

# *Comparative Study of Fascism and Ultra-Nationalism: Concept and Case*

Bingxu Yao<sup>1,a</sup>, Junbo Tao<sup>2,b</sup>, and Ziyang Wang<sup>3,c,\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Department of Political Economy, King's College London, London, SE59NU, UK*

<sup>2</sup>*Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science, London, WC2A2AE, UK*

<sup>3</sup>*School of International and Public Affairs, Jilin University, Changchun, 130015, China  
c. wangzy9918@mails.jlu.edu.cn*

*\*corresponding author*

**Abstract:** Fascism and ultra-nationalism are closely related, and while fascism absorbs ultra-nationalism, it is also different from it. Leaders played an important role in the transition from ultra-nationalism to fascism and the construction of fascism. The police order is a characteristic of fascism and a bridge between ultra-nationalism and fascism. By comparing the specific cases of German Nazis and Israel under the Religious Zionist Party and New Right, the key difference between fascism and ultra-nationalism is reflected in many aspects. This work will provide a new interpretation path for the integration and comparison of fascism and ultra-nationalism. As well as reference and inspiration for future research on the influence of leaders, ideologies and systems on the historical path of regime change and hierarchical order.

**Keywords:** Fascism, Ultra-nationalism, Leadership, Police order.

## 1. Introduction

The term 'Fascism' is suspected of being overused, when people see the almost fanatical worship of political leaders and discriminatory xenophobic attitudes, it is easy to compare these scenes with the history of fascism. Some political events, such as US President Donald Trump's speech and the rise of the Alternative for Germany Party in the German election, have not seen a similar rise of the radical right since the 1930s, a development that naturally evokes memories of fascism [1]. Is fascism, however, really so simple? What does authentic fascism entail? Observers and academics alike have been divided and perplexed, and the discussion of fascism over the past century has produced a large number of literature. Roger David Griffin, a well-known scholar of fascism, has authored numerous publications on the subject. He proposed 'Fascism is a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultra-nationalism.' [2] More specifically, Fascism is a revolutionary form of nationalism, is determined to mobilize all "healthy" social and political energies to resist the impact of "decadence" in order to achieve the goal of national rebirth. It also involves the revival of political culture and moral culture [3]. Griffin's views are universal, but they have also been questioned and criticized by some scholars. Eatwell argued that the emotion of fascism should not be overemphasized. Although fascism often uses religious images and language, it is inaccurate to define fascism with religious models [4]. He defined fascism as: An ideology that

strives to forge social rebirth based on a holistic-national radical Third Way. The last word refers to the four themes that form the basis of the core worldview of fascism, they are Nationalism, Holism (The sum of parts makes the whole) , Radicalism and The Third Way( Fascism is hostile to both capitalism and socialism, but draws on aspects of both ) [5,6]. This more comprehensive generalization covers almost all the characteristics of fascism. On this basis, Eatwell has further developed his own discourse on fascism, proposed that the core of fascist ideology is three partially overlapping core themes: One is the concept of "new man" which is different from the reactionaries and the reformist right wing, the second is integral nationalism is its essence, and a Third Way is its last theme, these form the matrix of fascism [7]. Zeev Sternhell and others discussed the evolution of Marxism and socialism, especially Sorel's syndicalism. They proposed Fascism was a revision of Marxism, represented a synthesis of organic nationalism with the anti-materialist revision of Marxism [8]. This interpretation path emphasizes the connection between fascism and socialism or syndicalism, fascism evolved from socialism, added national-centric elements, and became an anti-communism ideology.

In addition to these ideological definitions of fascism, this work tend to think that fascism should be seen as an integrated set of ideas and practices. As Mussolini stated: 'Fascism was not the nursling of a doctrine previously drafted at a desk; it was born of the need of action, and was action; it was not a party but, in the first two years, an anti-party and a movement.' [9] Fascism in practice has obvious national-centered characteristics. The Fascism and Fascists seeks to elevate the state above a definition based on biology, culture, or history and to create a motivated community that depends on state support [10]. Fascism is more than just an ideology, the observation and definition of fascism are largely derived from how several fascist regimes are in power.

The discussion on the definition of fascism shows that fascism is a political ideology that integrates syndicalism, extreme nationalism, militarism, and authoritarianism, and opposes liberalism and communism. This work have noticed that no matter how fascism is defined, nationalism is the core contained in it and shows extreme characteristics, such as war of aggression and militarism. This work try to consider some perspectives with distinctive characteristics and answer the following questions: How ultra-nationalism was added to fascism? How does fascism embody the characteristics of ultra-nationalism? What are the similarities and differences between fascism and ultra-nationalism? To address these issues, this article develops three sections. Firstly, the first section will focus on the leadership of fascism to demonstrate how the fascist leaders contribute to the absorption of ultra-nationalism by fascism. Then, the second section will investigate the interrelationship between fascism and police to discuss the role of the core ultra-nationalist element in constructing the institutional settings of a fascist state. Finally, the third section will examine the key differences between fascism and ultra-nationalism by studying specific cases. The study of fascism and ultra-nationalism will not only improve the understanding of the key differences between these two different ideologies but also demonstrate the complex interactions between fascism and ultra-nationalism. Therefore, this study will contribute to address the controversial topic of fascism's ideological definition and political practices. Moreover, this article will provide reference to and inspiration for future studies of the impact of leaders, ideologies and institutions on the historical path towards regime change and hierarchical order.

## 2. Leadership

There is no need today to insist on the historical importance of Benito Mussolini, his qualities of leadership, his sense of opportunity, or the role he played in the rise to power of the Fascist movement.' [11] Hitler and Mussolini became prominent images of European fascism, their role in the development of fascist parties and the formation of fascist ideas cannot be ignored. The importance of leadership in fascism is reflected in two aspects: The will of the leaders ensured the radicalism of

fascism and fused it with the characteristics of extreme nationalism. Both Nazism and Fascism reflected much of the personality of their leader [12]. In the process of absorbing ultra-nationalism, Fascist leaders usually portray themselves as representatives of national interests, radicalize nationalism, and form fanatical worship. The realization of this process largely relied on the charisma of the leaders. Ultra-nationalism has contributed to dictatorship as a form of power distribution in the fascist regime. Leaders directly control the majority of power and the voice of opposition was suppressed as a betrayal of the nation. In this part of the article, this work will explore the role of fascist leaders in the process of incorporating ultra-nationalism into fascism. There will be a focus on Italian Fascism and German National Socialism, both due to space constraints as well as because these are the major examples where the role of the leader can be recorded and analyzed in detail.

