

**WHAT ITALY OWES TO  
M U S S O L I N I**

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MUSSOLINI

*W. H. ...*

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# F O R E W O R D

*The purpose of this publication is a limited one: merely to present as complete and up-to-date a picture as possible of the constructive work of Fascism from its advent to power to this day.*

*The compiler of this book has purposely refrained from evincing considerations of a general nature, making only an exposition of positive facts and figures which, in their simplicity are better suited to reveal the depth and extension of the transformation operated by Mussolini in every field of national life.*

*This documentation purports to show the laborious preparation which led Italy to her victory and conquest of Empire; to reveal the method which enabled the Duce to achieve an aim which had always been clear and present in his mind even if, at certain moments, it may have escaped the majority of Italians. It was only on the morrow of a triumph scored in spite of the iniquitous coalition of fifty nations, that many*

*Fascists appraised the iron logic and strict coherence of a policy which, in a truly miraculous manner, never failed to adjust and balance the means to the end.*

*The conquest of the Empire has thrown a vivid light upon the work done in previous years, and upon the miraculous exactitude with which the programme formulated by Mussolini in the memorable discourse of « The Ascension » was carried to completion.*

*As we look back across the years, the historical picture of this achievement acquires the proportions and significance of a masterpiece wrought through sheer will-power. Like all the works of genius it transcends its own original limits and its own methods of procedure. This is probably why, although no one of the aspects of Mussolini's activities has been overlooked in this survey, the picture that results from it is insufficient to reveal the ultimate and deepest reason underlying all that has occurred under Fascist rule.*

*In fact, it would have been impossible, even by the most accurate documentation of the revolution which has changed the face of Italy, to explain the other revolution which has changed her spirit and, even less, to delve into the hidden recesses of the personality of the man who em-*

bodies the genius of our race, interprets our historical needs, gives life and form to the centuries old aspirations of the Italian people.

This man had the heroic courage to bring the Italians face to face with a tragic dilemma: achieve greatness or die. How he ever succeeded in solving the problem according to the first of these two terms, by asking of the people such sacrifices as now appear negligable in the light of the results attained, is a question which no statistical investigation can ever answer. We move here in the inviolate spheres of genius and racial instincts. It is all we can do to invade them by intuition, which often fathoms what reason cannot comprehend.

## FROM FIUME TO THE MARCH ON ROME

*Victory maimed at Versailles - The Adriatic Question - D'Annunzio at Fiume - The Charter of the Carnaro - The Treaty of Rapallo - Bloodshed at Fiume - The « Fighting Bodies » - The Rally at Naples - Mussolini breaks with delays - His first speech as Head of the Government - Unheeded invitations to peace.*

Among European countries which on the morrow of the Great War were drawn into the whirlpool of transformation, Italy was the one to undergo the most substantial change. To define the stages of her amazing economic, social, political and religious metamorphosis does not mean merely to record the salient moments in the constitution of a State exercising an outstanding function in European balance. It means likewise to follow the gradual development of a living collectivity whose well-disciplined capacity for expansion, is a phenomenon rich in practical and ideal consequences.

On June 16th 1919, the peace treaty at Ver-

sailles, followed at short intervals by the minor treaties of St. Germain-en-Laye, Trianon, Sèvres and Neuilly, settled and regulated on the outline of Wilson's political metaphysics, all relations between the victorious Entente and the vanquished Central Empires. There was no record in history of such an imposing diplomatic undertaking as this, by which Europe was actually divided into two separate parties upon one of which fell the burden of control over the other.

Italy maintains to have been defrauded of her legitimate rights and to have seen her most sacred aspirations frustrated at Versailles. Evidence of the ill-will against her may indeed be found in the fact that even her territorial claims on the Upper Adige met with unreasonable opposition. Italy deplors that Fiume and Dalmatia should have been persistently contended and denied her, and with them the area of Longatico, Ternova and Bainsizza, and eastern Istria. Of the German colonies which France, England and the Dominions divided between themselves without control from outside, Italy was not given a square inch. The new history of Italy, in fact, was born of the bitter disappointment suffered at Versailles.

The first reaction to it came with the thorny question of Fiume.

The Secret Treaty of London, concluded in 1915 by Signor Salandra and Baron Sonnino, in an atmosphere of exaggerated and short-sighted secrecy, left two capital problems unsolved, indeed jeopardized two outstanding questions: Fiume had been assigned to Croatia; Dalmatia had been divided between Italy and Serbia by a straight line running geometrically from East to West and reaching the sea North of Cape Planka.

Already prejudiced by the Treaty of London, the Adriatic question was further compromised by the so-called Pact of Rome, when Italian politicians and journalists, claiming that an internal uprising in Austria was necessary to bring about its disintegration, came to an understanding with the Slav populations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in which they recognised Slav claims on the Adriatic. In consequence of this agreement, on the morrow of Vittorio Veneto the Yugoslav flag was hoisted on the Austrian fleet and the Italian troops, upon crossing the old boundaries, were faced with well-organised Yugoslav committees actively at work in many Adriatic cities.

Signor Orlando's idea of bartering Dalmatia for Fiume, ended by Italy losing Dalmatia without receiving Fiume in return. Fiume, incidentally, was occupied by French, English and Italian



troops, but owing to riots between the inhabitants of the city and the interallied forces, the Powers decided to withdraw the Italian contingent.

On August 24, 1919 this contingent, consisting of Grenadier guards, left Fiume under difficulties owing to the opposition of the populace to their departure and upon reaching Ronchi, stationed themselves provisionally in that town, awaiting orders from Rome.

Meanwhile a group of officers who were loathe to abandon Fiume to its fate, aware of a similar spirit in the troops, succeeded in establishing contact with Gabriele d'Annunzio who was in Venice at the time. During a momentous interview with the poet, the line of action in support of Fiume was quickly decided upon.

D'Annunzio was to march on Fiume with a batallion of Grenadiers placed at the orders of Major Reina. In fact on September 11th D'Annunzio appeared among the troops at Ronchi. At dawn on 12 September the batallion moved out of Ronchi with D'Annunzio at their head. Other troops encountered on the way, fired by enthusiasm for the undertaking, joined the grenadiers, and detachments of infantry, shock-troops and artillery, stationed on the outskirts of Fiume, also made common cause with them. A few of the superior officers, torn between discipline and

sentiment, made a fruitless attempt at resistance.

Through the sun-scorched plateau of the Carso, the column reached the coast of Carnaro and finally entered Fiume received by a population delirious with enthusiasm. It was 11 a. m. of September 12th, 1919. The officers in charge of the Allied forces hastily decided to withdraw their troops from the territory which was carried out at dawn on the 14th.

A provisional Government set up at Fiume with D'Annunzio as military chief, assisted by Giovanni Giuriati and Major Reina, commander of the Grenadier batallion which had been the nucleus of the undertaking.

Meanwhile political elections in Italy, on November 16, 1919, had returned to power an amazing number of subversives. The Nitti Government after the failure of the blockade on Fiume, made another attempt by sending General Badoglio to Fiume with proposals which, at first sight, might have appeared acceptable. The Rome Government, among other pledges, undertook to accept no settlement of the question entailing the severance of Fiume from the territory of the Mother-country, and to tolerate no violation or diminution of the independence and sovereignty of the city of Fiume.

D'Annunzio replied to proposals submitted to

him by General Badoglio with counterproposals of his own, but suddenly decided to break off negotiations on the grounds that the guarantees offered by the Rome Government were insufficient.

In August 1920, D'Annunzio planned a new development in the policy of Fiume by proclaiming the Free State of Carnaro. The State was established on September 8, upon which day the Constitution was promulgated under the name of « Charta of the Carnaro. »

The Carnaro Charta is a document of considerable importance. It first declares the freedom of Fiume and the city's unquestionable right to be annexed to Italy. In listing the ordinances of the new State based largely on corporate principles, the Charta upholds and exalts the rights of the producing classes, in other words of organized and disciplined labour.

Property is recognized as the most useful of social functions, life is glorified on condition that it be lived with austerity. The State is defined as the common will and the common effort of the people to attain greater material and spiritual power.

Citizens may become members of any one of the nine Corporations having a legal status before the law; the State is formed of the union of various independent Communes. Legislative power

is held by the elected Council of the « Ottimi » and by the Council of the « Provvisori ». The former, elected by universal suffrage, deals with legal codes, with police, with national defence, education, fine arts, relations between the State and the Communes. The « Provvisori » are elected by the Corporations and deal with the naval code, labour, transport, public works, economic treaties, industries, banks, arts and crafts. Both Councils meet once a year and form the « Arengo del Carnaro ».

Executive power is held by seven « Rettori » (Rectors) appointed by the two Councils jointly. *Primus inter pares*, first among equals, the Rector of Foreign Affairs represents the Regency before other powers and is considered as the First Rector.

The law is administered by various courts, each of which has a definite field of action. The court of the « Buoni Uomini » (1) for minor disputes, Labour Judges for disputes between employers and workers, « Giudici Togati » to deal with civil, commercial and penal cases which are outside the competency of the other Courts. The « Tribunale del Maleficio », or Criminal Court

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(1) D'Annunzio chose Medioeval names for the various offices established by his Constitution, which explains the uncommon appellations of the Courts.

judges minor crimes and the « Tribunale della Ragione » (the Court of Reason) disputes and offences of greater magnitude. Other magistrates deal with education and the defence of the State. Plebiscite is admitted if applied for by a certain number of citizens.

In autumn that year, Giolitti having been returned to power, a conference was held at Rapallo between the delegates of Italy and Yugoslavia, to make a last attempt at settling the Adriatic question according to treaties.

After several fruitless meetings, an agreement was reached known as the Treaty of Rapallo, in consequence of which Fiume was to become an independent State, the whole of Dalmatia being assigned to Yugoslavia with the exception of Zara, the boundary being demarcated even less favourably for Italy than by the armistice.

Once the treaty had been signed, the task before the Italian Government was to get D'Annunzio to accept it. On November 20, General Caviglia, in command of the troops stationed in the Julian Venetia, handed the text of the treaty to the delegates of the Fiume Regency. A long interview with D'Annunzio followed, in the course of which he agreed to accept the note, only meaning by this that he was willing to examine its contents.

Towards the end of November an agreement between the parties still appeared possible. But the actual acceptance of the treaty was not forthcoming, and from the first days of December to Christmas Eve, the blockade on Fiume, ordered by Giolitti's Government, became even more stringent, and was supplemented by occasional action from the warships. Suddenly, in Christmas week military measures were resorted to. The Italian Government ordered Caviglia to force the city to capitulate. The Italian warship fired and in order to avoid bloodshed D'Annunzio surrendered. On January 3rd 1921 he left Fiume for his retreat at Gardone.

In point of fact the Treaty of Rapallo proved impracticable. The Free State of Fiume, intended to act as a buffer state between Italy and Yugoslavia failed to function. Three difficult years ensued until on January 27, 1924 Italy and Yugoslavia accepted a new Treaty, by which the entire city of Fiume and a good share of the neighboring territories were annexed to Italy, while the remainder of the district and a small portion of the port were given over to Yugoslavia.

When, at the outset of 1924, Italy definitely settled the question of Fiume which had absorbed only too much of the country's attention, the

Fascist Régime had been in power for well over a year. Mussolini had led his followers to victory after a struggle of three years against the onrush of subversive forces.

The « Fasci di Combattimento » or Fighting Bodies, has been formed on March 23, 1919. An appeal in the « Popolo d'Italia » — the paper founded by Mussolini, upon leaving the Socialist Party five years before, to support Italy's intervention in the world war — had received the response of about one hundred friends and followers from every part of Italy. They met on March 23rd in a hall in the Piazza San Sepolcro at Milan, to form a united front against the currents which were undermining the country. Italy was then in the hands of a government paralyzed by fear of the subversives, and lacking any programme adequate for the serious needs of the hour.

The name of the movement, the character and the ideals of its leader, pointed out a goal and the road to be followed. In the eyes of its acknowledged chief, Fascism would have to steer clear of party politics, and not be tied to doctrinal premises. It was to have no official creed and what beliefs it upheld would not have to be strictly conformed with. The idea was to mould the movement according to contingent currents of thought, to adjust it to such experience as would

be derived from practical activity, and from the everchanging realities of life.

The movement expounded no definite programme, but rested upon the pillars of its own moral principles: defence of the ideals which had prompted intervention in the war and appreciation of the victory at its full value; strenuous, unrelenting opposition to the corroding forces of Socialism, direct and confident recourse to the working classes and to producers, to the total exclusion of Socialist bureaucracy; subordination of class interests to national realities; intensification of national output and channelling of all activities towards economic self-sufficiency.

In the field of foreign affairs Fascism fought all forms of surrender, denied the utopia of internationalism and disarmament, unless the latter were equal and simultaneous for all nations; supported the revision of peace treaties and claimed a right to colonies. The spirit underlying the Fascist principles was the absolute reverse of that by which the old political system had been guided with its traditional party struggles.

The task undertaken by Fascism was neither simple nor easy. It meant checking the Socialist tide; strengthening the precarious economic structure of the country; fighting governments which had come to power in the post-war period and



above all endowing the people with a new spirit. But the task was fulfilled with determination. This took the movement three long years of struggle, at times fierce and always unrelenting, during which illegal action had to be resorted to and popular opinion solicited.

The last of these actions was the March on Rome, which proved decisive. During the year 1922 Mussolini's power as leader of the Italian nationalist movement had won universal recognition. Everywhere was he known as Il Duce. At certain huge popular gatherings he had made categorical pronouncements on Fascism as a Party, tending to oust all other parties and, once power was secured, to create a new regime, modern and authoritarian, but genuinely democratic. Its aim was to be the general material and spiritual well-being of the people, viewed as a collectivity, all the members of which shared the fate of the nation.

At Naples, at a Fascist rally held between October 24th and 26th, Mussolini clearly set forth the question of securing power, not through a simple change of Government but by initiating a historical and social revolution. Suddenly the Naples gathering was disbanded and on October 27th the Fascists were mobilised. On October 28th Mussolini issued a proclamation from Milan calling

all Fascists to decisive action. The revolutionary forces were placed at the orders of De Bono, De Vecchi, Balbo and Bianchi, who took the ancient Roman name of *Quadrumviri*.

Action, such as it was decided upon at a meeting in Milan on the 16th of October, was to develop in four stages: mobilization and occupation of public buildings; concentration of five armed columns at Santa Marinella, Perugia, Tivoli, Monterotondo and Volturno; ultimatum to the Government, March on Rome, and occupation of the Ministries, or, in the event of failure, retreat to Perugia in preparation for a second attempt.

In the face of those conditions, the *Facta* Cabinet requested the King to proclaim Martial Law, but received a refusal. The Fascist columns marched into Rome without firing a shot and Mussolini, who had been conducting action from Milan, was summoned by the King. He presented himself before the Sovereign in the name of the « Italy of Vittorio Veneto » and assumed power.

## THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STATE

*The speech of January 3rd - The powers of the Prime Minister - The Executive power - The Grand Council of Fascism - Reform of police-laws - Free Masonry and the right to form organized bodies - Electoral reform - Local bodies.*

On November 16, 1922 Mussolini faced the Chamber of Deputies for the first time. The majority feared him and were hostile. It can hardly be said that the new Head of the Government treated the House with benevolence. « I wish to state — he declared with some harshness — that the revolution has its rights. Nevertheless, I have set a limit for my action: I might have changed this grey hall into a camp for my men; I might have barred the doors of Parliament and created a Government with nothing but Fascists. I might have done so, but, for the time being at least, I have not wished to do so. » In spite of the tone of his first pronouncement, throughout the two years which followed, in 1923 and 1924 Mus-

solini's speeches never failed to contain words for peace and agreement with the opposition on the understanding, of course, that accomplished facts would be accepted in full.

When the electoral reform came up for discussion in July 1923, Mussolini did not hesitate to express his views on the participation of Labour: « You know, he said, that I would be glad to have direct representatives of well organised working masses in my government tomorrow. I would like to have them with me, and I would even give them a delicate office, in order to prove to them that the administration of State is a difficult and complicated undertaking, that one cannot improvise, that one cannot make a clean sweep of everything, as certain revolutions have done, because one must inevitably rebuild what has been destroyed. »

This was the time when — in the Duce's view — Parliament and Fascism might have become reconciled. A few months later, however in January 1924 at the Assembly of the Fascist Party, Mussolini declared the impossibility, both ideal and technical, of forming electoral or political alliances with the old parties even those which had supported the Government in the first days of his rule. They were perhaps irreparably severed from Fascism already, nevertheless Mussolini

offered them another opening for conciliation: « Over and above all party politics we shall open our ranks to all men willing to give us their disinterested collaboration, it being always understood that the majority of seats must be held by our Party ».

But an unforeseen event suddenly put an end to all such conciliatory intentions. After the elections of 1924, which had returned a Fascist majority of two thirds of the House, some irresponsible members suppressed the socialist deputy Signor Matteotti. For a time it seemed as if the old fight were about to break out again with increased violence; opposition parties coalesced (with the exception of a fraction of the Liberal party led by Giolitti) and withdrew their representatives from the House. This was afterwards described as the « secession of the Aventine ».

Mussolini intervened in person to quell the upheaval, with the memorable speech of January 3rd 1925, which marked a decisive phase in the evolution of the Regime. The Head of the Government took upon himself the entire responsibility of the revolutionary movement which had agitated the country from the time of Italy's intervention in the world war, and solemnly pledged himself to severely punish the offenders but refused to admit that the entire Regime should be charg-

ed with the crime. The last hope of collaboration with other parties was thus shattered forever, and power was centred automatically in the hands of the Fascist Regime.

Shortly afterwards the constitutional reform of the State was initiated with the following fundamental laws which, although somewhat varied in substance are bound by a common ideal: namely to enhance and strengthen the sovereignty of the State. On June 24, 1925 a law was passed on the Powers of the Head of the Government, Prime Minister, Secretary of State, next that of January 31st 1926, on the faculty of the Executive Power to establish juridical rules and that of December 9, 1928 on the Grand Council of Fascism.

The first of these laws, dealing with the powers of the Prime Minister, cut the old gordian knot of the subjection of executive power to legislative power, the salient feature of liberal and democratic systems. Old principles were overthrown by decreeing that henceforth the Prime Minister was directly responsible to the Crown, the executive power thus being placed in the very centre of the State.

In accordance with the original Constitution of Italy the law decrees that the King exerts the executive power through his Government; that the Government is composed of the Prime Minister

and of Cabinet Ministers; that the Prime Minister is the Head of the Government, and, like the Ministers, is responsible to the King, but that the Ministers, acting under his guidance, are also responsible to the Head of the Government.

In other words the Prime Minister is the Chief of the Ministers and not, as before, *primus inter pares*, first among equals. Such an office can hardly be described as chancellorship, neither can it be called Presidency of the Council of Ministers according to Parliamentary traditions. The Chancellor of the German Empire, for instance, was a Secretary of a State who governed the country directly, whereas the President of the Council of Ministers in the French Republic, to quote another example, is merely the representative of a parliamentary majority receiving formal investiture from the Chief of the State (President of the Republic).

This is a new and entirely Italian conception, as far removed from the accepted parliamentary system as it is from a purely constitutional regime.

The second reform, dealing with the faculty of the executive power to establish laws, strengthens the executive power, by giving constitutional rules to law-making, as against liberal and democratic methods which either limit the power or

allow it to develop as a side issue of the Constitution.

The third law — on the Grand Council of Fascism — actually created a new constitutional organ, to which many delicate advisory and deliberative duties were entrusted.

Art. 1. of the law describes the Grand Council as a « supreme organ co-ordinating all the activities of the Regime which rose out of the revolution of October 1922. » The Grand Council embodies all the organising forces of the country, from Government to Parliament, from Militia to Party, from syndicates to corporations and other major Fascist institutions. Thus, while the person of the King Supreme Chief of the Nation, embodies the individual elements of power in the State, the Grand Council comprises representatives of the various collective organisations existing within the State.

The Grand Council holds a special place among the fundamental organs of State. Supreme advisor of the Crown, it does not impinge upon the rights and prerogatives of the latter which have remained unchanged; as ordinary advisor of the Government it fulfills the twofold task of « acting both as intermediary between the Government and other forces operating within the country and as ordinary advisor on political



matters. « The Grand Council ranks, not above, but alongside the Government, in order to collaborate with, and enlighten, the latter on all questions of national import. » The advice and cooperation of the Grand Council is not binding on the Government which is empowered to take final decisions and assume all political responsibility thereof.

The Grand Council therefore is in no way a duplicate of the Cabinet, which continues to be the collective organ of the Government having its own powers and qualifications. Legislative powers remain with Parliament, with which the Grand Council is in no way connected, since its participation in legislative functions is merely advisory. On the other hand the opinion of the Grand Council carries weight in certain questions such as the right to declare war or to make peace, which are the exclusive domain of the Crown.

The reform of the Police Law is also of outstanding importance. The old law of 1888, loyal to liberal traditions, viewed police activity as an added limitation of individual rights, over and above such rules as had always existed in the Kingdom. In the Fascist conception the State holds primary rights and the activity of the police is therefore viewed not as a general negative limitation of individual freedom, but as a ne-

cessary limitation of certain private rights in circumstances in which the higher interest of the collectivity are involved. In harmony with these principles and on the assumption that the State is empowered to intervene in every field of national life when public interests are directly concerned, the new law in question places under police supervision all such activities as had been freely left to individual initiative or submitted only to mild police regulations. New rules on public morals and customs for instance are extremely severe.

The right of the people to set up associations has likewise been reformed, in view of safeguarding the State. The Law on Associations — embodied in articles 214 and 218 of the New Police Law — is vested with great political and moral significance. The police are empowered to request the production of membership lists of all associations existing in Italy and may punish all persons who refuse to obey such summons or awaredly furnish incorrect information. Civil servants and persons employed in local administrations, may not belong to associations which are « even partially secret or whose members are pledged to secrecy ». Free Masonry was suppressed in virtue of this law.

The reform of the Press Law (December 31,

1925) abolishes the post of « gerente responsabile » a mere figure-head responsible for the contents of the publication in the eyes of the law. Every periodical or daily publication is now issued under the direct responsibility of the editor with no preventive censorship. If the editor be a senator or a member of Parliament, responsibility falls on one of the principal members of the editorial staff. Another provision which guarantees the dignity and standard of the press is the institution of an official panel of qualified professional journalists, recognised by the law.

The Electoral Reform (September 2, 1928) is in itself the negation of all liberal and democratic conceptions of Parliament. Fascist doctrine denies the dogma of popular sovereignty while proclaiming that of the sovereignty of the State. Under Fascist rule, Parliament is an organ of State and its members, in consequence, are likewise organs of State. As such they must be selected by a rational and organic system. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by all the organised bodies of the country, since it is required to represent the needs and opinions of these various bodies and to merge them with the traditional contingent necessities of national life.

