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## Introduction

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## **Towards a Global History of Anti-Fascism: Introduction**

Kasper Braskén, David Featherstone and Nigel Copsey

On 7 October 1934, a major street battle between fascists and anti-fascists took place in the centre of São Paulo. It became a landmark for Brazilian anti-fascism and is commonly remembered as the ‘See Square Battle (Batalha da Praça da Sé)’. An anti-fascist protest action was staged on that day against a major demonstration organised by the country’s largest fascist party, Brazilian Integralist Action (*Ação Integralista Brasileira*). The confrontation led to violent street fighting that managed to close down the fascist protest. It left several wounded and some dead, predominantly on the fascist side.<sup>1</sup> Four years later, fascist Blackshirts in Johannesburg, South Africa, were responsible for escalating levels of violence perpetrated against both leftist movements and Jewish institutions. On 27 November 1938, the rising political tensions culminated in a violent battle between Blackshirts and anti-fascists in central Johannesburg, causing one of the largest disturbances in the capital since the early 1920s.<sup>2</sup> Many memorialise the Battle of Cable Street,<sup>3</sup> when anti-fascists in London successfully halted the demonstration of Oswald Mosley and the British Union of Fascists in 1936, but all too few have knowledge of analogous events beyond European frameworks.

These two examples, from Brazil and South Africa, expose how the histories and geographies of anti-fascisms remain uneven. Our aim with this volume is to initiate a critical discussion on the varieties of global anti-fascism and to explore the cultural, political and practical articulations of anti-fascism around the world. Through a number of interlinked case studies, this volume examines how different forms of global anti-fascisms

were embedded in various national and local contexts during the interwar period and we investigate the interrelations between local articulations and the global movement. Through doing so, this book is a gateway into the diverse trajectories, agency and solidarities shaped by anti-fascist political activity and provides space to African, Asian, Latin American, Caribbean, and Middle Eastern anti-fascist voices that have often been ignored or rendered peripheral in international histories of anti-fascism.

Like any global approach, the aim of this volume is to neither establish homogeneity nor force historical coherence. Our aim, instead, is to reveal the abundance and complexity of anti-fascist ideas, movements and practices. This volume is not disconnected from developments in Europe, but it does strive to expand our horizons and enhance our understanding of global anti-fascism and fascism. It seeks to explore the historical and intellectual implications of bringing together cases and examples from Latin America, the Caribbean, North America, Scandinavia, Spain, the Middle East, Ethiopia, South Africa, India and Australia. All too often anti-fascism is understood as a monolith, mainly connected to Stalinism or Soviet communism, which grossly misrepresents the varieties of anti-fascist resistance. We find it of outmost importance to re-visit these histories and to reveal their diverse trajectories based on the very latest research findings. Political myths and misrepresentations of anti-fascist histories are constantly used in contemporary debates and political struggles around the world, which highlights the importance of understanding these histories and legacies beyond simplistic narratives. We also contend that engagement with these diverse histories can help to animate contestation of the far right in the present.

Firstly it must be acknowledged that the state of 'anti-fascism studies' is directly connected to the emerging global and comparative history of fascism.<sup>4</sup> As Benjamin Zachariah argues, there is a resilient 'prejudice that fascisms in general are strictly European phenomena and that non-Europeans only produced inadequately understood imitations'.<sup>5</sup> Such limits continue to circumscribe the terms on which anti-fascism is

understood and theorised. Thus recent calls to 'rethink anti-fascism' have made an important attempt to recover the importance and diversity of anti-fascist politics.<sup>6</sup> Such work has, however, continued to underplay the intersections between anti-fascism and anti-colonialism/anti-imperialism which is of crucial relevance in the global arena. This means that major mobilisations like those against Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 often get written out of work on anti-fascism as do many of the actors involved in the formation of such resistance and solidarity.<sup>7</sup>

Most international histories of anti-fascism are based on European thinkers and activists, and partly as a result a serious analysis of the intersections and commonalities between fascism and colonialism are all too seldom. Thus Richard Iton notes that while Giorgio Agamben 'cites Nazism and the Holocaust as crucial markers of modernity's "hidden matrix" in his book *Homo Sacer* while 'paying little attention to the broader phenomenon of colonialism'.<sup>8</sup> He contrasts Agamben's omission of the articulations of fascism, anti-fascism and colonialism with the work of key intellectuals associated with the Black radical tradition such as WEB Du Bois, Oliver Cox, George Padmore and CLR James, and the film-maker Ousmane Sembène, who foregrounded 'the colonial factor' and made 'connections between this history and the events that took place in Europe leading up to and during World War II'. Thus George Padmore, the key anti-colonialist, noted for example in 1938 that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago was "inaugurating a policy which savours of Colonial Fascism, and which, if not challenged immediately, is bound to deprive the workers of their most elementary civil rights, such as freedom of the press, speech and assembly."<sup>9</sup> Padmore's articulation of 'Colonial Fascism' was an innovative intervention which directly asserted the co-production of fascism and colonialism.

Such interventions challenge the construction of fascism as a distinctly European phenomenon and positions it as emerging at the intersections of colonial and metropolitan political networks and exchanges. Padmore, as Leslie James has noted, arguably made the case that 'European rule in its colonies was itself fascist' and did so 'more vehemently

than anyone else at the time'.<sup>10</sup> Although Padmore was vocal in his articulations, he was far from the only anti-colonialist to seriously embrace the concept of fascism beyond European frameworks. In a similar way, the Indian National Congress and its president Jawaharlal Nehru defined fascism and imperialism as “blood brothers” during the mid-late 1930s. From an Indian horizon, as Michele Louro reveals in her chapter in this volume, fascism and imperialism were perceived as dual symptoms of world capitalism, responsible for fierce oppression and exploitation on a global scale.<sup>11</sup> Besides Padmore’s concept of ‘colonial fascism,’ the Cuban communists Julio Antonio Mella and Rubén Martínez Villena explicitly defined Gerardo Machado’s dictatorial regime in Cuba as a form of ‘tropical fascism’ during the 1920s. Sandra Pujals demonstrates in her chapter how such interventions were enriched by pivotal local experiences, encounters and practices that have since then fallen into neglect. Despite this they not only deserve their place in the emerging global history of anti-fascism, but can offer different routes into understanding the solidarities and internationalisms shaped through these global histories.

### **Different anti-fascist traditions**

For several European countries key literature on anti-fascism is available as recent examples from Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and the Nordic Countries demonstrate.<sup>12</sup> Comparative and transnational research efforts still remain the exception, although the emerging literature suggests that there is great promise in such approaches.<sup>13</sup> Hugo García argues convincingly that transnational history forms the new paradigm for ‘anti-fascist studies’, but it still must be remembered that the transnational turn does not itself lead to the abandonment of Eurocentrism.