## 2.1. Spokesperson of Nation

Ultra-nationalism is used as a tool for leaders to stir up the masses, Fascist leader claims to be a spokesperson for ethnic interests. Leaders such as Hitler preached racism and anti-Semitism in their pretensions to represent the interests of the ethnic nation. Although Mussolini did not emphasize racism like Hitler did, he devoted himself to an imagined "New Rome".

Mussolini is usually considered to have started as a socialist, Influenced by Syndicalism and elite theory [13], eventually became radical and fanatical. In this process, what has not changed is the worship of revolution and violence, but the goal has shifted from the proletariat to the Italian nation. When Mussolini absorbed and used modernist nationalism, he did not abandon the revolutionary mythology, but Italianized it to adapt to modernist nationalism [14]. Italy after World War exposed many crises within society, Mussolini preached that the veterans should form the core of the new ruling elite, and a unique confluence of historical events had finally enabled him to fulfill his destiny: he was going to lead the way to 'Great Italy' as a 'New Man'. [15] Through his speech, Mussolini integrated his personal ambitions into national interests. His speech is a true example of fascism because it emphasizes an important core: the fierce struggle against the 'anti-national enemy' until its annihilation [16]. When Marcia su Rome happened, the enemies of the Italian nation were the 'corrupt ruling class and cowardly politicians', his enemies include the Communist Party and the liberal government, in the subsequent foreign aggression, the enemies of the Italian nation transferred to Ethiopia and other countries. Mussolini also linked the fascist regime with the legacy of ancient Rome, enhancing the legitimacy of the regime from classical history. Just like the origin of the word "fascism", Mussolini constructed an Italian national myth that inherits the Roman Empire. Such historical tracing not only portrays Mussolini as the almighty father and leader of Italy, his knowledge is also considered to include ancient times [17], and it also makes the fascist regime more sacred.

Hitler started a process of redefining the country with "Mein Kampf", which is the construction process of the Nazi's ultra-nationalist thinking. Smith explained that the process of redefinition deepens the boundaries between ethnic groups, but it also determines the national identity of the country [18]. Hitler believed that all of Germany's ills sprang from inattention to the natural laws of racial inequality and purity, and especially from subservience to the Jews whom he held responsible for the degeneration of Germany [19]. Hitler's vicious descriptions of Jews are numerous in this book, but what's more important is the meaning of this book. Experienced the defeat of World War and severe treaty restrictions, the Germans, without integrating identifications anywhere, began to listen to Hitler's voice, this is the first time in German history the spirit and image of German youth reflected through politics [20]. Mein Kampf is a declaration with the political goal and programmatic nature, When the second world war ended in 1945, the Germans had sold 12 million copies of the book and it was a bestseller in the 1930s, according to The Guardian [21]. In Hitler's thinking, both the Jews and the Communist Party were enemies of the German nation and even the Aryans. Hitler used "Aryan" to describe the white race. Members of this so-called race speak Indo-European languages

and are hailed as benefiting all the advancements of mankind. They are superior to the yellow and black races, and the Germans are regarded as the the purest member of "Aryan race". Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that socialists are seen as enemies of the state, because they see themselves as part of the "class" and support the cause of proletarian internationalism. Moreover, not only are communists regarded as betrayers of the motherland, but also supporters of liberal ideologies that do not emphasize national interests are also regarded as anti-nationalists [22]. These ideas highlighted Hitler's spiritual leadership and became the basic political ideology of German fascism and

Just as Mussolini tried to establish a connection with the Roman Empire, fascist leaders also seek to use historical-cultural legitimation. Germans generally believe that emphasizing strong leadership can bring more benefits, as evidenced by the great achievements of Otto von Bismarck. During the post-1919 Weimar governments, Thomas Carlisle's *On Heroes* was republished under the name Didrich Right-wing Publishing House during the Weimar government after 1919, and it was sold well. Hitler was also good at using German traditions, often mentioned the role of great men in German history, even before becoming Chancellor [23]. Under Hitler's influence, the Nazis tried to show their traditional faces to integrate into the circle of establishment, with a deeper purpose to portray their leader-based nationalism as part of the deeper traditions of Germany [24].

It needs to be pointed out that Hitler's ideas are not original, Blavatsky's thought, Guido von List and others described possible channels through which Theosophical ideas might have reached Hitler and shaped his racial ideology. [25]. But Hitler's role not only kept these thoughts at the ideological and theoretical level, but turned them into reality, his racial ideology and ultra-nationalist ideas, which eventually transformed into features of fascist dictatorship in Germany. So why are Hitler and Mussolini able to exert their personal influence so successfully, to attract widespread support and even establish political power through the topic of extreme nationalism? Their personal charisma played an important role in this process.

## 2.2. Charisma and the Role of Leaders

Charisma is an indispensable quality for a qualified leader in any group, in political ideology, charisma is given a more specific meaning. Charles Lindholm defines political charisma as: compulsive, inexplicable emotional tie linking a group of followers together in adulation of their leader [26]. This definition emphasizes that the connection produced by Charisma not only depends on human emotions that are difficult to explain, but also difficult to be rejected. But the academic significance of "charm" is controversial, for instance, The charismatic phenomenon according to Peter Worsley was nothing more than a soggy "sponge" concept [27], which shows that it lacks the value of certainty and analysis. Roger Eatwell argued that fascism can be analyzed through charm: Hitler attracted followers who believed that he had a special mission and/or was given special powers, and many people began to see Nazism through their leaders. This process creates an almost religious atmosphere around the leader [28]. This paper tend to think that the unique charisma of being a leader is meaningful for explaining reality, but how the charisma works is worth exploring. As Max Weber described the source of power's legitimacy [29], the charisma of the leader brought more legitimacy to the fascist regime. But Kallis argues that the 'leadership cult' of fascist leaders is different from 'Charismatic dominance' according to Weberian theory. In this case, charismatic legitimacy was born from the bottom-up: he dared to establish himself as the irrefutable 'god' to his direct audience, thus establishing a genuine charismatic community [30]. In the eyes of followers, the leaders helped them clarify the superior status and goals of the nation, and the nation will also move in the right direction under his leadership. Under the construction of leaders, fascism combines ethnic interests and ancient heritage, and has a religious-like sacredness. From this perspective, leaders bring a sacred aura, and their followers consciously become believers of the fascist regime.