Candidates are selected by the National Confederations of Syndicates which submit a list

double in number to that actually required for Parliament. All bodies having a legal status and all associations having national importance in the field of culture, education, welfare and propaganda are likewise qualified to propose candidates for the general list.

The last-named associations may propose a number of candidates equal to one half the membership of Parliament. When all the lists have been drawn up the secretarial offices of the Grand Council merge them into a single list in alphabetical order, each candidate being followed by the name of the proposing body. The Grand Council in turn, draw up the final list of 400 candidates by selecting them freely from this general list and, if necessary, by adding others of outstanding merit.

Elections take place the third Sunday following the publication of the final list in the Official Gazette, polling cards bear the insignia of the Lictor's Fasces with the following formula: « Do you approve of the list of members designated by the Grand Council of Fascism? » The vote is expressed by placing the word « yes » or « no » beneath the query. There is a single constituency which is national. If half the valid votes plus one are favourable to the list, the Court of Appeal at Rome declares the list approved. If half the

votes plus one are unfavourable the Court of Appeal declares the List rejected. Equality of votes stands for approval.

When the list is rejected, the Court of Appeal at Rome decrees a second election with competing lists and fixes the date for polling. All associations and organizations throughout the country are empowered to draw up lists of their own, providing their membership be at least five thousand, all having a right to vote. Such lists may not represent more than three fourths of the total membership of Parliament. All candidates on the list which receives the majority of votes are elected, places reserved to minorities being divided among other lists in proportion to the number of votes received by each.

Local Administrations have been reformed on the principle of the Electoral reform in order to create harmony between local and state administration, and prevent such dispersion of power as inevitably leads to the disintegration of the State.

The general structure of the municipal administration has remained unchanged but Municipal elections have been suppressed, officials being appointed directly by the Government (Law of February 4, 1926). The « Podestà » who has superseded the Mayor is appointed by the King and holds office for five years. He holds the joint

powers of the Mayor and of the Town Council. In Municipalities having a population of under 20.000 the Prefect of the Province may at his judgement, appoint a Municipal Advisory Board, to assist the « Podestà », but in Municipalities where population exceeds 20.000 the appointment of such a Board is compulsory. Its members are selected from panels drawn up by local syndicates and associations having a legal status. When the population exceeds 10.000 such advisors are appointed by the Ministry for the Interior.

## SYNDICATES, CORPORATIONS AND THE LABOUR CHARTER

*Social problems viewed as problems of production - Legal syndicates - The Law of April 3rd 1926 - The Labour Charter - Private enterprise - Corporations - Cycles of production - The National Council of Corporations - Labour not tradeable wares.*

Social problems are viewed by Fascism not merely as a question of the redistribution of wealth, but as a far-reaching problem of production. Cooperation between classes has replaced class-struggle, the agnosticism of the Liberal state in the face of economic and social conflicts has been superseded by a chain of well-harmonized institutions (syndicates, federations, confederations, corporations) in which the principle of State supremacy is completed by that of perfect equality between Capital and Labour, acting on the same legal, political and economic plane.

The syndical movement has been accepted and supported rather than ignored by Fascism. Collective labour contracts have been regulated

by the law of April 3rd 1926, dealing with the legal recognition of syndicates and establishing Courts especially for the hearing of labour disputes.

In order to secure legal status and official recognition from the Government, each syndicate of employers or workers is required to possess a certain number of regular members through whom the syndicate may perform educational and welfare work, besides pursuing its obvious economic ends. Each syndicate shall offer guarantees of technical ability, high moral standards and national loyalty on the part of members, but once legal recognition has been secured the syndicate is empowered to represent all the employers or workers of the category which it purports to cover, and not merely those who are affiliated members of it. In virtue of this principle, collective labour contracts stipulated by legally recognized syndicates are binding on all employers of labour engaged in the same occupation, every employer or worker being compelled to pay a small fee to the syndicate, even if he is not an inscribed member. Syndicates are grouped into Federations, and these in turn into Confederations, according to the branch of work they cover.

Disputes between Capital and Labour are laid before a special section of the Courts of Appeal,



known as *Labour Courts* having a bench of five Judges representing employers and workers assisted by experts chosen from a panel drawn up by the syndicates. None of the persons sitting in judgement must be connected in any way with the case to be heard. Parties to the case need not provide for their defence before the Courts, since disputes are settled according to established labour regulations, evidence and data having been supplied to the judges by the syndicates involved in the case. Strikes and lock-outs are against the law, and may not be resorted to as a means of settlement of controversies between employers and workers.

Fascist legislation on labour, however, does not end with the Syndical law, for another document of equal importance was promulgated in 1927, establishing the rights and the duties falling to every citizen who contributes to national progress through his work, be it manual, intellectual or technical. This is the Labour Charter, the Constitution of Labour in the fullest sense of the term, and not a legislative act. Provisions for the improvement of labour suggested in the Labour Charter, are gradually materialized and put into action by the drawing up and enforcement of adequate laws on the part of the Government. Certain principles expounded in the Charter,

which do not require to take tangible form through legislative measures, are reverted to by magistrates in the Labour Courts as a guidance in cases in which the interpretation of labour laws is left to the discretion of judges.

The Labour Charter, like the Syndical Law of April 3rd 1926, stresses the Fascist concept that class struggle must be replaced by class cooperation, and that the establishment of Labour Courts while guaranteeing impartial settlement of all disputes between employers and workers, renders the individual defence of the parties unnecessary. It is obvious that the suppression of the long-established system by which every party to a case shall provide for its defence, called for the building up of new principles by which judges would be guided in returning verdicts, a principle, in other words, rising over and above the interests of both Capital and Labour.

Such a principle is set forth in Clause 1. of the Labour Charter in the following terms: « The Italian Nation is a body having ends, life and means of action greater in power and duration than those of the individuals by which it is composed, be they taken separately or collectively. It is a moral, political and economic unit embodied by the Fascist State ».

The Fascist Regime has bestowed a unitary

character upon production, the different aspects of which are consequently governed by unitary methods under the supreme control of the State. By this system, however, private enterprise has lost none of its freedom of scope or action, for as the Labour Charter declares, « the Corporate State considers private enterprise the most adequate form of activity for the development and improvement of production in the interest of the country as a whole. But the fact that national interests are always involved in production, causes private enterprise, though enjoying total freedom of action, to be responsible to the State for its activity.

In view of the fact that no restriction is imposed on their activity, professional associations of employers or workers are empowered, in fact requested, to promote the development and improvement of production by every means in their power. State intervention in the field of economic activity, may only occur when private enterprise is lacking or inadequate, or when the political interests of the nation are at stake. State intervention may take the form of control, support or direct management, according to circumstances.

What are the Fascist Corporations, one may ask? They are special bodies (contemplated in Art. 3 of the Syndical Law of April 3rd, 1926)

which « bring together all syndical organisations cooperating in a given branch of production, be they formed by employers or workers, be they intellectual, or manual ». Art. 43 of the By-laws on syndical organisation, decrees that « Corporations shall have no legal status, being only organs of State Administration. Their duties and powers are restricted to the field outlined in the decree by which each corporation is established ».

Diferences between syndicates and corporations are evident: the former have legal status as a body, and officially represent employers of workers before the law, whereas the latter are State organisations representing all the factors involved in a given branch of production, employers and workers alike. Corporations do not voice the particular intrests of any one category of employers or workes, their task being to coordinate the activity o all such categories as they embody, in the inteeest of national requirements.

After an exhaustive discussion on the policy to be followd in setting up Corporations, twenty-two such bodies were formed on the strength of a law issued on February 5th, 1934. Two had been the outtanding theories under discussion: one advocatedestablishing a Corporation for each category of occupation, and the other a Corporation for each ocle or branch of production. In

other words, discussion centred on the advantages and practical utility of bringing together all the employers and workers engaged in the same occupation, or all the employers and workers engaged in the various activities necessary to the output of a given product. The term product is used to signify all the processes entailed by each branch of production.

Let us take the silk industry, for instance: silk worms are a product, cocoons are the second phase of the productive process, silk thread is a third, silk textiles a fourth, the actual selling of silk materials a fifth, and so forth. Had corporations been formed to cover individual categories of employers and workers, silk industry would have required the constitution of at least three separate corporations: one for persons connected with the agricultural aspect of silk production, (breeding of worms), another for persons engaged in the industrial processing of silk, (throwing, reeling, weaving, etc.), and a third to include persons engaged in placing the finished product on the market. However, each corporation covering, as it does one entire cycle of production, the silk industry is embodied in a single corporation which brings together all persons in any way connected with the many stages of silk making, from the breeding of worms to the sale of silk materials. Interests and

requirements of the various syndicates of employers and workers involved in the silk-industry, be they engaged in the agricultural industrial or commercial aspect of the process, are viewed by the corporation in the light of the general interests of the cycle to which they belong.

Corporations are empowered to issue By laws to regulate economic relations between the various factors engaged in their cycle, in order to achieve a unitary system of production for that cycle. Such rules are planned by persons engaged in the various phases of the cycle, who are naturally the most suited to set forth general requirements and make provisions by which to meet them. In other words, Corporations represent the self-discipline of production. Particular class-interests are regulated for the sake of general interests by representatives of the Fascist Party appointed to each Corporation.

Corporations, as a body, take no initiative but act merely upon the suggestion and advice of any Department of State Administration or of any of the professional associations which they embody.

A query now arises: if each Corporation represents the interests of a given cycle of production and regulates the latter on unitary methods, how is unitary discipline achieved for the

entire field of national activity? The answer is a simple one: the National Council of Corporations being a selection of representatives of all corporations, is entrusted with the task of co-ordinating the activity of all cycles of production according to a national policy and system.

The National Council of Corporations bears no comparison to Parliament, and should not be viewed as an Economic Chamber of Deputies. Its powers are purely advisory and technical; it may not act by its own initiative, all advice being offered at the request of the Chief of Government, of State Departments, of professional associations. Parliament, on the other hand is a political body whose powers (virtually unlimited) are derived from the Constitution of the Kingdom. The National Council of Corporations is a body established by a legislation which may likewise suppress or transform it, whereas Parliament may only be transformed by a Parliamentary Act or by a revolution.

This is the legal framework provided for labour by the Fascist Regime, but it is obvious that such a system could only be enacted by taking an entirely new view of the actual meaning of Labour. Fascism views Labour as a duty outstanding among national duties.

Citizen means labourer in the highest sense

of the term. Syndical representation is not provided for citizens who do not work in some form and the Corporate State ignores idle income.

Such a principle naturally suppresses the old conception of work as « wares for sale ». Work is something supremely noble and it is only through his work that the citizen may set forth his claims. « We have always rejected the theory of economic man, says Mussolini in one of his speeches, and we have taken offence any time that work has been described as wares to be traded ».



## MONEY, LAND RECLAMATION, BREAD

*The lira heading towards disaster - Mussolini's speech at Pesaro - Protection of savings and of labour - Fundamental land-reclamation - Redeemed lands and capital employed - Comparisons with the old regime - Substitution of private property owners - Land recovery - Littoria, Sabaudia, Pontinia - The wheat campaign - The total average production - A yearly deficit of three billion lire suppressed.*

It would have been impossible to carry out this vast plan of reforms without a monetary policy capable of ensuring the stability of the general economy of the country. This was the object of the stabilisation of the lira announced by Mussolini in his speech at Pesaro (Aug. 18, 1926): « I wish to tell you that we shall carry on with the most strenuous decision the economic battle in defence of the lira, and from the piazza of this city I proclaim to the whole civil world that I shall defend the lira with my last breath, with my heart's blood. I shall never inflict on this splendid Italian people, which for the last four

years has been working like a hero and suffering like a saint, the moral humiliation of an economic catastrophe, namely of the fall of the lira ».

Italy's financial situation at that time was truly alarming. The lira had reached the 150 rate of exchange in respect of the pound sterling, and there was no sign of an improvement; rather matters became daily worse owing to reckless speculation which would have irremediably led to the destruction of the lira. In the months following Mussolini's Pesaro speech, the exchange dropped from a maximum of lire 150,18 per pound sterling to a minimum of 84. On December 21, 1927 the compulsory circulation of paper money, or « corso forzoso » was abolished and the gold standard resumed, equal to lire 92,46 paper notes per pound sterling and to lire 19 paper notes per dollar, the gold lira being worth 3,66.

It was remarked at the time that from a purely economic and financial standpoint it would have been more convenient to stabilise the lira at 120; but it must be held in mind that Mussolini did not merely aim at an economic and financial result, but at one of the highest social value. He desired above all to protect national savings, the savings of the middle classes, of the small working bourgeoisie which forms the backbone of the Italian people. It as also his

intention to protect working-men's salaries, to determine a rapid selection of Italian industries, a large proportion of which lived almost entirely on protection and inflation; to cut the ground from under greedy speculators. From a political point of view, the stabilisation of the lira smashed that plutocratic-workingmen's block which meant the immoral privilege of a parasitical minority to the detriment of the State and of the collectivity. The stabilisation of the lira had a strenuous defender in the greatest of living Italian economists, who in a magnificent speech pronounced at the Senate on the 8th of June 1927, placed in its full light the highly democratic character of the reform.

A commonplace of the old régime was that the reclaiming of uncultivated marshy lands was not economically profitable. Fascism has reacted against this prejudice, proving that land reclamation, (quite apart from its demographic and social value), is also a useful investment of capital because it not only emancipates the country from foreign dependence but it gives rise to new and permanent wealth. Fascism has conceived integral land reclamation. It has established the principle that it is not sufficient to dry up stagnating waters: after having dried the marsh, it is necessary to start on an energetic agrarian campaign having

a well defined object: the intense cultivation of the soil.

The old régimes concentrated all, or nearly all their activity on works of hydraulic systematization, which for Fascism are merely a premise towards the integral redemption of the soil. The cost of such works is covered by the State and by private concerns. The State contributes from 75 to 93 per cent, according to cases. The works of agrarian transformation, on the other hand, are sustained almost exclusively by private concerns, the State contributing in a minor measure, from 33 to 38 per cent towards the total outlay.

After having fixed these general lines, let us see what had been done before the advent of Fascism and what has been done since. During the period from 1870 to 1922 the State carried out works on a total extension of 1.390.981 hectares. During the first eleven years of Fascist Régime work was done on an area of 4.275.611 hectares.

As regards the capital employed, the following figures are available. From 1870 to 1922 reclamation works had been carried out for the sum of 170.500.000, while during the first eleven years of Fascist Régime a sum of 3.527.800.000 was spent for the same purpose. And if we add the expense of mountain works in connection with the land reclaiming scheme —

respectively 62.221.332 and 300.900.000 lire in the two periods, it will be seen that the work carried out under Fascist Rule in eleven years is almost double that achieved by the State in over fifty years since the unification of the Kingdom.

What was the area which awaited agricultural transformation in 1934? One million 200.000 hectares; an imposing figure. But the work proceeded with a slackness greatly contrasting with the former energetic action of the State. What was the reason? Because private owners were not in possession of the necessary capital to carry out such important and extensive work. In the face of this situation what was the Régime to do? Expropriate the lands and farms for the benefit of the State? It would not have been acting according to justice, because hindrances to the work of agricultural transformation were not the result of negligence or of ill will, but merely of « force majeure ».

The Régime faced the problem openly, in Fascist style. It has put itself in the farmer's place, through land-reclamation Unions. In other words, land-owners turn over their property to these Unions, which after having paid the proper indemnity and after having removed all mortgages etc., carry out the works required by

the reclamation scheme, build farmhouses with stables and every thing else necessary and then sell the various farms. The buyers are naturally peasants who gradually form a new class of small holders.

The financial machinery of this colossal operation is rapid and simple. The Unions (« Consorzi ») finance the agricultural works with the guarantee of the State. But, as a counter-guarantee, the State orders the Unions to place mortgages on the lands bought or expropriated, in favour of the Treasury.

Another most important problem remained to be solved. On what basis should the owners be indemnified for the sale of their property? The decision arrived at was the following. The price of sale was determined by the capitalisation of the net profit. The degree of capitalisation would be established year by year by Royal Decree, and should be such that the investment of the indemnity in Government shares guarantees to the proprietor an income equal to that held as the basis of capitalisation, namely an income equal to that which he derived by the direct capitalisation of his land.

This imposing land-reclamation scheme has for its object the redemption of the Roman Campagna, a problem which neither the Roman

Emperors nor the Popes had succeeded in solving. We learn what the Roman Campagna was like before the advent of Fascism through the pages of a great writer, Alfredo Oriani, who traces an unforgettable picture of that unhappy region:

« A most lugubrious spectacle. Wherever I turned, I saw nothing but bare fields, undulating and seemingly endless; at long intervals, clumps of guant and gnarled oak-trees rose up like the survivors of some great catastrophe spared by the genius of destruction as a refuge for ravens and crows.

« In slimy pools, on the borders of sinuous marshes, willow-trees and tall canes swayed and murmured but their voice was imperceptible because of passing trains. It would have been interesting to listen to their mournful tales of entire families wiped out by the lurking malaria, or of tragedies among rival noblemen when this marshy waste was still inhabited and witnessed the loves and crimes of men. Vast expanses were enclosed by railings, which looked like snakes swallowing their prey. Here and there enormous haystacks, like islands emerging from a brown and wavy ocean; tiny shepherds'huts and sprawling sheds the home and refuge of cattle, when thunder grumbles overhead.

Far away on the horizon, a brown line. It is a waterless aqueduct, an imposing record of past greatness, crumbling under the weight of centuries or worse still under the negligence of man. »

This page, written fifty years ago, remained a faithful description of the Pontine Marshes till the year of the Fascist Régime, in which the Duce founded the province of Littoria, and after Littoria the towns of Sabaudia and Pontinia. And Aprilia and Pomezia are already rising, like a dream, from what was once a malarial swamp.

Strictly connected with the Land Reclamation Scheme is the Wheat Campaign, started by Mussolini in 1925. Without increasing the surface of wheat-producing land, Italy has achieved self-sufficiency. This result has been attained by increasing the average production per hectare. From 50-55 million quintals of wheat in preceding years, 71 million quintals were reached in 1932; 81 in 1933; 63 (bad year), in 1934. The average production varies between 12 and 15 quintals per hectare. In some regions a medium yield of from 35 to 40 per hectare is obtained. Grain imports, which, in the past, weighed on Italy's commercial balance to the extent of two and even three billion lire had actually been reduced to 30 millions in 1935.



## L I F E   O R   D E A T H ?

*The speech on Ascension Day - Against sophism - From old age to death - The example of Rome - The Middle Ages, the French Revolution, Napoleon - Strength in numbers - The spiritual aspect of the demographic policy - Life or Death? - Maternity and Child Welfare - Millions of mothers and children assisted - Decline in infant mortality.*

The demographic policy of the Regime as formulated by Mussolini in his celebrated speech on Ascension Day, 26 May, 1927, is in harmony with the Land Reclamation scheme and the Wheat Campaign. It is in accord with a moral conception of life and with the national vision of strength. The regime is inflexible in its campaign against malthusianism, hence its motto is: « maximum birthrate, minimum deathrate ». It is useless therefore to maintain that a decline in births may be balanced by a decrease in mortality. It is a sophism. Births and deaths decline together and cause a deep change in the composition of the population. The percentage of old people increases and the percentage of children and

young people diminishes; the population does not decrease, it grows old.

It is not possible, however, to reduce the mortality rate to nothing: the average length of human life may be extended, but only to a certain point. On the other hand, the birthrate may actually decline until it reaches zero. We therefore have two variables, one of which has a determined limit and an other which may annual itself. At a certain point the birthrate may decrease, whereas a decline in the death rate cannot compensate for the decline in births. From that moment the population does not only grow old; it diminishes. What matters are not the figures showing an increase of population, it is the effective increase.

It may be wondered it the demographic policy is effective and if it attains the desired results. It is not easy to answer, but this policy is a duty which is enough to justify it. On the other hand if it be true, as it unfortunately is, that the campaign for birth-control, exploiting many baser human instincts, is successful, it is difficult to see why an equally efficacious propaganda to the contrary cannot succeed when it is soundly based and aims at restoring moral forces and equilibrium in life.

The fact remains that no statesman at any

time has entirely overlooked this problem and this proves, beyond the doubt, a constant appreciation of life.

The Greek world which was one of individual liberty and artistic creation, lacked the sense of the eternity of the race which is typical of Rome, the birthplace of the State. Yet in Greece, procreation was stimulated and hedonism checked by religion which encouraged the birth of male children to carry on the cult of the dead without which the soul was lost in the depths of Hades.

Rome, by its conception of things eternal, was aware of the greatness of the problem, and reacted violently against loose morals, the discredit into which marriage fell and the increasing depopulation which menaced the Empire. Julius Caesar himself was alive to the danger and proposed a law, but it was Augustus who promoted legislation to increase the birth-rate. Fathers of large families enjoyed special privileges and exemption from taxes, while mothers of at least three children were raised to the status of the Vestal Virgins.

In spite of Tacitus opinion to the contrary this policy was anything but vain. The « Julian » law punished adultery and the " Papia Poppæa " opened the campaign against the greatest danger

that can menace a State. Fathers of three children were given State land; bachelors could not inherit from persons outside the family and married couples without children could not inherit more than half of an estate. Inheritance from husband or wife was total when there were children, without them it was limited to one tenth of the estate.

In the Middle Ages, under the influence of the Church and of barbarian invasions, the problem of the population did not arise. Children were considered a gift from God. On the eve of the French Revolution the Enciclopædists attempted to examine the question of population. In a few brilliant pages Voltaire refuted the Malthus theory even before that gloomy Protestant priest wrote his monstrous work, while Rousseau, who probed all the problems of the human soul, affirmed that the greatest difficulty confronting any State was that of shortage of man power.

It was only during the Terror that certain assassins such as Collot d'Herbois, advocated the depopulation of France on the pretext of assuring general well-being, but actually to feed the *guillotine*. But the spirit of the Revolution, in its fanatical worship of nature, reacted against this insanity and, while death ravaged the land, ceremonies were held to pray for fecundity and life.

The genius of Napoleon grasped the problem of depopulation and of demography and provided protection for mothers and children by restoring the legal code relative to the family. Infant mortality, which according to Taine assumed dangerous proportions during the Jacobin anarchy, was immediately checked. The Emperor detested celibacy and insisted that his Generals and officials should marry and have children and provided them with wives saying « I order you to love: love one another »!

The demographic question does not exist for a statesman who is interested solely in the present and in what is convenient at the moment. He is the victim of the narrow sophism which says « There are too many of us » and permits a « cradle strike ». But such an attitude is inconceivable in anyone who thinks of the future.