Recent work by Christopher Vials and Susan D. Pennybacker, for example, offer vital new perspectives on the way we need to de-colonise and globalise these histories. Vials’ discussion of the contributions to the CPUSA affiliated journal *The Fight Against War and Fascism*, for example, argues that the journal reveals ‘the ways in which US-based

communists and non-communists worked together, for a time, to forge a democratic language that confronted hierarchies of race, class, and empire, and in a manner that did not neatly follow any “party line” directed from Moscow’. Pennybacker depicts how anti-colonial activists played a huge role in European metropolitan spaces, where people from India or Africa rallied together with British and European anti-fascist and anti-colonialist against the injustices of Empire.<sup>14</sup>

Breaking out of a European centred lens also enables us to focus on the different and contested articulations between anti-colonialism and fascism/anti-fascism. Even so, new studies which engage with anti-fascism in more transnational ways still somehow manage to marginalise such questions. Michael Seidman’s book *Transatlantic Antifascisms* adopts a very narrow usage of the transatlantic in the title employing it in a restricted way to refer predominantly to relations between the US, France and Britain. Seidman is also dismissive of the importance of transnational organising in relation to China and Ethiopia arguing that “Neither Japanese aggression against China (1931–1933) nor the Italian conquest of Ethiopia (1935–1936) aroused the same level of international emotion and commitment as the Spanish Civil War and Revolution.”<sup>15</sup> Downplaying the significant transnational anti-fascisms shaped in opposition to Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia has important consequences in limiting understandings of anti-fascism, particularly in terms of recognising diverse articulations with anti-colonialism. It also hinders an engagement with the differing and conflictual perspectives of anti-fascists on empire. As Tom Buchanan has argued it was not only the political right, but also elements of the left that were silent on articulations of anti-fascism and anti-colonialism.<sup>16</sup>

With the outbreak of World War II, many anti-colonialists were forced to make the painful choice, at least momentarily, to put aside their anti-colonial agenda and double down on fighting fascism first. However, some anti-colonialists were instead prepared to abandon anti-fascism and to strive in alliance with Nazi Germany to fulfil their mission to bring down the British and French empires.<sup>17</sup> Many anti-colonialists on the left who had admired and

adhered to the Communist International's (Comintern) anti-imperialist agenda were, during the mid-1930s, disillusioned with the communist turn to popular front politics. Like George Padmore, they disdained the Soviet Union's new path towards appeasement and collaboration with European empires to forward anti-fascist popular fronts and collective security, rather than continuing the efforts to disrupt the colonial empires from within.<sup>18</sup> The Axis Powers actively utilised this dilemma during the Second World War and, as Evan Smith notes, "it encouraged the indigenous populations in the British and (former) French and Dutch colonies to view the Axis Powers (particularly Japan) as liberators of these people from colonial tyranny." Such perspectives were strongly opposed by Moses Kotane of the South African CP and the African American communist James Ford. Ford argued in 1942 that it was a "hideous lie" that Japan could be the "champion of the darker races". According to Ford, such ideas came "from the lips of a gang of fascists who betrayed Ethiopia and took their places besides Mussolini and his wholesale murder of this peaceful Negro nation in Africa".<sup>19</sup>

The existing scholarship on anti-fascism has had a tendency to narrowly focus on the international communist movement. This collection will extend the reach, covering the broader global left, including not only communists, but anarchists, social democrats, left-intellectuals and anti-colonialists. In many cases, these activists and left-intellectuals moved through different political affiliations during the course of the interwar period, passing from socialism to communism, left-socialism and to independent left-opposition groups. Some leaped over to the fascist side, while others found an enforced anti-totalitarian world-view in the common rejection of Stalinism and Nazism.

The history of communist anti-fascism has contributed to a substantial literature on Soviet anti-fascism and the Comintern's debates on the nature of fascism.<sup>20</sup> While such studies remain valuable in many respects, they have in most cases been limited to perspectives 'from above' that discuss the twists and turns at the highest political levels in Moscow, but say very little about local anti-fascist responses around the world. In this

regard a core contribution of this collection is to apply some of the methodologies associated with work on transnational subaltern histories to work on anti-fascist solidarities and internationalisms.<sup>21</sup> This is a productive approach which can open up different understandings and ways of recognising who was important in shaping anti-fascist politics and different understandings of the labour involved in so doing.

Recent global histories of communism have noted that anti-fascism became fundamentally integrated into the global communist identity during the 1930s, but no comprehensive study beyond European frameworks has been produced. Studies on global communism tend to be either limited to national case studies or restricted to discussing anti-fascism in the context of the Comintern's Popular Front period (1935–1939) and the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). In general, the Spanish Civil War has formed a major subfield of international anti-fascism studies, sometimes even erroneously understood to be the *only* relevant field of anti-fascism studies. The war in Spain was quickly understood as an event of global significance, and major studies from around the world have also been produced.<sup>22</sup> Like the chapters in this volume show, Spain did not only attract volunteers to fight, but included groups of medical volunteers as revealed in Ariel Lambe's chapter dealing with the story of Cuban medical aid. Cathy Bergin's chapter highlights again the role of black internationalism and anti-fascism that inspired many African Americans to join the international brigades in Spain. Constant movement across borders and continents seems to be the most striking aspect of this global history in the making, emphasising the vast opportunities for intercultural learning and transnational transfers of anti-fascist practices that enabled inventive thinking about the common fascist menace. Following such an argument, it was no surprise that Spain became in the minds of the many the 'world capital of anti-fascism' as Hugo García fittingly maintains in his contribution to the volume.

Relevant for the history of global communist anti-fascism, several recent works have revealed much new information about international communist-led organisations. They



offer vital new knowledge on the inner workings of international communist organisations such as the International Red Aid, the League against Imperialism, the International Workers' Relief, the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, or the International of Seamen and Harbour Workers and their relations to Moscow. Such international organisational histories offer an important way to look beyond national frameworks and to establish global links and transnational transfers.<sup>23</sup> However, as Joachim C. Häberlen notes in an effective critique of the historiography on global communism it has been difficult for researchers to move beyond two dichotomic perspectives that either emphasise a perspective 'from below' or limits itself to a perspective 'from above.' While the former underlines the importance of local contexts and experiences, the latter emphasises the control and influence of the Comintern and Moscow's clandestine services. In a similar way, the research of US communism has been divided between 'traditionalists' who emphasise the subversive Moscow-connection, while 'revisionists' have commonly approached the history of communism from the perspective of local actors and contexts and connected it to the rise of civil rights movements and questions of social and racial justice.<sup>24</sup>

For sure, the deeply permeating effects of Stalinism on global anti-fascism cannot be overlooked, as Bernhard H. Bayerlein's chapter on Comintern policy in Brazil and Ethiopia shows. At the same time, the gaze at the top levels of the world movement must not lead to losing touch with various local developments, and the vital anti-fascist activity carried on by independent communists, anarchists, syndicalists, lefts socialists, trotskyists, socialists and progressive liberals within the global left. Still, one needs to be careful not to treat uncritically concepts such as the 'global left'. As discussed by Hugo García in his chapter, the global left was indeed a fragile construct during the interwar period with many internal contradictions and incoherent factors. And so it is perhaps even more remarkable that it still could produce such powerful and empathic global bonds of solidarity, although they usually could only be upheld momentarily. Through many of these histories, left-solidarities

reveal themselves as remarkably transformative ideas that enabled the global connection and unification of people from various backgrounds and geographical locations that was of vital importance for the history of anti-fascism.<sup>25</sup> In this way, one could argue that global anti-fascism was not as much a product of the global left, as the global left was a product of anti-fascist mobilisation on a world wide scale.

