany

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## First Austrian Republic

- March 1933, Dollfuss dissolved National Council and declared that parliament had ceased to exist
- May 20, 1933, created Fatherland Front (*Vaterländische Front*)
  - Proclaimed the only legal party
  - May 30 banned *Republikanischer Schutzbund*, Communist Party, and Austrian Nazi Party
  - Austria became one-party state



## First Austrian Republic

- February 12, 1934, *Republikanischer Schutzbund* resisted *Heimwehr* in Vienna and civil war broke out
  - Schutzbund troops barricaded themselves into the Gemeindebauten in Vienna
  - Dollfuss ordered Austrian army, previously outside of politics, to shell them, especially in the Karl-Marx-Hof in Vienna
  - Several hundred killed, thousands arrested
  - Sporadic fighting until February 16, Social Democrats crushed
  - SPÖ and its trade unions banned
  - Austrofascist and corporatist, Catholic organicist state triumphant

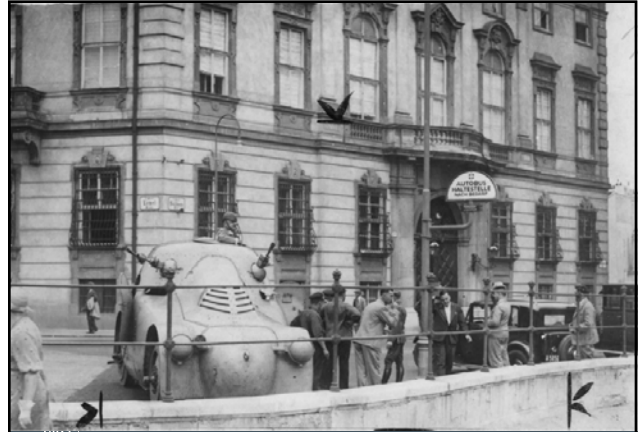


### First Austrian Republic

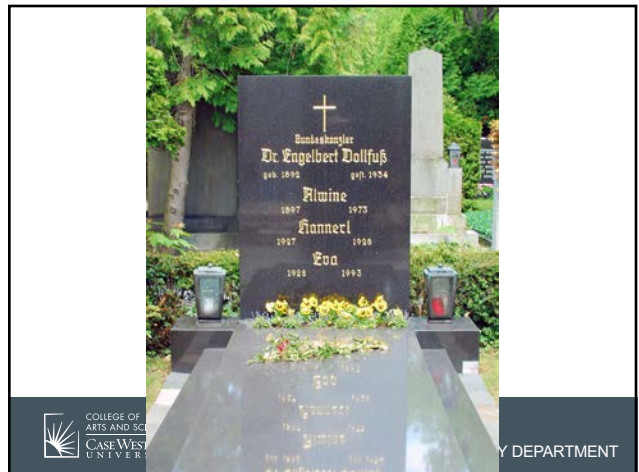
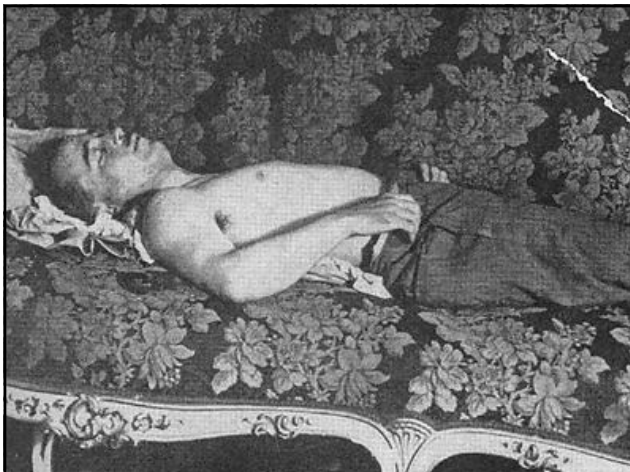
- Dollfuss murdered in failed Nazi coup, July 25, 1934
- Succeeded by Kurt von Schuschnigg



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### Kingdom Without a King

- Hungarians never had any doubt that they were a nation
- Spent interwar period shaping their state and ideology toward recovering territories lost at Trianon
- Profoundly nationalist and revisionist power



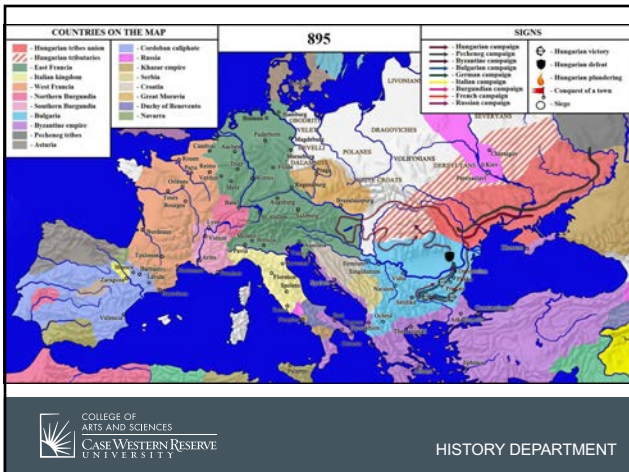
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### Kingdom Without a King

