

# Afterword

Karen Minott

*Independent scholar*

In the same month in which the majesties issued the edict that all Jews should be driven out of the kingdom and its territories, in the same month they gave me the order to undertake with sufficient men my expedition of discovery of the Indies.

Christopher Columbus<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

The Afterword examines the life of Josef Nassy, engineer, artist, and the only black person of Jewish descent known to have been a victim of the Nazi Holocaust. Born to a black mother and a Jewish father in the Dutch colony of Suriname, Nassy migrated to the US and then to Europe, where he found himself trapped in Belgium as the Nazis occupied the country. Posing as an American Christian, he survived the war in various Nazi internment camps. Nassy's finely crafted body of drawings and paintings of his time during his internment represents one of the largest collections of camp art created by an individual during the Holocaust and also the most significant visual representation of the transnational black presence in the camps. Nassy's life in Suriname, New York, Belgium, and Germany embodies both the Jewish and Afro-Caribbean diasporas in their common quest to locate a home in transnational spaces.

**Keywords:** Afro-Caribbean, Afro-Germans, Black Jews, diaspora, holocaust, Josef Nassy, Nazis, Suriname, transnationalism

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The Jewish diaspora to the Americas began in 1492 when Spanish leaders began to expel Jews, and later Muslims. Having defeated the last Moorish kingdom in Granada after the centuries-long Reconquista, the Spanish monarchs, in order to solidify power, chose a European and Catholic identity for the new nation. Anyone who was not both, or perceived to have other sympathies, namely Jews and Muslims, had to convert or leave. In the transnational diaspora that followed, Sephardic (Hebrew in Spanish) Jews dispersed to other parts of Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, Asia Minor, and eventually the Americas

(Gerber 2). In something of an irony, Christopher Columbus, on August 3, 1492, the day after the actual expulsion,<sup>2</sup> left Spain on his voyage to the New World. His three famous ships departed from the little-known port of Palos, because the shipping lanes in the major ports of Sevilla and Cadiz were overflowing with escaping Jews (“Turkey”). Just as one of the greatest Jewish communities of medieval Europe was being decimated, the New World was being opened to Europeans and others, launching the birth of the Americas. This new beginning opened up space for arguably the greatest diasporic refuge for Jews up until the establishment of the state of Israel.

In the Americas, the Sephardic Jews joined diasporas from other parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Together, they formed rich and complex transnational cultures, institutions, and moments. These various diasporas and their related transnational moments, however, could hardly have come together in a more striking way than in the life of Joseph Johan Cosmo Nassy (1904-1976), engineer, artist, and Afro-Caribbean of Jewish descent. Distantly related to the House of Nasi, an important Spanish Jewish family going back to the era of the Reconquista, Nassy was born in Suriname, a Dutch colony in South America with cultural and historical ties to the Caribbean. He migrated to the US, and from there to Europe. Nassy is the only known black Jew or black person of Jewish descent who was a victim of the Holocaust (Lusane 161). His life in Suriname, New York, Belgium, and Germany embodies both the Jewish and Afro-Caribbean diasporas in their common quest to locate a home in these transnational spaces. The term diaspora, as William Safran explains, originally denoted “a very specific meaning: the exile of the Jews from their historic homeland and their dispersion throughout many lands, signifying as well the oppression and moral degradation implied by that dispersion” (83). Later, the term broadened to include the Greek and Armenian dispersions from their homelands. Now diaspora has become an even broader term for forced dispersion and oppression, such as the experience of slaves in the African diaspora. It also includes voluntary dispersion, such as the Indian diaspora (Brubaker 2).<sup>3</sup> Transnationalism, on the other hand, is what happens when people sojourn and assimilate, if at all, to their new home, establishing connections, networks, and institutions across borders between their place of origin and their new home (Schiller 1). This essay examines the intersections of diaspora and transnationalism in the life of Josef Nassy, which shed light on diaspora and the transnational because it brings together the original Jewish diaspora and its more recent iteration and appropriation for all groups who leave, forcibly or by choice, their native homeland to find a home abroad. Nassy’s life will be treated within the context of economic and historio-cultural geopolitics.