Pivotal moments in the history of fascism, such as Mussolini's rise to power in 1922, the establishment of the Third Reich in 1933, the Italo-Ethiopian war in 1935–1936, the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939, and Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in summer 1941, all gave rise to significant, but separately distinct global waves of anti-fascist responses. The establishment of fascist regimes in Italy and Germany was pre-dated and followed by violent attacks against the labour movement and everything anti-fascist, which led to the establishment of anti-fascist exile communities around the world.<sup>26</sup> The flows of political refugees and exiles from Italy and later Germany had direct global repercussions. For the 1920s, as both Federico Ferretti and Nigel Copsey's chapters illustrate, Italian anarchists became pivotal transnational actors and organisers. The anarchist and anti-fascist Camilo Berneri crisscrossed the European continent, and Italian anti-fascist radicals (either as exiles or apart of the pre-existing Italian global immigrant communities) made during the 1920s significant interventions against the spread of fascism in for example Brazil, the USA, Canada, Britain and Australia.

As a consequence of the German catastrophe in 1933 a new wave of anti-fascist exiles emerged when Weimar Germany's transnational left was dislocated to Europe, America and around the world. Kasper Braskén's chapter on transatlantic anti-fascism demonstrates how in 1933 German exiles in Paris launched together with French and British intellectuals, socialists and communists completely new global solidarity networks for the benefit of the victims of German fascism. Such efforts not only revealed the true menace of German fascism, but emphasised the need to fight every form of fascism both locally and globally.

If the lessons of the 'Italian catastrophe' in 1922 had not awakened the world's public to the menace of international fascism, the rise of Nazi Germany represented the ultimate signal. Even so, most governments prioritised the need for good foreign relations with Germany and officially withheld sharp criticism of German "internal affairs" such as the bloody crackdown of Europe's strongest labour movement and anti-Semitic persecution. For many smaller countries the new Nazi government demanded an awkward *quid pro quo* where good relations were conditional on restricting anti-fascist press coverage and demonstrations.

For the anti-fascist movement, the lessons of the Italian and German catastrophes played a significant role in the transnational anti-fascist 'space of experience' and 'horizon of expectation'.<sup>27</sup> The rapid rise of Mussolini's *fasci di combattimento* ("fighting leagues"), founded in March 1919, was a telling and devastating example for all anti-fascists that motivated and demanded constant vigilance. As a consequence, anti-fascism often articulated the need for pre-emptive strikes against the rise of the extreme right. As early as 1923, the *grand old lady* of German socialism and communism Clara Zetkin argued at an international anti-fascist conference in Frankfurt am Main that it was their duty to hammer into the consciousness of every worker that the fate of the Italians would become their own if they did not commence an energetic, revolutionary anti-fascist struggle. They had to crush every emerging fascist organisation in the world, before it was too late.<sup>28</sup>

The research on the global Italian and German immigrant diaspora communities have produced significant contributions to the global history of anti-fascism. In most cases anti-fascism and fascism have been secondary themes within larger immigration histories and in most cases the German and Italian experiences have been written within their own national boxes, in separate research environments, often inhibiting the possibilities for comparative approaches. For the USA, the research on Italian-Americans' relation to fascism and anti-fascism has been most prominent and diverse, as recently shown by Marcella Bencivenni in her study of Italian immigrant radical culture. The relation between

the Italian foreign office and the Italians' relation to fascism / anti-fascism has been further developed in pioneering studies that show that Italy was deeply involved in maintaining the global Italian diaspora loyal and supportive of their native home country.<sup>29</sup> Still, Italian diasporic nationalism remained heterogenous despite the fascist regime's efforts to steer it. Those Italians around the world who supported or were sympathetic to Italian fascism did not in the end have hegemony on what it meant to be Italian.<sup>30</sup> In a similar fashion the German anti-fascist exiles in Latin and North America argued that they represented the "other Germany" ("Otra Alemanias" or "Das Andere Deutschland") that directly challenged the marriage of Nazism and German national identity.<sup>31</sup> However, despite the traditionally strong marriage between exile studies and anti-fascism there is a significant risk that the perspective overlooks or downplays the role of other groups and actors whose primary experience was not that of exile, but of working class solidarity, black internationalism, or anti-colonialism.

Just as nationalism and fascism were inherently entangled, so too radical anti-fascist internationalism, which in many cases was deliberately based on national frameworks and understandings. The symbolical meaning of originating from a fascist country and yet being proudly Italian, German or Spanish was of outmost importance in showing that there were alternative, anti-fascist paths and ways to embrace nationalism. Research on the ambivalent relation between the labour movement and nationalism has demonstrated that the meaning and relevance of nationalism could differ greatly between radical and more reformist labour movements around the world. Moreover, labour cannot automatically be perceived as free from prejudice and ethnic stereotyping, racism or xenophobia, The efforts to keep the labour movement 'white' was persistent e.g. in Australia, the USA and South Africa where 'non-white colonised peoples and ex-slaves' were perceived as inferior.<sup>32</sup>

Examples from around the world show that despite anti-racists intentions, not even radical left movements that officially endorsed anti-racism and interracial solidarity

managed to completely abolish prejudices within their movements.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, segregation in the metropolises of the world caused major, although not insurmountable, obstacles to inter-ethnic co-operation and solidarity.<sup>34</sup> Despite these contrasts, anti-fascism could in its time result in unprecedented “interracial” demonstrations, like in New York City where Italian and African-Americans marched together in solidarity in protest against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.<sup>35</sup> Clearly the resistance against fascist Italy was not only a matter for Italians, just as resistance against Nazi Germany was not something restricted to Germans. Similarly, the persecution of the Jews in Germany was not merely a concern for the Jewish diaspora, but a general human rights issue of major concern for any ethnic or religious minority facing the repression of the majority rule, or those who shared socialist, liberal or progressive mindsets.

We hold that anti-fascism cannot be analysed as a rigid ideology, but as a cultural and political project that above all manifested itself in the formation of a left-liberal political identity that was neither defined by a nation, a people, a race, nor a party. Anti-fascist campaigns had the potential to at least momentarily unite communists, anarchists, socialists, democrats, liberals and anti-colonialists against fascism across borders and in diverse metropolitan spaces.