So how does the charisma of these leaders manifest? As a politician, Mussolini had many years of political experience, he was already a masterful political tactician in the 1920s. Competent in popular journalism and propaganda manipulation, he was also a master at manipulating political symbols [31]. In addition, Mussolini's unique speech and writing rhetoric style formed a unique model: this model was copied by various fascists. There is no fascist language or fascist language that does not follow Mussolini's style and rhetoric usage [32]. The greatest charismatic aspect of Adolf Hitler, according to Hannah Arendt, had to do with his absolute self-confidence, Hitler's pretensions to genius waken the conviction in others that they are indeed dealing with a genius [33]. The burning of the Reichstag in 1933, Hitler successfully planned to burn the Reichstag in Berlin, and passed the responsibility to the Communist Party through a radio speech. It was all orchestrated to make the Germans, believe that they need to be under the protection of a "great" leader from the enemy [34]. No matter what means these leaders take to show their charisma, they have gained some fanatical followers and completed the first step to establish a fascist regime.

### **2.3. Ultra-Nationalism and Dictatorship**

The ultra-nationalist movement not only weakened the power of the people and democratic forces, but also strengthened the dictatorship. Although this is not an inevitable consequence of nationalism, under the guidance of strong leaders, dictatorships can be established. After taking power, the fascist leader gradually turned himself into the only national spokesperson, eliminating other parties and opposition forces that represented different voices. In Max Weber's phrase, The regime should be 'normalised' to some extent even after Charismatic leader seizes power. Although the process of gaining power is tortuous, once installed in power, the first concern of the Fascist regime was to squeezed out other political forces in the country through dictatorship. Mussolini and Hitler gradually became the representative and leader of the ethnic nation, resulting in the realization of a totalitarian dictatorship. The fascist regime is certainly not entirely based on the legitimacy of leaders' charisma, but the fact is Mussolini and Hitler both went to self-destruction in the crazy war, Italian and German fascist regimes also quickly collapsed after their personal failures.

In the dictatorship of fascism, because of the deprivation of individual rights, people are regarded as a whole that expresses the collective will. When no group can freely express the collective will, the leader is regarded as their only representative and interpreter. Citizens are just playing the role of the People, they have lost their true power and cannot take any action, they are forced to be represented [35]. Thus the people under this dictatorship is only a theatrical fiction, the command of the leader is crowned with the sacred halo of ethnic interests. The leader has become the only source of power, and there is no party politics, because the leader only delegates power to his loyal followers and chooses to form a ruling circle according to his own preferences [36].

In conclusion, in the process of the formation of fascism and its absorption of ultra-nationalism, leaders played a pivotal role. Fascist leaders showed their unique charisma during the formation of fascist regimes, the charisma not only provided legitimacy for the dictatorship, but also formed a fanatical cult of personality. The leaders put themselves in the position of national spokesperson and used racism, anti-Semitism and cultural traditions to construct fascism.

### **3. Fascism, Police, and Ultra-Nationalism**

Following the investigation of the fascist leadership's role in fascist movements, this section focuses on the close relationship between fascism and police to explore the role of ultra-nationalism in constructing the institutional settings of a fascist state. Firstly, after defining "police" organisations of fascism, it will explore the special role of police in fascist movements and the necessity of police for fascist states. Secondly, by extracting the elements of ultra-nationalism from the cases of fascism,



it will explain how fascism interacts with ultra-nationalism in use of police, and how the police with ultra-nationalist elements establish the authority of fascist leaderships and strengthen the hierarchical system of fascist states. Finally, by employing historical institutionalism and social field theory, it will extend to the original conditions of fascism to demonstrate the legitimacy issue in fascist states and to discuss the underlying logic of a fascist police order's construction.

Before discussing the relationship between fascism and police, importantly, it is necessary to mention the different types of fascism. To conclude Arendt's idea, fascism can be categorised into two main types in accordance with different political practices of fascist movements: one is authoritarian fascism, and the other is totalitarian fascism [37]. The core difference between the two types of fascism is the elimination of all restrictions of power from the old nation-state's institutional settings [38]. Authoritarian fascism, like Mussolini's Italy and Franco's Spain, successfully seizes state power and outlaws opposition but does not achieve the purpose of creating a new high culture and a supreme social order, even though some authoritarian fascist movements may claim that they are "totalitarian" [39]. While totalitarian fascism, especially Nazism, dominates every aspect of everyone's life and totally controls the domestic society [40]. In research, this section will underline the detailed discrepancies between the specific fascist cases.

### **3.1. Why does Fascism Need Police?**

Back in the 1850s, a state-level police system was established for the first time to stabilise the Austrian Empire, and the police started to play an important role in forming a modern state system [41]. During the evolution of modern European states, a police system was empowered as an effective way to strengthen state power and an efficient ruling tool to control the mass society [42]. In general, it could be concluded that the police's fundamental function is preventing civil disorder and social instability in modern states. Since the police were used as a form of coercive force and surveillance to maintain the operation of the state apparatus, a traditional view on the relationship between fascism and police holds that the police made an important contribution to fascist movements and states [43]. In fascist movements, from maintaining social order to suppressing opposite parties "endangering nation and state", fascist parties empowered the police to use coercive forces. For instance, in Italy, Mussolini organised the police and his armed followers to defend his leadership and discipline the public's daily life and opinions [44]. Similarly, in Germany, the police monitored people's daily life and maintained the social order, cooperated with the *Sturmabteilung* and the *Schutzstaffel* defending Hitler's leadership and attacking opposite parties [45].

