

## ANALITYC SUMMARY

DARD, Olivier

ACTION FRANÇAISE: A EUROPEAN AND TRANSATLANTIC MATRIX OF THE RADICAL RIGHT?

Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 27-46

Action française and maurrassisme are inseparable from the figure of Maurras. At the same time, they surpass him. Action française refers to polymorphous reality that revolves around three fundamental principles: a doctrine, a newspaper and a league. This group had an indisputable influence not only in France, but abroad as well. A study of the latter case enables us to highlight a chronology that is noticeably different from the one that had been proposed for France. Together with that, a study of the vectors of penetration and of political and cultural transfers at work show the different ways of being maurrassian, from Europe to the Americas.

*Keywords:* Action française, Charles Maurras, maurrassism, traditionalism, cultural and political transfers, transatlantic relations.

PERFECTO, Miguel Ángel

THE SPANISH RADICAL RIGHT AND FRENCH ANTI-LIBERAL THOUGHT IN THE FIRST THIRD OF THE XX CENTURY. FROM CHARLES MAURRAS TO GEORGES VALOIS

Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 47-94

The aim of this essay on the Spanish Radical Right is to analyze the route followed by Spanish conservatism, from its adherence to an oligarchic liberalism, that was characteristic of the beginning of the xx century, to the formation of an anti-liberal right, that reached its culmination with fascism during the Second Republic. In this evolution towards anti-democratic, corporative and authoritarian positions, a major roll was played by the influence of French anti-liberal thought, from the neo-traditionalism of the French Action, to the fascist movements encouraged by Georges Valois, and continued by some of his disciples in the

following years. The relation between that anti-liberal thought of French origin and the evolution of the Spanish right-wing towards fascism constitutes the centre of this paper.

The article is organized in three main parts. In the first one, we will study the origins of European anti-liberal thought, considering two fundamental aspects: 1. The crisis of European conscience at the end of the XIX century, which gave place to a set of anti-liberal, nationalist and corporative ideological elements amongst European conservative groups. This was the breeding ground for a radical right thought that culminated with fascisms. 2. The First World War and its consequences, which gave place to a new polarized world around bolshevism and fascism. The anti-liberal, nationalist, anti-democratic and corporative thought spread around Europe and pervaded in different ways the European conservative groups, driving them to increasingly authoritarian and dictatorial positions. This process has been denominated by some historians as the “fascistization” of the European right-wing.

Secondly, we will analyze the formation of the Spanish Radical Right from its origins, at the beginning of the XX century, till Primo de Rivera’s Dictatorship, stressing the contribution of French anti-liberal thought (from Charles Maurras to George Valois, including Georges Sorel) in its doctrinal renovation.

Finally, we will study the period from Primo de Rivera’s Dictatorship to the Second Republic, when the process of “fascistization” of the Spanish Right-wing concluded. The project of the Spanish Radical Right (based on a monarchic, authoritarian, anti-liberal, national-catholic and corporative government, that sympathised with the Italian experience) was premature, since the social and political conditions necessary to its implementation were not present at that moment. In fact, Spanish conservatism during the time of de Rivera’s Dictatorship, was not concerned about social revolution and the loss of their privileges. It was the arrival of the Second Republic, with its modernizing reforms, that, breaking the hegemony of the dominant social groups, led the Radical Right to consider that the only way to bar a social revolution was insurgency against the Republic.

*Keywords:* corporatism, anti-democratic, authoritarian, anti-liberal, fascist.

PALOMANES MARTINHO, Francisco Carlos

TWO MOMENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE PORTUGUESE FAR-RIGHT

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This article strives to analyse the Portuguese extreme right in the twentieth century from a historical point of view. The initial expectations of this political movement, in the formation of the Estado Novo in the 20s, were subsequently frustrated by the conservative government project led by Oliveira Salazar, who defended the national revolution (the extreme right main goal) only rhetorically but not in practice. The defeat of fascism emphasized the conservative and traditionalist elements of the Portuguese extreme right. During Marcelo Caetano’s government, another memory of the Salazar regime was drawn, trying to face

criticism stemming from the colonial war and the growing influence of the opposition led by young students.

*Keywords:* Portuguese extreme right, Salazarismo, Estado Novo.

BERNARD, Mathias

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NATIONALISTS AND LIBERALS IN FRANCE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 115-132

During the 20th century, the liberal and governmental right-wing maintained complex relations with the national right-wing, often considered as a radical or extremist political family. This contribution studies at first the main moments of confrontation between these two right-wings: the Dreyfus affair, the leagues-time in the 1930s, the emergence of the National Front in the contemporary period. Up to the Second World War, this confrontation is more explained by a situation of competition that by an ideological antagonism. The border between these two political families is not tight. The common fight against the communism and the weaknesses of the parliamentary government outdoes strategic oppositions, and various structures (associations, clubs, newspapers) play the role of footbridge. On the other hand, since the 1950s—and more even since the development of the National Front—, both right-wings refuse openly any link.

*Keywords:* National right-wing, radical right, National Front.

BERTONHA, João Fábio

THE BRAZILIAN RADICAL RIGHT IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: FROM MONARCHISM AND NATIONALISTS LEAGUES TO FASCISM AND THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP (1889-2011)

Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 133-150

The main objective of this paper is to present an overview of the history of Brazilian radical right since its emergence in the late nineteenth century until the present. The emphases of the text will be the integralism (the Brazilian version of fascism) and the period between the two world wars, but it will also address the periods before 1932 and after 1945. The presence of ideas and practices of European fascisms in Brazil, their presence within the integralism and the continuities and changes in the course of this century will be specially emphasized.

*Keywords:* radical right, Brazil, fascism, integralism.