The life of Joseph Nassy, consistent with people of African descent who for one reason or another got swept up in the transnational politics of the Jewish holocaust, has largely gone unnoticed and unnoted. However, in a forthcoming article in the journal *Small Axe*, “Making History Visible: Caribbean Artist Josef Nassy’s Visual Diary of Nazi Internment,” Sarah Phillips Casteel sought to address much of this neglect. She explores the transnational black experience under the Nazi occupation of Europe during World War II, focusing upon Josef Nassy and the civilian internment camp experience. More specifically, she examines Nassy’s visual art, exploring the significance of Nassy’s visual record in the context of black civilian internment. Although it explores Nassy’s life, my afterword focuses less on his art as a black man in the Nazi camp system, or his transnational black presence, but more on Nassy as a diasporic black and Jewish transnational leaving his original home in the Dutch Caribbean and sojourning through the great metropolises of North America and Europe. The postlude details how his life was shaped by the then-current geopolitical maelstroms and calamities.

Any meaningful sketch of the peripatetic even picaresque life Nassy lived can only be comprehended within the context of Caribbean, American, and European geopolitics. The Nassy (Nassi) family was some of the earliest Sephardic emigres to the Guianas. The Guianas—Guyana (English), Suriname (Dutch), and French Guiana (French)—are the only three non-Spanish or non-Portuguese-speaking countries in South America. They sit on the northern coast of the continent, in close geographic proximity to the English-speaking archipelago of islands. In 1659, the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch West India Company granted David Nassy and partners the right to establish a Jewish colony at Cayenne (French Guiana) (Arbell 45). In Suriname, Josef Nassy’s birthplace, the first Jews arrived early in 1639 when the English, the colonial power in control before the Dutch, allowed a community of Spanish and Portuguese Jews from Recife, Brazil, to settle in Torarica on the Suriname River south of Paramaribo, the capital. The recent immigrants set up sugar plantations with expertise gained in Brazil. More communities of Jews arrived between 1652 and 1664 and established communities along the Cassipora creek, also south of the capital. In 1665, to reward their economic contribution to the development of the colony, the English granted the Jewish colonists special privileges, such as religious freedom to build synagogues and establish their own schools, courts, and militia (Green; Ben-Ur 80). In this environment, many Jews who had been born as “New Christians,” their families converting to Christianity for survival while still in Europe, resumed the open practice of Judaism (Ben-Ur 32).

When the Dutch were finally granted Suriname from the English in the Treaty of Breda, through which they exchanged Suriname for New Amsterdam—

renamed New York by the British—the rights of Jews in the colony remained unchanged. In fact, in 1669, David Cohen Nassy, Josef's ancestor (Casteel 31), set up the Jodensavanne (Jewish Savanna in Dutch) settlement near the Cassipora River (Green). Jodensavanne, which residents referred to as the "Portuguese Jewish Nation," was an autonomous Jewish community that existed from 1669 to 1832. The communal autonomy granted by Jodensavanne represented a most audacious attempt at Jewish self-determination, something considered remarkable at the time and duly celebrated (Ben-Ur 78). Jodensavanne was one of the earliest attempts at Jewish self-determination, preceding the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 (Green). Individuals carrying the Nassy name were leaders in Jodensavanne, plantation owners, military leaders (Arbell 105), and representatives who, consistent with the diaspora politics of what Rubin Patterson characterizes as diaspora-homeland development, were "conducting transactions and generally influencing local and national events in their respective homelands" (1891) by also liaising with authorities in the Netherlands (Arbell 102).

In Suriname, the Sephardim formed agricultural, commercial, cultural, and trading networks among themselves, and connected to the Netherlands. As a Caribbean colony, Suriname was a node in the international commercial trading network of Sephardic Jewish merchants that spanned the Americas and connected the Americas to Europe (Israel 29). Such vigorous transnational development was the principal reason behind Europeans wanting the Sephardim in the colonies (Ben Ur 5). Their activities advanced the mandates of mercantilism, the economic system of the time (1492-1800), which fostered the first era of modern globalization. Governments and merchants formed alliances, establishing colonies as sources of raw materials and agricultural goods, and markets for finished products (Bloomenthal). Here we encounter the diasporic and transnational irony of the Americas. Though often savagely oppressed in Europe, in the color and caste racial hierarchy established by Christian Europeans in the New World, Jews were deemed a white group and, in the Protestant Dutch and English colonies where religious freedom was a central governing principle, they enjoyed most of the privileges of the white caste. Jews were free. This freedom and autonomy allowed them, like other whites, to thrive in a setting where Africans and indigenes could not. As with other whites, it gave them the economic privilege of building wealth by enslaving Africans, if they desired. In Suriname, like the white Protestant English and Dutch, some Jews did (Ben-Ur 256).

