

Compare and contrast Italian and German Nazi Ideology

Fascism is an ideology that has often been left without a solid definition, and it has been interpreted in a variety of ways.¹ Fascism has been interpreted as: capitalism's response to Communism, totalitarian ultra-nationalism, and a community focused authoritarian system which holds contradictory Socialist and conservative values.^{2 3 4} Within these differing interpretations' fascism has been described as; ultra-nationalist, authoritarian, violent, imperialist, collectivist ideology, which holds populist tendencies. Different stands of fascism also tend to add different policies which are relevant to the socio-economic context in order to appeal to the target audience, the people. Italian Fascism evolved from 'Italian national syndicalism', 'revolutionary syndicalism', and Italian nationalism taking with it their shared beliefs of productivism, and nationalism; whilst also exhibiting conventional fascist traits such as authoritarianism, imperialism, and violence.^{5 6} German Fascism evolved from socialism, but also from the issues that Germany was facing in the aftermath of World War Two. German Fascism exhibited typical fascist traits such being nationalist, authoritarian, and violent, but also demonstrated socialist policies, by focusing on the betterment of the community through national projects.⁷ Italian and German fascism had varying traits that appeared in different strengths, but the two different versions of fascism were similar.

Both Italian and German Fascism came to power in different ways, but not through want of trying. In October 1922, Mussolini and the Italian Fascists marched on Rome, and Mussolini was invited to become Prime Minister by King Victor Emmanuel III.⁸ The decision to install Mussolini as Prime Minister was made by the King, and his advisers as they felt that installing the popular Fascist Party leader was the best way to stabilise the disjointed Italian political system.⁹ Mussolini replaced the Italian Liberal Party leader Luigi Facta, inheriting a Parliament that had a small Socialist majority; from this position of power, Mussolini started to implement a path to power for the PNF.¹⁰ In June 1924, Mussolini had called an election that saw the Fascist Coalition, 'National List', win a majority.¹¹ The majority was achieved by following the authoritarian, and violent nature of Fascism with; intimidation being fulfilled by Mussolini's Black shirts, and the imposition of Acerbo Law, guaranteeing the leading party two-thirds of the seats in Parliament if they achieved over 25% of the vote.^{12 13} Whilst

¹ K. Passmore, *Fascism: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002) pg 12

² G. Dimitrov, *Selected Works Volume 2*, (Sofia Press, Sofia, 1972) Available at:

https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/dimitrov/works/1935/08_02.htm

³ H. Ardent, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, (Penguin Classics, London, 2017) pg 338

⁴ K. Passmore, *Fascism: A Short Introduction*, pg 25

⁵ A. James Gregor, *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship*, (Princeton University Press, Princetown NJ) pg 103

⁶ S.J Woolf, *Italy in Fascism in Europe*, Ed. S.J Woolf, (Methuen, London, 1981) pg41

⁷ Ibid pg 69

⁸ F. Dikötter, *How to be a Dictator*, (Bloomsbury, London, 2019) pg 4-5

⁹ A.J de Grand, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: The Fascist Style of Rule*, (Routledge, London, 1997) pg 21

¹⁰ P. Corbetta, M. Serena Piretti, *Atlante storico-elettorale d'Italia*, (Zanichelli, Bologna, 2009)

¹¹ D. Nohlen, P. Stöver, *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook*, (Nomos, Heilbronn, 2010) pg 1047

¹² Ibid pg 1033

¹³ G. M Matteotti, *Speech in the Chamber of Deputies to report electoral fraud*, (May 30, 1924, available at:

https://translate.google.co.uk/translate?sl=auto&tl=en&u=https%3A%2F%2Fit.wikisource.org%2Fwiki%2FItalia_a_-_30_maggio_1924%2C_Discorso_alla_Camera_dei_Deputati_di_denuncia_di_brogli_elettorali)

the march for power in October 1922 demonstrated the revolutionary roots of Fascism, it also provided a foothold for Mussolini and the PNF to achieve electoral success, giving them a mandate to implement their fascist ideology. Upon Mussolini, and the PNF's coming into power, they sought to impose their ideology upon Italy, with their initial aims being; to bring syndicalism into being by tearing down the old institutions and creating a new society and; to introduce statism by centralising control of the economy, and society.¹⁴

