

## Roberto Michels E Lideologia Del Fascismo

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Roberto Michels e l'ideologia del fascismo By Marco Piraino ... Roberto Michels, uno dei più eminenti sociologi del XX secolo, va considerato uno fra i più importanti. Egli contribuì alla corrente di pensiero « antiparlamentarista », animato dalla convinzione che la democrazia parlamentare e rappresentativa sia « servile, corrotta, borghese e reazionaria ». Soltanto la comparsa di una « guida ...

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Il Fascismo ha avuto un corpus ideologico prodotto da un certo numero di studiosi di fama, articolato per difendere l'integrità politica, morale ed intellettuale del regime di Mussolini. Tra questi, Roberto Michels, uno dei più eminenti sociologi del XX secolo, va considerato uno fra i più importanti. Egli contribuì alla corrente di pensiero antiparlamentarista, animato dalla convinzione che la democrazia parlamentare e rappresentativa sia servile, corrotta, borghese e reazionaria. Soltanto la comparsa di una guida carismatica capace di infondere nelle masse l'entusiasmo per una grande missione, unita alla formazione di un partito d'élite intransigentemente animato da scopi rivoluzionari e da ideali grandiosi, avrebbero costituito una valida soluzione politica alternativa in cui le masse popolari potessero essere resuscitate a una vita più intensa e impegnata, grazie allo spirito fornito loro da un ideale missionario. In tal senso, Michels fu anche uno dei maggiori artefici dell'ideologia del Fascismo."

When The Birth of Fascist Ideology was first published in 1989 in France and at the beginning of 1993 in Italy, it aroused a storm of response, positive and negative, to Zeev Sternhell's controversial interpretations. In Sternhell's view, fascism was much more than an episode in the history of Italy. He argues here that it possessed a coherent ideology with deep roots in European civilization. Long before fascism became a political force, he maintains, it was a major cultural phenomenon. This important book further asserts that although fascist ideology was grounded in a revolt against the Enlightenment, it was not a

reactionary movement. It represented, instead, an ideological alternative to Marxism and liberalism and competed effectively with them by positing a revolt against modernity. Sternhell argues that the conceptual framework of fascism played an important role in its development. Building on radical nationalism and an "antimaterialist" revision of Marxism, fascism sought to destroy the existing political order and to uproot its theoretical and moral foundations. At the same time, its proponents wished to preserve all the achievements of modern technology and the advantages of the market economy. Nevertheless, fascism opposed every "bourgeois" value: universalism, humanism, progress, natural rights, and equality. Thus, as Sternhell shows, the fascists adopted the economic aspect of liberalism but completely denied its philosophical principles and the intellectual and moral heritage of modernity.

â FASCIST IDENTITY â provides an interpretation which places fascism outside the traditional political categories of right and left, it is proposed as innovative political research compared to a deeper understanding of this ideology, and through consultation with many studies specialists, as well as a whole series of original documents that describe the fascist project, analyzes the totalitarian evolution during Years 20,30 and 40 of the twentieth century, through the writings of founder Benito Mussolini and those who, like the philosopher Giovanni Gentile, contributed to form the fascist political identity. Thus, the authors hope to bring to the attention of readers one of the most original and misunderstood particularities of the history of fascism, what the â regime â intended to create, a new social model focused on the direct participation of the masses in political life of the Italian nation, through the totalitarian full adherence to the universal values of Ethical Corporative State.

"Few books on European history in recent memory have caused such controversy and commotion," wrote Robert Wohl in 1991 in a major review of *Neither Right nor Left*. Listed by *Le Monde* as one of the forty most important books published in France during the 1980s, this explosive work asserts that fascism was an important part of the mainstream of European history, not just a temporary development in Germany and Italy but a significant aspect of French culture as well. Neither right nor left, fascism united antibourgeois, antiliberal nationalism, and revolutionary syndicalist thought, each of which joined in reflecting the political culture inherited from eighteenth-century France. From the first, Sternhell's argument generated strong feelings among people who wished to forget the Vichy years, and his themes drew enormous public attention in 1994, as Paul Touvier was condemned for crimes against humanity and a new biography probed President Mitterand's Vichy connections. The author's new preface speaks to the debates of 1994 and reinforces the necessity of acknowledging the past, as President Chirac has recently done on France's behalf.

China has endured a century of turmoil, beginning with the anti-dynastic revolution associated with Sun Yat-Sen, through the military and tutelary rule of Chiang Kai-shek, the revolutionary regime of Mao Zedong, and the radical reforms of Deng Xiaoping. China has had little respite. Historians and social scientists have attempted to understand some of this history as being the consequence of the impact of European ideologies-including Marxism, Marxism-Leninism, and Fascism. Rarely instructive or persuasive, the discussions regarding this issue have, more often than not, led to puzzlement, rather than enlightenment. In *A Place in the Sun*, A. James Gregor offers an interpretation of the role of European Marxist and Fascist ideas on China's revolutionaries that is both original, and based on a lifetime of scholarship devoted to revolutionary ideologies. Gregor renders a detailed analysis of their respective influence on major protagonists. In the exposition, Gregor reveals an unsuspected and complex set of relationships between the Chinese revolution and essentially European ideologies. His discussion concludes with a number of estimations that suggest implications for the future of modern China, and its relationship with the advanced industrial democracies. How post-Dengist China-the world's most populous nation-is to be understood remains uncertain to most comparativists and historians. Gregor provides one well supported alternative, and he is carefully attentive to the implications of this alternative.

*Classical Sociology Beyond Methodological Nationalism* defends classical sociology from the accusation of 'methodological nationalism' and re-evaluates classical sociological thought as a more functional tool for analysing the political forms of modernity in the era of globalisation.

Political scientists generally have been disposed to treat Italian Fascism--if not generic fascism--as an idiosyncratic episode in the special history of Europe. James Gregor contends, to the contrary, that Italian Fascism has much in common with an inclusive class of developmental revolutionary regimes. Originally published in 1980. The Princeton Legacy Library uses the latest print-on-demand technology to again make available previously out-of-print books from the distinguished backlist of Princeton University Press. These editions preserve the original texts of these important books while presenting them in durable paperback and hardcover editions. The goal of the Princeton Legacy Library is to vastly increase access to the rich scholarly heritage found in the thousands of books published by Princeton University Press since its founding in 1905.

Nel 1910 Loria definì Robert Michels un "chierico vagante". Più recentemente Henry Stuart Hughes non ha esitato a indicarlo come "il più cosmopolita tra i principali intellettuali del Novecento". In effetti, non è possibile né comprendere appieno il significato della sua opera, né venire a capo delle tante contraddizioni che segnarono il suo itinerario senza fare riferimento al suo profilo di "intellettuale di frontiera". A partire dall'idea di frontiera, il contributo sociologico di Michels si è dimostrato significativo nel rinnovamento della scienza sociale italiana, concorrendo anche a modificare l'immagine internazionale della penisola italiana, fino ad allora rimasta per lo più legata alle impressioni goethiane. L'autore meglio noto per *La sociologia del partito politico* (1966), un'opera considerata ancora attuale perché consente di far luce su alcune delle logiche alla base della vita politica contemporanea, si caratterizzò per una forte sensibilità nei confronti dei meccanismi di formazione delle identità collettive. Un sentimento che lo spinse a nutrire un costante interesse per il tema identitario della nazione fino a gettare le basi di una "sociologia del sentimento patrio" e di una sociologia dello straniero. Robert Michels non fu solo l'elitista e lo studioso delle oligarchie e dei partiti politici, ma un autentico nomade del pensiero, degli spazi e delle classi sociali.