

# WORLD FASCISM

A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

---

VOLUME 2: L-Z

---

Cyprian P. Blamires, Editor  
with Paul Jackson

A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, United Kingdom

Copyright © 2006 by ABC-CLIO, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, except for the inclusion of brief quotations in a review, without prior permission in writing from the publishers.

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

World fascism : a historical encyclopedia / Cyprian P. Blamires, editor ; with Paul Jackson.

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-57607-940-6 (hard cover : alk. paper)—ISBN 1-57607-941-4 (ebook)

1. Fascism—History—Encyclopedias. I. Blamires, Cyprian. II. Jackson, Paul.

JC481.W67 2006

335.603—dc22

20006021588

10 09 08 07 06 05 / 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an ebook.

Visit [abc-clio.com](http://abc-clio.com) for details.

ABC-CLIO, Inc.

130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911  
Santa Barbara, California 93116–1911

Production Editor: Vicki Moran  
Editorial Assistant: Alisha Martinez  
Production Manager: Don Schmidt  
Media Editor: Sharon Daugherty  
Image Coordinator: Ellen Dougherty  
Media Resources Manager: Caroline Price  
File Manager: Paula Gerard

This book is printed on acid-free paper ∞.  
Manufactured in the United States of America

lowed by far-reaching democratic and social reforms. His attempts to convince British diplomats of the seriousness of his peace offers failed because he included the Soviet Union in the negotiations, made territorial claims unacceptable to the Allies, and was in general distrusted as a diplomat in the service of Nazi Germany. This distrust was in spite of the fact that Trott had visited England before the war and was well known at the University of Oxford, among other places. His name occurs frequently in English autobiographical accounts or correspondence from the period. Trott was arrested in late July 1944 and executed for his part in the July Plot.

*Fabian Virchow*

**See Also:** ANTI-FASCISM; GERMANY; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; NAZISM; STAUFFENBERG, CLAUDIUS SCHENK GRAF VON; WORLD WAR I

**References**

- MacDonogh, G. 1994. *A Good German: Adam von Trott zu Solz*. London: Quartet.  
Schott, Andreas. 2001. *Adam von Trott zu Solz: Jurist im Widerstand*. Paderborn: Schöningh.

---

## TUKA, DR. VOJTECH (1880–1946)

Leader of the radical wing of the Slovak People's Party, Tuka was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for "treason" against the Czechoslovak state in 1929 but released in 1937. He became prime minister of the independent Slovak Republic in 1939 and sought to pursue national socialist policies under German patronage in conflict with Mgr. Tiso, the president. As minister of the interior, he ordered the deportation of Slovakian Jews to Auschwitz, and as foreign minister he adhered to the Anti-Comintern Pact. He died in prison in 1946 awaiting trial on war crimes charges.

*John Pollard*

**See Also:** ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; SLOVAKIA; TISO, MGR. JOSEF

**Reference**

- Kirschaum, S. J., ed. 1999. *Historical Dictionary of Slovakia*. London: Scarecrow.

---

## TURANISM

A political ideology based on the idea of the unification of all Turkic peoples (pan-Turkism) or, more ambitiously, the unification of Turks with Hungarians, Mongolians, and Finns.

*Cyprian Blamires*

**See Also:** EXPANSIONISM; HUNGARY; IRREDENTISM; PANGERMANISM; TURKEY

**Reference**

- Landau, J. 1995. *Pan-Turkism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

---

## TURKEY

Considered by some to have had a fascistic-style regime in the interwar years. The constituent set of ideals behind the Turkish Republic was Janus-faced. Kemalism (the philosophy of the followers of Kemal Atatürk, modernizing president of Turkey, 1923–1938) retained recondite yet profound misgivings about modernity. However, it also aimed at rebuilding the old mythic society with a modern constitutive enthusiasm. Culture and populism were the core Kemalist armatures that were deployed for the aspired rebirth of society. The new nation was defined around a particularistic conception of Turkish culture, and populism provided the discourse for the organic unity of this new nation. The essential driving force that was used to mobilize the masses bound for the new regime was an extreme form of nationalism. This nationalism played the leading role in the conservative Turkish revolution, and brought the Kemalist endeavor of rebuilding society into close relation with fascism, most particularly in the 1930s.

Revolting against both the foreign powers and the old regime, the Kemalist movement established a semidictatorial system of government that claimed to speak on behalf of the people as a whole, in order to attain economic development in an unindustrialized country. The Kemalist regime and the path it followed—especially in the years between 1931 and



*Kemal Atatürk, president of Turkey from 1923 to 1938. There were some parallels between the ideology of his Republican People's Party and Italian Fascism. (Library of Congress)*

1945—had some obvious features overlapping with fascism, such as: a single party; a strong reaction against the old regime; the existence of solidarist and corporatist and later on, totalitarian tendencies; coalescence of state with party; adoption of a national leader system; and increasing state interventionism in the economy. The Kemalist Republican People's Party was not all that dissimilar in essence from Mussolini's *Fasci di Combattimento* when its authoritarian character and political program are taken into account. Six basic principles of Kemalism were laid down in the party program in 1931, and then incorporated into the Turkish Constitution in 1937. Republicanism was a salute to the new regime, outlawing political activity in favor of the old monarchic rule. Nationalism was the main instrument for the construction of a new national identity whose roots were found in history through a process of intensive myth creation. Secular-

ism was employed to remove religion totally from public life and to establish complete state control over the remaining religious institutions. Populism, as an adhesive element of the nationalist policies, became the tool for creating and maintaining national solidarity and unity on the one hand, and more decisively, denying class interests and suppressing class-based politics on the other. Statism affirmed the priority of the state over the economy.