Numbers increase the potential vitality of a people and sharpen the national conscience; quantity is resolved in quality. That which does not increase diminishes, that which does not progress retrogrades and that which does not rise falls. Immobility is impossible as it is impossible to compel others to paralysis. A people which is dying may resist the invasion of new barbarians, but its fate is sealed. Superiority in technique and organisation have proved to be inad-

equate and vain in the long run, as they cannot compensate for those imponderable things which make history, such as a collective conscience, a national spirit, faith, will and soul. In his speech on Ascension Day il Duce said: « Gentlemen, Italy, in order to count for something, must cross the threshold of the second half of this century with a population of not less than 60 million souls »!

Though science never succeeds in indicating exactly the extreme point of the parabola of a people, the statesman must act. The reason for a policy lies solely in the extent of its struggle against decadence in life. On the day in which it became certain that a people was condemned to die out, without remedy, what statesman could regulate his actions on the basis of the death code?

Only a superficial observer could imagine that the demographic policy — the highest conceivable policy — consists in a series of suggestions and encouragements *ad personam*. It is a very different thing and means changing the mentality, and creating such spiritual conditions as make life so distorted that it becomes the negation of life. All creative acts are instinctive since they have their origin in a sentiment. It is necessary to instill certain ideas until they

become mental habits, principles which are unquestionable, common and current morality. I refuse to believe that the Italian people, of this Fascist era, confronted with the choice between life and death, will chose the latter way and that between youth which renews like the recurring spring and old age which fades into the darkness of winter, they will chose the last of these alternatives and, in a few decades, will present the infinitely tragic spectacle, even in imagination, of an aged Italy, an Italy without Italians, in other words, a dying Nation ».

This doctrine was immediately followed by action. The « Maternity and Child Welfare Foundation » was instituted by the Duce with the Law of 10 December, 1925. Its purpose is to assist the working woman (and all women deprived of means and resources) from the beginning of her pergnancy. Her health and nourishment are provided for, and she is sont to maternity hospitals free of charge, for her confinement. The pregnant woman is cared for so that the child may become strong and healty and later the child itself is educated, fed and cared for.

It is not possible to estimate adequately the benefits derived from the Maternity and Child Welfare organisation in increasing the population, in improving the conditions of infant life

and, in general, in strengthening the race. These benefits exceed anything that may be gathered from a bare statement of figures, though some data showing exist the vast extent of the moral results. If the average infant mortality is considered, with deaths in child-birth and children lost through neglect, it will be seen that in any year preceding the founding of this great institution, there were annually about 48.000 stillborn babies; 3.000 woman died during pregnancy and childbirth or from puerperal diseases; about 2.000.000 children up to the age of 4 years died from neglect or lack of proper attention; 30.000 were abandoned completely and 18.000 were so badly neglected as to end in reformatories.

Fascism has entirely reversed this situation. From 1926 to this day, the O.N.M.I. has given direct assistance in every way to about seven and a half million mothers and children at a cost of over one milliard lire. In the three years 1922-25 c. 4.3 per cent of the babies born were stillborn. In the three years 1932-35 only 3.4 per cent were born dead. In 1925 the number of stillborn babies was 48.117; in 1935, 33.800.

The work carried out by the O.N.M.I. in 1935 bears witness to its activity. Material assistance was given to 1.603.191 pregnant woman, nur-



sing mothers, babies, children and adolescents up to 18 years of age, compared to 1.096.567 in the preceding year. In addition, medical attention was given in obstetric and pediatric consulting rooms to 743.463 pregnant woman, mothers and babies up to 3 years old, compared to 520.914 in the preceding year. In the same year, 1935, material assistance was given to 168.021 pregnant women, 22.351 nursing mothers, 4.751 babies born of tubercular mothers 673.304 children under 3 years of age, 459.528 from 3 to 6 years old, 69.606 from 6 to 14 years old, and 5.630 adolescents from 14 to 16 years of age. Forty two percent of this assistance was given to babies under 3 years old; 13.87% to nursing mothers; 10.48% to pregnant women; 28.66% to children from 3 to 6 years old; 4.34% to children from 6 to 14; 0.35% to adolescents and 0.30% to babies born of tubercular parents.

The activity of the Regime in this field is untiring. In July, 1936, compulsory maternity insurance, already in force for women workers in trade and industry, was extended to all agricultural workers from 15 to 50 years of age. Through this measure the National Fascist Institute for Social Insurance, which is in charge of the special administration of insurance, will pay 100 li-

re to every insured woman at childbirth plus supplementary medical and health assistance.

The insurance funds are provided for by an annual contribution of 5 lire per head from employers and 2 lire from employees, completed by a contribution from the State. It is estimated that more than 600 thousand rural workers will come under this new new insurance scheme and assistance will be given to about 60 thousand women in childbirth per annum.

It is by enacting this programme of national work that Fascism intends the motherland to become, not a *res patrum*, but the prized property of all her children.

## S O C I A L   L E G I S L A T I O N

*The eight hour day - Compulsory insurance against accidents - The anti-tuberculosis campaign - Rapid decrease in mortality - Social prophylaxis - Unemployment and its cures - Family allowances - Old age and disablement pensions - The Italian workman's wages - The Dopolavoro - The Car of Thespis - Sport and the people.*

Social legislation under the Fascist Regime is probably the most extensive and fundamental that the world has ever seen. It has as many sides as are the requirements of collective labour. In less than 15 years, the Regime has accomplished the task that should be required of any government acting for the masses, which is to safeguard workers against all risks and to supervise labour throughout the whole cycle of its development.

Attention should first be drawn to the humanitarian aspect of Fascist social legislation. This consists chiefly in the definite purpose to keep labour within physiological limits. In other words, it is required that the quantity of energy expend-

ed in daily labour should be subordinated to two conditions Firstly that it should be proportional to the age of the worker and secondly that it should be regularly combined with the proper alimentation and hours of rest. It may be said, in general, that this objective has been reached, particularly in respect of industrial labour. The provisions for working hours, weekly leisure hours and holidays have had a collective and super-individual purpose and are inspired by the principle of safeguarding not only the individual worker, but also the whole race. The basis of this principle is that it is necessary to guarantee a margin of leisure which should be devoted, not only to repose, but also to improving general education and vocational ability.

It is on this principle that Italy has established a maximum normal working day of 8 hours for workmen and employees and revoked all legislation to the contrary (Royal Decree Law of 15 May, 1923). At the same time night labour in factories, industrial establishments and allied enterprises is forbidden for women of any age and for boys under 18 years of age, and, by the Regulations of April 14, 1927, strict measures were taken to ensure hygienic conditions of labour in commercial enterprises, industry and agriculture.

From the technical and specific aspect of social insurance and thrift Fascist legislation has an essentially practical basis.

It is presupposed that social assistance and insurance constitute one of the permanent policies of the State and, therefore, it is inadmissible that insurance against accidents should be included in the ordinary insurance business and administered by private companies for profit.

Fascism has completely reversed the traditional conception of compensation, considered solely as reparation for individual damage. According to the Fascist concept compensation is one of the most important aspects of the entire restorative project for the labour unit included in the great framework of national producing power.

Fascism has also left its mark on compulsory insurance against occupational diseases. It has closed a sterile discussion of thirty years standing and has definitely recognised the substantial identity of a localized injury (accident) and an injury spread over time (occupational diseases). It has also admitted the need for compensation for slow wear and tear due, like instantaneous injury, to injurious influences particular to the cycle of production.

With the Law of 1915 compensation was limited to certain categories of workers. During

the European war it was extended to workers employed in the so-called auxiliary establishments. A Decree Law of 21 April, 1919, made compensation general and compulsory, but it was the Fascist Decree of 13 December, 1923, which definitely sanctioned it and gave it a proper organisation. The funds were raised by the Regime, through considerable State contributions amounting to a total of 400 million lire from 1923 until today.

The administration of this insurance was put in the hands of the National Fascist Institute for Occupational Accidents. The system of capitalisation adopted resulted in the accumulation of imposing reserves. The reserves invested alone may be estimated at not less than 3 ½ milliards of lire. A considerable part of this reserve is employed in public utility investments, such as, railways construction, reclamation, hydro-electric power-plants, provincial and communal loans, agricultural and building organisations, and, in substance, has brought about a happy redistribution of wealth, which, collected in minute sums from contributions has been poured out again in a steady stream.

Accidents claimed for in 1934 amounted to 496.946 lire and the indemnities paid, in the same year, reached a total of 228.443.350 lire.

For compensation for accidents in the year 1935 a sum of over 191 millions lire was set aside.

The Institute has encouraged the building of clinics and hospitals in the principal cities. Among these may be mentioned the model Mussolini hospital at Bologna in which, in 1934, 4283 patients were received for a total of 87.496 days, 101.341 first aid treatments were given, 652.000 successive treatments and examinations, and 4.278 operations were performed.

It is, however, in respect of insurance against tuberculosis that Fascism has given the greatest expression to its principles. The Labour Charter, in Article XXVII, gives a definite pronouncement relative to this matter. It provides for « insurance against occupational diseases and tuberculosis as the beginning of general insurance against all disease ».

The anti-tubercular campaign is one of the masterpieces of Fascist social policy. It has declared that it is the undoubted duty of the State to intervene wherever the physical status of the nation is in danger. In Italy no less than 280.000 persons died from tuberculosis every five years from 1901 to 1925. The Regime regarded tuberculosis as one of its gravest problems and courageously confronted it in all its aspects; prophylactic, financial and social. It initiated compul-

sory insurance against tuberculosis which, though at first confined to only wage-earning workers, now is extended to peasants. The result is much fewer incurable cases. The Fascist Government has adopted sanitary provisions for the care, physical instruction and supervision of sufferers and has instituted national and provincial organisations for protection and supervision which constitute one of the greatest achievements of the Regime.

A vast programme of health work for the year 1937 provides for the care of 20.500 tubercular cases and has already been partly carried into effect. In fact, 42 sanitoriums are now functioning with a total of 15.000 beds. From 1929 to the end of 1935, 240.000 tubercular cases have been assisted for a sum over 750.000.0000 lire, while provision has been made for accommodating over 180.000 patients in hospitals, which is a typical example of the work done through insurance which is both curative and prophylactic.

The efficacy of this insurance will be seen from the following figures: mortality from tuberculosis, in absolute figures, in 1929 was 50.169; in 1933 it was reduced to 35.420.

There has been an implacable campaign against malaria, now almost entirely vanished owing to the integral land reclamation. The rem-



edies against this scourge are contained in a single Law of 30 December, 1923, which constitutes a complete and fundamental scheme including care of the sick, prevention, destruction of centres of infection and methodical elimination of the causes.

Prophylaxis against venereal diseases is of the strictest. An innovation of considerable importance was the compulsory declaration of any case of syphilis with contagious symptoms existing in the schools, educational and health institutes, industrial establishments, and in general, in the whole population both civil and military. In close connection with this strict control of public health is the Law on the white slave trade, now the object of constant vigilance by the police. There is an untiring campaign against alcoholism, cancer (a magnificent institute has recently been founded in Rome to combat this scourge), trachoma and the use of drugs.

These multiple forms of assistance and insurance are directed towards a single end: the constant improvement of the physical and moral condition of the people. With this objective in view, there is a yearly increase in the number of summer, marine, mountain and river colonies and camps attended in increasing numbers by

the children of Italians resident abroad. (15,000 in the year 1935).

Confronted with the now formidable problem of involuntary unemployment, the Regime has taken a much wiser course than the majority of other countries. Unemployment doles have been kept within very modest limits so that this should not become a habit or be considered as a convenient substitute for wages. The dole is not considered as the principal form of assistance, but rather as an accessory. According to the Regime, the campaign against unemployment cannot be carried out successfully by means of doles. It should rather take the form of a policy of public works combined with judicious vocational training, both of which should be completed by organised internal emigration.

The works policy of the Fascist Regime has been based on the so-called « allocation of public works », which presupposes a classification of works to be carried out by the State and local bodies in the present and the future. The latter have been postponed generally to periods in which it is foreseen unemployment will become more serious.

This policy presents considerable advantages over that of paying high rates of doles. In this way, a part of the money which would be spent

on doles goes towards public works, that is, wages, and a dual beneficial result is obtained. In the first place a large section of the unemployed labour has been absorbed, and, in the second, a collapse in the labour market through a glut of labour has been prevented.

One of the principal points in the campaign against unemployment has been the proposal to cut down, as far as possible, the amount of unskilled labour which has been hardest hit by the crisis. The Regime has reduced the proportion of labour of this type by developing in every way education and vocational training.

Mention must be made in this respect of an institution typical of the Corporate Regime, namely, the « National Fund for Family Allowances ».

This was founded in December, 1934, when the Confederations of Employers and Employees in Industry established the 40 hours working week by mutual agreement, with a view to giving a greater number of workers the possibility of obtaining employment.

It was observed, and rightly, that this provision while benefitting the unemployed was particularly injurious to heads of families with dependent children. In recognition of this consideration, it was agreed, contemporarily with the re-

form, to grant to heads of families with children under 14 years of age a special allowance to supplement the wage received for a 40 hour working week.

This privilege was reserved exclusively for heads of families who were employed in those industries which, for technical reasons, worked on a regular time schedule of more, even though only a little, than 40 hours per week.

This Fund was established by a contribution from all workers equal to 1% of the gross wage received and a contribution from all employers equal to 1% on all wages paid. This contribution, however, is raised to 5% for workers and employers in those industries in which, for special reasons, the working week must continue to exceed 40 hours.

In its first year the Fund paid out 164 million family allowances.

In July, 1936, it extended its scope considerably, and by a special Decree Law it was rendered compulsory to grant family allowances to all industrial workers with children under 14 years of age whatever the duration of the working week. The family allowances were fixed at the rate of 4 lire per week for each child.

For the constitution of additional funds the contribution from employers was increased and

supplemented by a State grant, while the contribution from the workers remained unchanged.

The total annual expenditure amounts to about 344 million lire, of which 215 are supplied by the employers, 86 by the workers and 43 by the State.

It is impossible not to see the importance of these innovations both from the economic and social point of view.

From the economic standpoint numerous categories of workers have been benefited, both those who were excluded from the rigid 40 hour class and those omitted from the confederal organisation owing to the nature of the enterprise with which they were connected.

Also from the ethico-social point of view the family allowance has been amply justified by the salutary results and once again the principle of the importance of the family, the fundamental nucleus of the State, rather than the individual has been affirmed.

It should also be noted that this innovation has a beneficial effect on the position of the woman, the mother, who, in many cases, may be dispensed with, in part if not entirely, on the labour market and can therefore devote greater attention to the family, while at the same time

restoring greater equilibrium to the labour market.

A Regime which has restored to honour the family and all moral tradition evidently cannot fail to give greater care to the old and the disabled. Hence the disablement and old age pensions. From 1922 to the end of 1935, 515.000 pensions were paid out for a total sum of nearly two milliards of lire. At the present time 415.000 pensions are paid annually for a sum of 300.000.000 lire.

For the payment of pensions already established the National Fascist Institute for Social Insurance has constituted a reserve fund of 2 milliards, 750 million lire while, to cover future pensions which will become due to insured persons, more than 5 million lire have been set aside. An average of 60.000 pensions are granted per annum over an above those already established.

It has been estimated mathematically than the entire receipts from the property tax are not sufficient to pay the cost of social insurance.

Assistance for old age, disablement, and unemployment is only one, and it may be said the negative, side of a complex and fundamental social legislation. To balance this negative aspect the Regime has initiated a positive programme for a constant improvement in the material and moral condition of the great mass of workers.

The standard of living of the Italian workman, after 15 years of the Fascist Regime, has greatly improved from every point of view.

His average wage is now adapted to the cost of living, and in addition, there is an effective wage which greatly exceeds the apparent wage.

The wage is represented by the possibility of acquiring certain goods. These goods are distributed on a vast and varied scale ranging from the daily bread to suitable housing accomodation; from the possibility of educating the children to the pleasure of giving them a toy; from the certainty of the present to the serene and guaranteed security of the future; from the knowledge of being able to face the unexpected in life to the prospect of assistance in old age; from the possibility of recreation in leisure hours to the certainty that the children will not be at the mercy of a varying labour market.

The Fascist State has envisaged this mass of primary and elementary needs of the workers and, for this reason, the apparent wage of the Italian worker is potentially increased in practice. It is not easy to calculate exactly to what extent, but it is certain that the apparent wage of the workman should be considerably increased to equal the actual wage he receives. This actual wage includes numerous grants in kind and fa-

cilities of every description offered by the various social services.

Among these facilities some are truly masterpieces of practical generosity. For example: the Dopolavoro is one of the finest, most original and fruitful creations of Fascism. It was founded by Mussolini in May, 1925 and the programme it was intended to put into practice was simple and clear. According to Mussolini it should « provide for the constitution, co-ordination and stimulation of institutions suitable for uplifting physically, mentally and morally the manual and intellectual worker in his leisure hours ».

In ten years the Dopolavoro has succeeded in carrying out a programme far beyond its most optimistic predictions. Its activity is closely linked to the conception of life which perceives in the State the maximum expression of ethics and the most valuable instrument for a constant amelioration of conditions. In the same period of time, another principle enunciated from the very beginning of the Fascist Revolution was put into practice through the Dopolavoro.

The principle affirms the necessary synthesis of liberty and authority. What, in fact, is freer than this activity which is devoted to the hours of recreation and leisure and, on the other hand



what more than this free activity has ever been wisely co-ordinated for a definite end: the uplifting of the people under the protection of the State?

Facts speak louder than words. What is the membership of the Dopolavoro? How many are its institutions? How many and what are its manifestations? In ten years membership has risen from 280.534 to 2.108.227.

It is interesting to note the results consequent on these various activities. First of all in respect of art the Dopolavoro carries on a vast and complex artistic and cultural work by various means such as the philodramatic societies, the Cars of Thespis, the Cinema, music, bands, choirs and the radio. These manifestations have shown a remarkable increase; from 1.660 to 913.456 at the present day. The number of philodramatic societies has jumped from 113 to 2.415; musical and choral groups from 614 to 9.239; the sections interested in popular culture and art, which at the beginning only numbered 87, now amount to 8.514; sections occupied with vocational training have risen from 157 to 647; libraries from 80 to 3.156 and the volumes received as gifts from 24.000 to one million.

The Car of Thespis (or travelling operatic and dramatic performances) is one of the happiest ini-

tatives of the Dopolavoro and has given the mass of the population the opportunity to enjoy excellent performances and an increasing number of masterpieces. During 1934 the musical Car of Thespis gave 90 performances, covered a distance of 5.000 kilometres and assembled in its open air auditorium a total audience of 370.000 spectators.

Particular attention has been given to sport. Sports manifestations have increased from 1.563 to 203.284 and the sections engaged in organising sport from 467 to 8.025.

Before the advent of Fascism the popular classes knew very little of Italy. Now through organised excursions, the Dopolavoro has made it possible for all Italians to get to know the innumerable beauties of their country. Touring by bicycle, walking tours, fixed and mobile camps, voluntary re-afforestation, excursions, visits in parties to modern works and historical places, and cruises have greatly contributed towards raising the cultural level of the people. The sections engaged in this activity have increased from 467 to 7.960 and the manifestations from 975 to 53.975.

## ROADS AND COMMUNICATIONS

*Railways - The staff - The new discipline - Perfect service - Increase in railway lines - Post and telegraphs - A State concern with a surplus - Nineteen milliards of lire deposited in the postal savings-banks - Telephones - A sign of civilisation - Seven thousand kilometres of new roads - Motor roads - The Mercantile Marine - Ports and harbours.*

There is a field in which the Fascist Régime has achieved results which no one can dispute namely, the great public works by which it is gradually transforming the face of Italy.

The policy of public works is connected with the demographic policy with a view to increasing the birth-rate on the one hand and on the other to reducing internal migration. It forms part of the integral land-reclamation scheme, which above all, is the reclamation of human lives.

According to accurate statistical data collected by the Hon. De Stefani in a book of his dealing with the action of the Italian State in favour of public works, it appears that the State, from 1882 to 1922, spent altogether about 23 milliards of

lire, while from October 1922 to June 1934, the various Administrations of Public Works, of the Autonomous State Institute of Roads and of Integral Land Reclamation, assumed undertakings to an outlay of 43 milliards, of which 21 milliards are already paid. To this must be added 7 milliards of lire paid by public administrations other than those mentioned above for various works and for war reparations and calamities, such as earthquakes etc., the total expense of which has been 28 milliards of lire.

In promoting the country's economic regeneration, Fascism could not possibly neglect what may be considered as its arterial system, namely communications.

Railways, in the first place. When Fascism came into power, it was faced with an extremely critical situation, both as regards management, which was completely disorganised, and as regards construction, which had come to a complete standstill. Government railways appeared to be destined to rot and ruin. The continual, almost chronic turbulence of the staff, with an epidemic of general and partial strikes, besides a mistaken application of the principle of the eight hours day, had on the one hand completely disorganised the railway service, while on the

other hand the railway staff had risen to 241.000 men.

Without any possibility of new constructions or carrying out radical and organic repairs of material, which was reduced to a most deplorable state, chiefly owing to the intense work in war-time, there was nevertheless a deficit of 1 milliard 431 millions of lire.

The energetic weeding-out of the staff by Fascism soon brought back the necessary discipline; then followed the financial and administrative reconstruction of the Railways. The number of railway employees was reduced from 241.000 to 136.000, proportioning the number of employees to the work to be carried out in millions of kilometres per axle, a maximum of 64 has fallen to 28 namely, less than in pre-war times. At present there are only eight employees per kilometre, compared to 15 in 1922 and 11 in 1914.

While 78 kilos of coal per 100 ton-kilometre was considered necessary, consumption has now been reduced to 49,8, while even in pre-war days it was 53,9. The security of transport was assured by the regulation of the service and the expenditure on commercial indemnities fell from 111 million lire in 1921-1922 to a figure which is now insignificant. The railway deficit which

amounted to 1 ½ milliard lire during the financial year 1921-1922 gradually was reduced to 1032 million lire in 1922-1923 and to 412 in 1923-1924, till a surplus of 378 million lire was reached in 1925-1926. Later, owing to the world traffic-reduction, there was another deficit in 1932, which the management, after five years' hard struggle, has succeeded in neutralising.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Railway Management continued in its progressive and constructive policy. The State Railways today amount to a total of 17.000 kilometres. During the last 14 years several new lines were opened by the State Railways and by private enterprise amounting to another 3506 kilometres.

In 1924 the Bologna-Verona line was completed; in 1927 the whole Rome-Naples express line has been opened, most important from a tourist point of view, whereby it is now possible to cover the distance in 2 hours 50 minutes, instead of in 4 hours 15 minutes as on the old line.

On the 22nd of April 1934 the express line Bologna-Florence was inaugurated, being one of the most daring railway constructions in the world, owing to the 18 kilometres long tunnel through the Apennines, the longest tunnel in existence, which has greatly abbreviated distances between Central and Southern Italy.

Most imposing are all the subsidiary works in brickwork and reinforced concrete: the new Milan railway station is a masterpiece of architectural and engineering skill.

Electric traction has been tripled: the electric lines have been increased from 700 to 2030.