But just as class and national belonging were crucial factors in the forging of anti-fascist alliances, so too was the question of gender. Women, irrespective of their national background or social class could agree on the need to protest against fascist and Nazi gender models. The debate about the role of women in society played a vital role for anti-fascists as fascism proscribed a very limited role to women by placing them back in the home environment as mothers and caretakers. A vital global mission of the anti-fascist movement was thus connected to the female question.<sup>36</sup> As revealed in Sana Tannoury-Karam’s chapter on anti-fascism in Syria and Lebanon, the writer and poet Maqbula al-Shalaq raised in the name of Arab women the question “what kind of woman who has a heart does not resent fascism?” It shows how liberal-left Arab women were, in inventive

ways, pairing anti-fascism with the quest “for national independence from colonialism, democracy, progress, and women’s rights.”<sup>37</sup>

Just as the role of women was contested, so to was the fascist promulgation of an extremely militarised ideal of masculinity in the form of new fascist virility.<sup>38</sup> This was especially so in relation to young men who were militarised to the extreme in fascist societies where young boys were disciplined and drilled, idolised as soldiers and bred into loyal servants of the fascist leader. The question of how fascism was breeding war, or even *needed* war to survive, naturally connected anti-fascism to anti-war movements during the 1930s. Still, it is important to keep in mind that anti-fascism was by no means a pacifist mission as it advocated the right to defend society against fascist aggressions, by violent means if necessary. This preparedness could take expression in local street battles against fascist bands, whether in São Paulo, Johannesburg or London, but it could also inspire young men and women to make their way to Spain to fight fascism directly. In the process, a highly militarised anti-fascist iconography was also created that was directly connected to a vision of communist/leftist masculinity. Typically the anti-fascist male figure was showing his muscles, he was equipped with a resolute will, and armed with the tools of his craft – hammers, tools, or perhaps only with his clenched fists, as posters and illustrations from around the world show.<sup>39</sup>

According to Thierry Pillon, the image of the “strong, masculine workforce, ready for labor and fighting” became a fundamental feature of the early 20th century imaginary of the working class.<sup>40</sup> The German Communist Party (KPD) formed a party culture where the “male productive labor and male physical prowess” was made into the revolutionary ideal, which was also seen as a model around the world. In the worst case this led to the representation of women as passive objects, oppressed and functioning as representations of capitalist exploitation. Although the image of the passive woman was recurrent, the communists also depicted them as active fighters, as mothers and proletarian versions of the emancipated new woman of the 1920s.<sup>41</sup> The communists’

militaristic ethos was intensified by the direct interaction with the Nazis and it idealised street combat and constructed an image of a combative and heroic male proletarian.<sup>42</sup> Although violent confrontations were an important element of a certain 'culture of radicalism,' one should be careful to make too literal translations of anti-fascist visual representations: The depiction of workers physically "fighting fascism" did not necessarily mean that fascism had to be *physically* crushed, just that there was a militant preparedness to defend themselves. Moreover, violence was never more than *one* of several anti-fascist practices, and not necessarily the most important one.<sup>43</sup> The figurative smashing of the fascist enemy could equally be realised through an intense *cultural* battle, through humour, satire and the 'de-masking' of fascist slogans and solutions. Throughout the interwar period, the anti-fascist movement had a strong belief in the power of propaganda and 'political education': if the cultural and political battle was fought successfully, it could have the power to disintegrate the fascist appeal and eradicate the need for physical confrontation.

### **The structure of the book**

The chapters in the volume have been divided into two parts. In the first part "Globalising Anti-Fascist Geographies" we present a number of case studies localising anti-fascist histories in the USA, Canada, Australia, Brazil, the Caribbean, the Nordic Countries, South Africa, India, Syria and Lebanon. They bring to light new knowledge about anti-fascist practices, and the establishment and development of anti-fascist alliances beyond traditional Eurocentric parameters. By bringing together cases from such diverse, but often overlooked geographies, it forms a basis for new global comparisons. They also demonstrate the diverse articulations of anti-fascism in different contexts and permits a focus on connections which have often been ignored or downplayed.

Nigel Copsey opens the volume with an analysis of resistance to Mussolini's fascism amongst Italian immigrant and exile communities. This chapter maintains that in

order to understand anti-fascism as a global historical phenomenon, historians should start with reactions to fascism in the 1920s, rather than the 1930s. Italy was the birthplace of the fascist and anti-fascist struggle, but as Copsey shows, this struggle soon had global reach, extending to Italian diasporic communities across several continents. Focusing on four cases from the English-speaking world (US, Canada, Britain, Australia), this chapter reveals how anarchists formed the vanguard of the earliest anti-fascist opposition. Copsey underscores the importance of radical fulcra, key figures emerging as anti-fascist figureheads. The networks created by immigrant anti-fascists such as Italians, Germans, Spaniards and Portuguese in Brazil are also central to João Fábio Bertonha's chapter. It also develops a broader contribution in the way that it emphasises the bridge between national and international concerns and how the opposition against fascism in Brazil was both a national struggle and a global one.

Sandra Pujals follows anti-fascist trajectories to the Caribbean and examines the evolution of the Communist International's Caribbean Bureau and its anti-war effort in the Caribbean Basin during the first half of the 1930s. The discussion underscores the role of Comintern-supported, anti-imperialist initiatives in Latin America and the Caribbean as an inadvertent testing ground for future anti-fascist propaganda campaigns during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War at both sides of the Atlantic. It also focuses on the transmission of ideas that subliminally equated the heinous nature of imperialism to that of fascism. The work contributes to the understanding of anti-fascism's labyrinthine complexities beyond the traditional ideological divide, as an example of the unexpected geographical dimensions of the so-called "transnational world" of communist internationalism and its intricate interpersonal networks.

Jonathan Hyslop introduces us to the history of anti-fascism in South Africa where the Nazi seizure of power elicited a movement of protest and boycotts from mainly white leftist, liberal and Jewish organisations. He argues that the construction of anti-fascist politics in South Africa was fundamentally shaped by the racialised dynamics of the



country and that while in some small liberal circles and united front movements people of different races came together in the main there were *different* black and white anti-fascisms. He argues that Black nationalists in particular mobilised the discourse of wartime anti-fascism for their own goals of national liberation and he signals the importance of relations between anti-fascist ideas and the struggles against apartheid.

Kasper Braskén brings the analysis to an often overlooked corner of Europe, where Hitler's seizure of power provided the impetus to stage one of the worlds' first, but almost completely overlooked, international anti-fascist conference in April 1933. The chapter shows that the establishment of the Third Reich, on the one hand, vitalised anti-fascism in Scandinavia but that it paradoxically, on the other, further sharpened communist critique of reformist social democracy and empowered social democratic anti-communism. Moreover, small neutral states, especially with social democratic governments, were confronted with an acute dilemma as the German foreign office made it clear that sharp critique of Nazi Germany and Hitler in the Nordic press and anti-fascism 'from below' had to be limited in order to maintain good bilateral relations.

Michele L. Louro 's contribution positions India's independence struggle in relation to a wider world of anti-fascists and anti-imperialists. She focuses on the foreign department of the Indian National Congress which concentrated on developing and strengthening India's ties to anti-fascist movements abroad and providing support for struggles in Ethiopia, Spain, and China during the second part of the 1930s. Louro offers both a study of the ways the INC Foreign Department leveraged international connections to strengthen India's anti-colonial resistance, as well as the significant role played by India in the global anti-fascist struggle in the 1930s.

