

---

## UNIT 11 FASCISM

---

### Structure

- 11.1 Introduction
  - Aims and Objectives
- 11.2 Understanding Fascism
- 11.3 Gandhi on Fascism
- 11.4 Ultra-Nationalism
- 11.5 Towards a Totalitarian State
- 11.6 Corporatism
- 11.7 Fascism and Racialism
- 11.8 Summary
- 11.9 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

---

### 11.1 INTRODUCTION

---

As profound political philosophies advocating distinct ways of life for the people, Gandhism and fascism stand poles apart despite having their evolution and growth situated in the circumstances prevailing in the first half of the twentieth century. Arguably, the intellectual roots of both the philosophies also appear to be common because they seemingly emerged as a reaction to modernity and its concomitant values and ideals that eventually became the hallmark of civilised life in the Anglo-Saxon countries. As Andrew Heywood argues, '[I]ndeed, fascism emerged very much as a revolt against modernity, against the ideas and values of the Enlightenment and the political creeds that it spawned' (Heywood, 2003, p.214). Similarly, the foundational roots of Gandhism can also be traced to the classic *Hind Swaraj* and subsequent writings that Gandhi authored to provide a critique of the modern civilisation as manifested in Western Europe and based on the ideals and values emerging in the wake of Enlightenment in Europe. What is, however, interesting is the fact that the commonality between the two philosophies end just on the points of their time of birth and intellectual influences rooted in modernity in reaction to which they came into being. Afterwards, the two become so antithetical to each other, both in theory and practice, that any study in comparing the two would inevitably become a study in enumerating the unbridgeable contradictions underpinning the basic tenets of the two philosophies.

#### Aims and Objectives

This Unit will enable you to understand

- Gandhi's views on Fascism
- Concept of Ultra-nationalism
- The relation between fascism and racialism.

---

## 11.2 UNDERSTANDING FASCISM

---

Before beginning the exercise of articulating Gandhi's views on fascism which Gandhi sometimes also referred to as Hitlerism given its highhanded implementation by Hitler in Germany, it would be pertinent to understand the context in which Gandhi was prompted to comment on certain aspects of theory and practice of fascism. Undoubtedly, Gandhi was not a political commentator who would have written a commentary on the contemporary political philosophies having strong influences on the course of events of that particular period of time. Nor would Gandhi have conducted an exercise in evaluating the various ideologies in order to pick one of them as the best ideology to become the basis of conducting and moulding the broad contours of nationalist movement and the nature of future Indian polity. Thus, Gandhi's encounter with the ideology of fascism was an incidental episode in the thought process of the Mahatma. In other words, during the Second World War, Gandhi keenly observed the unfolding sequence of events in the progress of war and commented on certain aspects of the ongoing events in the war if he felt strongly about that event. One such event happened to be the German invasion on the Soviet Union in 1941 at the peak of the war. This incident, besides changing the nature and dimensions of the war, brought about a sea change in the perception of the Indian nationalists regarding the nature of war. Majority, if not all, of them, including Gandhi, started perceiving the war not as an imperialist war fought amongst the big colonial powers to redraw the boundaries of the colonies but as a 'people's war' whereby the basic values and ideas of humanity appeared to be at stake. Consequently, it was obvious for them to articulate their opinion and make efforts to defame and ensure the defeat of the fascist and Nazi forces involved in the war. While the Communist elements of the nationalist movement diverted their efforts from anti-British activities to support the British war efforts to ensure the defeat of Axis powers, Gandhi refrained from doing so. Instead, in order to express his strong opinion against the fascist and Nazi forces, he wrote a few letters to Hitler and published a number of articles in his journal *Harijan* on the proceedings of the Second World War that appeared quite insightful in conceptualising Gandhi's ideas on fascism. In these letters, he not only condemned the ulterior motives of the fascist and Nazi forces in waging the war against the liberal democratic societies but also pointed out the fundamental and incontrovertible fallacies underpinning the core values of the philosophy of fascism. This Unit seeks to articulate the ideas of Gandhi on the philosophy of Fascism and Nazism,<sup>1</sup> in the mode of derivative discourse based upon two sources. First, reading between the lines of the letters written by Gandhi to Hitler and his articles in *Harijan*, certain specific and pointed ideas of Gandhi on various dimensions of the philosophy of fascism could be easily discerned. Second, by juxtaposing the views of Gandhi on various other philosophies and virtues of civilised life vis-à-vis the core beliefs and principles of fascism, a derivative discussion in exploring the views of Gandhi on fascism could also be made with a fair degree of authenticity. In other words, the Unit attempts to provide a Gandhian critique of the ideology of fascism and Nazism as practised in the countries like Italy and Germany in the times of the Second World War under the leadership of Mussolini and Hitler respectively.