It is interesting to note the significant increases in the speed of railway trains from 1922 up to the present time. The distance from Turin to Genoa is now covered in 2 hours instead of 3; from Genoa to Rome, 6 hours and a half instead of 10; from Milan to Rome (via Bologna), 8 hours and a half instead of 12; from Milan to Genoa in 2 hours instead of 3; from Ventimiglia to Genoa in 3 hours instead of 4; from Milan to Venice in 3 hours instead of 4 and a half; from the Brenner Pass to Bologna in 8 hours instead of 9; from Venice to Bologna in 2 hours instead of 3; from Naples to Reggio Calabria in 10 hours and a half instead of 13. The trial runs of electric-trains covered the distance from Bologna to Florence in 47 minutes, and that between Bologna and Naples in 5 hours 36 minutes.

The State Railway functioning as an autonomous organisation is completed by transport services conceded to private firms. Fascism has developed these services very considerably. The railways served by steam traction have increased

from 3830 kilometres (1922), to 4139; electric railways from 592 to 1745; extra-urban bus services, from 40.470 kilometres to 109.679; urban services (trams and buses), from 1444 kilometres to 2686.

Together with the reorganisation of the railways, and, in general, of all other means of internal communication, the Administration of Posts and Telegraphs also underwent a complete transformation shortly after the advent of Fascism and was constituted as an autonomous organisation, depending from the Minister of Communications.

The budget of the Autonomous Administration which Fascism inherited with a deficit of 338 million lire, now shows a surplus, amounting to 1 milliard 100 million lire for Posts and Telegraphs and nearly 200 millions for the State Telephones which has resulted in a reduction in tariffs, an improvement in service and the construction of buildings for offices and staff. The deposits at the post office savings banks which on 31 December, 1922, amounted to 8720 million lire, had risen to 19.800 million lire at the end of 1934.

In 1922 the Telephone Service was managed directly by the State, with very unsatisfactory results. In 1925 the urban and inter-urban services



of secondary importance were divided into zones and conceded to private companies with the obligation to carry out an extensive programme of transformation and development. An autonomous State organisation was also instituted for the main communications which has replaced the scanty network of over-head wires by an up-to-date subterranean installation. A few figures will suffice to give an idea of the excellent results achieved: in 1925 the automatic centrals had a potentiality of 45000 numbers with 31000 subscribers. At the present moment this potentiality has risen to well above half a million numbers, and the subscribers to 380.000 in addition 83% of the telephones are automatic. In 1925 there were only 47 international and 1757 inter-urban telephone lines. Today there are 127 international lines (chiefly underground) 4690 inter-urban and more than 10.000 urban lines. The total extension of the State telephone lines is over 300.000 kilometres.

These lines are served by 2424 inter-urban offices and 15.289 public telephones. The international cables Milan-Chiasso, Udine-Tarvisio and that of Turin-Modane, now in course of construction, have put Italy in telephonic and radio-telephonic communication with almost every

country in the world while in 1925 it was only possible to speak to six countries.

If the Fascist Régime is deserving of all praise in respect of railway communications, it is more difficult to estimate adequately its work in regard to road-making. In this branch everything had to be done or done over again.

The Autonomous Institute of the Road has been created for the purpose of taking over the technical administration of the most important roads, classified as State Roads, and amounting to 137, beginning with the ancient Consular Roads which start from Rome, and extend over 21.000 kilometres. Only 2 per cent of these roads (463 km.) were paved in 1922 in such a way as to require no further re-building. Today the paved roads extend over a distance of 10.000 kilometres.

The Fascist Régime has not been content with restoring and adapting ancient roads for modern traffic, but it has opened up completely new roads. Among the state roads, having a length of 699 kilometres, are the two great sea-board arteries, the Tyrrhenian and the Ionic.

Altogether the new roads cover 7000 kilometres and cost 1 ½ milliards of lire. Sardinia, Calabria, Sicily and the Abruzzi have derived the greatest benefit from these new roads, as in

some districts peasants going to market had to go across country with their pack-mules.

In respect of roads, it may be mentioned that 400 new bridges have been built. Among the most important are the bridge over the Tagliamento nearly one kilometre long, with 35 concrete arches; the Mestre bridge, over one kilometre long, with 53 great arches of reinforced concrete, the bridge over the Po between Revere and Ostiglia 510 metres in length consisting of 7 iron arches with piles and buttresses in brick. But the greatest engineering feat of all is the bridge uniting Venice to the Mainland. It is almost parallel to the railway bridge and is 5 kilometres long, with 228 arches and a width of 20 metres.

This brief summary would be incomplete without mentioning the motor-roads. Most important of all is the Genoa-Serravalle-Scivia planned by the Duce with a view to providing a rapid and convenient means of communication between the port of Genoa and the Valle Padana and which corresponded to the possible ulterior development of traffic. It starts from the port of Genoa, and, crossing the Apennines through various tunnels, connects with the already existing state-roads leading to Milan and Turin. It is 50 kilometres long, with 11 tunnels, 30 bridges and viaducts: over this road may pass two columns

of camions with a space between for minor traffic. At cross roads there are overhead and underground crossings: a veritable marvel of engineering skill. Its cost is 210 million lire.

Then follow the Milan-Lakes road which connects Milan with the Lakes of Como and Varese (86 km long; total cost 70.000.000 lire); the Milan-Bergamo road (48 km long; total cost 56.000.000 lire); the Naples-Pompei road (21 km long; total cost 36.000.000 lire); the Bergamo-Brescia road (45 km long; total cost 54.000.000 lire); the Florence-to-the-sea road (83 km long; total cost 120.000.000 lire); the Milan-Turin road (125 km long; total cost 145.000.000 lire); the Padua-Venice road (26 km long; total cost 29.000.000 lire) and the Rome-Ostia road.

In 1918 the Italian navy issued from the war with only 900.000 tons, compared with the 1.660.000 which she possessed in 1914. Following purchases from abroad and the acquisition of the Venezia Giulia navy the tonnage was increased to 2.700.000 in 1922, but the greater part of these ships were worn out and of little use. In 1922 the ships lying idle in port amounted to 800.000 tons, while no new ships were placed on the slips.

Fascism began by imposing order and discipline: thus two old pests of the Italian merchant marine, desertion and smuggling, were

eliminated. The syndical organisation has resulted in the satisfactory settlement of differences and disputes between capital and maritime labour and has also provided an organisation for assistance of every description.

The new legislation regarding naval construction gave a fresh impulse to the shipbuilding yards. From 2.700.000 tons in 1922, a swift passage was made to 3.012.975 tons. The big transatlantic ships renowned for their speed, account for a total of 400.000 tons. And it must be remembered that in 1933, from August 12 to 16, the « Rex » carried off the blue ribbon, crossing the Atlantic in 4 days, 13 hours and 50 minutes, at an average speed of 28.92 miles an hour.

The subsidised merchant service has been completely reformed. The Italian shipping lines now extend over the whole world, successfully competing with foreign flags. It is enough to mention the lines to South and East Africa, to the Far East, Southern Pacific and Dutch Indies, which have a very brilliant future before them. The communications with Egypt, the Far East, the South Pacific, are very popular and the indispensable lines connecting Italy with the Islands and the colonies correspond to the severest modern criterion.

The following data show that from 1922 to

1934, the subsidised merchant services have achieved better results at a lower cost. The distance in miles covered has risen from 4.396.000 7.700.000; the tonnage from 390 to 880 millions, the average life of ships, from 22 to 13 years, while the annual expenditure and subsidies cost have dropped from 317 to 280 million lire.

The transformation of the merchant marine naturally implied an improvement in ports and harbours.

Fascism has administratively and technically reformed the ports (notably Autonomous Consortium of the port of Genoa) taking into consideration local needs. Drastic transformations have taken place in the ports of Naples, (where imposing dry docks are being built) Bari, Venice, Palermo, etc.

The total sum expended on all these works from 1927 (including the financial year 1933-1934) amounted to one milliard 800 million lire.

## PUBLIC WORKS

*White coal - Hydroelectric power plants - The housing problem - New schools - Acqueducts - The devastated areas - Fascist Rome - Archæological excavations - The Mussolini Forum - Modern roads on the Imperial Area - A mountain resort and a beach for Rome - The Mausoleum of Augustus.*

Italy, lacking in coal and other fuel, has untold wealth of water power from the mountain ranges which bound her in the North and provide a backbone for the entire length of the peninsula, from which she derives « white coal » to cover most of her needs. In 1922, when Fascism came to power, hydroelectric energy was already being generated on a considerable scale, the existing plants totalling a power of 1.450 kilowatts with an annual output of force of over four milliards of kilowatt-hours. One milliard of this was produced in Piedmont and Lombardy, a good proportion in the central provinces, but practically none however in Sicily and Sardinia.

Thanks to the impelling influence of the

Fascist Government and to the initiative of Italian technicians, the exploitation of this resource has been pressed to the utmost, so that Italy now ranks foremost among European countries possessing hydroelectric power plants. At the end of 1933, 1213 plants were in full efficiency with a total power of 5 million kilowatts generating annually about 11 milliard kilowatt-hours, three times the amount developed in 1922. Twelve percent of the energy is used for lighting, 9% for transports, 50% for electromotive power, 28% for the industries.

Reservoirs are an outstanding feature of the general hydro-electric system and are particularly important in Southern Italy where water is less abundant than in the North and Centre. 168 of them already exist with a total capacity of 1.300 million cubic metres, but another hundred are under construction. Most of them are built of concrete, others take the form of dams with arches and pillars in masonry, stone and earth work. Among the most daring feats of engineering, doubtless are the reservoirs of Oschiri in Sardinia, (174 ft. high with a capacity of 242 million cubic meters) and of Tirso also in Sardinia, (189 ft. high with a capacity of 400 million cubic metres).

It may safely be said that such plants as have



been set up in Italy over the last few years are unequalled in the world. Their total value is estimated at 25 milliard lire, nearly all privately raised, State contribution amounting to half a milliard of lire mostly invested in the new plants. Yearly Government grants made for the development of hydro-electric and thermo-electric plants, artificial lakes, electric railways, etc., amount to an average of 100 millions.

Italy, which has a claim to being the cradle of fluvial hydraulics and which for centuries has done wonders by harnessing water sources and actually changing the face of certain provinces through irrigation plants (suffice it to recall the work done by the Etruscans and by the Romans who created the Marmore Falls, etc.) has, in this field as in many others, gone back to her oldest and most successful traditions. Modern technique, has been skilfully merged with certain fundamental rules discovered and developed in ancient times.

Generally speaking, and to the exclusion of land reclamation work which is a chapter in itself, dams and frontal defences made under Fascism extend over a total length of 900 kilometres, embankments over a length 500 kilometres, all of which has improved and protected from floods an area equal to one tenth of the penin-

sula at a cost of one and a half milliards of lire.

State activity in the field of town-planning and housing covers public buildings, schools, and homes for the workers, as well as the modernization of old cities with a view to improving traffic conditions while preserving artistic beauty. The number of edifices constructed with the financial backing of the State is indeed imposing, if one considers that appropriations made for such work on the budget of the Public Ministry alone now amounts to one milliard and seven hundred million lire.

Popular housing, an outstanding problem in all countries today, was tackled with vigour by the Regime, which promoted intense building activity in all Municipalities and larger centres. Housing for workers carried out by Municipalities has entailed an expenditure of 150 million lire, by which 4000 economic flats were provided for workers. Building firms, most of them State-subsidized, have erected some 1700 tenement houses with a total of 24,000 flats entailing a cost of 860 million lire, partly contributed by the Government. Private co-operative building concerns erected 2,100 houses with 13,000 flats at a cost of close upon one and a half milliard lire with a State contribution of 35 million lire per year. Railwaymen's co-operative societies built

4.660 flats for half a milliard, and the National Institute for the Housing of Civil Servants constructed 267 buildings with 2.600 flats at a cost of 435 million lire.

The total sum of building activities for workers is calculated at 6.512 buildings with 52.000 flats, with an expenditure of 3 milliards, 456 millions to which the State contributed, in capital and in yearly subsidies, approximately 723 millions.

School premises, had until recently been inadequate to meet requirements excepting, perhaps, in the very large cities. A general survey of school conditions, carried out in 1923, showed that for a total of 83.000 classes there were only 45.000 suitable schoolrooms, and 32.000 inadequate ones, leaving a shortage of over 5.000. Conditions in the Southern provinces and in the islands were even more disastrous, the constant growth in attendance at schools making the problem increasingly urgent. Local administrations were immediately given financial support by the Fascist Government to build schools in the towns as well as in country villages, half of the appropriations on the State budget made for school-premises having actually been spent in the South and in the islands.

Eleven thousand new class-rooms were com-

pleted between 1922 and 1932, representing 30% of requirements, at a cost of 670 million lire of which the State covered a share of 212 millions. Eight thousand more class-rooms were under construction on June 30, 1934 entailing an expenditure by the State of 400 million lire.

High Schools and Universities likewise required better premises and here again the State came forward with liberal financial support, owing to which the Universities and Higher Institutes at Genoa, Milan, Pavia, Bologna, Padua and Florence are being restored or, where necessary, given new premises.

The University City at Rome, opened in November 1935, is one of the best equipped in the world and entailed an expenditure of 76 million lire.

So much for school premises. Now a word about sanitary plants and general hygiene to which the Fascist Government has devoted constant attention ever since coming to power. Not only have existing plants been restored and improved by the State, but the latter has also covered the entire cost of many new ones in areas where sanitation was inadequate or lacking. Although such work is normally the task of local Administrations, owing to the urgency of the

problem the State has given a contribution of 700 million lire.

Acqueducts and irrigation are another of the great achievements which the Regime has carried to completion in the shortest possible delay. From 1922 to this year drinking water has been made available in 2.600 inhabited centres where wells had been the only supply in the past, and this thanks to the laying down of approximately 999 kilometres of major pipes with 400 kilometres of local distributors.

The rebuilding of areas devastated by the Great War was by no means one of the smallest of the many problems confronting the new Government: no less than 2.000 houses had been razed to the ground, besides 163 thousand which were seriously damaged. Expenditure entailed by such reconstruction from 1922 to 1932 amounted to over three milliards, one half of which devoted to public buildings and popular housing, and the rest to the refunding for damage to private owners. Devastation caused by earthquakes during the last twentyfive years in various parts of Italy also called for drastic measures on the part of the Government, temporary housing provided for roofless families in certain areas having been allowed to survive emergency circumstances much too long, before the present Government's ac-

cession to power. The cost entailed by work in this field is calculated at 3 milliards 521 millions for the reconstruction of areas devastated by earthquakes, floods and landslides.

Rome, however, is the best example of the vast scale upon which Fascism has undertaken the re-planning of ancient cities to meet the requirements of ever growing traffic and of an expanding population. When the board of experts appointed to study the re-planning of Rome was summoned by Mussolini to discuss the various aspects of the problem in his presence, Il Duce expounded his own view in the following terms: « I like to divide the problems of Twentieth Century Rome under two heads: problems of necessity and problems of grandeur. The first arise out of the development and expansion of the capital and also come under two heads: housing and communications. The problems of grandeur are of another kind: we must release ancient and mediæval Rome from ugly and inadequate surroundings, we must create a monumental Rome of our own age. Rome cannot and must not be a modern city in the accepted sense of the term; it must be a city worthy of past splendours and these splendours must be constantly renewed that they may go down into history for future generations to admire and respect ».

Expenditure entailed by the rebuilding of the Capital has been and will continue to be productive also from a demographical standpoint. Rome is one of the few large cities of the world which has preserved an excess of births over deaths, and the only capital where marriages and births are increasing instead of waning. This reveals the unrelenting vitality of the heart of Italy which differentiates Rome from other capitals where depravity and sterility are becoming dangerously powerful.

Among outstanding examples of the Fascist conception of modern architecture, the Mussolini Forum in Rome a structure unique of its kind, deserves marked attention. Its solid upright outline, its pleasant colouring, adequately symbolise the New Rome, rooted into the soil of Ancient Rome. The Forum comprises the imposing mass of the Academy of Physical Training a stadium with ten tiers of marble seats, crowned by 92 statues of athletes, one for each Province of the Kingdom, and the Mussolini obelisk, a single marble block measuring about 110 ft. in height, which completes the admirable picture. Eventually the surrounding area will be allotted to tennis courts, swimming pools, smaller stadia and accomodation for the public. « A new art must be created, Mussolini told the architects when the

Forum was being planned, we must not exploit our old treasures. Style is the eternal characteristic of the race, not only does it provide men of the future with a norm for the erection of new cities, but it lays down aesthetic laws which guide national harmony ».

An entire volume would be required to list the work done in Rome by the Regime. In a speech delivered from the Capitol in 1926, Mussolini outlined the programme of Rome's renovation in the following words: « Rome shall become such as to amaze the peoples of the world, vast, well ordered, powerful as in the days of Augustus. You shall relieve the trunk of the old oak of growths that cling to it; you shall clear the area around the Theatre of Marcellus, the Augusteum, the Capitol, the Pantheon; all that sprang up in the ages of decadence shall vanish, and you shall release the temples of Christian Rome from profane parasites. The millenary monuments of our history shall stand out as giants in solitary splendour. You shall give houses, schools, baths and gardens, sports grounds and playgrounds to the Fascist people who work ».

Most of this has already materialized. We have described the new Town-Plan which is to be gradually laid out and in the meanwhile archæolog-



ical sites comprising the imposing remains of Imperial Rome have all been restored.

The magnificent *Via dell'Impero* running from the Piazza Venezia (now the heart of Rome after the restoration of the Palazzo Venezia where the Head of the Government has his office) to the Colosseum, through the revived Imperial Fora, completed between 1924 and 1932, entailed an expenditure of 71 million lire. Anyone walking down that road today will hardly remember the countless dingy streets and alleys which spoil one of the most interesting and important sites of Ancient Rome.

The Lictors Palace, to rise half way down the *Via dell'Impero*, will represent modern architecture side by side with the remains of the Classic Age. This new building, which will tower above the others in this street, will fill modern requirements while remaining æsthetically in harmony with its classical surroundings.

The *Via dell'Impero* continues beyond the Colosseum with the name of *Via dei Trionfi*, (the Road of Triumphs) joining up with the existing Archæological Promenade in a large square, from which radiate the Aventine Avenue (120 ft. wide) and the *Via del Circo Massimo* (the Road of the Circus Maximus), opened to traffic on October 28th, 1934. The latter (2400 ft. long and 90 ft.

wide) circumvents the site upon which the ancient Roman circus once rose, and due to be excavated shortly, and provides a unique vista over the Palatine and Aventine hills.

This girdle of roads placed around the Imperial area is completed by the *Via del Mare* (the Road to the Sea), which flanks the Capitol and the Theatre of Marcellus.

Incidentally, the girdle provides a useful link between the Sea and the Hills, now easily accessible thanks to the recent widening of the New Appian Way which leads to the Roman Hill Towns. Modern highroads designed to offer admirable views of the country-side as the traveller wends his way towards the Alban hills, descend as far as Velletri and thence to the sea through the reclaimed Pontine Marshes.

The motoroad to Ostia running from St. Paul's Gate to the Lido on a perfectly straight course, ranks foremost in Europe among good thoroughfares for motorists.

Ten years ago anyone anticipating such improvements as have been carried out in Rome would have been called a visionary! The cost of such work? Official figures published in August 1936 reveal an expenditure of half a milliard from 1926 to 1936, for the reconditioning and upkeep of roads. The carrying out of the new Town-plan,

including archæological excavations, has cost 600 millions. In other words, road-making and town-planning have entailed an outlay of one milliard 229 million lire.

In addition to this many public works, to the exclusion of schools, have been completed at a cost of 168.419.304 lire. Local police services and hygienic plants have called for a constant outlay of funds amounting to about 206 million lire in ten years.

Schools, in Rome alone, during the same period have cost the City and the State jointly 174 and a half million lire. This figure added to that spent on sundry public works and town-planning activities reveals the scale upon which the renovation of Rome has been conducted. Another 55 millions were entailed by the restoration of monuments of different ages and should be added to the grand total of 2 milliards, 739 millions 308.115 lire covering all work done for the technical and artistic improvement of Rome, in the space of the last ten years.

Rome has a convenient seaside resort at Ostia, and a mountain resort is now being made accessible not far out of the Sabina district.

Upon a stormy day in January 1932 Mussolini motored to Rieti and thence to the top of a mountain called Terminillo. Charmed by

the beauty of this little-known spot he decreed that Terminillo should be made easily accessible to mountain-loving Romans. Very few days elapsed before the Duce's wish began to materialize: a road, an aqueduct, an electric plant and a regular plan for the systematization of the mountain slopes took shape. A beautiful highroad leading to Terminillo is now open to traffic, reaching an altitude of 4253 ft. above sea level, where another stretch of 17 kilometres of steeper climb have just recently been completed. In winter and summer Terminillo (6639 ft.) is an ideal goal for Roman excursionists, accessible as it is from the Capital in just over one hour's easy ride.

To conclude this outline of work done in Rome by the Fascist Regime, we shall recall how, on the eve of the commencement of the XIVth year of the Fascist Regime, Mussolini himself dealt the first blow of the pick to the tumbledown houses around the Mausoleum of Augustus. Hardly has this work been started that its completion is already at hand. Dingy streets, ugly unhealthy houses are being quickly pulled down to make room for a wide open area around the Tomb of the Great Roman Emperor, an achievement which, incidentally, will also settle the long-standing problem of circulation in this part of the town. Two years hence, as the Augustan Year begins, the

entire area will be opened to public traffic. Indeed the bimillenary of the birth of Augustus could hardly be commemorated in a more imposing and worthy manner than by restoring the site where Augustus was buried at his request, and where his own written record of the achievements of his principate were posted up on bronze pillars to inspire the Romans with a will to continue his work into future ages.

## SCHOOLS, EDUCATION, CULTURE

*Fascist School Reform - Formation of character - State examinations - Autonomy of Universities - University professors' oath - The Italian Academy - The National Research Council - National Fascist culture - The « Opera Nazionale Balilla » - Multiple forms of assistance - Sport and games - Religious education - Libraries - Courses in vocational training.*

The school reform merits special mention. The curricula, methods and objectives were renewed. The old school was of an exclusively informative and non-religious character. The various subjects were taught in a disorganised manner without any reciprocal co-ordination and each teacher tried to deal with the greatest possible number of subjects. There was a very encyclopædic conception of education resulting in fragmentary knowledge.

The Fascist reform was inspired by a strictly unitarian criterion. Each subject was integrated and harmonised with the others according to the type and objectives of the various courses, and at the same time every grade of studies was

intended to develop the intelligence and mould the character.

The basis of the reform is the State examination which places public and private schools on a plane of equality. At the end of secondary studies a special examination opens the way to higher studies. This examination is held before a mixed commission consisting of university professors and teachers of the secondary schools who in no case may be selected from among the schools attended by the candidates. Students and examiners are unknown to each other.