Sana Tannoury-Karam closes the first part of the volume with a significant analysis of Arab leftists who opposed Nazism and fascism during the 1930s and 1940s, examining how they organised against, debated, and rejected fascism and Nazism. It argues that the threat of fascism pushed leftists to re-examine the meaning of the 'national' and to

reposition themselves vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Leftists who framed anti-fascism as an active form of the national liberation struggle saw the opposition to fascism as a natural product of a long Arab tradition of freedom, and as a protector to that tradition from all kinds of oppression. Her focus on the gendered politics of anti-fascism also draws attention to some of the imaginaries through which leftist struggles were articulated.

In the second part of the volume, "Transnational Lives, Radical Internationalism", the volume offers a selection of chapters that analyse anti-fascist actors and intellectuals, international organisations, and trade unions that were vital for the circulation and mobilisation of local radical anti-fascist programs and internationalist practices across borders and continents.

David Featherstone's chapter investigates distinctive articulations of maritime spaces and organising and uses it to probe the relation between anti-fascist internationalisms and subaltern politics. It does this through engaging with the political trajectories of Black seafarers from the Caribbean and West Africa who were in contact with anti-colonial agitators such as Padmore and were integral to organisations such as the London-based Negro Welfare Association (NWA). The chapter engages in particular with activities connected to the ports of Cardiff, London and North Shields which were significant in relation to various transnational political networks around anti-fascism and anti-colonialism. It argues that some of the forms of organising shaped in relation to these ports offers potential for thinking about the global connections and trajectories that shaped anti-fascisms and some of the 'subaltern lives' that were articulated through such political activity.

Federico Ferretti's chapter uses such a fine-grained engagement with life writing and radical internationalism to explore the important articulations between anarchism and anti-fascisms. He does this through addressing the life and works of Italian transnational anarchist and anti-fascist Camillo Berneri (1897–1937), murdered by Stalinist agents during the Bloody Week of Barcelona in May 1937. Berneri is here presented as an

outstanding representative of an entire generation of Italian anarchists and anti-fascists. Ferretti argues that the analysis of spaces of exile and transnational solidarity networks are paramount for understanding the trajectories of anarchist anti-fascism between the two world wars.

Kasper Braskén's second chapter offers a new analysis of two communist-led, international organisations called the World Committee against War and Fascism and the World Relief Committee for the Victims of German Fascism. It shows how anti-Nazi activities were initially mobilised in the USA from 1933 to 1935 and reveals the transnational connections present in American anti-fascist movements. It shows the importance of the connections established between American anti-fascists and German, British and French anti-fascists before the beginning of the popular front period, especially highlighting the role of German exiles who played a significant role in inspiring local anti-Nazi activism across the USA.

Bernhard H. Bayerlein continues to examine the history of the Comintern and the Soviet Union and offers a closer analysis of two almost simultaneous but at first sight contradictory events that took place in Africa and Latin America in 1935. The chapter contends that both events mark a transformation process of the Soviet Union and international communism in the context of Mussolini's imperial war against Ethiopia. When it began in October 1935 it was unofficially backed by the Soviet Union and anti-fascism was only half-heartedly mobilised in defence of Abyssinia by the Comintern and efforts to react from below were squandered by the communists. It seems therefore a contradiction that one month later, the Comintern supported a military uprising in Brazil against the government of Getúlio Vargas. Bayerlein argues that the uprising of the *Aliança Libertadora Nacional* (ALN) in Brazil finally revealed the abandonment of anti-fascism and anticolonialism by Soviet-style party communism.

Hugo García's chapter shifts the focus to the Spanish Civil War and examines the discourse and actions of the activists who supported – or refused to support – the Spanish

Republic as combatants, relief workers or intellectuals, focusing on their conceptions of anti-fascism. Thus, it tries to move beyond existing international histories of the war to gauge the extent to which a transnational imagined community built on this notion operated throughout this period, its relations to parallel movements in various regions and its changing contours. While the often invoked 'Anti-fascist International' never achieved actual unity or a truly global reach, García argues that it served as an effective bond between disparate actors and projects and had a considerable performative force in sustaining Republican resistance throughout the conflict.

The intersections between international anti-colonial and anti-fascist struggle in relation to the Spanish Civil War are explored in Cathy Bergin's chapter based on the writings of African American radicals. The anti-colonial call which had been earlier mobilised in the face of fascist aggression in Ethiopia was seized upon in the context of Franco's Spain. By the late 1930's *The Crisis* could claim that in Harlem "Spanish Freedom and Negro freedom were made to be synonymous" and nearly 100 African Americans joined what is now referred to as the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to fight for the Spanish Republic. The chapter shows that the links made between racism and fascism by black activists were informed by the lived experience of 'race' in the US and also by the ambitious and dynamic race/class politics of the black Left. As victims of the 'domestic fascism' of Jim Crow many of these activists pointed to their vanguard role in fighting fascism at home and abroad and presented an anti-fascist vision which was dependent on anti-racist transnationalism.

In the final chapter, Ariel Mae Lambe investigates Cuban medical volunteers on the side of the Republic during the Spanish Civil War. Cuba offered overall more volunteers than any other Latin America country and their international solidarity work produced a large, vibrant, domestically-sited but transnationally-linked movement of Cuban anti-fascism. Lambe presents the stories of six individual Cuban men and women who served as medical volunteers in Spain, and explores several broad and important themes of

Cuban anti-fascism: the significance of Cuban anti-fascists' transnational identities and experiences, the way in which they situated their anti-fascism in Cuban domestic politics, the nature of their connections to the international left during the Spanish Civil War.

The combined result of the chapters presented above demonstrate the urgent need to re-think anti-fascism from a global perspective. Although it is impossible to produce a total global overview in such a volume, the chapters certainly point the way for a comprehensive globalisation of 'anti-fascist studies' that finally breaks it free from Eurocentric perspectives that until now have hidden significant varieties of global anti-fascist articulations. In this respect we hope that the volume will open up new debates and stimulate related work on different articulations of anti-fascism.

### **After 1945**

This book has a clearly defined pre-1945 focus but we accept that like fascism, anti-fascism did not die in 1945. After 1945, in the post-war reconstruction, anti-fascism was deployed instrumentally as a way to legitimate regime transition from fascism to democracy. As a result one of the key ways in which anti-fascism was understood during the Cold War, was through a lens of 'bifurcated' anti-fascism, where anti-fascism in the East meant something rather different to anti-fascism in the West. Such an imaginary of anti-fascism is captured by Stein Ugelvik Larsen who argued that, 'Anti-fascism in the East meant opposing fascism and capitalism, while anti-fascism in West meant opposing totalitarianism i.e. communism'.<sup>44</sup> Anti-fascism in Eastern Europe, continued to retain central importance as a mechanism for regime legitimation. In the West/Western Europe there were diverse articulations of anti-fascism and different attitudes to anti-fascist ideas and legacies. Thus significant pressures were exerted on the memory of anti-fascism which in many contexts became actively silenced in processes that are ongoing.<sup>45</sup> This was a particular issue in relation to the post-war rehabilitation of Franco's Spain and in relation to the fascist/ reactionary dictatorships in Greece and Portugal.<sup>46</sup>

