

# Explaining the Relationship between Fascist Pluralism and Modernity

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## Abstract

Fascism is a fluid and unknown phenomenon in the world of politics and especially in the field of governance, a phenomenon whose nature; despite all the efforts of theorists and thinkers in the field of political and social sciences, remains in an aura of ambiguity. Fascism is like a mirror room in allegory, every essence that is placed in it is lost in thousands of images of its kind and this confusion is the same populism that the idea of fascism seeks in different social strata as its destination. In this article, we try to provide general results from the origins of fascism; its characteristics and patterns of behavior, especially in the field of pluralism and how it treats modernity, by providing explanations of fascism research, to finally find out which political component or components fascism with such a fluid nature seeks to achieve. In a sense, the purpose of this article is to investigate and explain the relationship between fascist institutions and modernity and how to use its indicators. The research method of this article is descriptive-analytical which has explained the subject with an interpretive-critical approach. The analysis of this article is based on a systematic method based on the keywords of fascism and modernity.

**Keywords:** Fascism; populism; totalitarianism; authoritarianism; the masses.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Fascism is vague and fluid in nature, with Eastern thinkers such as Max Horkheimer giving it the nature of capitalism [1] and Western thinkers giving it the Marxist nature, and there are people like 'Wolfgang Scheider' who divide fascism into Marxist and non-Marxist [2].

The analysis of the phenomenon of fascism under the guise of Marxism-Socialism will not be without merit, because the former Soviet system of government was a state capitalist system under the guise of Marxism. In East German historiography, the Third Reich was not economically a single figure. It was the only stage in the evolutionary process of monopoly capitalism that was neither a political regime nor an ideology because political regimes can be overthrown and ideologies can be criticized, but fascism can be found behind every regime or ideology as a thinking behind the scenes, as a vague thought and habit or instinct [3].

It does not matter which of the formal blocks of government is the origin of fascism, what is important in this article is the connection and even the fusion of the phenomenon of fascism with

totalitarianism, in the next step, the purpose of this fusion and the emergence of patterns to embrace the principles of modernity and freedom of thought, finally; expressing the basic component that causes the emergence of the phenomenon of fascism from the heart of any kind of system of government. I acknowledge that this component may have been in expressing the origins of fascism and how its body is formed in relation to different societies has not been analyzed and explained in any category of fascism research.

## 2. FASCIST PLURALISM

Fascism has no structural basis. Fascism is a combination of various political and philosophical views and ideas; and ultimately a mixture of contradictions. How can the monarchy be combined with the revolution, the royal army with Mussolini's militia the privileges offered to the church with state-run education with harshness, and the fully state-run economy with the free market economy.

Fascism can be played in various forms, without changing its name. The phenomenon of fascism is not unlike the theory of Wittgenstein's "language games" [4]. According to Wittgenstein's theory of

language games as opposed to the visual theory of language, language is a multidimensional phenomenon, not an essentialist one. In other words, one-dimensionality, which became aware of the truth of existence by knowing its truth but its multidimensionality indicates its relativity because each dimension has its own rules of play and corresponds to a form of life. Consequently, fascism is not a one-dimensional and essentialist concept, but a multidimensional phenomenon; which can be briefly mentioned two cases a historical documentary; first, the Franco fascist regime. Which emerged from the heart of a monarchy with the rejection of the republic in Spain and second, we must add anti-capitalism to Italian fascism.' Ezra Pound' (1972-1985), an American critic living abroad who blamed capitalism for his anger at the killings of World War I; so he went to Italy and accepted Mussolini and supported Hitler. This pluralism of structural components of fascism led to the definition of different and sometimes contradictory paradigms in the framework of governance. It should be said that these paradigms are seemingly contradictory and different but in practice they have maintained the same totalitarian structure of fascism.

Among these factors, the two factors of authoritarianism and totalitarianism are closely related to fascism. Hannah Arendt distinguished between authoritarian dictators who restrict freedom and totalitarian dictators who utterly destroy freedom [5]. Arendt believed that totalitarianism disintegrates and masses the individuals of society, the same trait that fascism manifests itself in by creating multiple social, cultural, economic and even literary divisions against society and individuals [6].