- Magyar people relative latecomers to Europe
  - Conquered Pannonian basin in late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries
  - King Stephen I adopted Christianity as religion for Hungarians around 1000 or 1001
  - Apostolic Kingdom of Hungary
  - Crown of St. Stephen



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### Kingdom Without a King

- In Great Schism of 1054, Hungarians remained with Western, Latin Christianity
- Recognized authority of Pope in Rome
- Created an identity as easternmost representatives, and defenders, of western civilization
- “Shield of Christianity”



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### Kingdom Without a King

- Expanded north, south, and east in 15<sup>th</sup> century
- Magyars moved into Slovakia, Transylvania, Banat, Voivodina

### Kingdom Without a King

- But in 1526, suffered crushing defeat at hands of Ottomans in Battle of Mohacs
  - King of Hungary (and Bohemia), Louis II, died on battlefield
  - Turks occupied most of Hungary
  - Tiny remainder of the Kingdom of Hungary elected as King Ferdinand of Habsburg, younger brother (and successor) to Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V
  - Thereafter, head of House of Habsburg was elected King of Hungary
    - Initially only small "Royal Hungary"
    - After 1683, original lands of Kingdom of Hungary gradually liberated from Ottomans and added to Habsburg Monarchy

### Kingdom Without a King

- In first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, sense of Magyar nationalism began to grow
  - Spurred by focus on Magyar language, which replaced Latin as language of education and government
  - Culminated during Revolutions of 1848 in call for Hungarian independence from Austrian Empire
    - Lajos Kossuth
  - Repressed militarily in 1849 after revolution crushed in Bohemia and Austria, with help of 360,000 Russian troops



### Kingdom Without a King

- After Austrian defeat by Prussia in 1866, great Constitutional Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867 gave Hungary substantial autonomy
  - Personal union under Habsburgs
  - Common foreign and military policy
  - Customs union
  - After 1878 common administration of Bosnia-Herzegovina

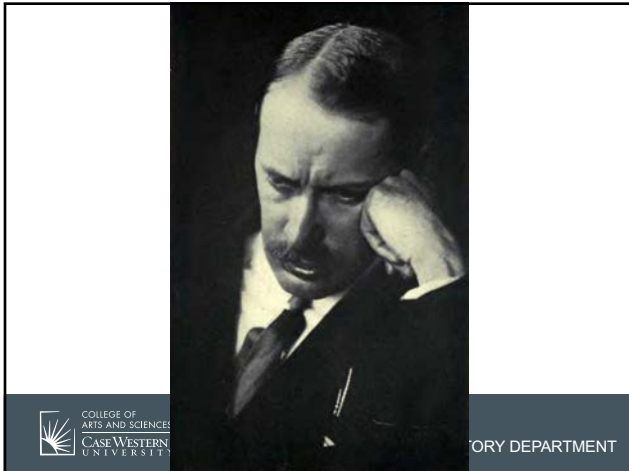
### Kingdom Without a King

- After 1867, a strong policy of Magyarization aimed at non-Magyar Hungarians
  - Slovakia
  - Rumanians in Transylvania
  - Croatia

### Kingdom Without a King

- October 31, 1918, Aster Revolution in Budapest
  - Same day, King Charles IV (Kaiser Karl I), appointed Mihály Károlyi, a leader of the revolution, as Prime Minister of Hungary





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### Kingdom Without a King

- November 3, 1918, signed Armistice of Villa Giusti ending fighting
- November 16, 1918, proclaimed Hungarian Democratic Republic, with Károlyi as Prime Minister

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### Kingdom Without a King

- November 4, 1918, Hungarian Communist Party founded in hotel in Moscow
  - Soon gained important support within Hungary
  - By February 1919 had 30,000-40,000 members
  - Army demobilized under terms of Armistice of Villa Giusti, many returned soldiers in Budapest and elsewhere
  - Béla Kun, leader of Communists, arrested
    - Garnered sympathy when it was reported that police beat him

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### Kingdom Without a King

- Kun released from prison in March
- March 2, 1919, proclaimed Hungarian Soviet Republic
- Wrote temporary constitution
  - Guaranteed liberal rights
  - Socialized industry, commerce, housing, transport, banking, medicine, cultural institution, all larger landholdings
  - Promised to restore Hungary's borders