The Munich Putsch of November 1923 was Hitler, and the Nazi Party's failed attempt to replicate the Italian march to power from the previous year.¹⁵ After its failure Hitler decided that he would no longer seek power through revolutionary methods, and would instead focus on securing power through 'constitutional means'.¹⁶ The realisation of this dream of securing power by 'constitutional means' came to fruition in the early 1930s, and was enabled by the weak political system that existed in Germany at the time. In 1930 the Nazi Party managed to change their political status, from fringe party, to one of the largest parties in the Reichstag after 6 and a half million people voted for the party, which increased the Party's number of seats from 12 to 107.¹⁷ ¹⁸ This success in the 1930, and Hitler's Presidential election run of 1932 drove the Nazi Party's electoral successes in 1932. In 1932 the Nazi Party became the largest party in the Reichstag, after they participated in two elections of that year: totalling nearly 14 million votes and 11 million votes; 230 seats, and 196 seats in the Reichstag in the July, and November elections respectively.¹⁹ ²⁰ The electoral success of the Nazi party made it impossible to ignore Hitler, and in 1933 President Hindenburg appointed Hitler as chancellor, and from this position he was able to implement his policies through this mandate. ²¹ The initial aims of the Nazi Party were outlined by Hitler, within 'Mein Kampf' and the Party's manifestos, which called for; the reunification of Germany, and all Germanic people, the removal of the Jewish People from Germany, the removal of Communism from Germany, and the imposition of 'National Socialism' by centralising control of the economy and society. This electoral success shows a difference between Italian and German Fascism. Mussolini was installed as Prime Minister before his party achieved electoral success; with his party needing an alteration of the electoral system to even achieve the level of political influence that Mussolini desired. On the other hand, the Nazi Party came to power through legal means first which then allowed Hitler to be appointed Chancellor in 1933, without needing an illegal seizure of power.

A key component of Fascism is nationalism, and within this idea of nationalism there are a variety of ways it has been conceptualised. Italian nationalism was used as a method of pulling together the nation so that national development could take place, and so that the

¹⁴ S. Panunzio, *The New State Born of Syndicalism and Statism* In *Fascism* ed. R. Griffin, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995) pg 46

¹⁵ E. Wiskemann, *The Influence of Fascism on Hitler and National Socialist Germany in Fascism in Italy: Its Development and Influence. The Making of the Twentieth Century*, (Palgrave, London, 1970) pg 94

¹⁶ Ibid pg 94

¹⁷ W.L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, (Arrow Books, London, 1960) pg 152

¹⁸ D. Nohlen, P. Stöver, *Elections in Europe: A Data Handbook*, pg 790

¹⁹ W.L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, pg 166

²⁰ A. Gonschior, *The German Empire Reichstag Elections November 1932*, (Available at: <http://www.gonschior.de/weimar/Deutschland/RT7.html>)

²¹ W.L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, pg 190

government could control groups easier.²² Italy as largely agrarian nation needed the masses to be mobilised in order for the Fascist policies of productivism, and syndicalism to be realised, furthermore, there was a need for a national renewal on a social, economic, and infrastructure levels.²³ To aid this renewal Mussolini harnessed the patriotism of the Italian people evoking the mythology, and the memory of the Roman Empire to gather support to allow these policies to come to fruition.²⁴ The Italian view of nationalism was that Italy deserved to be the great nation it once was, and that for years, Italy had been corrupt, and more 'dead than alive', the Fascist sought to develop Italy into a great nation and to drive it into becoming a modern industrial nation.²⁵ Mussolini also moved to preserve the racial purity of the Italian people in the name of nationalism, after formalising a war time alliance with Nazi Germany.²⁶ However, these Racist, nationalist policies were not as harsh of the German anti-Semitic laws, only declaring that laws that unnaturalised Jews, whilst also making miscegenation illegal across Italy, however, Mussolini regarded anti-Semitism as a 'German Vice', and his use of anti-Semitism throughout his career was seen as more opportunism, than a dogmatic belief.^{27 28 29}

