

# **FASCISM WITHOUT BORDERS**

**Transnational Connections and Cooperation between  
Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945**

**Edited by Arnd Bauerkämper and  
Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe**



**berghahn**

NEW YORK • OXFORD

[www.berghahnbooks.com](http://www.berghahnbooks.com)

# Contents

	List of Abbreviations	vii
<b>Introduction</b>	Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe, 1918–1945 <i>Arnd Bauerkämper and Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe</i>	1
<b>Chapter 1</b>	Transnational Fascism: The Fascist New Order, Violence, and Creative Destruction <i>Artistotle Kallis</i>	39
<b>Chapter 2</b>	Corporatist Connections: The Transnational Rise of the Fascist Model in Interwar Europe <i>Matteo Pasetti</i>	65
<b>Chapter 3</b>	Organizing Leisure: Extension of Propaganda into New Realms by the Italian and British Fascist Movements <i>Anna Lena Kocks</i>	94
<b>Chapter 4</b>	“The Brotherhood of Youth”: A Case Study of the Ustaša and Hlinka Youth Connections and Exchanges <i>Goran Miljan</i>	119
<b>Chapter 5</b>	The Estado Novo and Portuguese–German Relations in the Age of Fascism <i>Cláudia Ninhos</i>	142
<b>Chapter 6</b>	Inter-Fascist Conflicts in East Central Europe: The Nazis, the “Austrofascists,” the Iron Guard, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists <i>Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe</i>	168
<b>Chapter 7</b>	Fascist Poetry for Europe: Transnational Fascism and the Case of Robert Brasillach <i>Marleen Rensen</i>	192
<b>Chapter 8</b>	Native Fascists, Transnational Anti-Semites: The International Activity of Legionary Leader Ion I. Moța <i>Raul Cârstocea</i>	216

<b>Chapter 9</b>	Italian Fascism from a Transnational Perspective: The Debate on the New European Order (1930–1945) <i>Monica Fioravanzo</i>	243
<b>Chapter 10</b>	The Nazi “New Europe”: Transnational Concepts of a Fascist and Völkisch Order for the Continent <i>Johannes Dafinger</i>	264
<b>Chapter 11</b>	Communist Antifascism and Transnational Fascism: Comparisons, Transfers, Entanglements <i>Kasper Braskén</i>	288
<b>Chapter 12</b>	Antifascism in Europe: Networks, Exchanges, and Influences. The Case of Silvio Trentin in Toulouse and in the Resistenza in Veneto (1926–1944) <i>Silvia Madotto</i>	312
<b>Chapter 13</b>	German and Italian Democratic Socialists in Exile: Interpretations of Fascism and Transnational Aspects of Resistance in the Sopade and Giustizia e Libertà <i>Francesco Di Palma</i>	336
<b>Afterword</b>	Between Cooperation and Conflict: Perspectives of Historical Research on Transnational Fascism <i>Arnd Bauerkämper</i>	355
	Index	365