Like most of the slave regimes of the Americas, slavery in Suriname was a savage business. As C. R. Boxer notes, "man's inhumanity to man just about reached its limits in Suriname" (271-72). Through the years of the slave trade, some 213,000 Africans were forcibly transported to Suriname. By the end of the

eighteenth century, slaves represented upwards of 90 percent of the total population of the colony. These Africans, multiethnic and multilingual, originated from various communities within a large geographic expanse ranging from present-day Ghana to the coastal regions of Togo, Benin, and western Nigeria to Cameroon (Ben-Ur 4). Two categories of African descendants populated Suriname: Creoles and Maroons. Creoles descended from African slaves who had remained within the English and Dutch colonial society, and may have had Dutch or English ancestry. They are to be distinguished from Maroons, descendants of slaves whose ancestors self-manumitted by running into the rain forests and establishing independent communities.

By the turn of the twentieth century, slavery was over in Suriname, and Jodensavanne no longer existed. The Dutch outlawed slavery in 1863, and Jodensavanne, after years of decline, had been destroyed in 1832 by a slave revolt and subsequent fire. Mercantilism had largely run its course, and industrialization, the next era of globalization, had taken off in Europe and North America. Industrialization (1800-1914) transformed agricultural and craft-based economies into economies based on mechanized labor in factories. Emerging technologies, like the steam engine, along with new energy sources, improved efficiency (O'Sullivan 472) and radically transformed labor. Workers in the millions abandoned farms and rural communities to work in urban factories. Within the United States, at least, local populations could not meet the vast labor demands of the changing economy, spurring massive immigration into the US during the second half of the nineteenth century. Suddenly, immigrant diasporic communities were everywhere in American cities, creating their unique forms of transnationalism. Colonies in the Caribbean, on the other hand, now a source of comparatively less wealth, became less important to European colonizers. The resulting economic stagnation fueled massive Caribbean migration to the US.

This was the world into which Josef Nassy, the seventh of nine children, was born. Though the information we have on him is highly fragmented, we do know that his father, Adolph Phillius Nassy, was Jewish, and that his mother, Elizabeth Carolina Natalia de Maeschalk, Creole. The family was prosperous because Adolph was a successful importer and exporter with offices in Paramaribo, London, and New York. He was also a member of the local Parliament (Rothschild-Boros 8). The children were educated in the local Surinamese school system through primary school, but could not advance to secondary school, at the time nonexistent in the country. Families interested in advanced education had to look abroad. It had been the habit of the elder Nassy to send his children to the Netherlands for secondary school. His older children did go, but World War I closed that avenue for the younger ones. The younger children, Josef included, therefore, joined their father in New York in 1919 to

further their education (Rothschild-Boros 8). Perhaps the elder Nassy continued to support his family through his international, import/export businesses—a presumptive textbook example of transnationalism. Adolph Nassy and his children followed in the footsteps of the earliest Jewish immigrants to New York City who were also of Sephardic origin and Dutch-speaking. In 1654, twenty-three Sephardic Jewish refugees from Recife, Brazil, immigrated to Manhattan in the wake of the Portuguese victory over the Dutch who returned Brazil to Portugal, its original European colonizing power. These twenty-three individuals were the first Jews in New York (“New York City”).