Hitler, and the Nazi Party used Nationalism in a similar way to Mussolini and the Italian Fascist Party, but instead of using it for national development, they used it for the national renewal of the German; people, pride, and industrialism. Hitler and the Nazi Party used nationalism to stir up sentiments that were already present in Germany at the time, therefore buying support for the Party, and its fascist policies.³⁰ Nationalism was therefore used as an excuse by the Nazi Party for their imperialist goals, and as a reason to impose racial policies. Under the banner of Nationalism, Nazi German sought to unite Germanic people under the idea of a greater Reich, and the Lebensraum policy, this was realised through the annexation of Austria, The Sudentland, in 1938.³¹ Much like Mussolini, Nazi nationalist propaganda utilised mythology, conjuring up the idea that German People had a long, and strong lineage, which helped build up national pride, and the Nazi idea of an ethnic-homogeneous nation.³² German Nationalism promulgated the idea that other races were inferior to the Germanic people, and the Aryan race, and from this, emerged the belief that the nation, and its 'racial stock' needed to be protected from being diluted, therefore promoting the ethnic-homogeneous nation that the Party desired.³³ German nationalism

²² A. J. Gregor, *Italian Fascism and Developmental Dictatorship*, pg 106-107

²³ Ibid, pg 107

²⁴ B. Mussolini, *Fascism's Myth: The Nation*, in *Fascism* ed. Roger Griffin pg 43-44

²⁵ B. Mussolini, *Fascism's Myth: The Nation*, in *Fascism* ed. Roger Griffin, pg 43-44

²⁶ S. Luconi, *Il Grido della Strife and Mussolini's 1938 Racial Legislation* in *Shofar*, Vol.22, No.4 (Purdue University Press, West Lafayette, IN, 2004) pg 67

²⁷ D. Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation During the Second World War*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006) pg 65

²⁸ C. Hibbert, *Benito Mussolini*, (Penguin, London, 1975) pg 99

²⁹ J. D. Zimmerman, *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005) pg 62

³⁰ A.J Nicholls, *Germany*, in *Europe*, Ed. S.J Woolf, pg 77

³¹ J. Noakes, & G. Pridham, *Nazism 1919-1945 3: Foreign Policy, War and Racial Extermination*, (University of Exeter Press, Exeter, 1988) pg 751

³² A. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (Jaico, Mumbai, 2012) pg 353-355

³³ Ibid pg 359

promoted the renewal of German industry, often portraying working class people as the saviours of Germany, and the drivers of national renewal.³⁴

Fascism is intrinsically authoritarian, and this often leads to the Government structure of nations altering from their original state. Both Germany and Italy were both nations where legislation primarily originated from Parliament before Hitler, his Nazi Party, and Mussolini and his Fascist Party got into power. The Italian Parliament was a bicameral legislative body where either body had the power to create legislation, however, the King also retained this power as well, but it was a rarely used power.³⁵ However, from November 1925 onwards Mussolini governed using royal decrees to execute legislation, exercise normal executive power, and to have power over finance, judiciary, and local government matters.^{36 37} Mussolini's usage of these powers rendered the Italian Parliament practically useless as they could no longer pass or propose legislation within the consent of Mussolini³⁸. Mussolini also ensured that his was able to maintain the authoritarian nature of Italian fascism by holding several ministries at the same time, by consistently rotating around the ministries, and by dismissing the ministers and their secretaries to prevent rivals from achieving the level of power and influence he held.³⁹ Many of these Ministries also had overlapping responsibilities, which further prevented any ministers from gaining a monopoly of power over one area.⁴⁰ In Fascist fashion, Party and State merged under Mussolini, with a clear feature of this being that members of the civil service were required to be Fascist party members.⁴¹ Mussolini himself wanted to see the Party inserted into the State, with the State adopting the Party machinery, this was seen with the Party's General Secretary overseeing local government machinery, and those who ran it.⁴² By November 1932 the Fascist Party had been officially absorbed into the state, with the Party being defined as a 'civil militia' which was at the disposal of state, and the Party machinery was folded into the state machinery.⁴³

