

OXFORD READERS

Fascism

Edited by Roger Griffin

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

xii CONTENTS

71. PAULA SIBER, The New German Woman	136
72. CARL SCHMITT, The Legal Basis of the Total State	138
73. ADOLF HITLER, The Place of Art in Germany's Political Reawakening	139
ii The Period of Consolidation 1936-1939	
74. WERNER DAITZ, Soldierly Economics	141
75. ROBERT LEY, The Joy of the National Socialist Economy	142
76. PAUL RITTER, The Expansionary Spirit of a Rejuvenated People	143
77. HAMMER PRESS, Nazism's World Crusade against the Jews	145
78. HEINRICH HIMMLER, The Divine Mission of the SS	146
79. WILLI F. KÖNITZER, The Role of Youth in Perpetuating the Third Reich	148
80. HELMUTH LANGENBUCHER, The Successful Cleansing of German Culture	149
81. MARTIN HEIDEGGER, National Socialism as the Custodian of European Being	150
82. CHRISTOPH STEDING, The Third Reich as the Cure for the European Sickness	152
iii The Third Reich at War 1939-1945	
83. PAUL HERRE, The New European Order	154
84. HANS S. V. HEISTER, A National Socialist Common Market	155
85. WALTER GROSS, Improving the Stock	156
86. JOSEPH GOEBBELS, The True Meaning of the War	158
87. ROBERT LEY, The Ultimate Turning-Point: Total War	160
88. HEINRICH HIMMLER, Moral Dilemmas	161
89. SCHWARZES KORPS, Heimat	162
90. ADOLF HITLER, The Rebirth of National Socialism	164
.....	
PART III: ABORTIVE FASCISMS 1922-1945	
Introduction	169
A. European Fascisms	
i Britain	
91. OSWALD MOSLEY, Christ, Nietzsche, and Caesar	173
92. OSWALD MOSLEY, Towards a Fascist Europe	174
93. ALEXANDER RAVEN THOMSON, A Corporate Britain	176
94. E. D. RANDELL, Britain Awake!	177
95. ARTHUR KENNETH CHESTERTON, A Spiritual Typhus	178
96. WILLIAM JOYCE, Hitler Shows the Way	180
ii Ireland	
97. BOIN O'DUFFY, The New Corporate Ireland	182

iii Spain

98. RAMIRO LEDESMA RAMOS, *The Voice of Spain* 186
 99. JOSÉ ANTONIO PRIMO DE RIVERA, *Total Feeling* 187
 100. JOSÉ ANTONIO PRIMO DE RIVERA, *Bread and Justice* 188
 101. ANTONIO VALLEJO-NÁGERA, *A New Breed of Spaniards* 190

iv Portugal

102. ROLÃO PRETO, *The Wind of Change* 192
 103. ROLÃO PRETO, *Ersatz Fascism* 194

v France

104. GEORGE VALOIS, *Empty Portfolios* 197
 105. JACQUES DORIOT, *Saving France* 199
 106. MARCEL DÉAT, *The European Revolution and the New State* 200
 107. PIERRE DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, *The Rebirth of European Man* 202

vi Belgium

108. LÉON DEGRELLE, *The Revolution of Souls* 204
 109. JOSÉ STREEL, *Fascism's Century* 206

vii Norway

110. VIDKUN QUISLING, *The Nordic Revival* 208
 111. VIDKUN QUISLING, *A Greater Norway* 209

viii Finland

112. LAPUA, *The Battle for the New Finland* 213
 113. ELIAS SIMOJOKI, *The Revolution of the Finnish Heart* 214

ix Estonia

114. EVL, *A New Estonia* 215

x Latvia

115. GUSTAVS CELMIŅŠ, *A Latvian Latvia* 217

xi Romania

116. ION MOȚA, *The Romanian Legionary's Mission in Spain* 219
 117. CORNELIU CODREANU, *The Resurrection of the Race* 221

xii Hungary

118. FERENC SZÁLASI, *Hungarism* 223

B. Non-European Fascisms**i South Africa**

119. OSSEWABRANDWAG, *The Reawakening of the Boerevolk* 228

ii Chile

120. CARLOS KELLER, *Chilean Action* and National Regeneration
 121. JORGE GONZÁLEZ, The Soul of the Race

231
233

iii Brazil

122. PLÍNIO SALGADO, A Fourth Era of Humanity Dawns
 123. PLÍNIO SALGADO, The Soul of the Nation Awakens

234
236

iv Japan

124. NAKANO SEIGŌ, The Need for a Totalitarian Japan
 125. NAKANO SEIGŌ, Write Your Own *Mein Kampf*

239
240

PART IV: THEORIES OF FASCISM

Introduction

245

A. Reactions to Fascism 1920–1945

Introduction

247

i Ambivalent or Positive Reactions to the Spread of Fascism

126. VILFREDO PARETO, Black Sheep
 127. KENNETH ROBERTS, A Plague of Amateur Mussolinis
 128. ROBERT MICHELS, A Sunny Disposition
 129. JOHANN W. MANNHARDT, The Italian *Volksstaat*
 130. ERWIN VON BECKERATH, The Italian Experiment
 131. JAMES STRACHEY BARNES, To Each Country its Own Fascism
 132. GIUSEPPE BORGESE, The Makers of Europe
 133. SIR CHARLES PETRIE, A Sense of Humour
 134. H. G. WELLS, A Bad Good Thing

249
250
251
253
254
255
256
257
258

ii Interpretations of Fascism by Marxists

135. THREE COMINTERN RESPONSES TO FASCISM
 (a) Opening the Door to Fascism
 (b) White Terror
 (c) Fruit of the Womb
 136. PALMIRO TOGLIATTI, Erroneous Definitions
 137. R. PALME DUTT, The Purgings Fires of Fascism
 138. E. J. STRACHEY, The Return of the Dark Ages

260
260
261
262
263
264
265

iii Democratic Critiques of Fascism

139. G. D. H. and M. I. COLE, Tribal Loyalties
 140. R. A. BRADY, Dragon's Teeth
 141. KARL POLANYI, The Hopeless Task
 142. GEORGE ORWELL, Rabbits Ruled by Stoats
 143. PETER DRUCKER, Black Magic
 144. HANS HERRMANN, The Iron Heel

267
268
269
269
270
272