Anti-fascist ideas and solidarities were not, however, neatly contained within the polarising logics of the Cold War and shaped important transnational geographies of solidarity. The Czech dissident Jiří Pelikán, who was part of Dubcek's reforming government in the 1960s and went into exile in Italy after the the Prague spring in 1968, argued after the coup against Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government in September 1973 that 'Fascism is simply fascism, no matter under which label it operates, whether it rages in Chile or Czechoslovakia'.<sup>47</sup> The lens of fascism was widely used to understand the regimes of Pinochet in Chile, Galtieri in Argentina- and also in central American contexts such as Guatemala.<sup>48</sup> The Southern Cone dictatorships (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay) fashioned themselves as the "successors to interwar fascism" and welcomed also a number of ex-Nazis and far-right militants and encouraged co-operation with Italian, German and Spanish militant far right groups during the Cold War era. They believed themselves to be engaged in a "Third World War" that continued the fight against the subversive forces of global communism.<sup>49</sup> The role of the USA in the establishment of right-wing authoritarian regimes not least in Latin and Central America, did not go unnoticed by the global left, where for example Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman developed during the 1970s a radical and controversial thesis on "Third World Fascism" which fiercely denounced US neo-colonialism.<sup>50</sup>

Anti-fascism also became an influential framework for human rights campaigns for Chile. Kim Christeans' argues that the idea of an anti-fascist struggle created a shared identity between Europe and Chile: "Campaigns represented Pinochet and his uniformed soldiers as SS officers, and when the new Chilean ambassador to France arrived in Paris, activists hoisted the Nazi flag. Chilean exiles contributed to this connection: iconic figures of the Chilean opposition, such as Allende's widow and daughter, visited World War II memorials in the West and East, and when Chile Democrático launched appeals for

international solidarity, it did this by calling for the formation of an “anti-fascist front” after the example of the resistance against Nazi Germany.”<sup>51</sup>

Attending to the diverse histories and geographies of connection which have shaped anti-fascist solidarities in different contexts is of particular relevance given the post-millennial rise of right-wing authoritarian populism has allowed anti-fascism to reclaim substance and impetus. As Geoff Eley notes in his essay ‘Fascism Then and Now’ in the *2016 Socialist Register* – ‘the present’- ‘contains a profoundly different order of crisis than the original ones of the interwar, with a different set of state/society relations, different categories of political actors, different types of possible political agency, different forms and processes of publicness (of the possible ways of becoming public) and a different surrounding environment of capitalism, all of which have the effect of calling up a different set of coercively authoritarian political interventions and modalities than before’.<sup>52</sup> In the USA, the surprise election of Donald Trump emboldened the far right, occasioning a surge in a militant counter-protest movement known as “ANTIFA”. Taking the form of a loosely organized, autonomous global network of leftists – anarchists, communists, socialists – this movement, with its own aesthetic and subculture, “ANTIFA” has located its contemporary struggle in a history of popular anti-fascist resistance. Significantly, reference has been drawn to the symbols and iconography of the interwar period. Popular slogans of that era, such as ‘No Pasaran!’, derived from the battle-cry of “Los fascistas no pasarán! NO PASARÁN!” attributed to a speech by Dolores Ibárruri on Radio-Madrid in July 1936, have been immortalized across the globe. Equating the anti-fascist cause with popular self-defence, “ANTIFA” claim that ‘no platforming’ through force is a legitimate act of self-defence.

Critics, however, take “ANTIFA” as a synonym for aggressive violence, or even, as in the case of Republicans in the US, seek to designate “ANTIFA” a domestic “terror organization”. Such ‘anti-anti-fascist’ definitions not only draw *false* moral equivalency

between fascism and anti-fascism – there is lack of equivalence - they also negate the multifarious ‘varieties of anti-fascism’ (Copsey & Olechnowicz, 2010) that are just as present today as they were in the 1920s and 1930s. This also speaks to a contemporary terrain of transnational solidarities emerging in response to the far-right/ fascism and making important connections between anti-fascist struggles in different contexts. In this regard Eley’s essay largely stays in the confines of an understanding of fascism and anti-fascism within a broadly European/ American centred frame. The current global political conjuncture, however suggests the importance of making connections between struggles against far-right and fascist leaders in different contexts whether this be Brazil, the US or India.<sup>53</sup> In this context exploring the transnational histories of anti-fascism is important in terms of articulations of different anti-fascist internationalisms/ left solidarities.

Understanding and recognizing the diverse political trajectories of anti-fascism is an important political and intellectual project. For a century on from the founding of the first *fascio di combattimento*, it is clear that the history of fascism and anti-fascism is still to be resolved.

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<sup>1</sup> See further in Fabio Bertonha’s chapter in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> See Jonathan Hyslop’s chapter in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> A good example is the fine song ‘The Ghosts of Cable Street’ by the English Folk-Punk band The Men They Couldn’t Hang, which was released on their album *How Green is the Valley?* on RCA Records in 1986.

<sup>4</sup> For edited volumes focused on fascism beyond Europe see, Francis R. Nicosia and Boğaç A. Ergene (eds.) *Nazism, The Holocaust, and the Middle East: Arab and Turkish Responses* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2018); Gert Sørensen and Robert Mallett (eds.) *International Fascism, 1919–45* (London: Frank Cass, 2002); Stein Larsen Ugelvik (ed.)



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*Fascism Outside Europe: The European Influence against Domestic Conditions in the Diffusion of Global Fascism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Zachariah, 'A Voluntary Gleichschaltung? Indian Perspectives Towards a non-Eurocentric Understanding of Fascism', *Transcultural Studies*, No. 2, 2014, pp. 63-100, quote on p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> Hugo García, Mercedes Yusta, Xavier Tabet, and Cristina Clímaco (eds.) *Rethinking Antifascism: History, Memory and Politics, 1922 to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> For recent exceptions, see Joseph Fronczak, 'Local People's Global Politics: A Transnational History of the Hands off Ethiopia Movement of 1935', *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2015, pp. 245–274; Neelam Srivastava, 'Anti-Colonialism and the Italian Left: Resistances to the Fascist Invasion of Ethiopia', *Interventions* Vol. 8, No. 3, 2006, pp. 413–429; Denise Lynn, 'Fascism and the Family: American Communist Women's Anti-fascism During the Ethiopian Invasion and Spanish Civil War', *American Communist History*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2016, pp. 177–190.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Iton, *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and Popular Culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008) pp. 301–302n47, see also Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001); Robin D.G. Kelley 'Introduction', in Aime Cesaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000); Robbie Shilliam 'Ah, we have not forgotten Ethiopia: Anti-Colonial Sentiments for Spain in a Fascist Era', in Gurinder K. Bhambra and John Naryan (eds) *European Colonialism: Colonial Histories and Postcolonial Societies* (London: Routledge, 2016).

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<sup>9</sup> George Padmore, 'Fascism in the Colonies', 1938, online at <https://www.marxists.org/archive/padmore/1938/fascism-colonies.htm>1938. See further in David Featherstone's chapter in this volume.

<sup>10</sup> Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization From Below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War and the End of Empire* (London: Palgrave Macmillan) p. 43.