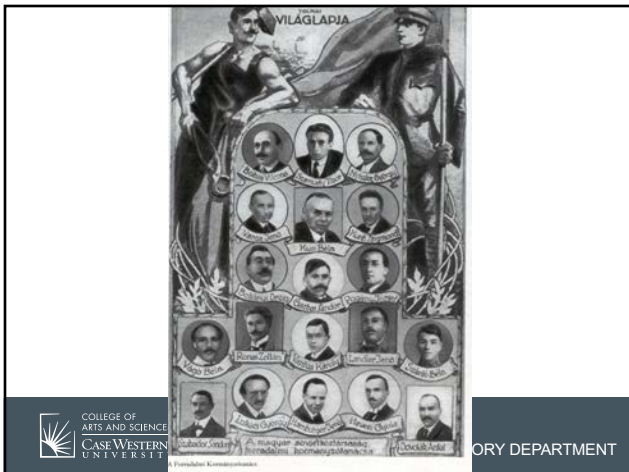
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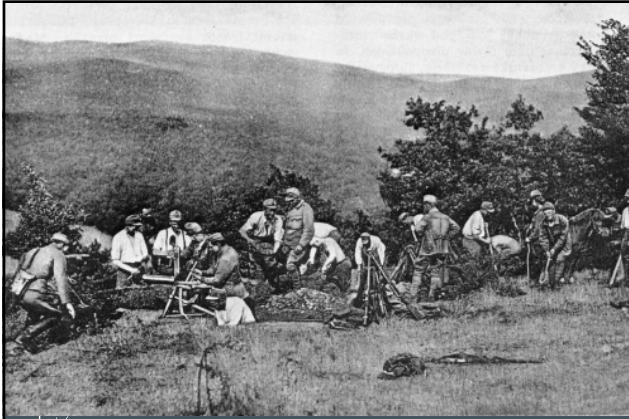
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## Kingdom Without a King

- Hungarian Soviet Republic
  - Resorted to arbitrary violence against opponents
    - Revolutionary tribunals ordered 590 executions for "crimes against the revolution"
    - Used "red terror" to requisition grain from peasants
  - In May 1919, invaded and reoccupied Slovakia
  - June 25, 1919, proclaimed dictatorship of the proletariat
  - Attacked Romania in Transylvania



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### Kingdom Without a King

- Hungarian Soviet Republic
  - Forced to withdraw from Slovakia under threat from French and military action by France and Yugoslavia in the south
  - Romanians defeated Hungarians on July 30
  - Romanians occupied Budapest on August 1; remained for 6 months
  - Kun fled to Vienna and then Moscow; perished in purges of 1930s

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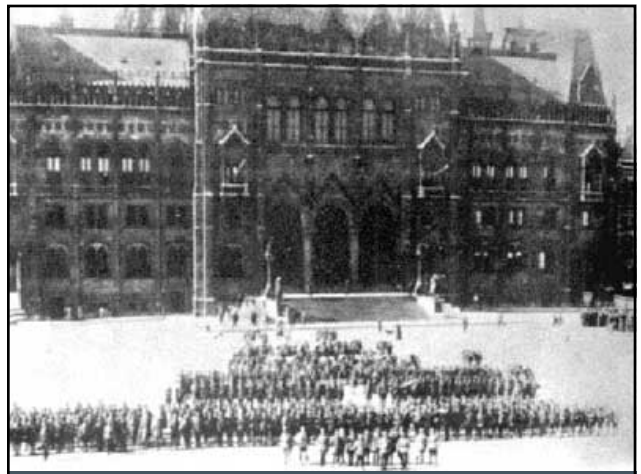
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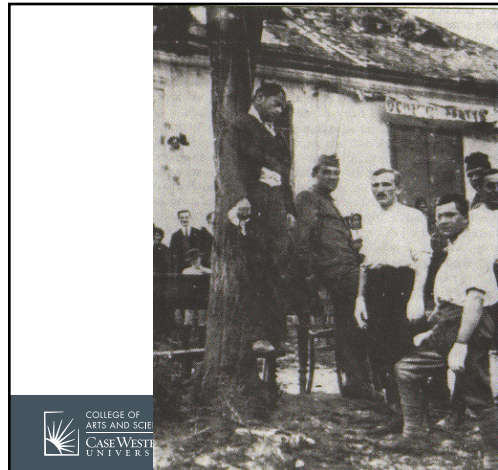
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### Kingdom Without a King

- Hungarian Soviet Republic
  - Militantly anti-communist authoritarian government entered Budapest with Romanian occupation troops
    - Engaged in "White Terror"
    - Killed about 5,000, imprisoned 75,000
    - Particularly targeted Jews for retribution (many of Soviet Republic's leaders were Jewish)
  - 100,000 Hungarians had to leave country to avoid persecution
    - Socialists
    - Intellectuals
    - Middle-class Jews