When society is culturally and intellectually divided the binding of society is torn apart in order to align with the masses. This massification and irrationality of the people of the society causes the disintegration of the individual both from within and in the context of the society and this is where the second similarity between fascism and totalitarianism appears with the introduction of intimidation and the propaganda apparatus.

Neumann believed that various methods were used to secure domination in the context of fascism and totalitarianism: first, a kind of unitary organization replaced social pluralism; -Second; persons disintegrate; and third, all social groupings are dismantled through the use of intimidation and propaganda [7]. In simpler terms, Neumann introduces the four factors of intimidation, the principle of leadership, the totalitarian elite and the totalitarian party as the factor of domination; the purpose of this structuring is not implementing the rule of fear [8].

According to Erich Fromm, the personality structure of fascism emerges in the shadow of the suppression of the bourgeois family in a sadomasochistic-authoritarian behavior [9]. By destroying the sense of security, alienation and fear of the incomprehensible modern world, it begins to create a negative identity within the framework of its values your sovereignty ideology.

In this regard, Friedrich and Brzezinski from a typological point of view, developed the considerations of the above thinkers in this way; They believe that a regime can be totalitarian that has the following typological characteristics: 1) An ideology that encompasses all aspects of human life is a harbinger of the ultimate state of humanity and 'on the contrary' sometimes radically rejects the present established society. 2) A mass party with a hierarchical structure and a jirga that is usually led by an individual and about ten percent of the total population accept this leadership. 3) A system of intimidation in which potential and arbitrarily selected enemies are not immune to its bite (Jews and class enemies). 4) A kind of technology-based monopoly and more or less complete. 5) Arms monopoly (this feature also exists in democratic regimes). 6) Imperative economics [10]. Eventually, they realized that fascist regimes were not fixed and were constantly changing.

The above is important in this article. In order to be able to provide a correct analysis of fascism and totalitarianism versus pluralism and modernity, we had to reach this basic point, 1- In fascism and totalitarianism, it is a kind of co- essential attitude and 2- That both of these political phenomena are fluid in nature and have distanced themselves from their original origins in modernity and pluralism [11]. From the above discussion, we choose three factors to explain precisely the aims of this article: the atomization of the individual and society, intimidation and propaganda in the direction of fascist propaganda; finally; the context of these processes must be analyzed from the perspective of class origin.

### **3. The Petty Bourgeoisie is the Birthplace of Populism**

To the above three factors must be added another factor and that is the middle class or the populist petty bourgeoisie. Atomized person is prone to threats, both in terms of wisdom and inner values and in terms of social institutions that can be an opportunity for social participation, economic threat is the most effective factor in planning.

It is obvious that in most human societies, the driving force of society is the middle class; which is usually slightly superior to other sections of society. If this group is in a free democratic environment , it will create a living society by using parliamentarism and

party struggles on the basis of rationalist indicators as well as by spreading social pluralism such a society increases the coefficient of social security by expanding cultural, political, economic and social indicators. One of the salient features of such a society is its rationalism and pragmatism; It avoids slogans and promotes freedom of thought and expression, according to Umberto Eco: Freedom of speech means freedom from slogans [12].

In contrast, if society is atomized in terms of social and individual security characteristics, we will see a petty bourgeois class of populism 'some regimes' by shifting the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie (such as the land reform of the time of Mohammad Reza Shah of Iran) cause the expansion of this stratum in order to achieve two main goals: The first is to prevent the revolution of the proletariat and the rotation of the ruling elites and secondly, to deepen populism in the context of society, especially the middle class; this is where fascism begins to spread its ideology with the tactics of intimidation and by threatening, it integrates these atomized individuals into the structural forms of fascism and that is the birth of fascist pluralism [13]. Literary fascism that grows within minds and thoughts has shaped intrapersonal and extra personal literature and reduced the range and complexity of words to reduce the understanding and demand of people in society, because the ideology of fascism is deeply anti-individualistic and anti-human [14]. In other words, fascism prevents; that, humans beings achieve their existence in rational formation, as befits human dignity [15].