---

## 11.3 GANDHI ON FASCISM

---

As explained earlier, it was never a concern of Gandhi to undertake an intellectual examination of the basic elements of Fascism or, for that matter, any political philosophy, given his preoccupation with evolving and practising a suitable method of peaceful struggle against the British rule in India. However, the worldview presented by Gandhi through his numerous

writings and speeches, provide a perfect lens to discern and examine the basic elements of the fascism<sup>2</sup> in order to articulate the views of Gandhi on fascism.

**Anti-Rationalism:** Anti-rationalism constitutes a cardinal principle of fascism. Conceptually, anti-rationalism may be understood as the anti-thesis of the entire intellectual framework evolved in the wake of Enlightenment. It seeks absolute negation of the ideas such as 'universal reason, natural goodness and inevitable progress' that appear to provide foundational basis of the modern civilised life. As against this, rejecting the values and ideals of Enlightenment, fascism puts premium on the seemingly irrational variables such as the soul, emotions and instincts. It refutes the claim that rationality and universal reason would do any good to humanity because they ingrain the element of division amongst the people. It called for anti-intellectualism as intellectual explorations by the common people are likely to distort the vision of the community regarding what is good for society and state. Hence, the favourite slogans of fascism are 'Action, not talk' and 'Inactivity is death' which exhort the people for action in place of abstract contemplation and hollow reasoning rooted in idle minds in society. Moreover, by negating the idea of universal reason, fascism sought to embed its basic elements in particular history, culture and the notion of organic community that lay at the root of emergence of narrow nationalism and sinister ideas of racial superiority amongst the followers of fascist ideology.

The anti-rationalist stance of fascism does not apparently come into total conflict with the views of Gandhi because he himself was a great critique of the idea of absolute rationality and extreme intellectualism. Being a believer in the innate virtues and instincts emanating from the human soul and emotions, Gandhi criticised the idea of rationality and intellectualism to the extent that they refuse to recognise the inherent goodness in these faculties of human personality. In fact, the whole edifice of the Satyagraha of Gandhi was built upon what he calls the 'soul force.' As he argued, 'I have come to this fundamental conclusion that if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also' (CWMG, xlviii, p.189). But the Gandhian conception of anti-rationality acts as a critique of the fascist anti-rationality, at least, on three grounds. First, Gandhi believed in the virtues of soul, heart and emotions in a universalistic sense of the terms and did not seek a selective application of appeal to subjective faculties in order to serve a selfish purpose. As against this, argued Heywood, '[W]hat is distinctive about fascism is not its appeal to non-rational drives and emotions, but rather the specific range of beliefs and values through which it attempts to engage the emotions and generate political activism' (Heywood, 2003, p.219). Second, the anti-rationality of fascism got reflection in its total rejection of almost everything that could have been taken to be benchmark of modern liberal societies. In other words, the core of non-rationality of fascism lied in deconstructing and demolishing the established order in society instead of presenting a constructive overview of an alternative vision of socio-political order. Unlike this, Gandhi's non-rationality was essentially constructive as it aimed at arousing the soul force of the human beings to create an alternative worldview in which the both head and heart co-exist in a symbiotic relationship. To Gandhi, the real and universal happiness in society could be ensured only by conjoining both the rational and emotional components of human life which seems to be deficient in the Western societies with the former outweighing the latter. Finally, the fascist disbelief in universal reason sowed the seeds of parochial and exclusivist perception of one's culture, history and organic community life. As a result, the narrow and pernicious ideas of racial superiority, ultra-nationalism and clamour for expanding one's geographical space became part of the fascist lexicon. Disapproving such a conception, the Gandhian belief in universal reason was the foundation stone on which he built up his theory

of universal truth and Satyagraha. To Gandhi, the inherent unity and inclusiveness amongst the people in various countries of the world need to be the focal point of any conceptualisation of a global order. Indeed, Gandhi was highly critical of the German genocide of the Jews in the name of social purging of Germany.