In Germany fascism, it was essential that Authoritarianism was imposed far sooner than it was in Italy. Hitler came into the position of Chancellor in January 1933, and by March 1933 Parliament had been suspended with the passing of the Enabling Act.⁴⁴ By July 1933 the Nazi Party were legally declared the only Political Party in Germany, with Hitler holding power exclusively in his hands.⁴⁵ With no other political parties Hitler governed through the Cabinet, and the powers afforded to him through the Enabling Act, with these powers only increasing upon the death of Hindenburg in 1934, when Hitler was able to combined the

³⁴ Nazi Election Propaganda, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collections, *Wir Bauern misten aus*, (Available at: <https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn3777>, 1933)

³⁵ H.W Schneider, *The Fascist Government of Italy*, (D van Nostrand Company Inc, New York, 1936) pg 51

³⁶ Ibid pg 52-53

³⁷ A. Aquarone, *The Rise of the Fascist State, 1926-1928* in *The Axis within: Italian Fascism in action* (New Viewpoints, New York, 1974) pg 104

³⁸ Ibid pg 104

³⁹ H.W Schneider, *The Fascist Government of Italy*, pg 37

⁴⁰ Ibid pg 36-37

⁴¹ Ibid pg 41

⁴² Ibid Pg 42

⁴³ Ibid pg 42-45

⁴⁴ M. Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History*, (Pan Books, London, 2001) Pg 154-155

⁴⁵ Ibid, pg 201-203

offices of President and Chancellor to create the office of Fuhrer.⁴⁶ Hitler was able to govern exclusively through his powerful aides; Goering, Himmler, Ley, and Schirach, who were able to control their own particular areas of government.⁴⁷ Hitler was able to prevent these ministers from rivalling his power by running the rival ministries, and appointing less powerful politicians to more high profile positions in order to curtail the ambition of more powerful ministers.⁴⁸ From 1933 onwards the merger between Party and State had firmly begun. Visually the merger became apparent in March 1933 when Hindenburg made a presidential decree declaring the Swastika flag a national flag alongside the Imperial flag.⁴⁹ This was taken one step further in September 1935 with the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws, where the Swastika flag was declared as the official, and imperial flag of the Reich.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Party organs such as the SS becoming state instruments. The SS was considered a de facto state organisation after the election Hitler and the Nazi Party in 1933, and it grew to encompass the police, intelligence services under the combined power of Himmler, and Heydrich.⁵¹ In terms of Party machinery, all civil servants were required to be Nazi Party members, in a similar way to Italy, so that they were restricted by Party values, and rules.⁵² The Party also took over the State's role in social organisation, with its own civilian organisations becoming the official state organisations.⁵³

A key part of the Fascist ideology was the silencing of political opposition, this was facet of the ideology was utilised Fascist regimes to prolong their reign, and to protect the regime. The silencing often coalesced in terror, terror towards political opposition, terror towards the 'other' defined by the Party, and terror towards the people to ensure conformity. In Italy violence was facilitated by the Fascists Squads who brutally attacked political opposition on the left by breaking up labour strikes, this violence was so frequent that it had been normalised in Italian political life at the time.⁵⁴ The highest profile of example of political violence in Italy, was the murder of Socialist Party Leader, Matteotti in 1922. Matteotti was murdered by a group of Fascists led by Amerigo Dumini, who were funded by an regime opponent eliminating militia fund operated by Cesare Rossi, Mussolini's press officer at the Minister of the Interior.⁵⁵ The murder of Matteotti cast Mussolini under a cloud of suspicion, as at the time Matteotti had been; highly vocal in his criticism of The Fascist's party conduct during of the recent election, the legality of said election, and the Government's dealings with Sinclair Oil.⁵⁶ Mussolini also made all other political parties