#### 4. Organization

In organizing the totalitarian ideology of fascism, which is done in a certain way and form, organizing in fascist paradigms is pyramidal, in this way, the leaders and parties under the rule of the fascist system are placed around the totalitarian leader in order to be above social and democratic pluralism [16]. The result of this structure is the emergence of eternal leaders and thoughtless peoples in the form of eternal slaves. What is troubling fascism in the meantime is the non-populist and intellectual middle class. It is necessary that fascism also manages the strata that are not with their policies, which are mainly the strata of intellectuals. Therefore, the best way is to expand the support system and separate individuals and outsiders which results in threats, intimidation and enticement.

The supporter class which is the same as the populist petty bourgeoisie has a clear characteristic of elitism; therefore, it seeks to identify negatively and it does this by dividing the 'Manichaean world' into good and evil, in such a way that it considers its own group as good and justifies its aggression against an alien or outsider group.

In the patronage system all social and economic privileges are divided among the patrons so that the fascist system achieves at least three main goals. The first is to guarantee its supporters around the system by legitimizing them when necessary to legitimize themselves to exploit indoor and outdoor spaces; second, to prevent financial revenues from flowing out of the ruling circle so that it can be used when necessary to spread its ideology and third, to prevent outsiders from gaining power [17].

The turning point is that the product of such a structure is the formation of economic cartels and mafias 'the spread of rentierism in general' in a way that manages the rentira structures in the direction of system policies by taking all economic resources, In the shadow of such a turn; the outsiders become more and more isolated and weaker and this is the manifestation of Gareth Schaefer's famous phrase, meaning historyless slaves [18].

It must be acknowledged of course, that long-term rentierism takes the system out of rotation. Eichholtz the increasingly centralized and centralized pursuits considered it a formative law and called it a structural law in such a way that each of these groups tries to expand its monopoly dictatorship and even topples their rivals [19].

Wolfgang Blair describes this turmoil by allegorizing the Third Reich such analyzes. The Third Reich is not merely a totalitarian government with an absolute leadership but a chaotic government in which a set of organizations and institutions are engaged in a power struggle [20]. The result of such turmoil in the long run is the collapse of the internal Structural cores of fascist rule and the regime chooses another weapon to prevent such a consequence Fascism, in the shadow of the ideology it supports, strongly ideologically creates creative structures in order to prevent the entry of wisdom and reason into these structures by creating cumbersome bureaucracies and insufficient oversight of these systems and by placing senior populists at the helm and organizational management in the crystallization of this policy the ultimate exploitation is achieved.

#### 5. Modernity

On the other hand, the other policy of fascism is the policy of making enemies. Enemy policy is a strong policy to harden the arteries of society to be free; Fascism has a long-standing enmity with imperialism and capitalism in a free world free of rentier groups. The policy of enmity prevents the entry of society into free societies and therefore fascism can easily crystallize the atmosphere of illusory and megalomania that it supports in the field of society; it also helps create space for system-supported rental networks. In order to survive fascism must prevent the entry of

uncontrolled information and for this reason it usually presents itself as the enemy of modernity. According to Heidegger: "Technology does not think" means that technology proceeds according to its own internal mechanism and it is the people who think and must determine their relation with technology [21].

This in itself leads to a kind of thinking that is outside the philosophy of fascism. Following this policy, three main goals for fascism are achieved: The first is to prevent the entry of information into society and this in itself will be very effective in explaining the atmosphere of terror; second, gaining economic and political monopoly, which has no result other than creating and equipping rental networks, rent networks feed fascism financially and prevent outsiders from entering the field, which implicitly leads to greater control over the economic and political networks of society. Finally, by propagating the policy of war fascism tries to expand death in line with fascist ideology as a cultural value in society, which of course is a factor in creating an atmosphere of terror.