A core belief of fascism is argued to be its conception of constant struggle in society in order to weed out the undeserving and unsustainable elements of society. In other words, the fascism believed that only fittest and deserving people would have a rightful place in society and the rest of the humanity be prepared to perish in due course of time sooner than later. For instance, Hitler quite often used to announce that 'victory is to the strong and the weak must go to the wall.' In their infatuation with struggle, the fascists afforded war a place of prominence in the discourses on human behaviour by raising slogans like 'war is to men what maternity is to women' and branding war as 'an unalterable law of the whole of life.' So, going by this unwavering belief of fascism in the virtues of unending struggle and war, it was not surprising for the forces having belief in fascist ideology to push the humanity into the vortex of war in 1939. But to Gandhi, such a view of human life and social dynamics would have been nothing than playing with fire. He never subscribed to the nihilist ideas of struggle and war as the eternal truths of life that remain unavoidable. Gandhi was a believer in the natural tendency and virtue of the human being to live in peace without any unprovoked orientation for struggle or war. Arguing for peaceful co-existence of various people irrespective of their outwardly differentiations in terms of race, language, religion, sex or place of residence, he called for the resolution of any dispute or disagreement through the use of soul-force embedded in self-suffering rather than the force of gun or sword. As he pointed out, '...if you want something really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal of reason is more to the head, but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man. Suffering is the badge of the human race, not the sword.' Further, in his writings published during the proceedings of the Second World War, Gandhi was very critical of the war, branding it as the result of the inherent contradictions and rivalry amongst the imperialist and colonial countries of Europe. He argued for the end of colonial and imperialist aspirations amongst the various countries and immediate liberation of the colonies in all parts of the world. Thus, the core beliefs of fascism in the virtues of unending struggle and war as an instrument of reordering the things in the world never stood the scrutiny of Gandhi's views on war and peace.

**Leadership:** Another crucial element of fascism appears to be its over-emphasis on the role of leadership in leading the masses towards rechristening the society on the lines of the fascist ideology. Moreover, the nature of leadership in fascist framework is overwhelmingly elitist and unabashedly patriarchal. Such characteristics of fascism are reflected in the oft-repeated rhetoric of its proponents. For instance, while formulating the slogan 'victory to the strong and the weak must go to the wall', Hitler, in a way, was underlining the basic features of the fascist leadership that needs to be strong on all counts including physical, mental, social, economic and behavioural. Similarly, Mussolini's assertion that 'war is to men what maternity is to women' is reflective of the firm conviction of the fascist ideology that the domain of women is confined to only delivering babies and take care of the domestic affairs of the family. So, in fascist formulations, the exalted position of leadership in society must be confined to the echelons of elite and men only to the total exclusion of the plebeian and women. Such an outlook towards social and political issues was taken to its logical conclusion with the consolidation of the principles that all the powers and authority emanates from the personality of the leader and that leader can do no wrong in any eventuality. Such

a perception of leadership was never approved by Gandhi. Being a believer in participative enterprise, Gandhi was always prone to give equal, if not more, weightage to the views and role play of the followers. Moreover, to Gandhi, the sustenance of any movement or expedition predominantly depends on the resilience of the common people participating in the movement. Women always constituted the key component of each and every movement pioneered by Gandhi in the course of Indian National Movement. Above all, adequate democratic space was afforded by Gandhi to all to air their views on the issues and problems noticed with the ideas and strategy of the leader. Hence, Gandhi's views on leadership and its characteristics appear to be in stark contrast with the core concerns of fascism on the issue.

**Place for Socialism?:** Arguably, the dynamics of political expediency inspired the proponents of fascism to adopt the ideology of socialism as an instrument of regulating the economic life of the people in society. In other words, in fascist lexicon, the ideology of socialism was foisted as a kind of deceptive measure aimed at giving an impression in the minds of the common people that the government was regulating the economic affairs in a very strict manner in order to ensure the alleviation of their economic miseries. But in reality, the bogey of socialism was raised with the twin purposes of securing the unflinching support of the socialist and communist elements in society for the cause of fascism, and unleashing a reign of terror on the capitalist elements in society who were opposing the fascism as the ruling ideology in Italy and Germany. Thus, socialism was adopted as a part of the fascist game plan to consolidate the hold of fascism over the various sections of society in the name of bringing about a noble economic restructuring of society in accordance with the principles of socialism. In this context, it would be interesting to discern the views of Gandhi both on the ideology of socialism per se and the fascist appropriation of the socialist philosophy for their sinister gains. Though Gandhi was not a doctrinaire socialist in the sense other Indian nationalists such as Nehru and Bose were, Gandhi, nonetheless, stood for the cause of the socio-economic upliftment of the common people through various concerted efforts and measures rooted even in the ideology of socialism. So, socialism as an ideology might not be appealing for Gandhi but it was all right if used as a policy of ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of the people. But Gandhi would have been very critical of the misappropriation of the ideology of socialism for sinister advantages in the ideology of fascism.