At the time of their migration, the Nassys joined an explosion of African-American and Afro-Caribbean immigration to New York City. Out of a total New York City population of over 5 million people, the population of blacks by 1920 increased to 151,467, up from 91,709 in 1910. Between 1920 and 1923, nearly 35,000 Caribbeans and a handful of Africans migrated there. By 1930, when the black population of New York City was 327,706, nearly 25% of black Harlem, then the city’s principal black community, immigrated from the Caribbean (“Black New Yorkers”). Socially, politically, and culturally, Harlem was vibrant. In the 1920s, the Harlem Renaissance was in full swing, due to the diasporic cross-fertilization between blacks migrating from the South and immigrants from the Anglophone Caribbean (Parker 98). In this explosion of artistic and literary expression, artists, writers, and poets, such as Langston Hughes and Claude McKay, and intellectuals such as W. E. B. Dubois, reconceptualized notions of blackness, rejecting white supremacist tropes while articulating a pan-Africanist vision. Politically, the largest pan-Africanist movement in history was based in Harlem, led by the Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey. Labor turmoil, socialist and other ideological debates, and anti-lynching campaigns and protests were common (“Black New Yorkers”). The ideas debated and advanced in the Harlem Renaissance laid the theoretical foundations for twentieth-century black liberationist struggles within the US and internationally. Knowledge of Nassy’s ties to these ideas and events remains spotty at best, but we do know that Josef Nassy and his father were generally socially conscious, evidenced, for example, by their involvement in anti-lynching protests (Boasberg).

By 1919, when Josef and the younger siblings had settled in Brooklyn with their father, they encountered a borough in the midst of tremendous growth and expansion. Originally farmland, Brooklyn was being developed at a rapid pace. The family settled on Ocean Parkway (Rothschild-Boros 8), a major thoroughfare in a virtually all-white stretch of the borough. Additionally, during the previous decades, New York City had become home to the largest Jewish community outside of Eastern Europe. In New York, the family would have found themselves immersed in the Ashkenazi Jewish world, for nearly all of the

approximately two million Jews in New York were originally from Central and Eastern Europe.

The Nassy family's immersion in the diasporic world of Central and Eastern European Jews in New York begs several questions. The elder Nassy maintained his religious Jewish identity, and actually spoke Yiddish, which he perhaps learned during his intermittent stays in New York for work, and kept the "ancient traditions of the Judaism" (Lusane 149). But how did the unobservant younger Nassys find Jewish New York? How did the Ashkenazi of New York view a black man of Jewish descent such as Josef Nassy, or even a full Jew like his father who had a household of black children? Did the Nassys fit in easily, or was color and/or culture an obstacle? The Nassys left no public account that would lead us to a definitive answer, but the experiences of the small population of other black Jews in New York are instructive. During the interwar years, black Jewish congregations, though small in comparison to the entire black population of Harlem, were always present. Dominated by Afro-Caribbeans and East-Africans at both the leadership and congregational levels (Gold 185), these congregations ranged in theology from that of conventional orthodox Judaism to belief systems that drew more explicitly from African-American and Afro-Caribbean Christian traditions (186). Despite the popularity of several black Yiddish cantors (Ghert-Zand) at the time—most notably Thomas LaRue, *der Schwartzter Khazan* (the black cantor)—the Ashkenazi general reaction to these black congregations ranged from a straight-forward, naïve bemusement at the notion of a black and Jewish identity to concerns expressed in editorial writings on the topic that had a "fraught and ambivalent" quality (181). We can also look at experiences of another small population of non-European Jews to understand the discrimination, if any, the Nassys may have experienced. Syrians Jews, who migrated to New York City from the collapsing Ottoman Empire at the turn of the twentieth century, settled at first in lower Manhattan in the midst of the Ashkenazi world. From the Syrian's accounts, as non-Europeans, they often encountered from the Ashkenazi an attitude of cultural superiority (Zenner 139), and were made to feel like second-class citizens because of their Middle Eastern origin. The Nassys quite likely would have experienced the same attitudes.

Josef Nassy attended Erasmus High School in Brooklyn. Later, he matriculated to Pratt Institute where he took a degree in industrial electrical engineering. After finishing Pratt, Nassy went to Europe to work for the Melatone company, a subsidiary of Warner Bros film studio, installing sound systems in movie theaters (Lusane 162). He worked in England and then France. However, in the process of obtaining a European visa, Nassy did something that in years later probably saved his life. He fraudulently obtained a US birth certificate. In an absolutely

picaresque move, Nassy claimed that he was born in San Francisco in 1896. Because all birth records were destroyed in the earthquake and subsequent fire of 1906, there was no way to dispute his claim. As such, he was issued an American birth certificate. Joseph Johan Cosmo Nassy, his name changed to Josef John Nassy, was now a natural-born US citizen. Later in Europe, when he registered with the Belgian police on his residency application as a US citizen, he inadvertently left his religious affiliation blank, making no reference to his Jewish identity (Ferdin and Protzman). This would turn out to be a lifesaving omission. Nassy later worked with Gesco, a subsidiary of Melatone, on the same sound system installations. He remained with the firm until 1934. Desiring a career shift, he matriculated to the Academie de Beaux of Arts in Brussels to study painting, returning in so doing to his childhood interest in art. He and his siblings had had private art lessons in Suriname, and art, especially portraiture, had remained important to him.