This rule, for which there is no exception, has been made for three purposes. First of all to guarantee the same conditions for pupils from public and pupils from private schools. Secondly, to institute, through an examination of candidates, a strict control of both public and private schools, and thirdly, to carry out a rigorous selection among the scholastic section of the population.

The State examination, in fact, should be the anticipation of that permanent examination which is imposed by the whole of human life. For this reason, the objective is to ascertain, not so much the amount of knowledge acquired by the candidates, as their stage of development, their general preparation and their mental condition. Hence, through the school reform a thorough and last-

ing knowledge is required of students and the traditional memory tests have been abandoned.

In respect of higher education, a wide autonomy permits the universities to organise their activities in the way most suited to local requirements and their particular traditions, also to institute schools for special purposes and continuation courses. This autonomy presupposes loyalty to the Regime on the part of the teaching staff, hence the oath taken by university professors.

The Italian Academy, founded on 7 January, 1926, promotes and co-ordinates the intellectual movement in the field of science, arts and letters. Its objective is to preserve the national character according to the spirit and tradition, and to increase its influence outside national frontiers. It has legal personality and administrative autonomy under the supervision of the State.

The Academy is divided into 4 sections: moral and historical sciences; physical, mathematical and natural sciences; letters; arts. Each section consists of 15 academicians, forming a total of sixty. Their nomination is for life and is confirmed, after nomination by the Academy, by Royal Decree on the proposal of the Head of the Government in accord with the Minister of Education and approval by the Council of Ministers.



The National Research Council (R. D. 18 November, 1923) has a dual function: to actuate the objectives contained in the statute of the International Research Council at Brussels, on which Italy is represented, and to co-ordinate the national activities in the various branches of science and their application in the interests of the general economy of the country.

The National Fascist Institute of Culture is not and is not intended to be a popular University; it does not nor is intended to substitute the existing Universities; it is not intended for spreading scientific knowledge among the people; its is not interested in « quantitative » culture for and by the people. Its objective is « qualitative » culture and its interests are the formation of right ideas and the development of the human conscience. The Fascist Institute of Culture is intended to form the new Italians; the problems before it are not those relative to the individual, but problems effecting the nation, that is, the collective conscience.

The multiple cultural activities outside the scope of the Ministry of National Education are co-ordinated by the Ministry for Press and Propaganda instituted by Royal Decree on 24 June, 1935. The musical and dramatic theatre, the cinematograph, books, newspapers, reviews, publi-

cations of all descriptions, touring, are here united and given uniform direction.

An important activity for the education of the new generation is carried out by the « Opera Nazionale Balilla », founded by the Law of 3 April, 1926. It is a moral Entity having as its objectives the assistance and moral and physical education of the youth of the country from 7 to 18 years of age carried out by means of a continuous activity inside and outside the schools and intended to transform the Italian nation « body and soul ». The Opera performs its functions through the Balilla and Avanguardisti institutions. Children from 8 to 14 years old belong to the Balilla and the Avanguardisti include boys from 14 to 18 years of age. In respect of girls, the Piccole Italiane correspond to the Balilla, and the Giovani Italiane to the Avanguardisti.

On 31 August, 1936-XIV membership of the Opera Nazionale Balilla was as follows: Balilla 2.332.284; Piccole Italiane 2.007.710; Avanguardisti 788.896; Giovani Italiane 381.925. Total 5.510.815.

The aims of the Opera are educational, formative and in the nature of assistance. It diffuses throughout all social stratas that training in arms which has restored to honour the virtue of courage, personal responsibility and initiative.

Through the Opera Balilla has been brought into being that new democracy as the basis of the Regime which is above all a regime of the people. There is not a field of activity in which the beneficent intervention of the Opera has not made itself felt. Its action is far reaching, incessant and progressive. Instruction, gymnastics, sport, camping, cruises, military exercises, agricultural, artistic, musical, choral and theatrical activities and excursions all tend to create an atmosphere of equality, emulation, and solidarity which has not been achieved by any other institution in the world.

The work of health assistance is untiring. From 1 January, 1929-VII to 28 October, 1935-XIII, 92.455 members were assisted for a total sum of 10.163.122 lire.

Scholastic assistance is farseeing in every sense of the word. In the year XII alone 3.394.668.77 lire were spent on stationary and distributed among pupils; 798.208 text books were bought for a sum of 4.854.048.21 lire. Clothing and uniforms, to the value of 2.450.763.39 lire were distributed, while 635.788.98 lire were spent on footwear and 681.024.25 lire on medicinal requisites.

The total sum spent by the Patrons on this form of assistance amounted to a total of

12.016.266.60 lire and the pupils who benefited numbered 1.197.732.

In the same year the Provincial Committees awarded grants in money to 252.983 needy members to a total sum of 1.000.181 lire.

School meals, which are rightly considered as one of the most effective forms of assistance, were provided during the school year 1934-35, solely by the Opera Balilla by means of its Patrons and was carried out in such a way as to be of real benefit to a great number of needy children.

The total sum spent on scholastic assistance and meals was, in the year XIII, 19.710.572.87 lire. The pupils and members assisted numbered 1.777.888.

Localities equipped for gymnastics and sport are constantly increasing, and have risen from 502 in the year VI to 3065 at the present day. Sports fields now amount to 5760. Gymnastic festivals in May of the year XIV took place in 6384 communes with the participation of 2.048.536 members.

Various courses (pre-athletic, light athletics, gymnastics for development, rhythmic, deportment, swimming and diving, fencing, skiing, riding, cycling, skating, tennis, Græco-Roman

wrestling, boating) numbered 58.830 attended by 4.014.961 members.

Practice team games (foot-ball, water polo and other ball games): 45.465 with the participation of 3.261.840 members.

In the various sports 33.103 male groups have been formed with more than 500.000 members and 11.175 female groups with 99.892 girls in attendance.

Physical training is in no way detrimental to religious instruction. The spiritual education of the members, which is of such great importance for their complete development, continues to be the object of special care on the part of the Balilla.

The Chaplains attached to the youth organisations increased from 1425 in the year XII to 1632 in the year XIII.

Lectures of a religious character given for members by the various Provincial and Communal Committees amount to a total of 30.427 in the year XIII, showing an increase over the previous years of 10.762.

The Provincial Committees have given particular attention to cultural courses in which, although the choice of the subject to be treated is free, matters relative to the World War and the

Fascist Revolution always take an outstanding place.

At the beginning of all the courses abstracts from the Duce's speeches are read.

In the year XIII a total of 76.863 lectures were given to members (excluding religious subjects), showing an increase of 13.457 over the year XII. Of these 32.309 were on political subjects 24.039 on historical, 9.512 on literary, 7.153 on scientific and 3.850 on artistic subjects.

At the end of the year XIII the libraries of the Opera Balilla numbered 3.755 showing an increase of 948 compared to the previous year.

The volumes contained in these libraries belonging to the Opera Balilla amount to 350.840 while 261.930 volumes the property of other bodies are available for the use of members. The total number of books available to the members is 612.770.

Courses in vocational training given in the year XIII in every province by the organisations dependent on the Opera Balilla were as follows: 4.882 in general culture with 186.534 pupils; 1.416 in drawing with 25.922 pupils; 3368 in domestic economy with 80.368 pupils; 744 in puericulture with 29.790 pupils; 3.834 in hygiene and first aid with 54.917 pupils; 5.099 in cutting out, sewing and embroidery with 131.364 pupils; 254 in tele-

graphy and wireless telegraphy with 4.215 pupils; 897 in agriculture with 18.731 pupils; 461 in various handicrafts with 6.530 pupils.

The farms and experimental fields in which the agricultural courses are held were 3.225 in the year XII and covered a total area of 10.722.398 square metres.

The amateur dramatic societies which functioned in the provinces under the auspices of the Opera Balilla were 3.225 in the year XIII and gave more than six thousand performances. The membership of these societies amounted to a total of 55.245 showing the enthusiasm of the young generation for the theatre.

Also in respect of the cinematograph the activity of the Committees in the various provinces has reached a considerable stage of development. Of the 1.072 cinematographs available to the Opera Balilla, 323 are exclusively the property of the organisation. During the year XIII, 16.652 cinematograph performances were given in the above mentioned localities.

The following data show the development of musical education in the year XIII:

Academies of choral singing: 928 with 65.733 pupils (in the year XI there were only 539 Academies with 36.416 pupils).

Courses for string instruments: 169 with 4.038

pupils (39 courses more than in the years XII).

Bands with the full complement of performers: 125 (an increase of 5 over the year XII).

Fanfares with the full complement of performers: 355 (an increase of 63 over the year XII).

Groups of tambourine players: 882 (an increase of 385 over the year XII).

Members belonging to the bands or following courses in musical instruction and practice amount to 18.189.

During the year XIII numerous choral recitals and concerts took place, also 1.997 band concerts, 306 orchestral concerts and 6.742 choral and vocal tests.

The number of continuation schools in the year XII was 4.155 as compared to 2.807 in the previous year and were attended by 288.353 pupils.

With the transference to the Opera Balilla of all the rural schools in Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Liguria, Emilia, Tuscany and the Campania, managed by various bodies delegated for the purpose, the number of rural schools administered by the Opera Balilla in the year XIII reached a total of 4.827.



## THEATRE, CINEMATOGRAPH, RADIO AND TOURING

*Repertories - Dramatic companies - Authors' rights - Musical performances - The « Luce » Institute - Cinema credits - Broadcasting - Propaganda and instruction - « Enit » - Organisation of the hotel business.*

The direct and methodical intervention of the Regime in favour of the theatre is of recent origin and dates back to April, 1935 when the Ministry for Press and Propaganda took charge of the whole of the theatrical and musical activity. It was a question of making the best possible use of Italian theatrical works, co-ordinating the dramatic companies, organising the management of theatres in the interest of authors, actors and the public without confinement within too narrow a nationalism, which would be harmful to the artistic education of the people, or in any way, curtailing private initiative which is one of the fundamental principles of the Corporate Regime.

The results obtained are highly satisfactory

and prove that the most varied interests have been equitably harmonised.

In 1934-35, 2.507 Italian and 2.130 foreign plays were performed; 52 Italian new productions with 933 repeat performances and 37 foreign new productions with 424 repeat performances.

In 1935-36, 3.232 Italian plays were given and 1.479 foreign; 80 new Italian productions with 933 repeat performances and 37 new foreign productions with 424 repeat performances.

Receipts from entrance fees to theatres have risen from 15.426.802 lire in 1934-35 to 17.169.704 lire in a corresponding period in 1935-36 showing an increase of 10%. These results are particularly important in respect of Italian authors. Authors rights, which in 1934-35 amounted to 7.378.501, had risen in 1935-36 to 11.381.421 with an increase of 55%.

The « Saturday matinée » has been instituted with a view to increasing public attendance at theatres and, in this way, great numbers of workers have been able to be present at first class performances at minimum prices. From January to May, 1936, 90 dramatic performances were given by 25 companies and 13 great musical performances in the four largest opera houses in

Italy; a total of 200 performances with 400.000 spectators.

With a view to making the theatre increasingly accessible to the masses, the Ministry for Press and Propaganda has organized and encouraged open air performances in every way. Special mention should be made of the classical performances given in the Greek Theatre at Syracuse before a total audience of 35.000 spectators and the magnificent performance of musical works in the Arena at Verona before an audience of more than 150.000 persons.

The problem of the musical theatre was the most urgent, beginning with the question of the suitable buildings. The greater part of the existing theatres were no longer adapted to modern requirements and many centres lacked adequate equipment. The Regime has solved this problem by granting large credits to the Communes for the renovation of old and the building of new theatres.

Substantial subsidies have raised considerably the tone of musical performances. In 1935-36, 83 musical seasons were subsidised in Italy and abroad. More than half a million lire has been granted to 26 concert societies in Italy and an equal sum for 64 performances abroad.

No less fundamental was the activity in aid

of the cinematograph where everything needed to be organised anew. The Cinema Department at the Ministry for Press Propaganda undertook the work of remedying the damage done by 12 years of the gravest crisis in this field.

The work was carried out according to a pre-arranged plan in the various sections into which the cinematograph business is divided. It was first necessary to clear the way by removing all that was useless and detrimental. Thus, all initiative in the Italian cinema was closely supervised so as to eliminate all that which, owing to a too speculative nature or deficiency of sound finance, was liable to hinder the regular development of production. The « Luce » institute was then authorised to participate in industrial and commercial cinematograph enterprises with a view to assuring national production an adequate place in the internal market and the Ente Nazionale Industrie Cinematografiche was founded which today controls one of the largest organisations in Italy for the sale and distribution of Italian films.

The quality of the out put and an adequate compensation being thus assured, the circulation of capital in the cinema business is facilitated by means of State grants for the national cinema voted in 1935 added to the existing bonuses reserved for the production of national films.

By means of these State credits the Ministry for Press and Propaganda is authorised to advance loans to the cinematograph industry for the production of national films. A special fund was constituted for this purpose at the Ministry of Finance to the amount of 10 million lire per annum for 5 financial years, beginning with the year 1935-36.

The loans may not exceed one third of the direct expenditure on the production of the film and is paid in a lump sum after the producer himself has advanced his share of the expenditure.

Of the 10 million lire granted annually for financing national films, 6 millions are distributed each year by the Ministry for Press and Propaganda and 4 millions are set aside to constitute half of the bank credit fund.

The bank credits are administered through the National Labour Bank of which an autonomous section grants credits for the cinema in the form of loans not exceeding 60% of the total cost of the production of the film. The endowment fund is constituted by a State grant of 20 million lire to be drawn on at the rate of 4 million lire per annum, plus 20 million lire provided by the National Labour Bank. This fund of 40 million lire may be increased by donations from other institutions.

Bonuses for production, limited to national films revealing particular artistic merit and a high standard of technical execution, amount to an annual sum of 2 million lire, drawn from the receipts from the fees payable on doubling foreign films and fixed at 30.000 lire per film.

All approved national productions have also the right to exemption from the fees payable on three foreign films, thus adding a further bonus of 90.000 lire for every national film.

In order to provide this re-organised and financed production with a technically perfect and suitably equipped centre of production, the Ministry has given its active support to the new « Cines » establishment which will be built at the Quadraro and will be the most important establishment for film production in Europe.

The total area of the Quadraro will be 600.000 square metres, 120.000 of which be covered by theatres and buildings of various descriptions and 480.000 will be utilised for the construction of exteriors. The studios will be ultra modern eight of them will be grouped in pairs so as to constitute separate nuclei equipped with all the necessary services and available to all producers.

In addition to this will be studios for synchronisation, for composition, for sets, for

« transparency », offices and workshops for scenery and a model cinema hall for determining the optic and sound value of the film.

The electric plant will have an output of 3,200 hp. and a special structure of the walls will guarantee the perfect reproduction of sound.

The Ministry has also established the « Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia » with a view to training experts for the future. This organisation has been imitated by other nations and provides young persons with the possibility of studying the secrets of the cinema business.

One of the first projects among the cultural activities of the Direction General for the Cinematograph was to institute the great International Cinema Exhibition now held annually in Venice and which has awakened the interest of the press throughout the world.

An organisation which has acquired increasing importance in Italy in a very short time, is that of the Radio.

Broadcasting is divided into two sections: for Italy and for abroad. The executive body is the Ente Italiano Audizioni Radiofoniche which, in ten years, has attained an outstanding position in the world. At the Congress of the International Radiophonic Union, held in Paris in 1935, it was recognised that the artistic programmes of the Ita-

lian Radio were unquestionably superior to those of any other country.

Broadcasting for Italy is effected over a relay of three principal stations; the general plant comprises 15 centres operating on 190 Kms of aerial.

Broadcasting to abroad is given on medium wave length, and for distances overseas on short wave length.

The programmes for Central Europe are broadcasted from Trieste, Bolzano, Milan and Turin, for Southern Europe from Bari and the remainder from the short-wave Rome station of Prato Smeraldo. This station has a transmitting power of 20 kw. per aerial and is able to broadcast on four different wave lengths so as to reach the different continents during the various seasons of the year by using the wave length most suitable to varying atmospheric conditions. A system of directional antennae converges the transmission towards North and South America, Africa and the Far East.

To this powerful, but already inadequate, station will soon be added an even more powerful station situated at Santa Palomba, whereby the work of the other stations re-laying within the country and for abroad will be organised more satisfac-



torily and the voice of Italy may be heard all over the world at any hour of the day or night.

The principal Radio programmes for home consumption are: the «News bulletin» giving news at various times during the day; the «Farmers Hour» giving a daily variety programme, information useful to farmers and answers to requests received from listeners in the country; «The voices of the World» in which the most noted national and international personalities give talks on the events and problems of the present day; «Ten minutes for the worker» being periodical talks intended to develop the syndical and corporative conscience of the working masses; «The Children's Corner», intended to interest the children of Italy in the events of the day; «Ten minutes of the Dopolavoro»; The Chronicle of the Regime», summarising the principal events in foreign and internal policy and given by competent persons well known to the public; «The Sporting Chronicle», in the charge of the C.O.N.I.; «The Touring Chronicle».

These regular programmes are followed by the transmission of theatrical, musical and variety performances from the principal theatres and halls at home and abroad. It should also be mentioned that for broadcasting concerts from its own studios the *Eiar* possesses its own special orchestras,

singers, etc, which are among the best existing, and excellent companies for dramatic performances.

The main programmes for abroad are: «News» in various languages (Italian, French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Hungarian, Rumania, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Hindustani, Chinese, Japanese and Esperanto); «The Voices of Rome», a service which gives listeners comments on the more important events of the day; «Lectures and Talks » by well-known persons on subjects of present and widespread public interest »; « Transmission of theatrical, musical and concert programmes »; « Lessons in the Italian language »; « News and special programmes » for Italians in East Africa.

The extent of this activity may be seen from the following figures: letters received from listeners up to 31 July, 1936, about 80.000; requests for information and explanation replied to by various announcers: 61.000; publications on Fascism, on the war, in East Africa, on various syndical and corporative problems distributed on the request of more than 300.000 listeners; 35.679 pupils registered for the courses in Italian up to the end of April, 1936.

In respect of Touring, the direction was given by the Duce who said « I wish that Italy should

be visited by the greatest possible number of foreign tourists who will find a most beautiful country and a people who are orderly and frankly hospitable ».

Before the coming of Fascism there existed an organisation for touring intended to encourage foreign visitors, but its activity was insufficient and was lacking in means. To rectify this state of affairs, a Direction General of Touring was established at the Ministry for Press and Propaganda. The first task of this new institution was to set up a sound organisation of offices capable of prompt action following the directions given by the central organisation. In this way uniformity of method was reached. The « Ente Nazionale delle Industrie turistiche » was also transformed and provided with adequate means and the power and authority necessary for the development of its vast activity.

The means of action having been provided for, attention was then given to drawing up programmes for suitable publicity. No form of publicity was neglected, from advertisements in newspapers and reviews throughout the world, to pamphlets in various languages showing the beauty and characteristic aspects of Italy, and propaganda through the Radio. In the first nine months of its

activity, the Direction General has distributed 5 million publications.

The offices of the *Enit* were then increased considerably and also those of the branch offices, now spread all over the world, and provincial touring organisations were instituted which carry out the directions of the central office according to local requirements. In this way, the maximum unity has been obtained combined with the maximum variety of initiatives.

The visitors tax was regulated through a proper reform so as to prevent evasion and to render it, at the same time, only a small financial burden to foreigners. Railway and road transport communications were improved, combining rapidity with low prices, reductions and facilities, of every description were granted for single travellers, families, associations and parties.

An institution of particular importance was the tourist lira whereby foreigners were able to benefit by about 30% on the exchange. Special mention should be made also of the hotel and petrol coupons, which as well as being practical and convenient, result in considerable saving for travellers.

It has been universally recognised that Italy is the country where travelling is the most speedy and comfortable owing to the punctuality and

cleanliness of trains, the courtesy of the staff and the incomparable zeal of the Railway Militia.

An aspect of primary importance was the hotel industry. In this respect also the Direction General of Touring showed decision, resolution and promptness. The sale and localisation of buildings intended for hotels were organised and protected by means of the necessary Decrees. The State has contributed a grant towards relieving the burdens on the hotel business, which amounted to more than 300 million lire, but, at the same time, has regulated the classification of hotels into various categories and strictly controlled prices so that abuses are prevented and foreigners are spared unpleasant surprises. At present it is compulsory everywhere to report hotel prices which are published by the *Enit* in an official Annual, and no exception is permitted for any motive whatsoever.

All claims sent to the Direction General of Touring are promptly attended to and, if well-founded, immediate and generous compensation is given.

# REVIVAL OF SPORT

*Mussolini's conception of sport - Precedents - A sports-ground for each Commune - The Italian Olympic Committee - Contests and prizes - Italy at the Olympic Games - Leadership in Aviation - Sporting Federations - Increasing membership - The Duce's dictum.*

The exact meaning of sport in Fascist Italy has been clearly explained by Mussolini himself in the following words: « It will never be possible to acquire a perfectly lucid intelligence and a mind open to a total comprehension of life, unless there be harmony between physical strength and the spirit. »

Sport as a luxury, in other words, sport intended to bring out a few champions is therefore banished, because the fundamental purpose of Fascist sport is to achieve the physical, moral and military strength of the nation. Thus in Italy sport acquires an eminently popular and democratic character. This, however, does not preclude a selective process among the multitude with a view to bringing out such individuals as are capable of

upholding Italy's national prestige in international contests.

Fascism has always devoted much attention to the moral aspect of sport, as an influential factor in the formation of character and will-power. In addressing athletes on the Via dei Trionfi on October 28th, 1934 Il Duce declared: « You must be tenacious, chivalrous, daring. Remember that when you enter a competition outside national frontiers, the sporting prestige of the entire nation is entrusted to your muscles and especially to your spirit. »

It is interesting to find that during the past century Italy did not hold entirely aloof from the great movement in favour of sport which took shape in other countries, such as Germany where it was guided by, Jahr, and in other countries such as Sweden and England under the leadership of Ling and Arnold respectively.

The Italian Alpine Club, older than its French and German counterparts was founded in 1863; the Federation of Gymnastics in 1869; that of Target shooting in 1882; the Jockey Club in 1881; the Steeple Chase Society in 1885; the Boating Federation in 1888 and the Swimming Federation in 1889. Fencing, of course, has always been practiced in Italy and has never been neglected.

When Fascism came to power in Italy, a cer-

tain tradition already existed in the field of sport as well as a measure of training (carried out chiefly by the military academy of physical training of the Farnesina), yet sport lovers were remarkably few and the mass were entirely estranged from sport such as it was practiced in other countries.

Mussolini is responsible for the revival of sport in Italy, of which he realized the urgency, both physical and moral, from the outset of his coming to power. One of his first acts was to decree the compulsory laying out of sportsgrounds in every one of the several thousand Communes in Italy.