<sup>11</sup> See also Michele L. Louro, *Comrades against Imperialism: Nehru, India, and Interwar Internationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

<sup>12</sup> Stanislao Pugliese (ed.) *Italian Fascism and Antifascism: A Critical Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Gilles Vergnon, *L'antifascisme en France de Mussolini à Le Pen* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009); Hugo García, *The Truth about Spain! Mobilizing British Public Opinion, 1936–1939* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2010); Hans Coppi and Stefan Heinz (eds.) *Der vergessene Widerstand der Arbeiter: Gewerkschaftler, Kommunisten, Sozialdemokraten, Troztkisten, Anarchisten und Zwangsarbeiter* (Berlin: Karl Dietz Verlag, 2012); Francis R. Nicosia & Lawrence D. Stokes (eds.), *Germans against Nazism: Nonconformity, Opposition and Resistance in the Third Reich: Essays in Honour of Peter Hoffmann* (New York: Berghahn, 2015); Nigel Copsey, *Anti-Fascism in Britain* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

<sup>13</sup> Nigel Copsey, 'Communists and the Inter-War Anti-Fascist Struggle in the United States and Britain,' *Labour History Review*, Vol. 76, No. 3, 2011, pp. 184–206.

<sup>14</sup> Minkah Makalani, *In the Cause of Freedom: Radical Black Internationalism from Harlem to London* (Durham, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Christopher Vials, *Haunted by Hitler: Liberals, the Left, and the Fight against Fascism in the United States* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014); Susan D. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

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- <sup>15</sup> Micheal Seidman, *Transatlantic Antifascisms: From the Spanish Civil War to the End of World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- <sup>16</sup> Tom Buchanan, 'The Dark Millions in the Colonies are Unavenged': Anti-Fascism and Anti-Imperialism in the 1930s', *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 2016, pp. 645–665.
- <sup>17</sup> Daniel Brückenhaus, *Policing Transnational Protest: Liberal Imperialism and the Surveillance of Anticolonialists in Europe, 1905–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017) pp. 194–207.
- <sup>18</sup> John Callaghan, 'Storm over Asia. Comintern Colonial Policy in the Third Period,' in Matthew Worley (ed.) *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004) pp. 29–33.
- <sup>19</sup> Evan Smith, 'Against Fascism, For Racial Equality: Communists, Anti-Racism and the Road to the Second World War in Australia, South Africa and the United States', *Labor History*, Vol. 58, No. 5, 2017, p. 687–688. All quotes from Smith, p. 688.
- <sup>20</sup> Theo Pirker (ed.) *Komintern und Faschismus: Dokumente zur Geschichte und Theorie des Faschismus* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1965); David Beetham (ed.) *Marxists in Face of Fascism: Writings of Marxists on Fascism from the Inter-War Period* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983); Larry Ceplair, *Under the Shadow of War: Fascism, Anti-Fascism, and Marxists, 1918–1939* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Leonid Luks, *Entstehung der kommunistischen Faschismustheorie: Die Auseinandersetzung der Komintern mit Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus 1921–1935* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1985); Bernhard H. Bayerlein, 'Abschied von einem Mythos: Die UdSSR, die Komintern und der Antifaschismus,' *Osteuropa*, Vol. 59, No. 7–8, 2009, pp. 125–148; Stanley G. Payne, 'Soviet Anti-Fascism: Theory and Practice, 1921–45', *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Vol. 4, No. 2, 2003, pp. 1–62.

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<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Jonathan Hyslop, 'German seafarers, anti-fascism and the anti-Stalinist left: the 'Antwerp Group' and Edo Fimmen's International Transport Workers' Federation, 1933-1940', *Global Networks* Vol. 19, No. 4, 2019, pp. 499–520.

<sup>22</sup> Robert J. Alexander, *The Anarchists in the Spanish Civil War*, vol. 1 & 2 (London: Janus Publishing Company, 1998); Michael Alpert, *A New International History of the Spanish Civil War* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Rob Stradling, 'English-speaking Units of the International Brigades: War, Politics and Discipline', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 45, No. 4, 2010, pp. 744–767; Nir Arielli, 'Induced to Volunteer? The Predicament of Jewish Communists in Palestine and the Spanish Civil War', *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 46, No. 4, 2011, pp. 854–870; Dieter Nelles et al. (eds.) *Deutsche AntifaschistInnen in Barcelona (1933–1939): Die Gruppe "Deutsche Anarchosyndikalisten" (DAS)* (Heidelberg: Verlag Graswurzelrevolution, 2013); David Featherstone, 'Black Internationalism, International Communism and Anti-Fascist Political Trajectories: African American Volunteers in the Spanish Civil War', *Twentieth Century Communism*, No. 7, 2014, pp. 9–40; Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1996); Lisa A. Kirschenbaum, *International Communism and the Spanish Civil War: Solidarity and Suspicion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Svend Rybner, 'Fairylend: Nordic Communism and the Spanish Civil War 1936–1939', in Åsmund Egge and Svend Rybner (eds.) *Red Star in the North: Communism in the Nordic Countries* (Stamsund: Orkana Akademisk, 2015); Maria Framke, 'Political Humanitarianism in the 1930s: Indian Aid for Republican Spain', *European Review of History*, Vol. 23, No. 1–2, 2016, pp. 63–81; Adam Hochschild, *Spain in Our Hearts: Americans in the Spanish Civil War, 1936–1939* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017); Mark Falcoff and Fredrick B. Pike (eds.) *The Spanish Civil War, 1936-39: American Hemispheric Perspectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska

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Press, 1982); Ariel Mae Lambe, *No Barrier Can Contain It: Cuban Antifascism and the Spanish Civil War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

<sup>23</sup> See the contributions by Gleb J. Albert, Bernhard H. Bayerlein, Fredrik Petersson, Holger Weiss and Kasper Braskén in Holger Weiss (ed.) *International Communism and Transnational Solidarity: Radical Networks, Mass Movements and Global Politics, 1919–1939* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

<sup>24</sup> Bryan D. Palmer, 'American Communism in the 1920s: Striving for a Panoramic View', *American Communist History* Vol. 6, No. 2, 2007, pp. 139–149.

<sup>25</sup> David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism* (London: Zed Books, 2012); Kasper Braskén, *The International Workers' Relief, Communism, and Transnational Solidarity: Willi Münzenberg in Weimar Germany* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Sabine Dullin and Brigitte Studer, 'Communism + Transnational: The Rediscovered Equation of Internationalism and the Comintern Years', *Twentieth Century Communism*, No. 14, 2018, pp. 66–95.

<sup>26</sup> Alexander de Grand, '“To Learn Nothing and To Forget Nothing”: Italian Socialism and the Experience of Exile Politics, 1935–1945', *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2005, pp. 539–558.

<sup>27</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

<sup>28</sup> Kasper Braskén, 'Making Antifascism Transnational: The Origins of Communist and Socialist Articulations of Resistance in Europe, 1923–1924', *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 2016, p. 583.

