

Contents

Author's Preface to the English Translation	ix
Translator's Acknowledgment	xiii

PART ONE

Fascism and the Era of World Wars

1 Fascism as Characteristic of an Era	17
2 Fascism in Europe (1919-1945)	27
Fascist Movements	27
Interpretations of Fascism	34
First Definition	39
3 Methods and Objective of Study	41
Criteria of Selection	41

PART TWO

The Action Française

1 The Disparate Roots	51
Introduction: Revolution and the Political Doctrine	51
Christian Conservatism: de Maistre and de Bonald	57
Critical Liberalism: Comte, Le Play, Renan, Taine, Fustel de Coulanges	61
Radical Conservatism: de La Tour du Pin, Drumont, Barrès	74
2 History	83
Introduction: The Dreyfus Affair	83
Maurras' Development to 1898	88
The Action Française to the Founding of its Newspaper	96
From the Founding of the Newspaper to the End of the War	100
From the End of the War to the Condemnation by Rome	106
Condemnation by the Vatican	109
From the Vatican's Condemnation to the Defeat of France	111
Vichy	114
Charles Maurras' Trial, Imprisonment, and Death	119

3	Practice as Consequence	125
	Introduction: The Place of Practice and Its Moti- vations	125
	Organization of the Action Française	127
	The Leadership	132
	The Style	135
4	The Doctrine	139
	Introduction: The Hidden System	139
	Fear as the Origin	140
	State and Sovereignty	143
	State and War	152
	State and Classes	155
	The Enemy as a Whole	164
	The Battle	172
	The Philosophical Basis	182

PART THREE Italian Fascism

1	History	193
	Fascism and the Action Française	193
	How the European Knot Was Tied in Italy	193
	Digression on Method	199
	Mussolini the Marxist (1902-1914)	200
	The War as Revolution	219
	Struggle for Social Democracy	233
	Nationalism	238
	D'Annunzio in Fiume	242
	Mussolini's Darkest Year	245
	The Socialist Face of 1920	248
	Fascist "Re-action"	254
	Mussolini's Unexpected Rise and His Last Battle for Coherence	263
	The Beginnings of National Fascism	270
	National Fascist Totalitarian Development Dicta- torship	280
	The Last Autonomous Stage (1935-1937)	290
	Despotism of Conquest and Satellite State	294
	Return to the Origins?— <i>Repubblica di Salò</i>	303
2	The Fixed Doctrine	313
3	The Irsome Precursors	319
4	Practice as Premise	323
	Up to the March on Rome	323
	After the Seizure of Power (to 1931)	334
	The Starace Era (1931-1939)	341
	Enilogue	346

PART FOUR
National Socialism

1	National Socialism and Fascism	351
2	The Background: The Race Doctrine	353
3	History	365
	Adolf Hitler	365
	Austria: The Progressive Feudal State	374
	The German Reich: The Feudal Industrial State	379
	War, Revolution, and Peace Treaty	385
	Hitler's Political Beginnings	396
	Teachers and Forces Surrounding the Early Hitler	410
	The Fresh Start (1925-1930)	422
	Appeal to the Masses and Rise to Power (1930-1931)	427
	Single-Minded Seizure of Power (1933)	432
	War in Peacetime (1934-1939)	438
	Levels of War and Degrees of Resistance	447
	Universal Hostility and End	455
4	Practice as Fulfillment	461
	1919-1923	461
	1925-1932	468
	1933-1939	472
	1939-1945	496
5	The Doctrine in Context	507
	Fear and Its Intentions	507
	Unconditional Sovereignty	513
	Eternal War	515
	Absolute Supremacy	517
	Distant Models	522
	Global Struggle for "Recovery"	524
	Nature and Antinature	527

PART FIVE

	Fascism as a Metapolitical Phenomenon	
	The Concept of Transcendence	537
	Marx: Philosophical Discovery and Critique of Bourgeois Society	543
	Nietzsche: The Prebourgeois Soil of "Culture"	551
	Max Weber: The Theoretician of Bourgeois Society before Fascism	558
	Outline of a Transcendental Sociology of this Period	563

Appendix A	569
Appendix B	573
Notes	579
Selected Reading List	671
Index	675