Fascism is alien to peace 'Peace in the literature of fascism means compromise with the enemy' which strongly contradicts its ultimate teachings, because life is a constant war. This thinking leads to the final battle as the resurrection. Since all enemies must be defeated, the final battle in which the movement will take control of the whole world is necessary and this is the totalitarianism of fascism. In non-fascist societies, ordinary people are told that death is an unfortunate phenomenon but must be accepted with dignity. Religious believers are taught that death is a painful path to eternal and supernatural happiness, but contrary to this thinking, the fascist hero longs for a heroic death because it has occurred to him that death is the only reward for a heroic life. The hero of the restless fascist is to die [22]. It must be acknowledged that this attitude is one of the causes of the phenomenon of terrorism, especially from the twentieth century onwards.

Another factor that makes fascism atomize the person who uses it is the suppression of the individual's emotional actions and hedonism, suppressing the sense of happiness and longing for life. It is a very strong factor in humiliating a person 'the humiliated person is not a thinker' he is an imitator and he easily surrenders his whole life to the ruling organization and ideology because he sees himself as incapable of any analogy and judgment; fascism is opposed to culture because every culture is rooted in its predecessors and carries a cause and effect; fascism does not want thinkers and critics, fascism wants pure obedience in order to define eternity for its life.

Fascism is rooted in traditionalism and is in deep opposition to the principles of modernity, which is

freedom of thought and expression 'the fascist tradition' as mentioned is a tradition of pure obedience but modernity has found its way through the pro-fascist para-pros and cons, communication has become modern and cultures have taken on a global dimension; In order to survive fascism is forced to compromise with modernity but secretly seeks to conquer it. Apply its value and ideological patterns in the form of modernity to bring the allegory of the mirror room to the fore, it made thousands of faces and images of every truth and hid his totalitarian intentions in those mask so that he could deceive his populist supporters. The basis of fascism is slogans and deception 'just as the Nazi party' through its propaganda was able to influence young voters, the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers not justified and deceived affect [23].

Now we have to analyze and examine what goal fascism is really pursuing with all these struggles? Is the preservation and expansion of interests in the form of eternal life his ultimate goal? What are the goals of capitalist systems? Fascism has far surpassed capitalism in every way, according to Bauer: The governing structure of fascism has gone so far beyond the structure of its origin, capitalism, that it has even enslaved the bourgeoisie [24].

The last circle of this puzzle is the answer to the above question, the interests for fascism do not have the first priority but what causes the fascist face to appear behind every innocent face is its boundless greed for power. Fascism wants to control the minds 'the desires and everything in this world' it is greedy by spending billions of dollars and even by selling its ideology at any cost to that ultimate goal is to have control, achieve all angles of individual and collective existence.( Manifestation is the living space of Hitler's time).

The effects and consequences of fascism are as follows:

- 1- Creating international, regional and national gaps.
- 2- Ideological turmoil in the structures of democratic pluralism.
- 3- Creating structures parallel to modern democratic structures.
- 4- Ideologizing insider structures.
- 5- Creating an atmosphere of terror in the shadow of enemy-building policies.
- 6- Elimination of individual, group occasions and the character of free action.
- 7- Change in the nature of individual assets and affiliations.
- 8- Use media and propaganda tools to create chaos and gain identity and functional legitimacy.
- 9- Intellectual limitations and the spread of anger and depression in people.

- 10- Anti-elitism and the spread of populism in all walks of life social strata.
- 11- Creating rentierism for material gain and suppressing free capitalism.
- 12- Creating domination and then monopolies in all economic, cultural, political and even ethnic-linguistic and individual fields.
- 13- Demonstrating the ideology of authority and institution as a leader as a holy leader.
- 14- Capturing individual identities and massing them.
- 15- Advertising war and heroism.
- 16- Establish and enhance control over all aspects of individual and social life.