---

## 11.4 ULTRA-NATIONALISM

---

The penchant of fascism for ultra-nationalism could also not stand the critique of Gandhi for such kind of chauvinistic and expansionist overtones in any ideology. Indeed, the very birth of the philosophy of fascism may partly be traced to its exploitation of the nationalist sentiments of the people in Italy in the aftermath of the First World War when the territorial aspirations of that country were not fulfilled at the Paris Peace Conference. Subsequently, as an ideology, fascism seeks to thrive on the feeling of perceived superiority of the race that occupies the geographical entity called a nation. More importantly, the vicious conceptualisation of nationalism in fascist discourse is based on a strong disrespect for distinctive cultures or national traditions of other people usually branding them as inferior in comparison to the culture or national tradition of the fascist country. Hence, the ultra nationalism of fascism aims to attain the twin goals of national regeneration on the one hand, and adoption of belligerent policies of animosity and discord with its neighbours. As Heywood points out, '[A]ll fascist movements therefore highlight the moral bankruptcy and cultural decadence of modern society, but proclaim the possibility of rejuvenation, offering

the image of the nation 'rising phoenix-like from the ashes.' The most objectionable logic of national regeneration in fascism is necessarily 'the assertion of power over other nations through expansionism, war and conquest.' But these formulations of fascism would have fallen flat in the face of pacifist and cosmopolitan nature of Gandhi's ideas of nationalism. To Gandhi, nationalism needs to be understood in terms of independence, self-respect and dignity of a nation as part of the broader comity of other nations. National regeneration essentially entails inner-purification and development of a country. Hence, Gandhi would vehemently criticise the fascist ideology for fomenting the emotions of war, conquest and expansionism in the name of 'integral nationalism.'

---

## 11.5 TOWARDS A TOTALITARIAN STATE

---

The fascist philosophy argues for the establishment of a totalitarian state encompassing within itself almost all aspects of human life in society leaving no room for independent functioning for the individuals. Such an idea was represented by the fascist dictum: 'Everything for the state; nothing against the state; nothing outside the state.' In fascist ideology, the idea of totalitarian state may be taken to portray two interrelated implications: one, it leads to the creation of a typical fascist state in which the human personality is moulded in a unique shape resulting in the emergence of what is called as the 'fascist man.' The basic characteristic of such a fascist man is his unflinching loyalty and support to the leader in an infinite manner in which he is ready to dissolve his personality into the personality of the leader for whose cause he would even prepare to lay his life. Two, as a result, such a conceptualisation of man in fascist state 'violates the liberal idea of a distinction between the state and civil society. An unmediated relationship between the leader and his people implies active participation and total commitment on the part of citizens; in effect, the politicization of the masses.' Hence, in the fascist formulation, the idea of totalitarian state occupies the central position which would not have been proper in Gandhi's view. Gandhi, as a liberal thinker, believed in the minimum space for the functioning of state so that the people at large would get maximum possible operational sphere for the fullest development of their personality. He not only stood for the clear cut distinction between the public and private spheres of the social interactions amongst various institutions of government, but also paid more weightage to the private sphere of the individuals at the cost of the authoritarian sphere of the state. Gandhi's views, thus, on the nature of state in fascism would have been totally incompatible as Gandhi would never allow the state to monopolise the personality of an individual for the cause of the leader.