In 1939, Josef Nassy married Rosine van Aerschot, a Belgian, in a civil ceremony. They could have left Europe and returned to America as the war spread, but opted not to (Rothschild-Boros 9). Rosine did not want to leave Belgium, and the two apparently felt safe there despite the spread of Fascism, itself a transnational movement that arose during the world wars as capitalist globalization declined (Berman).<sup>4</sup> However, once Belgium became part of Nazi-occupied Europe, Nassy became vulnerable to its racist ideology both as a black man and as a Jew. The Nazis considered blacks racially inferior, and though the black German population was small, approximately 25,000, they were subject to the Nuremburg laws, though not to mass extermination like the Jews or the Romani/Sinti. The treatment of Afro-Germans in Germany was neither rigid nor systematic, and ranged from victimization by forced sterilization to murder in concentration camps, often after being arrested on trivial offenses. Many were allowed to live openly in German cities, albeit as objects of extreme discrimination (Lusane 6). The Nazi regime had a particular animus toward the mixed-race children of the French African troops in the Rhineland—the Rhineland Bastards, they called them—and sterilized hundreds of them (Lusane 138). Fortunately for Nassy, his Jewish identity was not noted on his documents, and he was able to keep his Surinamese origin hidden under his false American birth certificate. While his identity as a black man could not be hidden, he was treated humanely as a US noncombatant, quite different from how blacks without British or US nationality were treated. In Nazi-occupied Europe, Nassy could use his American citizenship to save his life, for the regime treated noncombatant British and American citizens comparatively well in hopes of exchanging them for German POWs.

When the United States entered the war, Nassy was arrested and sent to a Weermacht transit prison in Beverloo, Belgium. His wife, Rosine, was able to visit



him, bringing him art supplies and food. While conditions in the camp were “challenging,” Nassy, according to Rosine, never felt threatened. The camp commander was said to have taken “a liking to Joe” (Rothchild-Boros 10). He was encouraged to paint and was asked to give art lessons to other prisoners. Nassy remained in Belgium for seven months, and then was transferred to a civilian prisoner-of-war camp, the Ilag VII and VIII in Laufen and Tittmoning, Germany. The Ilags were not like the Stlags, the military prisoner-of-war camps and the concentration camps. The prisoners in the Ilags, unlike other Nazi facilities, were treated in accordance with the policies of the Geneva Convention (Ferdin and Protzman).

Laufen and Tittmoning were officially camps for British and American civilian prisoners of war. Many of them, like Nassy, were under false papers. “We are . . . supposedly Americans, but there are . . . Poles, Czechs, and all kinds; the true American is rare,” Nassy wrote in a letter to his wife (Ferdin and Protzman). Of the eight hundred men in the camp, approximately fifty were Jews who had obtained passports from various South American countries. Other Americans were children of Eastern European parents who had returned to Europe during the depression. To the other Jewish prisoners, Nassy seemed to be proud of his Jewish heritage, often quietly greeting other Jews in the camp with “Shalom,” and later, after the war, identifying as Jewish. The camp authorities appeared to have never discovered Nassy’s true citizenship, nor his true religious heritage.

There were twelve blacks, including Nassy, at the Laufen and Tittmoning camp. Our knowledge of his relationship to the other black prisoners, like much of our knowledge of Nassy’s life, remains fragmented. Sarah Casteel, in her work contextualizing Nassy and his art in the larger context of the experiences of African descended people—African-Americans, Africans and Caribbeans—in Nazi-occupied Europe, notes that of the dozen black prisoners in the internment camp with Nassy, 10 were African-American, including the jazz pianist, Henry Crowder (Casteel 32), and one was an African. Other African and Caribbean nationals were sent to actual concentration camps. Casteel cites one study tracing 157 African and Caribbean nationals to Mauthausen concentration camp (Casteel 29-30). In keeping with the conventions of the time, Nassy, as a black man, was housed with the other black prisoners, and many of his over 300 paintings featured them. In fact, Nassy’s artistic record represents the most substantial visual record of the transnational black presence in the Nazi camp system (Casteel 28). The general themes and content of his artwork are similar to the work done by other Holocaust survivors. Nassy’s paintings capture the “psychological portrait of the internee,” focusing as they do on the depression and isolation of men in camps. Technically, his artwork is not considered great art. Its greatest value lies in the record of camp life (Rothchilds-Boros 11).