However, this section mentions that the police may have a more complicated role in fascist cases. On the one hand, the police steadily perform their missions, even some missions are of inhumanity, for the fascist government [46]. On the other hand, it is evidenced that the police's conception of fascist ideology is usually ambiguous, and they may not set themselves as fascists but instead set them as enforcers of more basic norms: social order, justice, and passion for their nation [47]. For example, in Mussolini's Italy, the fascist party needed to employ Roman traditions and histories to design its rhetoric and symbolic activities in order to reinforce the loyalty of public services [48]. In Nazi Germany, the Nazi party had to combine traditional beliefs and mythological elements from native culture but also foreign cultures to construct the Germans' yearning for the police order and to strengthen the recognition of fascism by the general Germans, including the police [49]. It could be seen that how to combine fascism with other political cultures becomes a compulsory task for every type of fascism to use the police to serve the fascist rule, eventually leading to a fascist police state [50]. Founded on fascist political practices in history, this section argues that the police are necessary for a durable fascist regime, and the police active in fascist movements should be distinguished from either the police in general or the military sector.

Why are the police so important to fascism? The large use of police is usually considered to be an abnormal status of state set up to suppress potential resistance forces [51]. However, it is evidenced that fascism is not bound to face the threat of a large number of resistance forces, so fascism's need for the police (especially for those active in public) to suppress resistance forces is questionable [52]. For instance, a case study of Nazi Germany shows that a considerable "consistency" within the Nazi German society supported Hitler's rule since many social/political groups with non-Nazi ideologies held a neutral attitude towards Hitler's anti-Semitism and expansionism [53]. Also, according to a study of the fascist regime in Italy, the violence of fascism is more concentrated in the precise strikes against specific enemies via secret forces, and the police active in public are more like icons of Mussolini's Übermensch figure [54]. Founded on Arendt's study of the fascist police's purely inner-party significance beyond their military values [55], this section argues that the use of police by fascism aims to achieve its symbolic meaning of a new high culture over the nation-state rather than to repress resistance forces or to maintain social order. To support this argument, the next subsection will extract the elements of ultra-nationalism from the cases of fascism and explain how fascism interacts with ultra-nationalism in fascism's use of police to construct police order and to dominate domestic society culturally.

### 3.2. Police with Ultra-Nationalism

As said before, the core element of ultra-nationalism could be concluded as a set of extremely strong passions and extremely xenophobic cultures generated by the emotions of revenge and the desire to revive the nation [56]. In fascism's use of police, the ultra-nationalist element plays a pivotal role in justifying the use of force and legitimising the establishment of a highly controlled society under fascist party's rule [57]. Mussolini's Italy is a representative case reflecting how the ultra-nationalist element shaped the police to serve the fascist regime since the police order in Italy was built on the Italian police tradition and was pursuing the revival of the glory of Rome [58]. Furthermore, the ultra-nationalist element in fascism leads a range of worships not only of the entire nation but also of local communities [59], which spreads the strong sentiments of ultra-nationalism to all levels of society. Thus, fascism can influence the whole society very fast.

Beyond the concept of nation-state in ultra-nationalism, fascism will generate the perversion of ultra-nationalist sentiments that people will pursue a rebirth of the nation rather than a revival of the nation. The rebirth of nation is to implant the new high culture created by fascism into the nation, so that the people will treat the extreme fascist ideas, such as genocide and superman leader, as the inherent culture of the nation [60]. Founded on the rebirth of the nation, the fascist party will dominate the society by constructing a police order showing a new nation-state with new high culture and new social hierarchy [61]. It is evidenced that ultra-nationalism cannot introduce a brand-new state with unified ideology, but fascism can modify the ultra-nationalism to generate extreme ideas and to realise these ideas through establishing a highly controlled state. Therefore, it could be argued that fascism transforms ultra-nationalism from public sentiments to a high-pressure institutional environment. In such institutional environment, people will feel the manifestation of the police in their daily life [62]. The police are different from the army and secret forces in that they have a positive figure presenting the state power and the justice of the fascist order [63], which strengthens the statehood in people's mind. Therefore, this section argues that the symbolic meaning of the police is even more important than their real function in domestic society. The police will make the people feel the satisfaction of living in a strong and stable state, so that the fascist ideology will be linked to the perversion of ultra-nationalist sentiments pervading the society through the form of the police, eventually leading to a police state [64]. In Hitler's case, it could be seen how the police spread and strengthened the ideology of fascism, and how fascism further developed a police order based on the distorted ultra-nationalist sentiments in society [65]. Such a positive feedback loop effect will reinforce the fascist rule without

domestic disagreement and anti-obedience, and people will be deeply shaped by the cultural hegemony operated by the police, the symbolic sector of the state apparatus [66]. Grounded on the discussion of the police, the next subsection will further explore the deep logic of fascism's use of police: fascism passively presents its characteristic of relying on police order due to its lack of legitimacy to rule the nation.

### 3.3. A Legitimacy Issue?

Why does fascism seek a mutualistic way of living with ultra-nationalism? To answer this question, this subsection employs historical institutionalism and the social field theory to demonstrate the weakness of fascist leadership's legitimacy to rule and explain fascism's use of ultra-nationalism to construct and maintain its institutional settings of a police order. First of all, it is necessary to mention that the fascist leadership's power is not equal to state power. According to the social field theory, state power is the sum of power resources in the domestic society, but the leadership of the society just accumulates a certain proportion of power resources to ensure its dominant position in all fields of the society [67]. The social fields not only include material fields, such as military forces and economic powers, but also include symbolic fields, such as the value systems as the sources of legitimacy to dominate society [68]. Founded on this theory, every dominant ruling group needs a steady cultural base to maintain people's consent and obedience to its dominant position, or it will face serious problems of its rule's durability and stability [69]. Therefore, every ruling group will establish a cultural hegemony to enhance its dominant positions in symbolic fields.