⁴⁶ Ibid pg 226-227

⁴⁷ Ibid pg 275

⁴⁸ Ibid pg 276

⁴⁹ P. von Hindenburg, *Decree of the Reich President on the provisional regulation of raising the flag*, (12th March 1933, available at:

<https://translate.google.co.uk/translate?sl=auto&tl=en&u=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.documentarchiv.de%2Fns%2Fflaggen.html>)

⁵⁰ A. Hitler, *Reich Flag Law*, (15th September 1935, Nuremberg, available at:

<https://translate.google.co.uk/translate?sl=auto&tl=en&u=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.documentarchiv.de%2Fns%2Fflaggen.html>)

⁵¹ I Foot, *The Oxford Guide to World War II*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995) pg 814-815

⁵² C. McNab, *The Third Reich*, (Amber Books, London, 2009) Pg 78

⁵³ Ibid pg 14

⁵⁴ A.J. de Grand, *Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany*, pg 25

⁵⁵ F. Dikötter, *How to be a Dictator*, pg 6-7

⁵⁶ M. Canali, *Il delitto Matteotti. Affarismo e politica nel primo governo Mussolini*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997)

illegal, and outlawed labour strikes, turning Italy into a one party dictatorship.⁵⁷ Under Mussolini the Press Office, later the Minister of Popular Culture, censored the media by releasing daily guidelines on what; writers, artisans, scholars, and journalists could and couldn't produce, they were incentivised by secret funds, with the Government funnelling 410 million lire into these secret funds to safeguard censorship laws.⁵⁸ Whilst purges weren't a strong feature of Italian Fascism, Mussolini did utilise them in the 1920s in order to keep the Party's ideology rigid, and to prevent any straying from the Party line, charging Roberto Farinacci to purge the party of 66,000 ideological dissidents, and curb its power by destroying its power structures, thus allowing Mussolini to have complete control of Party and Government.^{59 60}

In Nazi Germany to solidify the regime it was essential that political opposition was silenced, this was a key feature of German Fascism. On the 7th July 1933, the Nazi Party enacted legislation, through their emergency powers, that outlawed all other political parties, effectively silencing all political opposition after the dissolution of the Reichstag, this legislation declared the Nazi Party as the only legal political party in Germany.⁶¹ Furthermore, political opponents, inside and outside the party were silenced, with many being placed in concentration camps, or killed. The most high-profile example of silencing political opponents was 'Night of the Long Knives'. The 'Night of the Long Knives' saw the 'liquidation' of 'enemies past and present' as defined by Hitler, Goering, and Himmler, this purge saw; the collapse of the SA through the extrajudicial extermination of SA chiefs Rohm, and Ernst; and the murder of political rivals 'past and present', such as former chancellor General von Schleicher, former defence minister General von Bredow, and Gustav von Kahr, who suppressed the Munich Putsch in 1923.⁶² The purging of these political opponents was essential, as it created the perfect foundations for Hitler's dictatorship to flourish upon the death of President Hindenburg. The Nazi treatment of the 'other' was also demonstrated the need for an 'other' and an enemy within fascism, this other was defined as the Jewish population, with anti-Semitism being a clear feature of German fascism. Under Hitler, 6 million Jews were murdered, in pogroms, and the Holocaust, with approximately 12 million 'others' other dying from a result of not being part of the Nazi world image.⁶³ As typical in fascism, the Nazi Government ensured that they had full control of information, and this happened through Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda. Much in the same way as its Italian counterpart, the Ministry of Propaganda issued daily directives to editors and journalists of all newspapers about what to write and publish that day.⁶⁴ The nations newspapers, who's views were unsatisfactory to the Ministry, or ran by Jews, were either forced to shutdown, or remove its Jewish members from whatever roles they held.⁶⁵ Radio, and motion pictures were also censored by the Ministry, ensure that the information received by the public fit