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### Kingdom Without a King

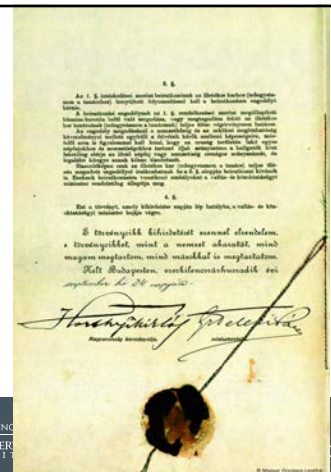
- In March 1920, Kingdom of Hungary restored
  - Admiral Miklós Horthy named Regent
  - King Charles IV (Kaiser Karl I) asked not to fill vacant throne
  - Horthy declared null and void all laws and edicts passed by either Károlyi or Kun
  - Cracked down on all dissent
  - Introduced authoritarian reforms
    - Set quotas limiting admission of Jews to universities
    - Legalized capital punishment
    - Began steps toward major land reform by dividing largest estates into smallholdings



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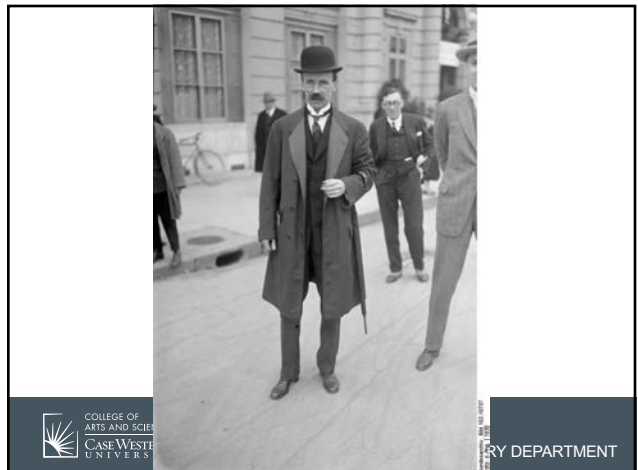
### Kingdom Without a King

- In March 1921, King Charles IV (Kaiser Karl I) attempted to retake Hungarian throne
  - Nationalist right-wing radicals opposed Habsburg restoration and preferred election of a Hungarian king
  - Attempted putsch delegitimated idea of monarchy, so Horthy became in essence permanent leader as Regent



### Kingdom Without a King

- New Party of Unity emerged led by István Bethlen
  - Dominated Hungarian politics until 1931



### Kingdom Without a King

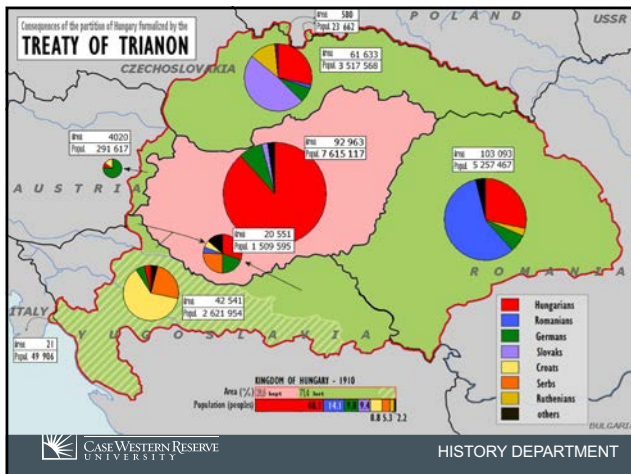
- Treat of Trianon June 1920 disaster
  - Nationalist irredentism
  - Economic dislocation



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### Kingdom Without a King

- Hungary lost 2/3 of prewar territory
  - Hungarians 90 percent of rump state
  - Germans next at 8 percent



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### Kingdom Without a King

- Hungary no longer self-sufficient
- Had to become trading nation
- Retained much of industrial and financial base
- Economy stabilized by 1926-27
- Stability crushed by Great Depression



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### Kingdom Without a King

- On October 1, 1932, Horthy appointed Gyula Gömbös as Prime Minister
  - Had been reactionary demagogue; moderated to obtain office
  - Showed ascendancy of radical right
  - Advocated:
    - One-party government
    - Revision of Treaty of Trianon
    - Withdrawal from League of Nations
    - Anti-intellectualism
    - Social reform
  - First foreign head of government to visit Hitler after he became German Chancellor



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### Kingdom Without a King

- Gömbös also visited Mussolini to seek support for revision of the Treaty of Trianon
- Signed trade agreement with Germany that drew Hungarian economy out of depression but made Hungary dependent on German economy for raw materials and markets
  - 1928, 19.5 percent of Hungarian imports, 11.7 percent of exports
  - 1939, 52.5 percent of Hungarian imports, 52.2 percent of exports