Firmly bent upon making sport accessible to the people of every age and class, in 1926 Mussolini planned a national organisation into which the youth of Italy was grouped through two institutions known as « Opera Nazionale Balilla » and « Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro ». When the scheme took shape sport came within reach of even the poorest child of the labour classes.

A problem arose, however, which was that of providing suitable teachers for such a multitude of would-be sportsmen. The solution was found by setting up two academies, one for men instructors at Rome and one for women at Orvieto.

The far-reaching task of inducing the whole country to take an active interest in sport, did



not prevent the regime from giving the proper training to the young as a preparation for international contests. In 1926, the Italian National Olympic Committee which had not been over-active in the past, was organised on better lines and entrusted with the management of all sporting events in the country.

The Committee, known as CONI for short, is presided over by the Secretary General of the Fascist Party, and has 25 affiliated Federations comprising a total membership of seven hundred thousand persons.

The help given by the CONI to the 25 Federations is not only technical or moral, but also financial, the Committee possessing a yearly fund of three million lire which it is empowered to divide among affiliated Federations in proportion to their requirement. Not all the Federations need or receive financial backing, but all are given such support as comes to them from provisions of a technical character planned by the Regime for the expansion and development of sport among the people.

One of the outstanding institutions of Fascism has been the « Medal for Athletic Valour » and the « Star for Sporting Merits », awarded each year personally by Il Duce to athletes who win national or international championships, and

to instructors and managers of Federations who distinguish themselves by their activity.

At present there are five separate, yet connected, forms of sporting activity in Italy: the *Opera Nazionale Balilla* for the moral and physical education of the young, which is in charge of physical training in elementary and secondary schools; the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro*, whose task it is to popularize sport among workers and peasants; the Sporting Federations affiliated with the CONI which select teams and individual players for international contests; the Junior Fascist Party and the GUF (University groups) whose activity is under the supervision of the CONI. Each of these bodies promotes contests and competitions with prizes for individuals and teams. The Littorio Prize is awarded annually to the Federation having acquired greatest merit at home and abroad during the year.

The *Opera Nazionale Balilla* and the *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* organize collective gymnastic displays of children and adults respectively at Rome, which are regularly attended by Il Duce and members of the Government.

Ten years of such a revival of sport, and of extensive physical training have reduced the number of citizens declared unfit for military service to a minimum, and have entirely wiped out the

category of men « unfit for military service in time of war ».

The progress of sport in Italy may be gleaned from results at Olympic games: to Athens (1896) Italy sent four champions, to Paris (1900) only two; she was absent from the Games at St. Louis (1904), to London in 1908 she sent 108 champions, to Stockholm (1912), she sent 120, to Antwerp (1920) she sent 220, to Paris (1924) she sent 325, to Amsterdam (1928) she sent 316, to Los Angeles (1932) she sent 115; to Berlin (1936) she sent 224.

Italian athletes secured one Olympic championship in Paris in 1900, two in London in 1908, three in Stockholm in 1912, eleven at Antwerp in 1920, seven in Paris in 1924, seven at Amsterdam in 1928, twelve at Los Angeles in 1932 and eight in Berlin in 1936. At Los Angeles Italy ranked second among all nations in the world and first among European participants.

The International Olympic Committee awards a special prize to the country which distinguishes itself most in any given field during the four years elapsing between the games. In the field of aviation Italy has scored 34 records, including the world speed record (709 kms. per hour).

An idea of the activity developed by the Regime to increase interest and participation in

sport during the last fourteen years may be had by comparing the present membership of sporting Federations with that registered before Fascism came to power. Societies affiliated with the Federation of Light Athletics were 357 in 1922 and 3872 in 1935 (individual membership was 832 in 1922 and 53.207 in 1935); Heavy Athletics have risen from 48 to 71 (membership from 485 to 784); Football from 1040 to 2280 (membership from 15.000 to 64.000); Boating from 86 to 207 (membership from 18.006 to 28.785); Bicycling from 601 to 1362 (membership from 5199 to 17.153); Boxing from 138 to 436 (membership from 781 to 4623); Winter sports from 28 to 446 (membership from 3.000 to 21.114); Alpine Clubs from 61 to 157 (membership from 26.504 to 58.651); Hockey and Roller skating from 5 to 116 (membership from 38 to 1328); Golf from 3 to 23 (membership from 47 to 1073); Motorcycling from 90 to 235 (membership from 1639, to 11634); Motornautics from 5 to 28 (membership from 55 to 260); Rugby from 32 to 719 (membership from 111 to 2234); Tennis from 28 to 519 (membership 419 to 8200); Pidgeon shooting from 25 to 915 (membership from 237 to 7497).

Riding too has developed considerably, as is shown by the fact that Horse Shows held annually in Italy have risen from 14 to 1921 to

33 in 1934. Swimming associations are 380 with a membership of 1501, Basket Ball associations are 1390 with 11.000 members (pre-Fascist figures are not available), Fencing societies are 114 with 1254 members. In 1935 the Federation of Target-shooting had 850 affiliated societies with 5689 members.

Motoring is increasing steadily, races and contests organised locally having contributed to the popularization of this form of sport, as well as international events such as the Grand Prix of Italy and the Thousand Mile Race.

Membership of the various Federations now equals the force of a regular army, yet it only comprises Balilla Boys and Girls, members of the Fascist University Students groups, and Dopolavoro Organisation. The figure goes into millions and forms a multitude of men and women who are physically and spiritually fit to face any test, guided as they are by the Duce's dictum: « Sporting feats increase national prestige, accustom men to loyal contests in the open field, where the peoples of every country measure their physical ability as well as their moral vigour and strength. »

## THE REFORM OF THE PENAL CODE AND THE DECREASE IN CRIMINALITY

*The classical school and the needs of the positive school - Synthesis of the two systems - Safety measures - Penal colonies and hard labour - The death penalty - Usury - Mental derangement - Rapid decrease in criminality - Its characters and its causes - Delinquency among minors - Its constant decrease - Social prophylaxis.*

The vast and fundamental work for the protection of society and the race could not fail to have an influence on penal legislation. But it was only with the advent of Fascism that the reform of the Penal Code, which science and experience had been demanding for the last thirty years, was put into operation.

The new Italian Penal Code unites the principles of the classical with the requirements of the positive school: justice tempered by mercy. The classical school, starting from premises of a metaphysical nature, considered in the first place the criminal; the positive school, on the contrary, considers crime as a social phenome-

non. Hence the different conception of punishment. While, for the classical school, punishment should, above all, restore to the culprit that equilibrium which had been destroyed and bring about his redemption, for the positive school the first objective of punishment should be to repair the damage to society placing the culprit in a position to do no further harm.

The new code avoids both extremes. Starting from the principle that man is capable of regulating his conduct of his own free will, a principle from which is derived the other principle of penal responsibility for human actions, it has taken into consideration those motives which may influence the will, refusing to consider the latter as independent of all causal laws.

Hence a repressive, but also a preventive action on the part of the law, although the prophylactic activity against the danger of delinquency is already carried on mainly through social legislation, public assistance, education and re-education, and by means of police measures.

The safety measures introduced by the penal code with a preventive objective are precautions against the causes, even individual causes, of crime, and they are distinguished from police measures inasmuch as they are applied only after the crime has been committed and only for the

purpose of establishing whether the culprit is an habitual criminal.

These measures are applied by the magistrate with all the guarantees of a judiciary procedure.

The Code provides for two types of measures for public safety: personal (with or without imprisonment), and financial.

The measures restricting personal liberty consist of confinement in an agricultural colony, or in prison with hard labour (« casa di lavoro »); confinement in a house of detention or a criminal asylum. Other detentive measures consist of: freedom under police supervision; prohibition to reside in a given town or province; prohibition to enter wineshops and other places where alcoholic liquor is sold; in the case of foreigners, expulsion from the territory of the State.

Habitual or professional criminals and those having a tendency to crime, are sent to the agricultural colonies or to prison with hand labour. This imposes on the magistrate a most careful and scrupulous inquiry into the character of the accused, his moral tendencies, whether he should be considered as dangerous, his capacity to amend, the possibility of his re-education.

The financial measures for public safety consist in the payment of a sum of money by the suspected person, as a guarantee of his good



conduct, and confiscation of his property in case of a criminal relapse.

The measures for public safety, which substitute or complete the penalty, are based on the idea of providing a more efficient social defence, and presuppose a less abstract application of the law but more suited to the character of the culprit.

Notable reforms introduced into the new Penal Code are: restoration of the death penalty by shooting and only to be applied when overwhelming proofs are available of the culprit's guilt; abolition of solitary confinement, regarded as a useless increase of punishment, inevitably leading to a complete destruction of the condemned man's physical and mental forces; elimination of the distinction between detention and reclusion and authority given to the magistrate to inflict pecuniary punishment in proportion to the economic situation of the culprit.

The new Code punishes with extreme severity, greatly exceeding previous legislation, crimes against the State, especially espionage; it re-enforces the protection of the race, severely punishing abortion, and the defence of the family, by punishing desertion and neglect of the family, now considered as crimes.

Usury, which remained unpunished under the

old Code, is now punishable by a special penal law.

As regards personal participation in a crime, the new Code eliminates the distinction between active (*correatà*) and passive complicity in crime in its two traditional forms: of necessity and of non-necessity, and thus eliminating all degrees of complicity and establishing that all complicity in crime should be punished in the same manner.

This severe concept is mitigated by art. 114, which authorises the magistrate to grant a reduction in punishment in cases of very slight complicity in crime.

Taken as a whole, the penalties imposed by the new Code are more severe, and the so-called juridical accumulation is abolished by which various crimes committed by the same individual were considered as one single crime and punished as such, the penalty being much inferior than that of the sum total of crimes taken singly. According to the new Code collective crimes are considered singly and dealt with far more severely. For instance, in case of a double sentence to life imprisonment, the culprit is sentenced to death.

The new Code deals with the question of mental derangement with the greatest penal and scientific care. Human passions cannot be regarded as a form of mental derangement, and in all

cases of a reduction or elimination of mental responsibility, the culprit must be confined for a determined period in a sanatorium or in a criminal asylum. For serious cases of homicide, the period of confinement in a criminal asylum cannot be less than ten years.

The new code is very severe in respect of crimes against property, especially theft, and against persons. On the other hand, the punishment for forgery is mitigated.

With regard to assault and battery, the new Code eliminates the idea of unintentional wounding, which remains solely in case of homicide, when it is evident that the person who killed had only the intention of wounding.

The efficacy of the new Code, and, in general, of the restorative and prophylactic policy of Fascism, is demonstrated by the satisfactory decrease in crime.

In 1933, only three years after the application of the new Code, ascertained crimes numbered 529.059. In the preceding year they were 616.267. Consequently the decrease in criminality in a single year amounted to 87.208.

The full significance of these figures is better appreciated by comparison. To avoid excessive analysis, we will examine the recurrence of the phenomenon on a three year average. In 1924-

1926, there were 684.568 crimes; in the period 1927-1929 they fell to 611.511, in 1930-1932 they had dropped to 587.273, while in 1933 the number of crimes amounted to only 529.059. The descending line is constant and manifest.

A proof of this fact will be found by examining the statistical curve of the last ten years. In 1926 there were 1748 crimes for every 100.000 inhabitants; in 1927 they dropped to 1575; in 1928 to 1555; in 1929 to 1455; in 1930 to 1435; in 1931 to 1360; in 1932 to 1487; in 1933 to 1271; in 1934 to 1265; in 1935 to 1254.

Particularly interesting is the study of statistical data per general categories of crime. The two principal ones are those against persons and against property. Both show a decrease in proportion to the figures given above.

Instead of the 81.860 cases of assault and the 1834 cases of homicide or attempted homicide in 1932, in the following year there were only 65.456 cases of assault and 1616 cases of homicide or attempted homicide. In 1932 there were 226.671 cases as against 210.038 in 1933. Again as compared with the 2352 crimes of robbery with violence, extortion with menaces and kidnapping committed in 1932, there were only 1924 in 1933.

A descending curve is also to be observed for other categories of crime. For instance, crimes of

fraud have decreased from 52.538 to 22.446; those against honour, from 34.145 to 26.414; those against personal reputation, from 34.145 to 26.414; those against public economy, from 5613 to 4186; those of violence, resistance and insults to the police, from 13.316 to 11.629; those against the administration of justice, from 14.193 to 11.470; those against public order from 1217 to 816; those against morals and good behaviour from 9.887 to 9.032; those against individual liberty, from 14.701 to 11.806.

Almost all forms of crime are, therefore, on the decline. It is a remarkable fact, because the common occurrence of the phenomenon cannot be explained except by the common occurrence of the cause. When a category or several categories of crime tend to decrease, while others remain stationary or have a tendency to increase, the student of criminology at once realises that it is caused by a contingent and particular fact. We are still far removed from the full recovery and improvement in the moral conditions of the people.

When, on the other hand, the quota of criminality decreases, then all researches as to the cause in a special sector should be abandoned and continued from the point of view of social life in general. The new penal legislation, the preventive means of social prophylaxis, the institutions of the

Régime, the « Fasci di Combattimento », the National Militia, the « Dopolavoro », the juvenile organisations, etc., may be considered as causes contributing toward this improvement in moral standards.

In fact Italy may now be considered as almost immune from that form of more socially dangerous criminality, namely habitual or professional criminals, and those who have a tendency towards crime. In 1932 the habitual criminals sentenced were 1483; in 1933 the number fell to 1199; in 1934 to 893; in 1935 to 828.

In 1932 the number of professional criminals condemned was 111; in 1933 this figure was reduced to 68; in 1934 to 72; in 1935 to 54.

The number of individuals with a tendency towards delinquency in 1932 was 143; 34 in 1933, 42 in 1934; 40 in 1935.

Juvenile delinquency offers another and decisive argument. In the triennium 1929-1931 it shows a progressive and very apparent decrease, as from 26.696 condemned juvenile offenders in 1929, the number fell to 20.588 in 1929 and 16.417 in the succeeding years. The causes of this diminution exercised a corresponding influence on crime and on contravention of the regulations, as in the first we find the decreasing series 20.299 - 16.129 - 12.652, and in the second the propor-

tionately decreasing series 6.397 - 4.459 - 3.765.

The legislative causes, and, to be more precise, the new age limit for a minor adopted by the Penal Code, only had effect during the second half of the year 1931, when the new Code came into force; consequently the decrease which took place, with equal intensity, in the preceding years of the triennium now under examination, must be attributed to causes of another nature, which must undoubtedly be regarded as of a sociological character consisting, for the most part, of those measures of social prophylaxis regarding maternity and childhood, which have been adopted and intensified of recent years by the Régime.

The most recent statistics of the Ministry of Justice fully confirm the foregoing considerations. In fact, while in 1931 the misdemeanours perpetrated by minors amounted, as we have seen, to 12.652, in 1932 the number fell to 7150, and in 1935 to 2733.

These are figures which merit our utmost respect.

## THE ARMY

*The Diaz organisation - Mussolini Minister of War - Number of recruits - Various periods of military service - Advancement and promotion - Examinations - The army keeps aloof from politics - Motorisation - The tactical Code - Training of the soldier - Yearly cost of a soldier - Characteristics of the Italian Army.*

It is commonly stated that the Italian armed forces are a creation of Mussolini and bear the clear imprint of the Duce's thought and will. The expression is exact, but it does not give an adequate idea of the amplitude and depth of Mussolini's personal action in the military field, and might give rise to the doubt that he limited himself to the choice of experts, giving them authority, encouragement and means. The real facts are very different.

The Duce has often pointed out the solution of a military problem, taking a direct part in essential decisions. He himself has expressly declared in his *Colloqui* or *Conversations*: « There is a danger that experts may confront the Head



of the Government with decisions for which he has not the necessary bases. In this case there is nothing to be done but to study the matter and gradually master it ».

It is not necessary to record the conditions of the Italian Army immediately after the march on Rome. They were such as required an immediate work of reconstruction. Mussolini accomplished it by gradual stages.

In the first stage, extending from October 28, 1922 to May, 1925 the Army repaired the damage sustained during four years of crisis, following the plan outlined by Diaz in January 1923. The various units, no longer hampered with police services, returned to instruction; the regular recruiting of officers was resumed, and their economic conditions improved; special attention was given to the formation of a reserve of officers; institutes of military education were again stimulated to full activity; the ordinary term of service with the colours was fixed at 18 months; the high command was reorganised. After two years, or a little more, the Army had a new aspect, permitting those further changes which careful study, experience and foresight advise and without drastic or precipitate measures.

We thus come to the year 1926, in which Mussolini drew up the new military statute, which

he himself put into execution, later entrusting it to a minister who was himself an officer.

The Army is moulded according to this new statute, it carries out studies and experiments, it perfects itself, improves its tactical codes, creates new armaments; builds military roads and fortifications, completes its equipment; in silence but with the utmost tenacity it seeks for the most satisfactory military divisions and the most suitable regulations for work, for organisation and for command; every day, it becomes part of the Regime and marches shoulder to shoulder with it; it becomes an object of admiration and confidence.

Italy has adopted, for all its armed forces, the system of recruiting by conscription. The obligation to perform military service begins at the age of 21 and ends — owing to a recent regulation — at the age of 55.

There is no lack of men in Italy. One levy of one class amounts to about half a million young men, but owing to a very severe selective criterion, only 260 thousand are listed in the Army, and of these not all are called to the colours. The maximum duration of continuous service which is compulsory for the army is 18 months, but the entire period is served only by a certain proportion of the recruits. The rest serve for periods of 12, 6 and 3 months.

This system of variable periods with the colours is in proportion to the needs of a social character (reduced period of military service for those whose families are in special conditions), to those of a Military character (need for a longer period of instruction for those who require specialisation, and need for a military nucleus to act as a point of concentration round which the Army may be mobilised and to secure the continuity of the life of the Army), and with those of a financial character, (keeping expenses within the limits fixed by the budget).

Selection is very severe in order to obtain from the mass of officers a hierarchy of commanders eminently capable both in peace and war. Promotion to the ranks of major and colonel takes place by examination, and this system, adopted of recent years, after much debate, triumphed chiefly owing to the Duce's will, expressed in these significant words: « To give an examination is not humiliating. It is humiliating to be rejected. But I may add that life is one continual examination. We must all go through it, and so must officers who have the sublime and tremendous duty of leading men into battle. When a nation entrusts her sons to other men, she must have full faith in these men. » As regards the higher hierarchy — commanders of army-corps and di-

visions — selection is the only method of advancement, and is based on the principle of capacity arrived at by a central committee consisting of the highest military authorities, who must take into account the moral qualities and the « prestige » of the candidates for promotion.

Officers, according to the time-honoured traditions of the Italian Army, must abstain from politics. Mussolini clearly affirmed this in one of his very first acts on assuming power, when he forbade — on November 1, 1922 — a manifestation to which a newspaper had invited all the officers on active service in the Roman garrison: « No manifestations, either for me or for others. You », he said to the General in command of the Rome Division, « and all your officers will understand the serious and important reasons for my attitude. The National Army cannot and must not applaud or disapprove. It must only and always faithfully obey. In this lies its strength, its greatness and its glory ».

To complete the requirements for mobilisation, namely the call to the colours of trained recruits, Italy has a reserve of officers, who are very numerous.

In order to maintain a close liaison between the reserve of officers and the Army, and to enable the former to keep in touch with the

progress of armaments and methods of warfare, courses of instruction are given, of an informative and practical character, by officers on the regular staff.

The war-material, which, together with the man power, forms the fundamental binomium of modern armies, has received all the development and improvement allowed by the somewhat limited means.

One of the problems which the military organisers have had to solve is to what extent motor power should be employed, either as a weapon or as a means of transport. Starting from the idea that motorisation will inevitably increase in all branches of the army — whether logistic, tactic or strategic, it has been decided to make use of the machine up to the limit beyond which the nature of the country renders its employment impossible. It has been kept in mind that the Italian army is frequently called upon to fight in a mountainous country, in regions where it is difficult for machines to manœuvre. Motorisation has been largely applied to vehicles destined to move along roads.

In order that both training in peace and action in war should be carried out with the indispensable unity, complex rules have been evolved during the reconstruction period inspired by a

military doctrine which, after having fixed the general outline of a future war, as far as it is possible to foresee at present, determine the manner in which the various units must act. The first characteristic of the Italian tactical code is that it is inspired by the conception of man as of more importance than the weapon of the machine, and considering every tactical act not only from the point of view of armament power and ability in manœuvres, but also as the expression of will and of faith.

Training is divided into various phases; the soldier first is taught the use of the arms which he must handle, (various arms, machines, horses), at the same time training in military gymnastics is given not with the object of creating sports champions, but rather to gradually improve the soldier's physique and to enable him to withstand the strain and fatigue of warfare. After individual instruction has been given in the use of arms, horses, armoured cars etc., collective training follows with various units; then, camping out in the open; manœuvres with large units, winter manœuvres and special courses for specialists.

Each camp has been the object of special study and care, without, however, any exaggeration, which would have been impossible for fi-

nancial reasons and which the Duce would not have tolerated. All that was necessary has been accomplished, harmonising scrupulous care of the men with that of ways and means. But economy, the most rigid economy, has been the paramount idea. In fact, the average yearly cost of a soldier (everything included, namely maintenance and training, barracks, animals and war-material, officers and non-commissioned officers for training purposes), has been reduced to the modest sum of lire 7830, while the yearly cost of a soldier in France is 15300 francs, and over 20000 francs in Switzerland.

The Italian Fascist army has a definite character of its own. It originated in the Army of the great war, and is inspired by a living memory of the great victory and pride in the successful Ethiopian campaign. From the spirit of Fascism, in which it lives, it derives its fervour and impulse to perfection.

Both organisation and preparation are based on the idea that should war break out, it will be fought in a mountainous country, broken and covered with forests. Hence the adoption of large, light units — the *ternarie* divisions consisting of three brigades entirely autonomous in respect of services and provided with easily transportable material, if necessary on mule-back. Mobile in-

fantry units, with great firing and manœuvring capacity; a powerful and mobile artillery; special units for Alpine and winter warfare; limited but excellent cavalry supported by more powerful mobile troops; abundant, modern and practical mechanical means of transport by traction without undue prejudices in favour of wholly motorised units not suited for hilly countries. This is the Italian Army, and its present characteristics.



## THE FASCIST MILITIA

*Origin of the Militia - Its organisation and scope - Recruiting - Special Militias - Pre-military training - Its cost - The baptism of fire in East Africa.*

What is the Fascist Militia? It is a transformation into a Volunteer Militia for National Safety of the « Squadre d'azione » which formed the storm troops of Fascism up to the March on Rome. The decree instituting the Militia (14th January, 1923) n. 31, contains rules and regulations establishing the Fascist Militia as an organisation deriving its legal title exist directly from the State. The Fascist Militia is devoted « to the service of God and of the Italian Fatherland »; it forms part of the military forces engaged in the service of public safety and at the orders of the Head of the Government. Like the other armed forces of the State it maintains public order at home, and « prepares citizens for the defence of Italian interests throughout the world »; it performs certain services as ordered

by the Head of the Government, and has permanent duties, such as the pre-military training of youth.