For all the parallels, there were also a number of dissimilarities between Kemalism and fascism. The social accounts of Kemalism and Italian Fascism were comparatively the same, since Kemalism tried to create a national bourgeoisie and consolidate emergent capitalism at the expense of the working classes, while nationalizing foreign companies, railways, and some institutions in the banking sector. Fascist-style paramilitary forces were not deployed in disciplining the masses. Instead, Kemalism tried to use the People's Houses as a mass education organization to disseminate its set of ideals. Kemalism's expectations regarding international peace were not compatible with fascism's aggressive foreign policies. Furthermore, it abandoned the old regime's education and justice systems, deemed civilization to be universal, and thus strove for a secularized contemporary civilized society. Most important, Kemalism was a pragmatic ideology. In contrast to fascism, it did not have thoroughgoing totalitarian pretensions. Besides, the complex compound that made fascism possible in Italy was not really present in Turkey. The Kemalist one-party state should be understood in conjunction with the spirit and conditions of the 1930s. Kemalism never set the single-party regime as an aim in itself. Its declared goal was to reach the level of contemporary civilization, which was regarded as best represented by Western democracy. The Kemalist regime lacked political democracy and was authoritarian in character, but in the long run it also paved the way for the objective conditions of political democracy with its modernizing zeal.

Although the postwar state regime in Turkey cannot be described as fascist, it accommodates some fascistic elements, such as the prevalence of the state of emergency and exceptionism. Contemporary Turkey has inherited an authoritarian state regime from the Kemalist constitutive period that ideologically and structurally includes some totalitarian aspects, and those features occasionally present a quasi-fascist character. The state itself as the sacred value of the official ideology inspires fascist impulses with its unquestionable reason, ritual performance, and claim of being a metaphysical entity

calling for total dedication. Nationalism functions as the backbone of this official ideology, with its power of assimilating almost all other ideologies. Since the end of World War II, fascist aspects of the state regime have usually been present as a method of governance, periodically articulating in a coherent manner, as in the aftermath of the 12 September 1980 coup d'état, rather than as a result of an ideological orientation.

Since the early 1960s, the Nationalist Action Party (NAP, also known as Grey Wolves) has been the conduit of fascism as a sociopolitical and ideological movement in Turkey. Ideologically, it stems from the 1930s and 1940s pan-Turkist current, which was racist, nationalist-mystical in an irreligious manner, openly anti-democratic with a militarist-corporatist view of society, and which had a pan-Turanist tendency aimed at uniting the various Turkic peoples. The nationalist mysticism was abandoned after the party's adoption of a Sunni Islamic character, and the pan-Turanist ideal of the early pan-Turkist current was not manifest in an irredentist manner as a call for a greater Turkey, but instead as a call for freedom for the Turkic peoples living under Soviet rule. The NAP came of age in the 1970s with an imagery of a counterorder in which divine social harmony was to be established, turning back to the essentials of the sacred state by a cleansing of the vermin in the organism.

Özgür Gökmen

**See Also:** INTRODUCTION; AUTHORITARIANISM; BANKS, THE; CAPITALISM; CIVILIZATION; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MODERNITY; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SECULARIZATION; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TURANISM

#### References

- Adanir, Fikret. 2001. "Kemalist Authoritarianism and Fascist Trends in Turkey during the Interwar Period." Pp. 313–361 in *Fascism outside Europe*, edited by Stein Ulgevik Larsen. Boulder: Social Science Monographs.
- Bora, Tanil. 1999. *Türk Saginin Üç Hâli: Milliyetçilik, Muhafazakârlık, Islâmcilik* [*Three Phases of the Turkish Right: Nationalism, Conservatism, Islamism*]. Istanbul: Birikim Yayinlari.
- . 2000. "Fasizmin Hâlleri [States of Fascism]." *Birikim* 133: 21–34.
- Landau, Jacob M. 1982. *Pan Turkism: A Study of Turkish Irredentism*. Archon.
- Toprak, Zafer. 1995. "Das Einparteiensystem und der autoritäre Modernismus in der Türkei zwischen den

Weltkriegen." *Comparativ—Macht und Geist Intellektuelle in der Zwischenkriegszeit* 5, no. 6: 119–134.

Zürcher, Erik J. 1998. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London: I. B. Tauris.

---

## TURNER DIARIES, THE

A novel written pseudonymously in the 1970s by leading neo-Nazi William Pierce, it describes a terrorist campaign involving attacks on the FBI headquarters, the *Washington Post*, and the Israeli embassy. In the closing pages of the book, the "hero," Earl Turner, is killed crashing a nuclear-armed aircraft into the Pentagon, but the Jewish power-structure that Pierce portrays as controlling the United States is overthrown, the nation is ethnically cleansed, and a ruthless Aryan elite is installed in power. The name that Pierce chose for his fictional group, the Order, was subsequently adopted by a racist terrorist group in the 1980s.

Martin Durham

**See Also:** ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS; ARYANISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; NEO-NAZISM; PIERCE, WILLIAM; POSTWAR FASCISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE

#### Reference

- Durham, M. 2004. "The Upward Path: Palingenesis, Political Religion and the National Alliance." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 5, no. 3, pp. 454–468.

---

## TYNDALL, JOHN (1934–2005)

John Tyndall was the founder of the British National Party (BNP) and editor of *Spearhead*. He was a leading member of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) and was jailed in 1962 for organizing a paramilitary group. Despite his overtly Nazi past, Tyndall succeeded in joining the National Front in 1968. He became chairman in 1973, leading the organization to its 1974