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### Kingdom Without a King

- By late 1930s, Hungary
  - Clearly in German orbit
  - Clearly authoritarian in domestic politics
  - Clearly revisionist in foreign affairs



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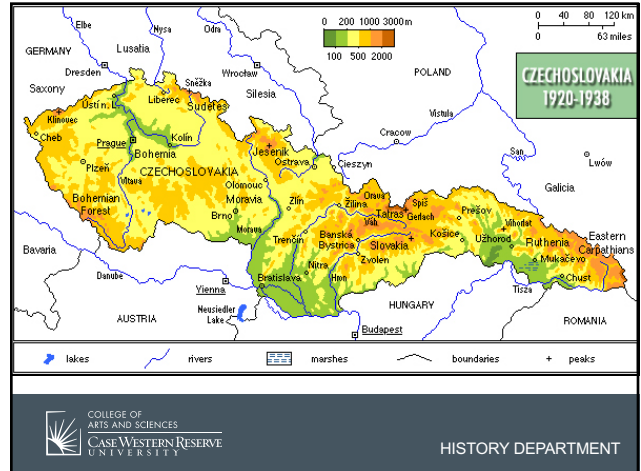
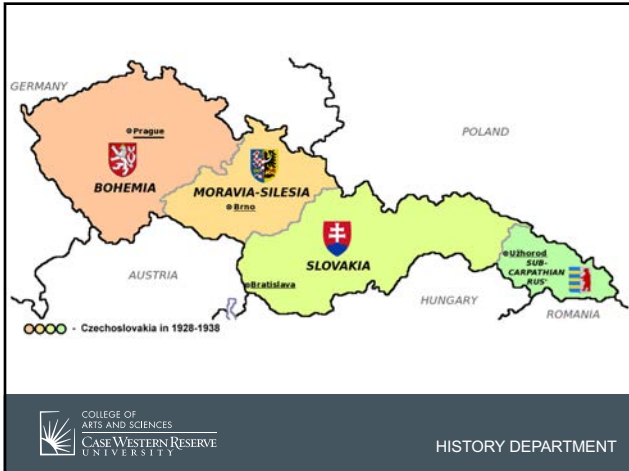
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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Crown of St. Wenceslas
  - Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia
  - Electoral dignity of Holy Roman Empire
  - Bohemia economically rich and advanced area
  - Capital at Prague preferred Habsburg residence until 17<sup>th</sup> century
    - Stricter court etiquette than in Vienna
  - Charles University founded in 1348
    - Oldest university in Germany
    - Divided into German and Czech universities only in 1882



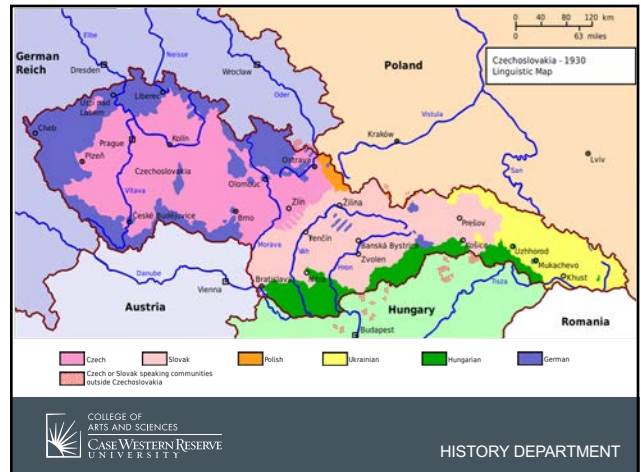
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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Crown of St. Wenceslas
  - Land of mixed populations
  - Land of mixed religion
    - Hussites in 15<sup>th</sup> century

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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Sense of Czech national identity emerged in early 19<sup>th</sup> century
  - Expanding universal education and literacy
    - Czech language Bible as early as 16<sup>th</sup> century, but used primarily by Protestants
    - Catholics still used Latin Vulgate
  - Beginning 1836, Frantisek Palacky published *History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*
  - Completed in 1867, bringing history up to 1526 and death of King Louis, King of Bohemia as well as King of Hungary