CUCCHETTI, Humberto

READINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS ON THE ORIGINS OF PERON'S POLITICAL MOVEMENT: A NATIONAL POPULISM OR A FASCIST ADAPTATION?

Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 151-171

This paper aims to revisit some of the most important readings that have tried to explain the origins of Peron's political movement (1943-1955). Referring to the academic discussions, we will find some discussions still unresolved — for example, on its social composition, the socio-political actors who converged there, its relations with the religious culture, its organizational and state owned model etc.

Two troublesome and conceptual issues have excelled as attempts in explaining Peron's movement phenomenon. The first of them, inherent to its birth, it is linked to the vocation of finding out if, indeed, Peron's movement constituted a national adaptation of the European fascist experiences. The second one is built around the assumption that is seen in various Latin American governments and the in Peron's movement itself a populism model in particular. If the fascism idea seeks to locate Peron's movement within the European counter-revolutionary families, the populism seeks to think this phenomenon as the result of a transition society, still linked to traditional values predominance. Both ideas, however, have shared the fact of being formulated on the basis of evaluative principles many times, and generally derogatory.

Our work seeks to find out certain readings assumptions and interpretations on Peron's movement. As a proposal to deepen, it is proclaimed the need to differentiate between what could be a comprehensive analysis of Peron's movement experience, based on their political, state, social and cultural characteristics that might refer to a study of the circulations and political-cultural transfers among different ideas and actors coming from Europe and the national political life.

*Keywords:* peronism, fascism, national populism, cultural transfers.

GALLEGO, Ferran

THE MSI AND THE ROLE OF FASCISM IN ITALIAN POLITICAL CULTURE

Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 173-204

This paper analyzes the role of the Italian Social Movement in Italy (MSI) in the twentieth century. The key to understand its influence would lie in the peculiarities of the political regime emerged from the ruins of fascism. With the proclamation of the Republic many fascists enrolled in the ranks of the Christian Democrats and other parties of the right, leaving the MSI as sole heir of fascism. That did not stop working with the Christian Democrats through the strategy of «inserimento». When the Christian Democrats began their approach to the Italian Socialist Party, the MSI was clearly excluded and located in a relatively marginal position. Its later resurgence may be explained considering

the radical changes in Italian politics in the sixties and seventies; circumstances which favoured the arrival of Giorgio Almirante as leader of MSI in 1969. In that period, the MSI presented itself as the political party of restored order and ready to fight subversion (communist) itself. During the 80s, the MSI moved between the 'Strategy-Party Protest' led by Admiral and the idea of a 'Civil Society Party' defended by Rauti. In the end, the MSI, after the change of leadership of Admiral by Gianfranco Fini, began a new path which stated loyalty to the values of fascism, strengthened by the crisis of communism. This MSI new discourse eased its growth in circumstances in which the traditional parties and the Italian republican system as a whole were practically about to collapse. Subsequently, the post-fascist Alianza Nacional emerged; a political formation which later on merged into Forza Italia, led by Silvio Berlusconi.

*Keywords:* italian extreme-right, fascism, Italian Social Movement, Giorgio Almirante, Alianza Nacional.

LEBOURG, Nicolas and PRED, Jonathan

NEW ORDER, END OF ILLUSIONS AND THE ACTIVIST MATRIX OF THE FIRST NATIONAL FRONT  
Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 205-230

Ordre Nouveau was the most important French neo-fascist movement after 1945. It lasted only for four years (1969-1973) but it induced several changes shaking the radical right wing. As it was defined as a revolutionary party, Ordre Nouveau spread its identity onto activists on the one hand, while it also collaborated with State authorities fighting against leftists on the other hand. Following the successful Italian model of the MSI, the movement oscillated between media coverage — which gave it an identity but also led to its dissolution in 1973 — and acceptance of the electoral game for which Front National had been founded. The disappearance of Ordre Nouveau meant the end of dreams of revolutionary right sustained by some active minorities using political violence, as well as it stood for a transition to a post-industrial radical right symbolized by the rise of Front National.

*Keywords:* elections, extreme right, France, subversion, violence, terrorism.

RODRÍGUEZ JIMÉNEZ, José Luis

HISTORY OF A FAILURE AND A RENFOUNDATION?: OF THE OLD TO THE NEW EXTREME RIGHT  
IN SPAIN (1975-2012)  
Stud. hist., H.<sup>a</sup> cont., 30, 2012, pp. 231-268

Between the end of the franquism and our days, the Spanish extreme-right has suffered a resource and influence capacity depletion in society, and has been forced to renew their program and the way of making policy. The right-wing extremism was the strongly defeated during the transition from

Franco's dictatorship to democracy. As a consequence of the economic and cultural changes and the weakness of Spanish nationalism, the neofranquists and neofascists' programs garnered a resounding rejection at the polls. The failure of 23-F coup attempt plunged the neofranquism into a crisis from which it has never recovered. The growth of the xenophobic extreme-right in Europe, something that had not occurred since the end of World War II, has been a determining factor, long overdue, for the renewal of programs also in Spain that are now based on the uptake of the xenophobic vote. No extreme-right party has achieved between 1982 and 2012 representation in the Spanish legislative assembly. This situation contrasts with what happens in other European countries and that is what we are trying to explain. However, the increased receptivity to the xenophobic discourse has allowed a political party that copied Le Pen's program and is specialized in the Islam rejection, to obtain representation in several municipalities of Cataluña. That way (municipal elections, to try to jump into the regional ones) is the one that currently offers more possibilities of growth to the extreme-right in Spain.

*Keywords:* spanish extreme-right, neofranquism, neofascism, populist radical right, xenophobia, islamophobia, Fuerza Nueva, Falange Española, Confederation of Former Combatants, Democracia Nacional, Plataforma per Cataluña, Partido Popular.