---

## 11.6 CORPORATISM

---

In the economic sphere of life, fascism is marked by its emphasis on what is described as 'corporatism' to evolve a distinct economic system to regulate the economic life of the people in the fascist society. Conceptually, in fascist discourse, corporatism stands for a typical economic system distinct from both free market economic system as well as the socialist one. It argues for an economic system in which the labour and the capital are not taken to be antithetical to each other; rather, they are supposed to co-exist with each other in a state of spiritually and organically unified whole. Keeping in view the demands of the fascist state and society, corporatism exhorts both the labour and capital to underplay the class dynamics in society and join hands together to produce in order to meet the economic needs of the people. Thus, the idea of corporatism seeks to minimise the class character of society and puts the burden of mediating the class relations between the labour and

capital on the state. In turn, the state ensures that the sectional interests in society are surrendered in favour of the national interest which becomes paramount in the fascist framework of life. In practice, however, the idea of corporatism gets transformed into the complete control of all economic activities in society by the state to the extent of even robbing people of their economic possessions to meet their minimum needs of life. Though, the idea of corporatism might appear near to the Gandhian idea of trusteeship in which Gandhi seeks to manage the economic activities and resources of society in the form of a trust managed by the private individuals, it differs from the latter in the sense of its total subordination of individual interests to the interests of the state. Hence, Gandhi would always criticise the monopolisation of the economic activities of people in the hands of state with a view to further the totalitarian pursuits of state to penetrate and control each and every sphere of human life in society.

---

## 11.7 FASCISM AND RACIALISM

---

The operationalisation of fascist ideology in various countries produced a number of modifications of the original formulations of the fascist philosophy as propounded by Italian leader Mussolini. One such modification appears to be the element of racialism that became very prominent in the operationalisation of the theory in Germany but was almost absent in its articulation in Italy. In other words, while racialism was not perceived to be a crucial element of the ideology of fascism when it was theorised and practised in Italy, it became one of the most critical components of the fascist philosophy as practised in Germany. Theoretically, the notion of racialism is based on the belief that there exist plausible distinctions amongst the human beings in different parts of the world on the basis of the biological or genetic differentiations amongst them. Such racial differentiations may be taken to be the basis of arriving at political or social conclusions to formulate the policy of a state or individuals towards others. This understanding of racialism was adopted by Hitler as his state policy to pronounce the racial superiority of the German race calling them as Aryan or superior race in comparison to others, and more particularly the Jews. As a result, he not only waged the war against a number of countries but also carried out massive genocide of the Jews in Germany. This was taken very strongly by Gandhi who wrote long letters to Hitler bringing out the fallacies of his assumptions of racial superiority and his crimes against humanity by butchering innocent Jews in the name of social purging of Germany. Thus, Gandhi came down heavily upon Hitlerism and called for unified and concerted efforts to defeat the forces unleashed by Hitler or supporting what he called Hitlerism. However, Gandhi was clear that 'Hitlerism will never be defeated by counter-Hitlerism. It can only breed superior Hitlerism raised to ninth degree. What is going on before our eyes is a demonstration of the futility of violence as also of Hitlerism' (Jack, 1956, p.337). Hence, Gandhi suggested the use of soul-force to counter the onslaught of Hitlerism on the Jews. He called upon the Jews in Germany to go for self-sufferings in the face of imminent death in the gas chambers at the hands of the Nazi officials. He suggested that such a self-suffering would definitely appeal to the soul of the Nazi officials as well as Hitler as a result of which he would be persuaded to stop his cruelty upon the innocent people. However, a number of Jews wrote in reply to Gandhi pointing out the seeming futility of soul-force before Hitler as he would never allow anybody to undergo self-suffering for long enough duration to have any discernible and fruitful impact on the emotions and sentiments of Hitler as a result of which he would have been persuaded to abandon his massacre of the innocent Jews in Germany.



**Religion:** A basic incompatibility between the perceptions of fascism and Gandhi appears to be obvious on the issue of religion. Fascism, owing to its varying understanding and operationalisation in different countries, could not claim a uniform understanding of the role of religion in the society. Hence, one strand of fascism believes in the futility of religion and religious organisations such as church because they could emerge as an alternative centre of power in state and claim allegiance of the people in the name of the supreme authority of God. But some other fascists regarded religion as some kind of loose instrument in the hands of the state to instill order and loyalty amongst the people. In fact, they go to the extent of using religious style of language in provoking the need for sacrifice, redemption and spiritual virtue to consolidate the supremacy of state in regulating the affairs of the society. Moreover, the religious discourses were also used to demean and attack materialism, consumerism and hedonism as having potential to corrupt the moral basis of society as a result of which the fascist state would not be able to aspire for attaining the nationalist aspirations of the people. Such an immoral and selfish perception of religion was totally unacceptable to Gandhi who was very particular in presenting religion as a personal matter of the individuals. To Gandhi, religion provides the basis of moral character of society and in the absence of religion, the moral regeneration of society would be well nigh impossible. He argued for purity of religious perceptions as any sort of motives in conceptualising religion would make it prone to be misused at the hands of the unscrupulous elements of society. Hence, Gandhi would not only negate the fascist understanding of religion but also call for its restoration in society as part of the personal domain of the people through which they could aspire for their moral emancipation in the wake of the fascist impurities introduced in society by the rulers.