<sup>29</sup> Marcella Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture: The Idealism of the Sovversivi in the United States, 1890–1940* (New York: New York University Press, 2011). See also Donna R. Gabaccia and Fraser M. Ottanelli (eds.) *Italian Workers of the World: Labor*

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*Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); João Fábio Bertonha, 'Fascism and Italian Communities in Brazil and the United States', *Italian Americana*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 2001, pp. 146–157; Philip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer (eds.) *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism: Politics, Labor, and Culture* (London: Preager, 2003); Pellegrino Nazzaro, *Fascist and Anti-Fascist Propaganda in America: The Dispatches of Italian Ambassador Gelasio Caetani* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2008); and Stefano Luconi, 'Fascism and Italian-American Identity Politics', *Italian Americana*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 2015, pp. 6–24.

<sup>30</sup> Michael Goebel, 'Italian Fascism and Diasporic Nationalism in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay', in Nicola Foote and Michael Goebel (eds.) *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2014).

<sup>31</sup> For the German speaking world there is a rich tradition of exile studies, pursued after 1945 by both East German and Western historians. Major works include Wolfgang Kießling, *Exil in Lateinamerika* (Leipzig: Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., 1980); Patrik von zur Mühlen, *Fluchtziel Lateinamerika: Die deutschen Emigration 1933–1945: Politische Aktivitäten und soziokulturelle Integration* (Bonn: Verlag Neue Gesellschaft, 1988); Helga Grebing and Christl Wickert (eds.) *Das "andere Deutschland" im Widerstand gegen den Nationalsozialismus: Beiträge zur politischen Überwindung der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur im Exil und im Dritten Reich* (Essen: Klartext Verlag, 1994); Jean-Michel Palmier, *Weimar in Exile: The Antifascist Emigration in Europe and America* (London: Verso, 2006); Andreas Agocs, *Antifascist Humanism and the Politics of Renewal in Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Ongoing major projects dealing with German speaking exiles in Latin America promises to globalise the research topic even further, as shown by Andrea Aclé-Kreysing, 'Shattered Dreams of Anti-Fascist Unity:

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German Speaking Exiles in Mexico, Argentina and Bolivia, 1937–1945', *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 2016, pp. 667–686.

<sup>32</sup> Stefan Berger & Angel Smith, 'Between Scylla and Charybdis: Nationalism, Labour and Ethnicity Across Five Continents, 1870–1939,' in Stefan Berger & Angel Smith (eds.) *Nationalism, Labour and Ethnicity 1870–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) pp. 1–30.; Oleksa Drachewych, *The Communist International, Anti-Imperialism and Racial Equality in British Dominions* (London: Routledge, 2019).

<sup>33</sup> Joachim C. Häberlen, 'Between Global Aspirations and Local Realities: The Global Dimensions of Interwar Communism', *Journal of Global History*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (2012) pp. 415–437. See also Lucien van der Walt, 'The First Globalisation and Transnational Labour Activism in Southern Africa: White Labourism, the IWW, and the ICU, 1904–1934', *African Studies*, Vol. 66, No. 2/3, 2007, pp. 223–251.

<sup>34</sup> Carl H. Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2012).

<sup>35</sup> Gerald Meyer, 'Italian Americans and the American Communist Party,' in Philip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer (eds.) *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism: Politics, Labor, and Culture* (London: Preager, 2003) p. 221.

<sup>36</sup> Lynn, 'Fascism and the Family'; Isabelle Richet, 'Women and Antifascism: Historiographical and Methodological Approaches', in Hugo García, et. al. (eds.) *Rethinking Antifascism: History, Memory and Politics, 1922 to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016) pp. 152–166.; Mercedes Yusta, 'The Strained Courtship between Antifascism and Feminism: From the Women's World Committee (1934) to the Women's International Democratic Federation (1945)', in Hugo García, et. al. (eds.) *Rethinking Antifascism: History, Memory and Politics, 1922 to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016) pp. 167–184.

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<sup>37</sup> Quotation from Sana Tannoury-Karam's chapter.

<sup>38</sup> Johann Chapoutot, 'Fascist Virility', in Alain Corbin, Jean-Jaques Courtine & Georges Vigarello (eds.) *A History of Virility* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016) pp. 491–514.

<sup>39</sup> Gerhard Paul, *BilderMACHT: Studien zur Visual History des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2013) pp. 45–99.

<sup>40</sup> Thierry Pillon, 'Working Class Virility', in Alain Corbin, Jean-Jaques Courtine & Georges Vigarello (eds.) *A History of Virility* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016) p. 515.

<sup>41</sup> Eric D. Weitz, *Creating German Communism, 1890–1990. From Popular Protests to Socialist State* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997) p. 189.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 200–204.

<sup>43</sup> Tom Buchanan, 'Beyond Cable Street': New Approaches to the Historiography of Antifascism in Britain in the 1930s', in Hugo García, et al. (eds.) *Rethinking Antifascism: History, Memory and Politics, 1922 to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016) p. 69.

<sup>44</sup> Stein Ugelvik Larsen, 'Overcoming the Past', in Stein Ugelvik Larsen (ed.), *Modern Europe After Fascism* (Boulder, 1998) p. 1787.

<sup>45</sup> See the chapters in part II of Hugo García, et al. (eds.) *Rethinking Antifascism: History, Memory and Politics, 1922 to the Present* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), especially those by Filippo Forcadi, and Manuel Loff and Luciana Soutelo.

<sup>46</sup> Helen Graham *The War and its Shadow: Spain's Civil War in Europe's Long Twentieth Century* (Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 2012); Neni Panourgíá, *Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009).

<sup>47</sup> Jiří Pelikán *Socialist Opposition in Eastern Europe: the Czechoslovak Example* (London: Allison and Busby, 1976) pp. 208–209.



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<sup>48</sup> See Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*

(Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004); Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the World* (New York: The New Press, 2007).

<sup>49</sup> Kyle Burke, *Revolutionaries of the Right: Anticommunist Internationalism and Paramilitary Warfare in the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

<sup>50</sup> Noam Chomsky & Edward S. Herman, *The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism: The Political Economy of Human Rights: Volume I* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2014).

<sup>51</sup> Kim Christiaens, 'European Reconfigurations of Transnational Activism: Solidarity and Human Rights Campaigns on Behalf of Chile during the 1970s and 1980s,' *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 63, No. 3, 2018, pp. 413–448.

<sup>52</sup> Geoff Eley, 'Fascism Then and Now', *Socialist Register 2016* (London: Merlin Press, 2015).

<sup>53</sup> In this respect there is a significant literature on the character of the Hindu right in India- which both draws on and problematises the see for example, Aijaz Ahmad, *Lineages of the Present: Ideology and Politics in Contemporary South Asia* (London: Verso, 2002); Jairus Banaji, *Fascism: Essays on Europe and India* (Three Essays Collective, 2013); Achin Vanaik *The Furies of Indian Communalism: Religion, Modernity and Secularization* (London: Verso, 1997) and the essays collected in Azad et al, *What the Nation Really Needs to Know: The JNU Nationalism Lectures* (Delhi: Harper Collins India, 2016).