Following the liberation of prisoners from the Nazi camps at the war's end, Nassy repatriated to Belgium, taking his art collection with him. His marriage to Rosine soured, and the two separated, though they never divorced. The war had changed them both. Rosine had become independent, and Nassy, given his wartime experiences, saw marriage as another though perhaps benign form of confinement (Rothschilds-Boros 11). During the post-war period, he sought an audience for his wartime art collection. In the first post-war exhibition of his works at the La Petite Gallery in Brussels, sponsored by the YMCA, which had supplied him art materials during his German encampment, nearly half of Nassy's war-time collection went on display. The collection was also on display at the Foyer YMCA de Bruxelles. Later in 1947, he participated in the "The Train Exposition," an exhibition of artwork mounted on five railway cars, which featured the work of concentration camp survivors and prisoner of war internees. The railroad cars formed a train that toured cities in Belgium, Luxembourg, and Northern France (Rothschilds-Boros 11).

Nassy lived out the rest of his life in the peace and prosperity of post-war Belgium. Like the rest of Europe, North America, and Japan, Belgium experienced an explosive economic growth after the war that ushered in the next phase of globalization (1945-present). Capitalist globalization now reflected integrative economies, such as with the formation of the European Union. By 1950, Brussels was the capital of the EU and host to many of its institutions. Nassy would have had an interesting vantage point on the development. He also would have witnessed how the labor needs of the rapidly expanding post-war economies fueled massive non-white immigration into Europe and the UK from former colonies in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. In the specific case of Belgium, there was immigration from Italy, Turkey, and Morocco, but modest immigration from the Congo, Belgium's former colony. Belgium was becoming multicultural. It is difficult to ascertain whether Josef Nassy fully found a home in an increasingly multicultural Belgium, if by this we mean what Patricia Collins describes as "a place of belonging, a safe intellectual and political space" (4). However, in the mix of ambivalences and anxieties between the liminal space of origin and destination that often plague diasporans, Nassy seemed most at home in Europe. He never returned to Suriname nor the US.

Nassy died of cancer in 1976. But his art survived him, going on display at the United States Holocaust Museum in 1997 in a well-received exhibition (Ferdinand and Protzman). Josef Nassy was a very fortunate man. He had survived the Nazi genocide of European Jewry. Approximately 105 Jews of Surinamese origin or descent living in the Netherlands, some even carrying the Nassy name, died during the war, most in concentration camps ("Surinam Jews Who Died in the Holocaust and War"). Nassy's life and experience embody acutely the historical because Jewish understanding of diaspora. At the same time, his life also

embodies the modern sense of diaspora as the displacement of Africans and other ethnicities, who, either because of slavery, ethnic cleansing, or economic hardship, were forced to create a home abroad. Nassy's life is unique in this diasporic paradigm, for he was able to return to oppressive geopolitical centers and places of great suffering to make a living and a life. In so doing, his life exhibits expanding notions of diaspora and the emergence of transnationalism. In early 2020, the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam sponsored a traveling exhibit on the lives of both Josef Nassy and Anne Frank. The exhibit came to Paramaribo, the capital of Suriname, and was frequented by school children and the larger public ("Suriname: Traveling Exhibitions and Activities"). The diasporic and transnational experiences in Josef Nassy's life coalesced once again, bringing his life full circle.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Finkelstein 2.

<sup>2</sup> The actual edict called for the Jews to leave by July 31, 1492, but in the end they were given two extra days.

<sup>3</sup> On the Indian diaspora in its various forms, see Hofmeyr.

<sup>4</sup> When World War I began, globalization in the capitalist world declined, but transnational initiatives among the fascists and communists increased, culminating in the Fascist takeover of Germany and Italy, and the Bolshevik takeover of Russia. Both Fascism and Communism were global phenomena that were in large part responses to the ravages of global capitalism. In a sense, their rise represents another phase of globalization.

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