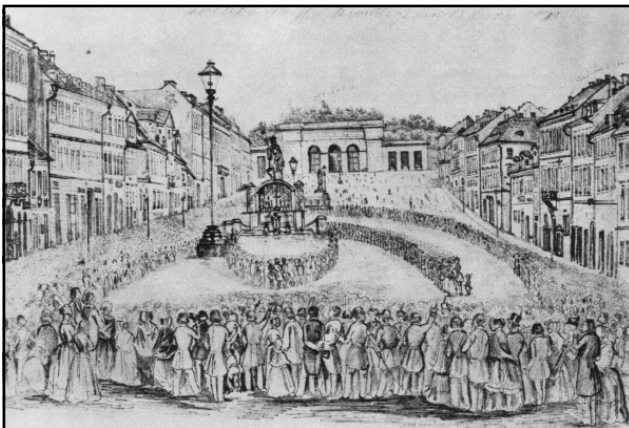
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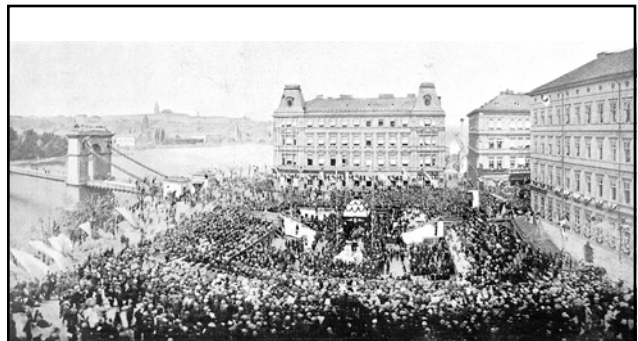
FRANTISEK PALACKY.



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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

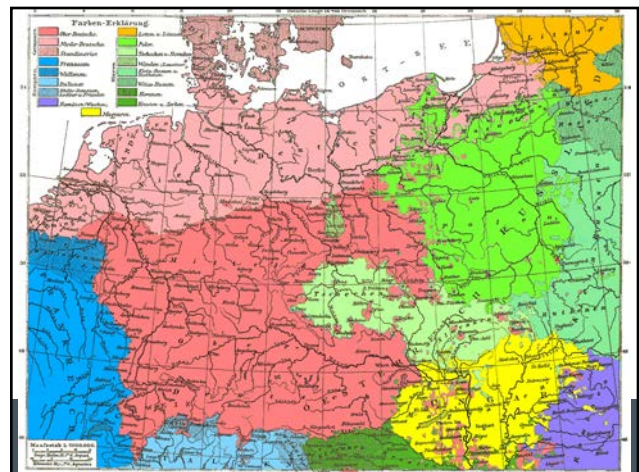
- In 1848, representatives from Prague decline invitation to send delegates to German National Assembly in Frankfurt/Main
- Held Prague Slavic Congress instead
- Proposed not merger of Bohemia, or all of Austria, into a united Germany, but creation of a Habsburg empire that was a federation of autonomous states, including a Czech state in Bohemia and Moravia

### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- After *Ausgleich* in 1867, Czechs strove for a “Triallism” in the Dual Monarchy, even a four-part federation with South Slavs
- Meanwhile, Bohemia and Moravia became industrial heartland of Austria-Hungary

### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Czech nationalists saw Austrian entry into World War I as chance to promote an independent Czecho-Slovakia
- Embraced “Czechoslovakism,” to create, from two radically different but related peoples, a single state
  - Legitimated Czech nationalism to foreign powers by creating group larger than the Germans
  - Industrialized Bohemia and Moravia wanted access to raw materials of Slovakia



1921 ethnatonational census<sup>[3]</sup>

Regions	"Czechoslovaks" (Czechs and Slovaks)	Germans	Hungarians	Rusyns	Jews	Others	Total
Bohemia	4,382,788	2,173,239	5,476	2,007	11,251	93,757	6,668,518
Moravia	2,048,426	547,604	534	976	15,335	46,448	2,649,323
Silesia <sup>[4]</sup>	296,194	252,365	94	338	3,681	49,530	602,202
Slovakia	2,013,792	139,900	637,183	85,644	70,529	42,313	2,989,361
Carpathian Ruthenia	19,737	10,460	102,144	372,884	80,059	6,760	592,044
<b>Czechoslovak Republic</b>	<b>8,760,937</b>	<b>3,123,568</b>	<b>745,431</b>	<b>461,849</b>	<b>180,855</b>	<b>238,080</b>	<b>13,410,750</b>

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Table. Declared Nationality of Jews in Czechoslovakia<sup>[1]</sup>

Ethnonationality	1921,%	1930,%
Jewish	53.62	57.20
Czechoslovak	21.84	24.52
German	14.26	12.28
Hungarian	8.45	4.71
Others	1.83	1.29