According to historical institutionalism, the original conditions of a fascist state should be the major concern [70]. Fascism is at a weak point: the fascism-created culture cannot completely dominate the culture of society, and ultra-nationalism plays an essential role in fascist culture and ideology [71]. The core problem of fascism is that, unlike ultra-nationalism, fascism is not created and rooted in the national community, so the people in a fascist state will not inherently have the identity belonging to fascism [72]. Although fascist parties can design and realise a blueprint of a powerful state with unified ideology (at least on surface), they need ultra-nationalist elements to legitimise and reinforce their new institutional settings far from the native cultures in society [73]. Also, many fascist leaderships aim to integrate strengthening state power with strengthening fascist organisation's power in order to create a new high culture over the national traditions, which can cause a disarticulation between the fascist party and the masses with ultra-nationalist passions [74]. It could be seen that fascism faces the crisis that its state is built on an ultra-nationalist community rather than a fascist community [75]. As a result, in practice, the society under fascism will have dubious loyalty to the fascist leadership, even though (on surface) everyone is highly obedient [76]. This dubious loyalty could be seen in Italy's case: when Mussolini fell, his police forces did not protect the fascist regime, but continued to maintain the social order in Italy [77]. According to the social field theory, the weakness of legitimacy to rule will cause the leadership to take more unusual and extreme measures to main the order [78]. Therefore, this section argues that due to the weak cultural base in the nation-state's society, the weak legitimacy to rule leads to the necessity of police to fascism. The next section will focus on specific case studies to examine the key differences between fascism and ultra-nationalism and investigate the uniqueness of fascist political practices beyond the concept of nation.

## 4. Key Difference Between Fascism and Ultra-Nationalism: Case Study

Fascism can be described as a political ideology that is mainly characterized by authoritarianism/dictatorship, suppression of dissent, and strong regimentation of the economy and the society at large [79]. According to [80] Benito Mussolini is said to have been the first fascist leader



in Europe during his reign in Italy before it spread to other parts of the world. Ultra-nationalism on the other hand is described as extreme nationalism which emerged in the 19th Century and played an important role in how countries mobilized themselves during the First World War [81]. Ultra-nationalism is a type of nationalism that went to the extremes to an extent that people and governments in various countries such as Romania were willing to engage in heinous acts in the name of protecting their countries and in many countries, it is blamed for the rise of anti-Semitism that saw natives attack foreigners [82]. This study seeks to examine the differences between fascism and ultra-nationalism by studying the Nazi Germany and Israeli under the Religious Zionist Party and New Right.

This part uses case study strategy by focusing on two countries to represent the two political movements. The country that would be analyzed to demonstrate the features of fascism is Nazi Germany while the country that has been chosen to represent ultra-nationalism is Israel under the Religious Zionist Party and New Right. This involves focusing on key themes that illustrate the characteristics of fascism and ultra-nationalism and the differences based on how these political ideologies/movements are practiced in Nazi Germany and Israel.

#### **4.1. Key Ideologies/Beliefs**

One of the key beliefs of fascism is that only the fascist leader or the fascist party has the solutions to all the problems/issues facing a country and underrates the capacity of the opponents to offer alternative solutions. The fascist leader further portrays the opponents as traitors or enemies of the country who do not have interest in the common good of the country. For example, in Nazi Germany, Adolf Hitler unilaterally made major decisions on his own without seeking the opinion of his opponents[83]. Moreover, even though he had a circle of advisors, most of them were driven by fear for the leader hence in a bid to protect their position, they opted to be more of sycophants only giving advice that would be pleasing to the fascist leader[84]. Similarly, in Nazi Germany, the country was ruled by the political elites in the ruling parties without the involvement of the people or their representatives. As claimed by [85] ultra-nationalism on the other hand is premised on the belief that every individual has a duty to contribute positively to the growth and prosperity of their country. An individual should therefore strive to act at all times in the best interest of the nation. In this regard, while fascism embraced exclusivity in how it governs, ultra-nationalism embraced inclusivity by ensuring that every individual is given a fair chance to contribute towards the growth of his/her country. In Israel for instance, governments are always formed through coalitions which ensure that every political party plays an important role in making crucial decisions that affect the country as observed by [86].

Another key ideology of fascism is that it strives to promote racism. This entails considering certain racial groups as “outsiders” who do not deserve to be part of the nation while creating the impression that certain racial groups are more deserving to be part of the nation [87]. It is this kind of racism that characterized the Nazi Germany and ultimately contributed to the Holocaust that has the main goal of eliminating the racial groups that were considered to be foreigners in Germany. The biggest casualties were the Jews with 6 million of them losing their lives [88]. On the other hand, ultra-nationalism did not necessarily advocate for racial purity or racism but in extreme cases, it has also resulted in discrimination against other races. Ideal ultra-nationalism advocates for inclusivity and racial integration as a way of building a cohesive and stable nation [89]. This is not the case in Israel though because of the fact that the Jews are determined to protect their existence and identity in the Palestinian territories. In order to continue occupying these territories, Israeli parties have always advocated for establishment of the Jewish state and its protection from the Arabian aggression as argued by [90].

## 4.2. Leadership Style and Law

The leadership style of fascism as the first part said, the leader only seeks assistance or advice from his/her close allies within the ranks of the fascist party [91]. They believe that this is the best way to achieve an orderly society and a stable government as there is only one center of power and the decisions that are made are centralized as opposed to a decentralized system where there would be numerous stakeholders making decisions which in many cases may contradict what emanates from the center. In Nazi Germany for instance, [92] observes that Adolf Hitler ruled through dictatorial policies that were in many cases unpopular. In the event of objections to the order he issued, he will not hesitate to use state violence to achieve the ultimate goal. He rejected the notion that violence is a bad phenomenon and argued that it is a necessary evil when there is need to achieve certain goals such as national rejuvenation [93].