⁵⁷ B. Haugen, *Benito Mussolini: Fascist Italian Dictator*, (Minneapolis, Compass Point Books, 2007) pg 9, 71

⁵⁸ Ibid, pg 10, 15

⁵⁹ Ibid pg 8-9

⁶⁰ The Times, *Mussolini 'Purges' Party; 66,000 Stricken From Fascist Roll to End 'Menace'* (14th August, 1942)

⁶¹ A. Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, (Penguin Books, London, 1990) Pg 274 -275

⁶² W.L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, pg 219-223

⁶³ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, *Documenting Numbers of Victims of the Holocaust and Nazi Persecution*, (Available at: <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/documenting-numbers-of-victims-of-the-holocaust-and-nazi-persecution>)

⁶⁴ W.L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, pg 245

⁶⁵ Ibid pg 245

the Government's narrative.⁶⁶ This control of information also moved to schools, where children were bought up, and education in the ways of German fascism; being indoctrinated with anti-Semitism, bought up in the pseudo-scientific beliefs of the regime, being taught falsified mythological German history, and being training to defend German in the Nazi youth organisations.⁶⁷

The Fascist economic model in Italy, and Germany, was based upon Autarky, the desire to be self-sufficient. Fascist economic policy in Italy was formulated in order to modernise the economy, as it was believed that the nation's goals could only be achieved if the economy was fully developed, and strong.⁶⁸ In order to achieve this the Italian Fascist Governments aimed to combat unemployment. The Italians successfully saw a decrease in unemployment by over 100,000 in the four years between 1921 and 1925.⁶⁹ The Italian decreased unemployment through public works programs which sought to increase national strength, examples of these public works projects; hydroelectricity dams, railway electrification and land reclamation.⁷⁰ Public works schemes were seen as a responsible use of public resources, and were favoured over public relief welfare schemes which were seen as waste of public resources.⁷¹ From 1922 to 1935 the total spending on public works programs by the Italian Government totalled twenty-five billion lire.⁷² Furthermore, with the state commissioning, and overseeing these schemes they supported the fascist policy of centralising control of essential services. The Italian Government also sought to become a "productivistic' capitalist paradise' in order to increase investment across the nation and accelerate industrialisation, this was done by removing industrial tariffs, reducing the states' functions, to stimulate investment.⁷³ The result of this was an economic boom, that left Italy with a large export trade.⁷⁴ However, to continue this 'productivist' policy the Government was often forced out to bail out larger companies with it state corporations.⁷⁵ In the spirit of Autarky, the Italian government also followed fascist policies towards agriculture, and imposed high import agricultural tariffs to support Italian produce, these policies were successful as wheat imports drop by 25% between 1928 and 1932.⁷⁶ In order to further facilitate the move towards self-sufficiency the Government increased the budget of the Ministry of Agriculture, making it the fifth largest governmental department by 1939; this budget increase was spent on credits for farm machinery, land rationalisation and housing.⁷⁷

Nazi Germany's economic policy was formulated to redevelop the nation, and to rearm its military. The Germans, in the fascist style took aim at unemployment, tackling unemployment in the aftermath of the great depression. Germans saw a decrease in

⁶⁶ Ibid pg 247

⁶⁷ Ibid pg 248-256

⁶⁸ A.S. Milward, *Fascism and the Economy*, in *Fascism: A Reader's guide* ed. W.Laqueur, (Wildwood House, Cambridge, 1988) pg 380