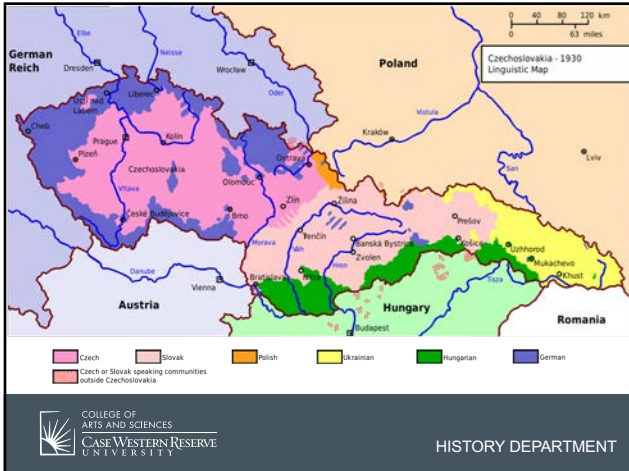
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Table. 1921 ethnatonational census<sup>[2]</sup>

Regions	German-speaking population	%	Total population
Bohemia	2 173 239	32.6%	6 668 518
Moravia	547 604	20.7%	2 649 323
Silesia	252 365	41.9%	602 202
Slovakia	139 900	4.7%	2 989 361
Carpathian Ruthenia	10 460	1.8%	592 044
<b>Czechoslovak Republic</b>	<b>3 123 568</b>	<b>23.3%</b>	<b>13 410 750</b>

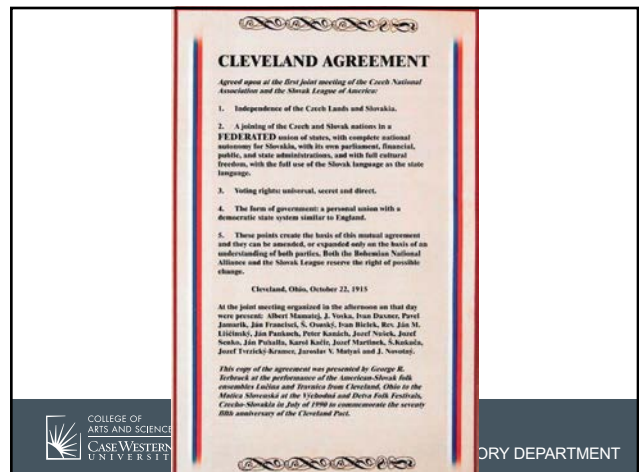
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- ### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic
- But great difficulties
    - Bohemia and Moravia had been in Austrian half of Dual Monarchy
      - Ruled with relative tolerance and benefitted from economic liberalism
    - Slovakia in Hungarian half
      - Subject to Magyarization and repression
      - Slovaks remained peasant farmers while higher education and government officials dominated by Magyars, Germans, and Jews in urban areas
    - Language differences overly minimized
    - Incipient friction and tension from beginning
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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- First step toward independence was Cleveland Agreement of October 22-23, 1915
- Czech National Association met with Slovak League of America at Bohemian National Hall on Broadway
- Agreed to cooperate to establish independent Czechoslovak state

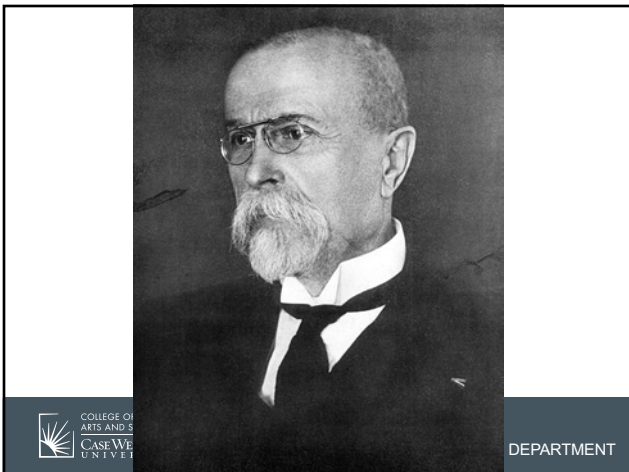


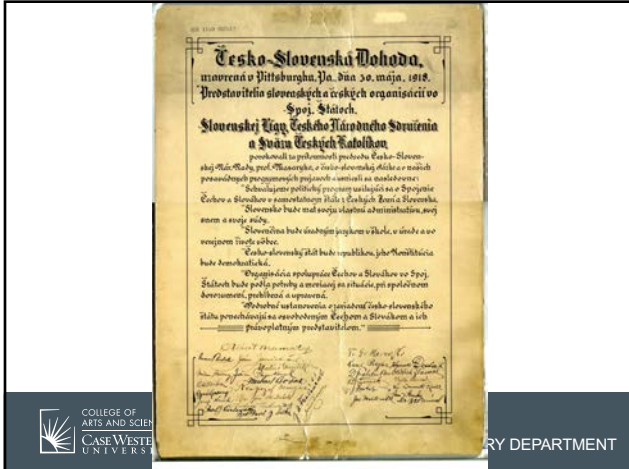


### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Formalized in presence of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk in Pittsburgh Agreement of May 1918
  - Czech and Slovak exile associations called for a Czechoslovak state
  - Mentioned Czech and Slovak nations separately
  - Endorsed by Czechoslovak Council in Paris