When it comes to ultra-nationalism, it involves a charismatic leader who is able to mobilize the citizens towards achieving a common national goal. Such a leader would formulate a national vision/goal to be achieved then make use of his/her charisma or charm to persuade the citizens through effective communication styles so as to have the citizens embrace the idea/vision being promoted [94]. In Israel for instance, when Benjamin Netanyahu as leader of Likud party and as Prime Minister intended to construct settler homes in the West Bank, he crafted a persuasive message to the Israelis to rally them to support the idea [95]. The idea gained popularity locally even though there were condemnations from other international leaders who argued that the homes would be illegal as they would be built on Palestinian territories.

Another distinguishing characteristic of fascism and ultra-nationalism pertains to their level of adherence to the rule of law. Fascist parties tend to prefer to rule through martial law which involves the military making laws that are to be followed strictly and there are dire consequences of failing to adhere to such rules [96]. In Nazi Germany for instance, Hitler recruited ex-soldiers into paramilitary groups that were known as Freikorps that were tasked with enforcing martial law and deal with any kind of dissent or activism. There were also concentration camps that were manned by the military where the activists or rebels were held [97]. Ultra-nationalism on the other hand stresses on the need to govern by the rule of law. The laws are passed by the legislative organs through citizen participation and they are required to adhere to such laws once passed [98].

## 4.3. Democratic Ideals

The democratic ideals that are associated with fascism tend to differ with that which is practiced by ultra-nationalistic parties. Fascism promotes the idea of totalitarianism which is defined as a political system that disallows the establishment of opposition political parties to challenge the ruling party. Totalitarianism also prohibits dissent from citizens and exercises high-handedness when it comes to control of the public and the private life of individual citizens. Political power in totalitarian regimes is controlled by autocrats that include absolute monarchs and dictators. As observed by [99] such leaders also heavily employ the use of state media as part of the propaganda outlets with an aim of controlling the political narratives and influencing the citizens. In Nazi Germany for instance, totalitarianism was largely practiced by the Nazi regime under Adolf Hitler. When he assumed office as German Chancellor following his appointment by the then president Paul von Hindenburg in 1933, Hitler's first mission was to build a totalitarian regime that came to be known as the Third Reich that lasted until 1945 [100]. Similarly, Nazi Party under Hitler passed the Enabling Act in 1933 which gave Hitler absolute powers to make decisions without requiring parliamentary approval. This led to Hitler abolishing rival political parties as well as labor unions that existed in Germany. This made it possible for the fascist Nazi leader to make unilateral decisions without being questioned.

On the other hand, ultra-nationalism promotes the idea of multi-party democracy and recognizes that the people are sovereign. It is the people who are expected to choose their leaders in a democratic process. In most cases, they would be presented with a wide range of alternatives from which they can choose based on the issues that the respective parties or candidates stand for. This is not the case with fascism which promotes totalitarianism [101]. As opposed to totalitarianism that abolishes rival political parties, the ultra-nationalism system in Israel promotes multi-party democracy and expands the democratic space for every political party to thrive. Each political party represents an ideology that it champions hence the voters are able to make informed electoral decisions depending on the ideology that appeals most to them.

This section covers several areas of key ideologies/beliefs, leadership styles, and democratic ideals. Use Nazi Germany under Hitler as a case of fascism, and Israel as a case of ultra-nationalist government. Test the main difference between fascism and ultra-nationalism through case study methods.

## 5. Conclusion

To conclude the core argument of case study, the process of the formation of fascism and its absorption of ultra-nationalism, leaders played a pivotal role. Fascist leaders used nationalist sentiments during the establishment of the fascist regime and acted as representatives of the nation, their charisma helped the success of this process. Ultra-nationalism further strengthened the dictatorship of fascism. The leaders used racism, anti-Semitism and cultural traditions to construct fascism, and put themselves in the position of national spokesperson, finally realized the fascist dictatorship. Moreover, fascism's need for the police is not only at the level of social security but also at the level of cultural symbols. The ultra-nationalism is the bridge between fascism and police, and it also explains the positive feedback loop effect between ideology and institution to strengthen fascist's rule. Based on the study, the country that was used as case study for fascism is Nazi Germany under Hitler while Israel was used to represent Ultra-nationalistic governments. One of the beliefs of fascism is that only the fascist leader has solutions to every problem facing a nation while ultra-nationalism promotes the belief that every individual has a patriotic duty to contribute positively to the country and give solutions to its problems. The leadership style of fascism involves an authoritarian leader making unilateral decisions to be followed by the rest while ultra-nationalism involves a charismatic leader formulating a vision and rallying the subjects to work towards achieving the common vision. When it comes to democratic ideals, fascism is anti-democratic while ultra-nationalism promotes the idea of multi-party democracy.

Based on the rich findings this article produced, it could be expected that the study of fascism and ultra-nationalism will enhance the understanding of the relationship between these two different ideologies but also illustrate the complex interactions between fascism and ultra-nationalism. The findings will contribute to address the controversial topic of fascism's ideological definition and political practices in several dimensions, including leadership and institutional settings. The specific case studies will clarify the mutual mechanisms and highlight the key differences between fascism and ultra-nationalism. Moreover, this article will provide reference to and inspiration for future studies of the impact of leaders, ideologies and institutions on the historical path towards regime change and hierarchical order.

## Acknowledgements

Thanks to Professor Peter Bergamin of Oxford University for his guidance on this paper. The three authors have the same contribution to this paper and are the co-first author.