⁶⁹ Ibid pg 391

⁷⁰ Ibid pg 392

⁷¹ Ibid pg 392

⁷² H.W Schneider, *The Fascist Government of Italy*, pg 118

⁷³ Ibid pg 103

⁷⁴ Ibid pg 103

⁷⁵ A.S. Milward, *Fascism and the Economy*, pg 396

⁷⁶ Ibid pg 393

⁷⁷ Ibid pg 392-395

unemployment from a high of 25% in 1932, that to around 5% in 1936.⁷⁸ German fascism unlike Italian Fascism was unclear in how to combat unemployment and continued the von Schleicher government employment creation program, the 'Reinhardt Plan'.⁷⁹ The 'Reinhardt Plan' was a public infrastructure program which aimed to transform Germany's motorway system, and in the same way as the Italian's, the Nazi Government massively increased spending in public improvement schemes which doubled up as employment programs. Total spending on these programs between 1933, and 1935 was 3,800 million Reichsmarks, which helped bring unemployment down to 5% in 1936.^{80 81} In fascist fashion the Nazi Government under Hitler also strove for Autarky, with net food imports two thirds lower from 1935-38 than they were in 1925-28.⁸² This drive towards becoming self-sufficiency didn't only rely upon reduced food imports, but also upon increased support for farmers; housing on farms became tax exempt and the introduction of the 'Reichsnährstrand', made it easier for farmers to sell their own goods, and make their own money, which saw self-employed farmers earnings increase at three times the rate of weekly wage rates.⁸³ The Nazi government also intended to impose a 'Four year plan' in order to have an element of control over industry, due to the lack of nationalised industry, this plan attempted to control prices and distribution by buying the industrial output first, at a set price.⁸⁴ However, the government also pursued the policy of nationalisation, much like the Italian bail outs, if a company didn't produce as often, or at the volume the Government required, nationalised enterprises were therefore used to boost domestic supply of goods, and make them available at lower prices.⁸⁵ Both German and Italian fascism attempted to mix socialist economic practices; such as price control, public works programs, nationalism, which benefited the people with elements of capitalism, letting the market decide, low welfare, tax breaks, and they were successful, as both achieved their initial aims.

To conclude, Italian and German fascism in practice were similar. The two different strands of fascism were the most similar in economic terms. The two regimes had two very similar economic policies, whilst they both had different goals; Italy to reindustrialise, Germany to reinvigorate the nation and rearm, the policies were both centred around autarky. The two different strands were similar in their silencing of political opposition, having similar approaches to censorship, and both governments had specific ministries set up to deal with the media, and what was deemed appropriate to publish. Furthermore, in other methods of silencing political opposition both strands acted similarly, purging their own parties, bureaucracies, and major vocal opposition members. However, whilst the two strands are ultimately similar there are differences that prevent them from being the same. Italian fascism was revolutionary, with Mussolini forcing himself to power, German fascism failed

⁷⁸ N.H Dimsdale, N. Horsewood, A. van Riel, *Unemployment in Interwar Germany: An Analysis of the Labor Market, 1927-1936* in *The Journal of Economic History* Vol.66 No.3, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006) pg 788

⁷⁹ A.S. Milward, *Fascism and the Economy*, pg 392

⁸⁰ Ibid pg 393

⁸¹ N.H Dimsdale, N. Horsewood, A. van Riel, *Unemployment in Interwar Germany: An Analysis of the Labor Market, 1927-1936* pg 788

⁸² A.S. Milward, *Fascism and the Economy*, pg 393

⁸³ Ibid pg 394-395

⁸⁴ P. Temin, *Soviet and Nazi Economic Planning in the 1930s* in *The Economic History Review* Vol. 44 No.4, (Wiley, London, 1991) pg 576

⁸⁵ Ibid pg 577

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in its attempt to be revolutionary, and instead was a legal political entity that followed a legal route into power. The two strands also were dissimilar in the degree of their violence, whilst the authoritarianism behind the violence acted very similar, the draconian methods that German fascism utilised were not shared by the Italian, with the Röhm purge being unmatched within Italian fascism. Ultimately, the two strands of fascism are similar, and both deserve to be within the same ideology, however, they are different enough in their applications and goals to be considered two different strands of an ideology.

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