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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Czechoslovak National Committee set up in Prague in July 1918
- September 1918, U.S. government recognized it as Czechoslovak government
- Declared independence on October 28, 1918

### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NATION BY ITS PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

AT THIS CRISIS MOMENT, when the Habsburgs are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the Allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey and when the Hapsburgs, promising the federalization of the empire and autonomy to the disarmed nationalities committed to their rule, we, the Czechoslovak National Council, recognized by the Allied and American Governments as the Provisional Government of the Czechoslovak State and Nation, in complete accord with the Declaration of the Czech Deputies made in Prague on January 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization, and still more, autonomy means nothing under a Hapsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our Declaration of Independence.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty which they do not recognize, and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation cannot freely develop in a Hapsburg mock-federation, which is only a new form of the demoralizing oppression under which we have suffered for the past three hundred years. We consider freedom to be the first pre-

1

### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Provisional National Assembly convened November 14, 1918
- Representation based on 1911 elections to Austrian parliament, plus 54 seats for Slovakia
  - Elected Masaryk President
  - Drafted Provisional Constitution
- March 1919, Czechoslovakia sent Czech troops into German areas of Bohemia and Moravia, where German inhabitants had been agitating to be party of Austria or annexed to Germany
  - Fired on and killed German demonstrators in several cities



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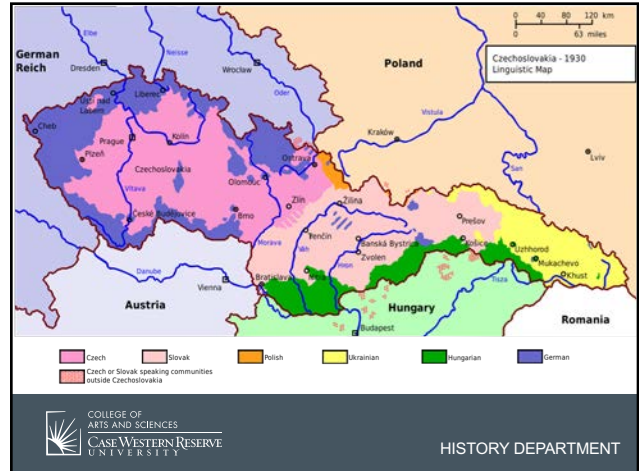
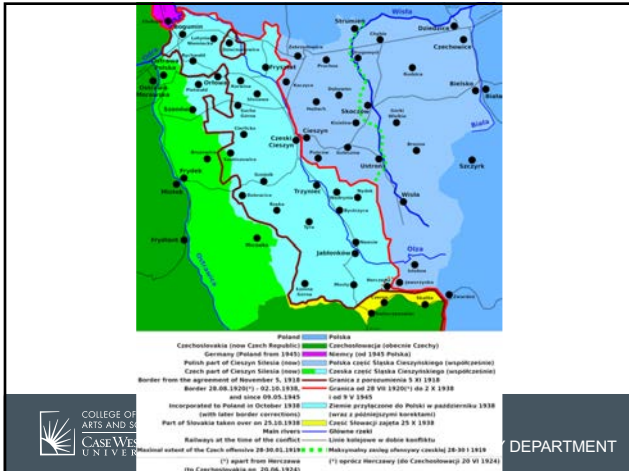
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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- January 1920, Czechoslovak army broke prior agreements with Poland and crossed demarcation line in Teschen
  - Territory divided with Poland
  - Czechoslovak portion still majority Polish



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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- September 10, 1919, Czechoslovakia signed League of Nations Minorities Treaty
  - Placed ethnic minorities under protection of League



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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Constitution of 1920 provided for democratic and centralized state
  - Slovakia felt systematically disadvantaged, compared to better-educated, more industrialized Bohemia and Moravia
  - Slovak People's Party under Andrej Hlinka emerged to give voice to Slovak discontent
  - German political parties participated in parliament, as did Hungarian
  - Constitution protected national minorities
    - Where they constituted 20 percent of population, guaranteed full freedom to use minority language in everyday life, in schools, in dealings with government



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### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- After Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, Sudeten Germans formed Sudeten German Party
  - Funded by Nazis
  - In 1935 won 2/3 of German vote
  - Germans were 23.3 percent of Czechoslovak population in 1921 census

### First Czecho-Slovakian Republic

- Thus, the one relatively stable and democratic state in central Europe rested upon incipient fissures
  - Resentful, backward Slovakia
  - Restless German minority
  - Irredentist ambitions of neighbors, Hungary and Poland
  - Foreign policy patrons, France and Russia, supported it for convenience, not intrinsically
  - Nationalist appeal corroded forces holding Czechoslovakia together