## References

- [1] Traverso, E. (2019) Translated by David, B. *The New Faces of Fascism*. Verso, French. 7.
- [2] Griffin, R. (1991) *The Nature of Fascism*. London. 26.
- [3] Griffin, R. (2004) Matthew Feldman. *Fascism: Critical Concepts*, 5 vols. Routledge, London. Vol. 1.6.
- [4] Eatwell, R. (2010) *The Nature of 'Generic Fascism': The 'Fascist Minimum' and the 'Fascist Matrix'*. *Comparative Fascist Studies. New Perspectives*. Routledge .
- [5] Eatwell, R. (1996) *On Defining the "Fascist Minimum" : the Centrality of Ideology*, *Journal of Political Ideologies*, Vol.1, no.3 .314.
- [6] Sternhell, Z. Sznajder, M. and Asheri, M. Translated by Maisel, D. (1989) *The Birth of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*. Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris.
- [7] Eatwell, R. (2011) *Ideology, propaganda, violence and the rise of fascism. Rethinking the Nature of Fascism*. Palgrave.
- [8] Sternhell, Z. Sznajder, M. and Asheri, M. Translated by Maisel, D. (1989) *The Birth of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*.
- [9] Mussolini, B. *Benito Mussolini's View On Domestic Violence*. accessed Oct 15, 2021. <https://www.bartleby.com/essay/Benito-Mussolini's-View-On-Domestic-Violence-FJJE4TLGPT>
- [10] Passmore, Kevin . (2002) *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press. 31.
- [11] Sternhell, Z. Sznajder, M. and Asheri, M. Translated by Maisel, D. (1989) *The Birth of Fascist Ideology: From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*. Librairie Arthème Fayard, Paris. 195.
- [12] Griffin, R. (1991) *The Nature of Fascism*. 228.
- [13] Eatwell, R. (2013) *Fascism. The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies*. Oxford. 6.
- [14] Griffin, R. (2007) *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 206; 211.
- [15] Griffin, R. (2007) *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler*. 211.
- [16] Priorelli, G. (2018), *The fight against the 'anti-nation' as a historical mission: the delegitimization of the enemy in Italian Fascism and Spanish Fascism*. *História: Debates e Tendências*. v. 18, no. 3, 450.
- [17] Nelis, J. (2007) *Constructing Fascist Identity: Benito Mussolini and the Myth of 'Romanità'*, *The Classical World*, no. 4, 415.
- [18] Anthony, S. D. (1999) *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, 194.
- [19] Thomson, D. (1966) *Political Ideas*. Oxford Books, London, 194.
- [20] Erikson, E. H. (1942) *Hitler's Imagery and German Youth*, *Psychiatry*, 486.
- [21] *The Guardian*. (2016) *High demand for reprint of Hitler's Mein Kampf takes publisher by surprise*. accessed Oct 17, 2021. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jan/08/copies-of-hitlers-mein-kampf-go-on-sale-in-germany-for-first-time-in-70-years>
- [22] Priorelli, G. (2018) *The fight against the 'anti-nation' as a historical mission: the delegitimization of the enemy in Italian Fascism and Spanish Fascism*. 452.
- [23] Eatwell, R. (2006) *The Concept and Theory of Charismatic Leadership, Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 2, 149.
- [24] Eatwell, R. (2006) *Explaining Fascism and Ethnic Cleansing: The Three Dimensions of Charisma and the Four Dark Sides of Nationalism*. *Political Studies Review: Vol.4*, 265.
- [25] Spielvogel, J. and Redles, D. (2011) *Hitler's Racial Ideology: Content and Occult Sources*. In *Part 2 The Origins of the Holocaust* edited by Michael R. Marrus, Berlin, New York: K. G. Saur, . 93.
- [26] Lindholm, C. (1990), *Charisma Oxford: Basil Blackwell*, 6.
- [27] Worsley, P. (1968) *The Trumpet Shall Sound London: Paladin, the Appendix*.
- [28] Eatwell, R. (2006) *The Concept and Theory of Charismatic Leadership*. 154.
- [29] Weber, M. (1968) *Economy and Society*. Bedminster Press, New York.
- [30] Aristotle A. K. (2006) *Fascism. 'Charisma' and 'Charismatisation': Weber's Model of 'Charismatic Domination' and Interwar European Fascism*, *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, no.7, 28.
- [31] Bondanella, (1987) *The Eternal City: Roman Images in the Modern World*. Chapel Hill and London. 176.
- [32] Nelis, J. (2007) *Constructing Fascist Identity: Benito Mussolini and the Myth of 'Romanità'*, *The Classical World*, no. 4, 395.
- [33] Cited by M. Canovan, "Hannah Arendt on Totalitarianism and Dictatorship", in P. Baehr and M. Richter (eds.), *Dictatorship in History and Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 246.
- [34] Costa, A. P. and Lasren, S.U. (2006) *Conclusion: Fascism, Dictators and Charisma*. *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 7. 2, 254.
- [35] Umberto, E. (1995) *Ur-Fascism*. *New York Review of Books*.