---

## 11.8 SUMMARY

---

In conclusion, it may be argued that Gandhi's encounter with the philosophy of fascism was only incidental. Consequently, it was not possible for him to study and provide a reasoned and detailed analysis of the whole philosophy of fascism as described and practised by the leaders such as Mussolini and Hitler. The operational part of fascism came to the knowledge of Gandhi during the course of events during the Second World War. Given Gandhi's perceptive monitoring of the unfolding situations during the war, he was strongly drawn into the theory and practice of fascism in the wake of the German attack on Soviet Union in 1941 and the series of atrocities, including massacre being committed against the Jews in Germany. As a result, he wrote a few letters and series of articles in his journal to articulate his understanding and feelings on the theoretical and practical aspects of fascism. In these writings, he not only criticised the fallacious convictions of fascism regarding the human nature, personality of individuals and the various dimensions of socio-economic and political life of people in the fascist state but also craved for suggesting ways and means to meet the challenges presented by the naked run of fascism in the world. In this context, it is interesting to note that Gandhi's response to the challenges posed by fascism remained embedded in his basic formulations of Satyagraha and peaceful protest. Therefore, he argued that the spree of violence, war and atrocities unleashed by fascism and Hitlerism on the innocent people and countries of the world could not be countered by equal degree of violence, war and atrocities. Instead, the method of Satyagraha and self-suffering needed to be practised to arouse the soul-force of the fascist forces in order to bring about a change of heart in them. However, the suggestion of Gandhi was not taken positively by the Jews given the typical circumstances prevailing in Germany under Hitler. As a Jewish activist pointed out to Gandhi, 'a Jewish Gandhi in Germany, should one arise, could function for



about five minutes and would be promptly taken to the guillotine.’ But Gandhi stuck to his stand and argued that if the death was so imminent at the hands of Hitler, the Jewish people could undertake self-suffering by choosing the manner of their death which would have shaken Hitler from his slumber. Thus, despite apparent typicality of the situations prevailing in Germany in the wake of fascism and Hitlerism, Gandhi’s comments and suggestions on the various dimensions of the problem provided meaningful insight to construct a derivative discourse for illustrating Gandhi’s views on fascism and Hitlerism.

---

## 11.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

---

1. What do you understand by Fascism?
2. What were the views of Gandhi on Fascism?
3. Examine the crucial link between fascism and racialism.

---

## SUGGESTED READINGS

---

1. Bidyut Chakrabarty, *Social and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*, Routledge, London, 2004.
2. Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies*, (Third Edition), Palgrave, Houndmills, 2003.
3. Government of India, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 100 volumes, Publications Division, New Delhi, 1958-2000.
4. Bidyut Chakrabarty and Rajendra Kumar Pandey, *Modern Indian Political Thought: Text and Context*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2009.
5. Homer A. Jack., (ed.), *The Gandhi Reader: A Source Book of His Life and Writings*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1956.
6. O’Sullivan, N., (ed), *Terrorism, Ideology and Revolution*, Harvester Press, 1986
7. Arendt, Hannah., *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Cleveland, 1962
8. Fellice, Renzo D.E., *Interpretations of Fascism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1977.

### (Footnotes)

<sup>1</sup> Though at the levels of both theoretical perspectives and practical manifestations, fascism and Nazism cannot be taken to be identical, for the sake of clarity and consistency, the Nazism has been understood as similar to fascism in so far as the views of Gandhi on that particular school of thought is concerned. For the finer points of distinction between fascism and Nazism, see Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies* (Third Edition), Palgrave, Houndmills, 2003, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> The understanding of the basic elements of Fascism for purposes of this chapter is drawn primarily on, Andrew Heywood, *Political Ideologies* (Third Edition), Palgrave, Houndmills, 2003, pp. 214-239.