It must be acknowledged that contrary to Umberto Eco's opinion fascism has fundamental gaps in its seemingly eternal structure; the chain of domination of fascism in any paradigm has two main links, the first is the populist character of the people, especially the petty bourgeoisie and the second link is the military; security and repressive forces of fascism, which with the loosening and tearing of at least each of these links, the eternal structure of fascism will collapse.

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The ideology and media and propaganda apparatus of fascism, which are constantly beating the drum of ignorance in order to keep people in an aura of illusion in line with the policies of fascism 'are unaware of a contagious factor' and that is the contagion of populism; the governmental and executive agents of fascism sooner or later become immersed in that illusion and this makes fascism structurally vulnerable; as public awareness rises and the populist coefficient decreases, the governing structure will become defenseless against civil and intelligent struggles, which will eventually lead to the structural divergence of fascism.

The second circle, which is the forces of repression and intimidation of the regime, such structures are divided due to continuous projections and creating an atmosphere of lies and illusions and with the involvement of a very important factor of rental interests, the ruling system creates parallel layers of security to control the security gaps that arise in its structure 'in such a way that each acts independently of the other' with the idea of increasing the security of the structure, but this factor due to the imbalance in the

management of social and economic crises and the interference of the interests of these same security arms in power cause divergence in the structure of fascism.

What raise the collapse rate of fascism are both the time and the direction of these two factors of divergence, two factors that were supposed to play a strong point in the fascist system. With the shift of awareness-raising factors in the context of society, of course, modernity also plays a very important role in accelerating this awareness, the weaknesses of fascism gradually appear in the shadow of this awareness, which results in weakening the illusory atmosphere of fascist rule and ultimately leads, it will collapse, the speed and dynamism of modernity is greater than that of fascism, backed by the minds of many people and the fervor of different cultures and it is here that fascism will never be eternal.

Finally, during this article, we found out what the structure of fascism is like; how he uses totalitarianism and communicates with the components of modernity in line with his accepted ideology and finally, how its eternity will be broken in front of culture and democratic pluralism.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Fascism 'a movement of a thousand faces, over time' is the founder of mirror rooms with contrasting colors and glazes for the masses, sometimes appearing in party symbols and sometimes with racial, religious and ideological origins; it is free from any thoughts and wisdom and full of artificial feelings.

Fascism is an illusion of being created to make its wisdom and roots a mirage, to create rifts and nerves and to legitimize the atmosphere of the chaos of mirror rooms 'to create false identities' Fascism is the creator of governments and states that are a mixture of contradictions and shape their structure by multiplying social gaps and turbulent ideas in them.

Fascism has a thousand faces, sometimes as Italian fascism becomes dictatorial and devoid of any philosophy; as Benito Mussolini, inspired by Giovanni Gentile's ideas and Hegel's views began to establish an absolute and moral government and sometimes takes on a totalitarian face and behind a philosophical, religious, religious or racial background. The begins to create personality and under the guise of the same artificial form, infiltrates and controls all aspects of human life and totalitarianism is created.

The media and propaganda system, which is exclusively in the hands of fascism, paves the way for this. The supremacy of fascism depends on tools such as populism and propaganda and this possibility, of course, depends on the readiness of social conditions and general depression. Fascism, after creating

numerous gaps and weakening the democratic spirit in the heart of society, by causing the turmoil of ideas into these gaps 'causes social isolation and depression' and this time negatively causes the indifference of society to social turmoils. This indifference which is essentially a kind of neutrality becomes even more pronounced when it targets the heart of the country, which is education and the higher education system. By destroying the structures of textbooks and eliminating cause-and-effect relations and weakening the logic and method of reasoning, it causes the inversion of education and weakens the position of science in society. In this way rotten fanatical and self-centered thoughts are born that have no tolerance for outsiders and are institutionalized as the dominant culture in the heart of society.

Fascism tries to make people predictable by restricting people with propaganda tactics, relying on its systemic media and by turning it into lower spheres such as work and instinct, it destroys the life of humanity and rationality.

In this article we mostly used reference books and articles, only limited use of Jagranjosh and historians.

#### COMPETING INTERESTS

Author has declared that no competing interests exist.

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