- [36] Gerth, H. (1940) *The Nazi Party: Its Leadership and Composition*. *The American Journal of Sociology*: Vol.14.4. January ,517.
- [37] Arendt, H. (2017) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Penguin Modern Classics. Penguin Press, New York.
- [38] Arendt, H. (2017) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. Penguin Modern Classics. Penguin Press, New York. pp. 334-340.
- [39] Mussolini, B. *The Doctrine of Fascism*. In: Blaug, R. (Ed.), *Democracy*. Columbia University Press, New York Chichester, West Sussex. pp. 243-244.
- [40] Arendt, H. (2017) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Penguin Modern Classics. Penguin Press, New York. pp. 444-445.
- [41] Axtmann, R. (1992) "Police" and the Formation of the Modern State. *Legal and Ideological Assumptions on State Capacity in the Austrian Lands of the Habsburg Empire, 1500–1800*. *German History*, 10 (1): 39-61.
- [42] Chapman, B. (1970) *Police State*. Pall Mall Press, London; Liang, H. (1992) *The Rise of Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- [43] Dunnage, J. (2016) *Policing and Surveillance*. In: Corner, P., Lim, J. (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Mass Dictatorship*, Palgrave Macmillan UK, London. pp. 119-130.
- [44] Fonio, C. (2011) *Surveillance under the Mussolini's Regime*. *Surveillance & Society*, 9 (1): 80-92.
- [45] Browder, G.C. (1997) *Hitler's Enforcers*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- [46] Wolf, E.R. (1999) *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. University of California Press, Berkeley. p. 249.
- [47] Dunnage, J. (1998) *The Italian Police and the Rise of Fascism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- [48] Williams, M.A. (2006) *Mussolini's Propaganda Abroad: Subversion in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, 1935-1940*. *Studies in Intelligence Series*. Routledge, London.
- [49] Kurlander, E. (2017) *Hitler's Monsters: A Supernatural History of the Third Reich*. Yale University Press, London.
- [50] Kurlander, E. (2017) *Hitler's Monsters: A Supernatural History of the Third Reich*. Yale University Press, London.
- [51] Chapman, B. (1970) *Police State*. Pall Mall Press, London.
- [52] Kurlander, E. (2009) *Living with Hitler: Liberal Democrats in the Third Reich*. Yale University Press, London.
- [53] Kurlander, E. (2009) *Living with Hitler: Liberal Democrats in the Third Reich*. Yale University Press, London.
- [54] Canali, M. (2009) *The Matteotti Murder and the Origins of Mussolini's Totalitarian Fascist Regime in Italy*. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 14 (2): 143-167.
- [55] Arendt, H. (2017) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Penguin Modern Classics. Penguin Press, New York. 488-496; 131-134; 334-340.
- [56] Arendt, H. (2017) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Penguin Modern Classics. 131-134.
- [57] Arendt, H. (2017) *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Penguin Modern Classics. 334-340.
- [58] Savella, I.G. (1996) *Mussolini's "Fouche": Arturo Bochini, the Fascist OVRA, and the Italian Police Tradition*. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.
- [59] Petrou, M., Kandyli, G. (2016) *Violence and Extreme-right Activism: The Neo-Nazi Golden Dawn in a Greek Rural Community*. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 37 (6): 589-604.
- [60] Griffin, R. (2006) *Nationalism*. In: Blamires, C. (Ed.), *World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopedia*. ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, California. pp. 451–453.
- [61] Dunnage, J. (1998) *The Italian Police and the Rise of Fascism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- [62] Chapman, B. (1970) *Police State*. Pall Mall Press, London.
- [63] Pine, L. (2007) *Hitler's "National Community": Society and Culture in Nazi Germany*. Hodder Arnold, London.
- [64] Pine, L. (2007) *Hitler's "National Community": Society and Culture in Nazi Germany*. Hodder Arnold, London.
- [65] Pine, L. (2007) *Hitler's "National Community": Society and Culture in Nazi Germany*. Hodder Arnold, London.
- [66] Kurlander, E. (2009) *Living with Hitler: Liberal Democrats in the Third Reich*. Yale University Press, London.
- [67] Cooley, A. (2005) *Logics of Hierarchy: The Organization of Empires, States, and Nations in Transit*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- [68] Cooley, A. (2005) *Logics of Hierarchy: The Organization of Empires, States, and Nations in Transit*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- [69] Cooley, A. (2005) *Logics of Hierarchy: The Organization of Empires, States, and Nations in Transit*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- [70] Pierson, P. (2004) *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. pp. 44-48.
- [71] Wolf, E.R. (1999) *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- [72] Wolf, E.R. (1999) *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. p. 268.
- [73] Kurlander, E. (2017) *Hitler's Monsters: A Supernatural History of the Third Reich*. Yale University Press, London.
- [74] Wolf, E.R. (1999) *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*. p. 272.
- [75] Pine, L. (2007) *Hitler's "National Community": Society and Culture in Nazi Germany*. Hodder Arnold, London.



- [77] Kurlander, E. (2017) *Hitler's Monsters: A Supernatural History of the Third Reich*.
- [78] Bosworth, R.J.B. (2002) *Mussolini*. Arnold, London.
- [79] Go, J. (2008) *Global Fields and Imperial Forms: Field Theory and the British and American Empires*. *Sociological Theory*, 26 (3): 208.
- [80] Kallis, A.A. (2000). *The Regime Model of Fascism: A Typology*. *European History Quarterly*, 30(1), pp. 77-104
- [81] Pinto, A.C. (2000). *The Blue Shirts: Portuguese Fascism and the New State*. New York: Columbia University Press
- [82] Breuilly, J. (1994). *Nationalism and the State* (2nd ed.). New York: University of Chicago Press
- [83] Zimmer, O. (2003). *Nationalism in Europe: 1890-1940*. London: Springer.
- [84] Brooker, P. (2009). *Non-democratic Regimes*. London: Palgrave MacMillan
- [85] De Grazia, V. (1993). *How fascism ruled women: Italy, 1922–1945*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press
- [86] Zimmer, O. (2003). *Nationalism in Europe: 1890-1940*. London: Springer
- [87] Gellner, E. (2006). *Nations and Nationalism* (2nd ed.). New York: John Willey & Sons
- [88] Woodley, D. (2010). *Fascism and Political Theory: Critical Perspectives on Fascist Ideology*. London/ New York: Routledge
- [89] Fischer, B. J. (2006). *Balkan strongmen: Dictators and authoritarian rulers of southeast Europe*. London: C. Hurst
- [90] Woodley, D. (2010). *Fascism and Political Theory: Critical Perspectives on Fascist Ideology*.
- [91] Breuilly, J. (1994). *Nationalism and the State* (2nd ed.). New York: University of Chicago Press
- [92] Copsey, N. (2008). *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy* (2nd ed.). London/New York: Routledge.
- [93] Fischer, B. J. (2006). *Balkan strongmen: Dictators and authoritarian rulers of southeast Europe*.
- [94] Kallis, A.A. (2000). *The Regime Model of Fascism: A Typology*.
- [95] Zimmer, O. (2003). *Nationalism in Europe: 1890-1940*. London: Springer.
- [96] Gellner, E. (2006). *Nations and Nationalism* (2nd ed.). New York: John Willey & Sons.
- [97] Pinto, A.C. (2000). *The Blue Shirts: Portuguese Fascism and the New State*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- [98] Woodley, D. (2010). *Fascism and Political Theory: Critical Perspectives on Fascist Ideology*.
- [99] Zimmer, O. (2003). *Nationalism in Europe: 1890-1940*. London: Springer.
- [100] Copsey, N. (2008). *Contemporary British Fascism: The British National Party and the Quest for Legitimacy* (2nd ed.). London/New York: Routledge.
- [101] Pinto, A.C. (2000). *The Blue Shirts: Portuguese Fascism and the New State*.
- [102] Brooker, P. (2009). *Non-democratic Regimes*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.