It has inherited from the classical Roman military institutions the names of units and ranks, also the Roman salute, which has become the official Fascist salute, and on certain occasions is adopted also by members of other armed forces.

At present the Fascist Militia consists, on a strictly territorial basis, of 120 legions, grouped in 33 commands which are regrouped in 4 commands (Milan, Bologna, Rome and Naples); the Islands have two separate commands of Black Shirts. The group command corresponds approximately to that of a Division in the Army, and the number of legions varies (from 2 to 7). The legion commanded by a Consul, consists of several cohorts, commanded by seniors (captains), and some of these cohorts are formed into a Black Shirt battalion for anti-air defence.

Moreover, there are 13 complementary legions of one single cohort; six autonomous cohorts and a legion of war-wounded, stationed in Rome, besides a detachment of war-wounded for each legion, stationed in the various provincial capitals. Enlistment in the Fascist Militia is voluntary, but applicants must be undoubted patriots and of good moral conduct, entered in the National

Fascist Party, not under 20 or over 50 years of age. Soldiers serving in the regular army are not admitted, nor are candidates who have not passed a very searching medical examination.

The « Fascist levy », as it is called, is held every 24th of May — anniversary of Italy's entry into the war. The little *Balilla* who have reached their 14th year, pass into the ranks of the *Avanguardisti*, who at the age of 18 become Young Fascists, and at 20 are enrolled in the Militia. On reaching their 21st year, those who must perform their military duties leave the Militia for the regular army, and if they so wish, return on completion of their military service.

Besides the ordinary Militia are several specialised branches, whose duties are indicated by their names: frontier Militia — which polices the frontier zones — railways, posts, telegraphs and telephones, ports and harbours, roads, air-defence, consisting of men of over 40 who have no military duties and young Fascists from 18 to 20 years of age. There is also the University Militia and two permanent Lybian legions constituted in 1924, one stationed in Tripolitania and one in Cyrenaica.

The Fascist Militia numbers 300.000 men. Except in the case of specialised branches, having a purely technical character and a limited number

of men, militiamen are kept in reserve, being only recalled for brief periods, often for one day only, for reviews or military instruction or police duties.

The principal object of the Fascist Militia and the reason for its existence, is essentially political: « The Militia is the armed guard of the Fascist Revolution ». But other important duties have been entrusted to it. Besides the subsidiary control intrusted by certain State Departments to the specialised branches, the Militia since 1926 is in charge of the premilitary instruction of youth, both soldiers and sailors.

Pre-military instruction was rendered compulsory in 1930, and in the following year there were more than one million pupils, the result of two levies, subdivided in 6865 courses. In the year XIII of the Fascist era the instructors of 7032 courses, plus about 3000 sections of courses were 35.827. The number of pupils entered for premilitary instruction were 636.288, of whom 570.570 were examined; 552.423 were successful, namely 96 per cent.

These figures need no comment and show the high moral and political value of the function entrusted to the Militia. It is by virtue of this that every Italian citizen up to the age of 55 is a soldier, as established by Mussolini's recent law, and that the period of service has been reduced.

The convenience of entrusting this training to the Militia is evident, because the territorial character of the Militia enables it to hold courses in numerous centres, even the smallest, with a minimum of inconvenience and less expense for all.

In 1929 Black Shirt battalions were formed, analogous to infantry battalions but numerically less strong, armed with muskets and machine-guns and hand grenades. These battalions, easily mobilised and lighter and faster than infantry battalions, animated by the greatest enthusiasm and military spirit, are attached to the regular army in the proportion of two battalions for each divisions. As these battalions consist of volunteers who have already served in the regular army and who in case of mobilisation, being under 36 years of age, would be recalled to the colours, they do not represent an increase in the mobilised army, but only a manner of utilising reserves.

The Fascist Militia only costs the State the very limited sum of 60 million lire. This force of 300.000 men cannot be considered as part of the regular army in peace-time, as from the point of view of the army it can only be regarded as a mass of trained reserves, such as exist in all States, nor is it a part of the army in war-time, because mobilisation has the effect of dissolving the Militia almost completely, as all

militiamen called to the colours are sent to their respective regiments or to the Black Shirt Battalions.

The Fascist Militia constitutes a great moral force, because it continues voluntary enlistment on the great Garibaldian tradition —. And it must be admitted that it is a most valuable subsidiary element as it relieves the army of police duty, of premilitary instruction of territorial anti-air defence so that the army may devote itself, body and soul, as the Duce said, to its supreme objective, which is the preparation for war.

The Fascist Militia celebrated its 14th anniversary under fire in East Africa, where Italy was fighting for the security of her colonies, her legitimate need for expansion and her right to carry out her work of civilisation. It covered itself with glory in the battles of Ganale Doria and the Tembien, where the « 28 Ottobre » Division won the praise of the Duce for having held out against an enemy superior in numbers, finally defeating it and putting it to flight. It was a most memorable action. The Militia fought and won at Abbi Addi, Gulá Gulé, in the Debrj zone, at Debra Amba, Selaclacá, and Mai-Gherghedá, showing that it deserved the confidence placed in it by the high Command and by the Nation.

## THE NAVY

*The Italian Navy after the world-war - The Pact of Washington and its consequences - New constructions and programmes.*

At the time of the March on Rome the Italian Navy was still in a state of exhaustion, the result two consecutive wars. The Italo-Turkish war had caused severe naval losses and the navy had emerged from the world war with considerably increased morale but materially greatly reduced.

A double programme was imperative; reconstruction of material and restoration to full strength. Both measure naturally to be in accordance with international pacts and conventions and among these the Pact of Washington, which established a sort of hierarchy among maritime nations. And on the basis of this hierarchy were fixed the quantitative limits of the number of ships to be assigned to the various fleets, and the qualitative characteristics of each type. In defining these limits, the Pact of Washington

was based on the principle of reducing armaments, and also on the experience of the great war, which had shown the overwhelming importance of light craft and submarines.

Being a signatory to the Pact of Washington, Italy was bound to respect these principles in the reorganisation of its fleet, which should have comprised:

Seven 10,000 ton cruisers, carrying guns of 203 mm. This tonnage and calibre were the maximum granted by the Treaty of Washington. By varying speed and armature, two classes have been obtained; the first consisting of fast but lightly armoured cruisers which can easily reach a speed of 36 knots, and the second of less speedy (33 knots) but more heavily armoured cruisers.

These seven cruisers, respectively named after the redeemed cities, (*Zara, Gorizia, Fiume, Pola, Trento, Trieste, Bolzano*), form two homogeneous groups of ships capable of supporting each other in a combined action.

Twelve smaller cruisers armed with 152 mm. guns constitute a « Condottieri » class. They have been named after famous Italian soldiers: *Giovanni delle Bande Nere, Alberico da Barbiano, Colleoni, Alberto da Giussano, Cadorna, Diaz, Attendolo, Eugenio di Savoia, Montecuccoli, Duca d'Aosta, Garibaldi, Duca degli Abruzzi*. These



too constitute two groups of armoured cruisers capable of manœuvring at high speed.

Twelve scouts of 2000 tons, armed with six guns of 120 mm., and four torpedo-tubes. Given their speed of 38 knots, they act as scouts and explorers for the torpedo squadrons. They have been named after great naval pioneers: *Usodimare, Pessagno, Pancaldo, Malocello, Da Noh, Tarigo, Zeno, Vivaldi, Da Recco, Da Verazzano, Da Mosto, Pigafetta.*

Twenty-eight torpedo-destroyers of four distinct types, with a similar armament of four 120 mm. guns, 6 torpedo tubes and a speed of nearly 38 knots. There has been a gradual evolution towards greater tonnage, from ships of 1.070 tons named after statesmen and martyrs in the national cause, to the 1.110 tons of the « Wind Flotilla », (*Euro, Turbine* etc.), the 1240 tons of the four *Freccia* and *Folgore*, and finally to the 1.480 of the four *Maestrali*.

Fiftyfour submarines are subdivided into eight long distance, twentyfour medium, nineteen small; three mine-layers. These units constitute a valuable complement to the fleet.

Finally six 600 ton torpedo-boats: *Spica, Astore, Perseo, Sirio, Climene, Centauro.*

Altogether there are 119 units, with a total of 253.750 tons, all built in Italian yards. With-

out taking into account minor artillery, they carry 356 medium and heavy calibre guns, and their engines develop 13.840.000 H. P.

In the above list the units built before 1922 do not figure, namely the four ironclads: *Cesare*, *Cavour*, *Doria* and *Duilio*; four light cruisers: *Ancona*, *Taranto*, *Bari*, *Quarto*; seven scouts: *Tigre*, *Pantera*, *Leone*, etc.; eight torpedo destroyers of the *Palestro* type; two submarines of N and two of X type.

As will be seen, Italy possesses a formidable navy, which the Fascist Government is engaged in making even more powerful.

The Treaty of Washington expires in December 1936 and was not renewed at the last Conference of London. It is to be foreseen that the leading maritime Powers will revert to dreadnoughts.

The Duce has not allowed himself to be « caught napping ». He has foreseen the course of events and has taken steps for the proportional increase of the navy.

This programme is based principally on forming a nucleus of battleships powerfully armoured and armed.

The first step in this direction has been to bring up to date two of the four superannuated units namely the *Cavour* and *Cesare*, increasing

their speed and armaments. Second decision: construction of two ironclads of the maximum tonnage allowed by the treaties (35,000 tons). The hulls of the *Littorio* and the *Vittorio Veneto* are already on the slips, and work is proceeding with the greatest speed.

These, in the main, are the fundamental lines of Italy's naval programme; but it was necessary to add a few finishing touches. For instance, the destroyers were found to be absolutely inadequate to the task of escort and concerted action with larger battleships. Consequently the construction of four new torpedo destroyers was decided upon, all of the *Maestrале* type, namely: *Oriani*, *Gioberti*, *Alfieri*, *Carducci*. At the same time ten coasting submarines have been placed on the slips (*Perla*, *Iride*, *Gemma*, etc). Finally it has been decided to build ten 600 ton torpedo-boats, four gun boats, a torpedo boat for the Colonies and 20 M.A.S.

The whole of the vast building programme is in the hands of Italian engineers and Italian labour.

## AVIATION

*Mussolini creator of Italian aviation - Air-cruises - The idea of mass formation - Financial grants - Bombing planes - Flight autonomy - Fighters and their speed - Aviation in East Africa.*

Two months after having come into power, in December of 1922, Mussolini ordered an inquiry to be made to ascertain the condition of aviation. The conclusions were disastrous. The material which had been valued approximately at one milliard lire turned out to be worth less than 200 million lire. Only 66 aeroplanes and hydroplanes had a continuous flying capacity of, on an average, only one hour and without any bombs or ammunition. Only 500 men of the air arm of the army and navy were in receipt of flying indemnities. From October 1918, the eve of the armistice, to the appointment of the Commission of inquiry, not a single new machine had been added to the air-fleet.

On learning the results of the inquiry, Mussolini set about remedying this state of affairs with

his customary energy. On the 24th of January 1923 he founded the Air Commissariat, independent from the army and the navy and equal in status.

In the financial year 1923-1924 the credits for the « Aeronautica » were brought up to 400 million lire, which enabled 300 new machines to be lined up at the Roman aerodrome of Centocelle. Naturally the Italian air organisation, in its initial phase, had to have recourse to foreign industry.

In the summer of 1925 the new Ministry of Aeronautics was founded, and Mussolini personally assumed control.

During the first three years Italy's air-policy had three objectives: a rapid and organic increase in the air units, with all their attendant services; establishment of uniformity from the point of view of technique and training; finally preparation and execution of a first group of solo flights, calculated to increase throughout the world the prestige of Italian aviation.

In the three succeeding years, from '29 to '32, the idea of mass and the collective criterion were predominant. Several important flights were carried out, in the Mediterranean and South-Atlantic. For the first time an imposing mass of over 1000 aeroplanes and seaplanes were engaged in

extensive manœuvres, in formations of medium and large units.

The tenth anniversary of the Regime, in 1932, was the highwater-mark of Italy's aviation prestige. A squadron of 25 bombing seaplanes successfully accomplished the astonishing flight from Italy to the United States and back. The audacity of the initiative was seconded by industrial technique and excellent material. In the meantime the increasing Air budget appeared to have become stabilised in a sum of from 700 to 800 million lire a year. But owing to the special requirements of the East African campaign and the menacing situation in the Mediterranean. Mussolini decided to assign a special credit of 1200 million lire for a radical renewal of the air-force.

The flying material now at the disposal of the Italian Air Force is first class as shown by the fact that Italy for several years has held the record for absolute hight (14.433 metres), and for speed (709 kilometres per hour).

The Italian bombing squadron have now reached a speed varying between 300 and 350 per hour with a continuous flight capacity of about 300 kilometres, carrying 2 tons of bombs, etc.

Fighters attain speeds superior to 400 kilometres per hour, with a climbing speed of from 10 to 11 kilometres, and are armed with 4, and some-

times five machine-guns of medium calibre and small guns of 20 mm.

At the present moment the special air material existing in Italy may be calculated as having a value of not less than eight milliards of lire. The budget for the Italian Air Force normally amounts to 1 milliard lire.

During the recent East African campaign, Italian aviation accomplished over 35 thousand hours of flight, carrying 2,500,000 kilos of bombs and revictualing the troops with about one million kilograms of material. Of the 400 planes employed 259 were hit by enemy fire, and 8 were brought down.

It must also be stated that the Italian Air Force has succeeded in almost completely emancipating itself from other States as regards material of all kinds.

## ITALY'S RELIGIOUS POLICY AND THE CONCILIATION

*The Roman Question, before, during and after the world war - A speech by Mussolini at the Chamber of Deputies - The prejudiced attitude of the Church - The Pacts of the Lateran - The Treaty - The Vatican City - Its neutrality and inviolability - Recognition, on the part of the Pontiff, of Rome as Capital of the Italian Kingdom - The Financial Convention - The Concordat - Matrimony - The Azione cattolica and its limitations - « Discussion on religious matters is fully allowed » - The education of youth is the duty of the State - Religious teaching.*

Born in open and radical opposition to socialism and materialism; affirming national values as supreme values and regarding their efficiency and their predominance as sovereign and intransigent, Fascism, and the State organised by it, could not have limited itself, without being inevitably incoherent, to a task of economic reform and strengthening of the country. The Fascist State was instinctively drawn towards overcoming all the old divisions of the national collectivity, amalgamating in a solid and homogeneous mass all the



strata and all the various currents of the population.

The first question to be solved was the old Roman Question. The Papacy had never ceased to protest against the Italian occupation of Rome. For over thirty years, indeed, the affirmation of temporal power had been the leit-motiv of Vatican diplomacy. If the papal intransigence had appeared to have become somewhat modified with Pius X' advent to the throne, it seemed, on the other hand, that a nationalist revival should have compelled the Papacy to claim absolute autonomy, which would have been impossible without a territory of its own, however small. At the outbreak of the world-war many people believed that the Papacy would have profited by the occasion to obtain a solution of the Roman question from Italy's enemies. But this was not the case. The Holy See understood that it could only hope for a solution of its relations with the Italian State from Italy itself.

The constant protest against the abolition of Temporal Power, which dated back to Pius IX and which Leo XIII had emphasised and made binding on all his successors, was expressed in particularly moderate terms in the Encyclical *Ad beatissimi*, of November 1914; and if in his consistorial allocution of 6 December 1915 Pope Be-

nedict XV complained that the condition of the Roman Pontiff was not such « as to allow him the full use of that liberty which he needed in the government of the Church », adding that this restriction had become even more manifest owing to the war and its consequent difficulties, he nevertheless admitted that the Italian Government had done its utmost, « to mitigate the consequences and inconveniences of the war », avoiding any mention of temporal power.

As Cardinal Gasparri had declared a few months previously, on June 28, 1915, when Italy had just entered on the European war, the Holy See expected the settlement of its situation in Italy « not from foreign arms, but from the sense of justice of the Italian people, in their own real interest. In 1916 Catholics formed part of the National Coalition Ministry, while priests, holding army rank as military chaplains, served valiantly at the front, thus contributing towards easing the situation and directing Catholics more decisively towards nationalism.

In his first speech at the Chamber of deputies, in June 1921, Mussolini took up a definite stand in this respect: « I affirm in this House that the Latin tradition of Imperial Rome is today represented by Catholicism. If, as Mommsen said, it is impossible to remain in Rome without a universal

idea, I believe and affirm that the only universal idea now existing in Rome is that represented by the Vatican. I am very much disturbed when I see churches being founded on a national basis, because it means that millions and millions of men no longer look towards Italy and towards Rome. And this is why I advance this hypothesis: I believe that, should the Vatican definitely give up its temporal dreams — and I believe that it is already well on this road — Italy, lay or profane, should afford the Vatican all material help and encouragement for its schools, its churches, its hospitals or any other pious and civil manifestation. Because the development of Catholicism in the world, an increase in the four-hundred million men who look towards Rome from all parts of the earth, is of interest and a source of pride for us Italians. »

These words were not said by chance and were in keeping with the action of Fascism throughout the country in respect of religion and the clergy. Despite the opposition of the Popular Party, Fascism, first as a party, then as a government never swerved an inch from its attitude towards religion and towards the Church.

On the basis of its history and its dogmatic tradition, the Holy See had always declared that any arrangement destined to guarantee its inde-

pendence and liberty could not be derived solely from the State because the Holy See did not recognise the right of any one to regulate its very existence. Any law tending to regulate its relations with the Italian State should be freely discussed and sealed by a pacific Concordat. All other proposals, however good, however perfect, but not fully answering to the conditions from which the Holy See could not possibly draw back, must be absolutely refused. For this reason the Holy See had always declared the Law of Guarantees to be unacceptable. It is not necessary to point out how this prejudiced point-of-view constituted an unsormountable barrier for the former Italian State, in which two distinctly anticlerical currents were prevalent: the jacobin-democratic and the liberal current based upon the Hegelian tradition, after the disappearance of Cavour, author of the formula: « Free Church in Free State. »

For Mussolini this problem did not even exist.

That the Fascist State proclaims itself a Catholic State is a well-known fact which no one disputes. Fascism has too keen a sense of life and of history to ignore the priceless value of religion and to disregard the fact that practically all Italians are Catholics, for whom the faith of their fathers is an irradicable datum in their con-

science and their customs. And if this explains and justifies the attitude of deep regard and privilege towards the Church, its cult and its ministers, it does not in the least constitute, theoretically speaking, the predominant motive of the Conciliation.

The Conciliation was reached not owing to considerations of a practical order, but through its own ideology. The Fascist State has not repudiated the liberal-democratic position with a view to a conciliation with the Holy See; on the contrary it was drawn towards Conciliation by an absolutely autonomous ideology, which had dispersed the last remnants of jacobinism.

After laborious discussions and negotiations which lasted two years the so-called Lateran Treaty was signed on 11 February 1929. The agreements between Italy and the Holy See were contained in a political Treaty, a financial Convention and a Concordat.

The political Treaty regulates the relations between Italy and the Holy See, the central and therefore supernational organ of the Catholic Church. The Concordat regulates the relations between the Italian State and the Italian Church, a part of the universal Church. The financial Convention aims at indemnifying, if only in part, the Apostolic See for the damages sustain-

ed as a result of the loss of the patrimony of St. Peter, consisting of the ancient Pontifical States and Church property.

The political Treaty consists of a foreword and of twentyseven articles. It reaffirms the principle enunciated in art. 1 of the Statute, which declares that the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the only State religion (art. 1).

It then recognises the full right of ownership and the exclusive sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See over the Vatican, as at present constituted (art. 2). For this purpose it creates the « the Vatican City », and declares that the Italian Government has no right to interfere therein, and that there will be no other authority except that of the Holy See (art. 4).

The Piazza of St. Peter's though forming part of the territory of the « the Vatican City », will continue to remain open as usual to the public, and will be under the control of the Italian police. The confines of the « the Vatican City » are shown in a map annexed to the Treaty (art. 3).

The Treaty specifies the persons who are subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, namely those residing habitually in the « the Vatican City ». This right of residence is not forfeited by a temporary sojourn elsewhere without

abandonment of residence unless other circumstances prove the abandonment of said residence (art. 9).

The franchise and privileges are also established for dignitaries of the Church who do not reside in the City, persons belonging to the Pontifical Court and functionaries which the Holy See considers as indispensable. All these persons shall always and in every case be exempted from military service or from any other duty of a personal character (art. 10).

There is also established the territorial immunity of the patriarchal Basilicas and of certain other buildings placed outside the precincts of the « the Vatican City » in which the Holy See has placed or will place its Congregations, besides the offices and services necessary for its administration (art. 15).

Italy recognises the Holy See's right to active and passive representation, according to the general rules of international law. Both bind themselves to establish normal diplomatic relations by accrediting an Italian Ambassador to the Holy See and a Pontifical Nuncio to Italy, the later to be regarded as the doyen of the diplomatic corps, according to precedents recognised by the Vienna Congress on June 9, 1815. (art. 12).

It is further established that the treasures of

art and science existing in the « the Vatican City » and in the Lateran Palace will continue to be accessible to students and visitors (art. 18).

Another clause of the Treaty states that, at the request of the Holy See, by delegation which may be given permanently in certain cases, Italy will punish in her territory the crimes which may be committed in the « the Vatican City » (art. 22).

In like manner the Holy See will hand over to the Italian State such persons who may seek refuge in the « the Vatican City », after having committed in Italian territory, acts regarded as criminal by the laws of both States (art. 22).

Another clause provides that the Holy See « declares that it wishes to disinterest itself from temporal discussions between other States and from international Congresses assembled for such purposes, unless the contending parties appeal to the Holy See to perform its mission as peace-maker and in all cases reserving the right to exercise its moral and spiritual power. In consequence of this the territory of the « the Vatican City » shall always be considered, in every case, as a neutral and inviolable territory ».

There follows a final declaration according to which: « The Holy See is of the opinion that by these agreements now signed, it is adequately



provided for in all that regards its freedom and independence in the pastoral government of the Rome Diocese and of the Catholic Church in Italy and in the world; it declares that the Roman Question is definitely and irrevocably settled and therefore eliminated, and recognises the kingdom of Italy under the Savoy Dynasty with Rome as capital of the Italian State. Italy on the other hand recognises the Vatican City State under the sovereignty of the Pontiff. The law of 13 May 1871, n. 214 is abrogated, as also any other disposition contrary to the present Treaty ».

The Concordat consists of 45 articles. It contains, in the first place, a declaration in which Italy, in pursuance of art. 1 of the Treaty, guarantees freedom and public exercise of religion to the spiritual power, as also its full jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, in conformity with the rules of the Concordat.

Further, in consideration of the sacred character of Rome, episcopal See of the Supreme Pontiff and centre of the Catholic world, the Italian Government binds itself to prevent any occurrence in Rome that might be in contrast with that character.

In another clause it is stipulated that on Sundays and recognised feast days, in all churches

where a Chapter officiates, the celebrant of the conventual Mass shall sing, in accordance with the rules of his liturgy, a prayer for the prosperity of the King of Italy and of the Italian State.

Then follow some important articles reforming the Italian ecclesiastical legislation in harmony with the Treaty, among other things the juridical personality of religious Congregations and the free administration of Church property; without any alteration of the civil laws concerning the acquisitions of moral bodies.

Of especial significance is the article which concerns matrimony: « The Italian State, being desirous to restore to the institution of matrimony, which is the basis of the family, a dignity conforming to the Catholic tradition of its people, recognises the holy sacrament of matrimony, established according to canon law, as valid in all civil effects ».

The announcement of religious matrimony, shall be published not only in the parish church but also in the Communal Hall. Immediately after the religious ceremony, the parish-priest shall explain to the bridal couple the civil effects of matrimony, reading to them the articles of the Civil Code regarding the rights and duties of married persons and will draw up the marriage certificate, a copy of which will be transmitted

within five days to the Communal authority, to be entered in the Civil Status register.

The lawsuits concerning nullity of marriage and dissolution of marriage « celebrated but not consummated » are reserved to the decision of ecclesiastical tribunals and Congregations. When the decisions and sentences have become definite and executive, they shall be brought before the Supreme Tribunal of the Segnatura, which will ascertain whether the rules of Canon Law concerning the competence of the judge, the serving of the writ, the legitimate representation or absence of the parties, have been respected.

The decisions and final sentences with the decrees of the Supreme Tribunal of the Segnatura shall be transmitted to the Court of Appeal of the State, having jurisdiction over the territory, which by Order in Council Chamber, shall render them executive in all civil effects, and shall order them to be entered in the Civil Status register in the margin of the marriage certificate.

As to legal separation suits the Holy See agrees that they be heard in the ordinary civil tribunals. In accordance with other dispositions, Italy agrees that religious instruction, hitherto given only in public elementary schools, be extended to the secondary schools, accord-

ing to curricula to be jointly established by the Holy See and the State.

Another important clause by which the State recognises the organisations dependent on the *Azione cattolica*, inasmuch as their activities are extraneous to all political parties as established by the Holy See, and under the direct control of the hierarchy of the Church for the diffusion and application of catholic principles.

At the end of the Concordat it is established that, in future, should some difficulty arise concerning the interpretation of the same, the Holy See and Italy will, by mutual agreement, arrive at a friendly solution.

In accordance with the financial Convention, the Italian Government binds itself to pay, and the Holy See declares to accept, thus definitely settling all outstanding relations with Italy as a result of the events of 1870, the sum of 750 million lire and five per cent bearer bond Italian Consols to the nominal value of one milliard lire; a sum much inferior to that which the State would have had to pay up to date to the Holy See, in carrying out the agreement entered into by the law of 13 May, 1871.

This, in general outlines, is the substance of the historic documents. We have said that Mussolini had been induced to take this great step

from purely *national* considerations, namely by the necessity of uniting all Italian citizens in a compact mass.

This explains why and how Mussolini proclaimed during and after the negotiations which led to the Conciliation, the moral autonomy of the State, its essentially ethical character, and why he claimed for the State, without any equivocation or possibility of compromise, the right, or rather the duty, to preside over the education of the young generations: « Another regime — declared the Duce at the Chamber of Deputies on May 13 when the Lateran Pacts were under discussion, — a regime other than ours a demoliberal regime, such as we despise, — may hold it advisable to disinterest itself from the education of the young generations. We hold entirely opposite opinions. In this field we are intractable. Education must be ours. These children must be brought up in our religious faith: but we need to complete this education, we must give these young people a sense of virility, of power, of conquest. Above all we must transmit to them our faith and our hope. »

Other points were likewise settled in a satisfactory manner. By the Treaty which guaranteed to the Holy See a « visible » independence, the sovereignty over a minute territory, the Italian State

did not by any means diminish its own integrity. « We have not resuscitated the temporal power of the Popes: we have buried it. By the Treaty of February 11, 1929 no territory is delivered over to the City of the Vatican beyond what it already possessed and which no power on earth and no revolution could have torn from it. The tricolour flag is not lowered, because it was never hoisted there ».

What exactly is meant by the sovereignty of the Holy See? It should not be imagined that two sovereignties co-exist. There is one for the Vatican City and another for the Kingdom of Italy, which is the Italian State. There two are as distinct as if thousands of miles separated them instead of a few minutes walk. There are, therefore, two distinct sovereignties, mutually recognising their complete differentiation. Within the State the Church is neither sovereign nor free. It is not sovereign as such a condition of affairs would be a contradiction. Neither is it free as its institutions and its members are subject to the special clauses of the Concordat. The situation may be therefore defined as follows: the State is sovereign in the Kingdom of Italy; the Catholic Church has certain voluntarily recognised and respected privileges; other religions may be freely practiced.

Following the Treaty and the Concordat the Holy See definitely renounced all claims, even moral ones, over Rome and, with the creation of the Vatican City, « explicit and solemn recognition was given to the Kingdom of Italy under the Monarchy of the Savoy Dynasty with Rome as capital of the Italian State ». Permission was given also to practice freely other religions which, therefore, ceased to be simply « tollerated ». Religious marriage was recognised as valid in civil law where-ever and by whomsoever it may be celebrated: Catholics, Protestants and Jews all enjoy equal rights.

Religious liberty was fully sanctioned by Art. 5 of the law on religious practices in which it is stated that « discussion of religious matters is free ».

The nature of religious instruction in the State schools in Italy has been the subject of considerable discussion. Experience has shown that here, too, the sovereignty of the State has remained unimpaired. Mussolini has kept his word which he gave to the Deputies in his speech recommending their approval of the Lateran Treaties: « No power of supervision over religious instruction is permitted to the ecclesiastical authority, not even to a limited degree. It is only prescribed that teachers should hold a certificate of capacity

given by a bishop and that for religious instruction text books should be used which are approved by the ecclesiastical authority. This limited intervention is perfectly reasonable as only the ecclesiastical authority has the necessary competency in religious matters to judge the capacity of the teachers and the text books to be used in religious instruction ».

At the same time the last residue of the former Popular Party disappeared. The statutes and organisation of the Azione Cattolica — permitted by Art. 42 of the Concordat in as much as its activities are « outside all political parties and under the immediate control of the hierarchy of the Church » — were reformed shortly afterwards and acquired a more definitely religious character, increasingly divorced from all political activity properly so-called. In conformity with this character the sports organisations were abandoned and the sports institutions of the Fascist Regime were left with an absolute monopoly.



## THE ITALIANS ABROAD

*One thousand years of history - Poets and saints - Travellers and leaders - Artists and reformers - Italian noblemen in Argentine and Brazil - The exiles of the Risorgimento - Italian workmen - Mussolini's watchword - The Fascist party abroad - A nation outside the nation - The Duce's commandments - The legions of Italians from abroad in the Italo-Ethiopian campaign.*

For well over one thousand years Italians have been leaving traces of their passing all over the world. Warriors on land and on sea, churchmen and statesmen, artists, writers « greatly honoured, but penniless », ennobled many a foreign land by their work and by their blood. Two members of the Strozzi family who fought for France on land and on sea, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, Alexander Farnese, Ambrogio Spinola, the Marquess of Marignano, Alfonso and Ottavio Piccolomini, Marsigli, Trivulzio the Great, Eugene of Savoy, Montecuccoli, and in more recent times, Garibaldi and Francesco Anzani proved to the world that the ancient military virtues of the Italians were never spent.

Alongside of great leaders were nameless warriors. It has rightly been said that no people ever fought so much for others and so little for themselves as the Italians. Who, in this connexion, has not read Leopardi's famous lines?

When, owing to adverse circumstances, national genius was not allowed to blossom forth at home, it expanded outside national boundaries in every land. The three fathers of Italian literature, Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, great saints such as St. Anselm, St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, taught poetry and philosophy when other peoples were still in their childhood, while Italian merchants, generally known as Lombards, carried industry and trade into every corner of Europe.

Lack of political unity seemed to stimulate the universal sense of the greater Italians. Marco Polo, Columbus, Americus Vespucius, Caboto, explored the earth, the Cassini brothers the skies, Telesio and Campanella the realm of the spirit. Mazzarino, a country priest from the Abruzzo rose to the acme of power and subdued the will of rulers to his own; a myriad of artists, from Cellini to Titian, from Primaticcio to Giovanni da Udine, became the apostles and carriers of beauty all over the civilised world.

The Sixteenth century, which saw Europe shaken and disturbed by religious revolutions,

likewise saw Italians travel into every country carrying with them an original faith and a spirit of self-sacrifice which aroused admiration from supporters and enemies alike. Lelio and Fausto Socino, the Marquess Caracciolo and Curione, Pascali and Stancaro, Blandrate, Ochino, Diodati and Vergerio balanced collective insufficiency by their personal qualities and abnegation.

Two centuries elapsed during which Italians carried into Europe the teachings of the arts, of the new science, and the technique of every craft.

In the Nineteenth century, caught up by the Napoleonic storm, the Italian spirit was revived and rose to full consciousness of its past greatness. Universality became a premise for national feeling. A single cry arose throughout the peninsula: « release Italy from foreign rule ». And everywhere abroad, Italian met Italian with the same cry on his lips: in Europe, in America, in Africa. In Paris, London, Lugano, Algiers, New York, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, Lima, Italians were actively making a place for themselves.

Their activity was encouraged by memories both ancient and recent. It was in the name of the incalculable contribution given by Italians to civilisation, that Mazzini began the apostolate which not even death could stem. It was

by identifying himself with the ideals of all times, and by fighting for the liberty of Uruguay and Brazil, since times were not yet ripe to fight for Italy's freedom, that Garibaldi found support and sympathy in foreign lands.

National unity was perpetuated through artistic and literary traditions, while exiles revived the ideals of Dante and Macchiavelli in order to spiritually rebuild the ideal Fatherland. Indeed it was not only an ideal fatherland upon which their minds dwelt, since the political and moral necessities of the Risorgimento were evinced through the heroism of the soldiers of Lamarmora who fell in the Crimea for the European cause.

If it be true that the real spirit of Italy was kept alive throughout the world by many illustrious Italians who were the gauge of national values, it is true likewise that a multitude of workers, labourers and peasants proved to the world how great were the fundamental virtues of the Italian people.

To the work and the thrift of her emigrant children the motherland owed her economic balance for many a long year; to the loyalty of children who returned from across the oceans, Italy in part owed the freedom of her unredeemed land. Not all her children however were able to come back to serve under her colours: many of them, and

they were legion, stayed away to work for a foreign master far away. Far away, where other Italians before them, in not very remote times, had fought for liberty in the wake of the Alberti, the Castelli, the Belgrano, or had fought in the pampas with the Serri, the Grassi, the Chiarlone for the salvation of the Argentine republic. Before their eyes rose imposing structures which are the pride of Buenos Ayres, and there stretched the opulent farmlands of Mendoza and St. Juan, the port of Bahia Blanca, which were achievements of Italian genius and labour.

To some of these Italians, lost in the Brazilian ranches, a comparison between past and present appeared remarkably painful. Gone were the illustrious names of Italian descent which had given rise to local families of great wealth and power: the Cavalcanti, the Acciaiuoli, the Doria, the Origlio; and gone too were such women as Maria Cristina of Naples, the virtuous and lovely wife of Don Pedro.

Who had followed in the footsteps of the Count Sanfelice, whose achievements had become almost legendary, of Tito Livio Zambeccari, the faithful companion of Ciro Menotti who had devoted themselves to the cause of that inhospitable land? Where had the legionaries gone who, in the year 1848, had followed Garibaldi, burning to repeat

the enterprise of Montevideo at Morazzone in Italy? And what had been the last word uttered by the Italians who lay buried in the solitude of Ribera and India Muerta? Everything in that distant land spoke to the emigrants of their country across the ocean. Had the Italians of Valparaiso not given Garibaldi the flag which the « Thousand » bore to Marsala? Everything reminded them of Italy, but Italy herself appeared to have forgotten them. Indeed, had it only been an appearance! Alas it was a painful reality, for Italy had ceased to think of her children who continued to carry her name high in foreign lands. An incalculably great reserve of moral strength was thus being gradually dispersed because the governments which succeeded one another in Rome failed to remember.

It is due to Mussolini and to the Blackshirt Revolution if Italians scattered all over the world were enabled to find again their national pride.

Upon the morrow of his advent to power, Mussolini wiped out the word « emigrant » from common usage. He decreed that Italians who had gone abroad to make a living should henceforth be styled « Italian abroad ». In April 1923, when he visited the Carlo Tenca school in Milan, he made the following statement: « I wish to declare herewith that the Fascist Government intends to

safeguard and protect Italian emigrants. The Government cannot forsake those of its subjects who have crossed oceans and mountains to find a home abroad, because they are human beings, workers and above all, Italians. Wherever an Italian resides the Italian flag is there, and there too is the Fatherland, and Government protection for these Italians. »

Mussolini it was, who remembered that among Italians from foreign lands there had been sixteen fallen who had received a Gold Medal on the field for their valour in the Great War, and Mussolini it was, who dared utter the following statement, as international relations were being discussed in Parliament: « whomsoever wants Italian labour shall first have to deserve it.

Gradually, Fascist Italy became the true Fatherland for the Italians who reside abroad, the country of their dreams and desires, the Fatherland which does not forget and is ever present in the hour of need. Italian colonies gathered in their numbers around Fascist groups formed abroad and it became clear that Fascism and Fatherland were henceforth synonymous. Yet even this would not have sufficed had Italians abroad not felt that, for the first time, their Government was actually in the hands of a son of the people, who had risen from labour, who was proud of his

peasant stock, who had been an emigrant himself, a political exile, a veteran who, in the trenches, had taken a silent oath to make his country great.

How great has been the revival of national feeling through Fascist influence among Italians abroad, is amply proven everywhere. Scores of Italians have fallen on foreign soil in defence of the Fascist ideal. They were, indeed, the pioneers and martyrs of national revival beyond mountains and seas.

This revival has borne fruit: by January 1936 no less than 460 groups of men Fascist had been organised among Italians abroad, and 221 groups for women, 282 mixed sections, 410 groups of juniors, 150 Dopolavoro clubs, 15 secondary schools, 225 primary schools, 350 night schools, 130 readerships at universities, 12 Institutes of Higher Education, 58 sportsgrounds. Three hundred thousand Italian students have attended these schools, were text books are used which are a model of art, science and pedagogy combined.

Admirable, too, is welfare work done for Italian communities abroad, far different from the limited philanthropy provided for them in the past. When Summer comes around each year 15,000 Italian children from all lands, come back to the Fatherland for a free holiday at mountain



or seaside camps, from which they depart enriched by lasting memories.

This far-reaching organisation is carried out by a department of the Italian Foreign Office known as Department for Italians Abroad, to which Mussolini turned over the offices of the former Commissariat of Emigration now suppressed. Under the aegis of the Lictor's fasces the eight million Italians scattered all over the world are now actually a « nation outside the nation » as Mussolini wished them to be.

The commandments dictated for them by Il Duce are the daily guide and rule of Fascists abroad, and having sunk deep into their hearts, are the ideal towards which they aim :

1. Fascists who reside abroad should be obedient to the laws of the country whose guests they are. They should set a daily example of their obedience to their fellow-countrymen and to the citizens of the nation in which they live.

2. They shall not take part in the home politics of the country which gives them hospitality.

3. They shall not create discord within the Italian colonies and, if such discord exists, they shall seek to quell it, under the aegis of the Lictor's emblem.

4. They shall set an example of public and private probity.

5. They shall respect official representatives of Italy abroad, and obey their orders and instructions.

6. They shall uphold and defend their country, regarding its past and its present.

7. They shall help one another in all circumstances.

8. They shall be as disciplined abroad as I decree that all Italians shall be at home.

The efficaciousness of the methodical activity conducted by Fascism among Italians in foreign countries was revealed in practice when the Italo-Ethiopian campaign appeared inevitable on the horizon of Italian political affairs. It is difficult to calculate the financial contribution given by Italians abroad through the collection of gold and other means, but it is far easier to list data on their material participation in the campaign.

Ten thousand men volunteered to serve with the colours in East Africa, five thousand of whom were enrolled. Two legions of Blackshirt militiamen were formed one of which, 2500 men strong, sailed from Naples on November 23rd, 1935 for Mogadishu at the orders of Piero Parini, Director General of the Department for Italians Abroad.

The men landed on the coast of the Indian Ocean on December 10th and entered a difficult period of training among the sandy dunes which

preceed the Somali woodlands. And there they stayed four months. In the meanwhile Italians in North America endowed the Legion with motorised means of transport, namely 100 lorries, two motor ambulances, and a field hospital. A second Legion was organised which sailed for Mogadishu a short while after, at the orders of Consul Gangemi.

The first Legion, when training had been carried to completion and when decisive action was about to begin on the Southern front, furnished 1200 men which joined the Frusci column as shock troops and took active part in the occupation of Birgot, Hamanlei, Sassabaneh, Dagabur, Gijjiga, Harar and at the last, occupied the city of Dire Dawa on the Jibuti-Addis Abeba railway line, which they garrisoned and held under military and civil control. Piero Parini, commander of the Legion was the first governor of the city.

After holding the government of Dire Dawa for a short time, during which the Legion established hospitals, schools, shops and even issued a newspaper, « Il Corriere Sud Etiopico » which is fast becoming the popular organ for the Islam population of Ethiopia, the Legion was called to Addis Abeba where its men were entrusted with police duties in the capital, and with the direction of military operations against rebels and raiders.

The second Legion was likewise afforded the

honour of taking part actively in battle. Leaving Mogadishu shortly after the end of the campaign on the Southern front, they made headway directly for Dire Dawa and thence to Addis Abeba where their chief task was mopping up the territory around the railway. Previously a detachment of the Legion had taken part in the occupation of Moyale near the Kenya border.

Thus Italians scattered on all continents joined their fellow countrymen from the peninsula and served with the colours to found Italy's Fascist Empire: *Imperium sine fine dedi*.

## MUSSOLINI'S FOREIGN POLICY

*Neither adventures nor renunciations - Relations with Yugoslavia - Albania and Greece - The watch on the Brenner Pass - Against the Anschluss - The Treaty of London and failure to receive colonial compensation - England and France - The disarmament question - Naval parity - The prejudicial policy of reduction of armaments - War Debts - The stroke of the sponge - European unity.*

One month after the March on Rome and his advent to power, Mussolini declared to the Senate that: « I intend to carry out a foreign policy which though not rash will never be one of renunciation. I believe that already I have accomplished something, that is to make the ex-allies, and perhaps the rest of Europe, understand what is this vision of Italy that I see coming into being before my eyes: an Italy redundant with life, which is preparing for herself a style of life that is full of beauty and serenity, an Italy which does not live like a parasite on her past, but intends to build up with her own strength, her own labour, her own sacrifice and her own passion, her future power ».

The first period of Mussolini's foreign policy had a waiting character though at the same time, vigilant, active and skillful.

One of the first questions solved by Mussolini was the relations with Yugoslavia, accepting, with the Pact of Rome of 27 January, 1924, considerable economic sacrifices in order to establish neighbourly relations and perhaps even cordial friendship.

After the evacuation to Valona, Europe had recognised Italy's right to control Albania. With the declaration of Paris of 7 November, 1921, the four ex-allied powers France, England, Japan and Italy, engaged to uphold in the League of Nations, if necessary, the principle that « the restoration of the Albanian frontiers should be confided to Italy » and that « any modification of the frontiers of Albania constitutes a danger for the strategic security of Italy ».

Determined to respect scrupulously the independence of Albania and convinced that it was for Italy an interest of vital importance, Mussolini held out the hand of friendship to Albania to assist her to free herself from the conditions of anarchy and barbarous economics to which she had been condemned through centuries of neglect and to give her the means to provide, with her own forces alone, for the defense of her in-

dependence. Hence the financial aid and assistance from experts in the various branches of the economic, technical and administrative activities of the State.

Misunderstandings lasting more than ten years had won for Italy the persistent hostility of Greece, but, in spite of the annexation of the Dodecanese and the Corfu incident, the long-forgotten cordiality between the two nations in the Mediterranean with the most ancient civilisations, was re-established and recognised by a Treaty of Friendship of 23 September, 1928.

From the very beginning of his government Mussolini had spoken very plainly respecting the attempt by Germany and Austria to bring up the question of the Brenner frontier, but he came to power just at the time when a serious crisis necessitated the intervention of Europe for the assistance of Austria (on 4 October, 1922 the protocol was signed by which the economy of Austria was put under the control of the League of Nations) and wishing to prove to Austria his sincerity in a desire for friendship, he immediately agreed to the proposals for relieving the social and economic crisis.

The attitude to Germany was no less comprehensive. « The common sense and realism of the Italian spirit — declared the Minister for

Foreign Affairs when speaking on this matter on 9 May, 1930 — repudiates the criterion by which, invoking the rigid application of treaties, there is still an attempt to maintain a distinct and unjust division between the victorious States and the conquered. No one is the custodian, either for himself or for others, of the tables of the international law ».

To break down the barriers between victors and vanquished, to re-establish international confidence: these were the primary objectives of Mussolini's policy, and, so that no untoward act should disturb the slow and gradual general reconciliation, Mussolini expressed his complete disapproval of establishing the « Anschluss », without the agreement of the other Powers, by a « coup de main » prepared by the legislative unification of Germany and Austria (planned as far back as 1927) and agreed upon in the customs union without the approval of the Powers in 1931.

In every other way also the Fascist Government has from the beginning given the clearest proofs of its will to peace.

Four years before the Kellogg Pact the Duce placed another ban on war with his pact of arbitration and friendship with Switzerland (20 September, 1924). The old treaties of arbitration did not include the obligation for pacific discussion



of the so-called question of honour and independence, which means that arbitration was prevented on the questions most liable to provoke war. In the treaty with Switzerland, however, Italy assumed the obligation for pacific solution of all disagreements without exception thus giving an example which was perhaps new among the Great Powers.

Another question to which Mussolini at once turned his attention was the renewing of friendly relations between Italy and England, somewhat disturbed by the diplomatic manœuvres of the Peace Conference. This was not possible without a settlement, once and for all, of the war-time debit and credit account.

England, which up to that time had shuffled round the execution of Article 13 of the Pact of London of 26 April, 1915, finally decided to cede Trans-Jubaland to Italy on the basis of colonial compensation and to arrive at a solution of the thorny question of the Lybia-Egyptian frontier with the recognition of Italian sovereignty over the contested oasis of Jarabub by the Cairo agreement of 6 December, 1925.

The cession of Trans-Jubaland permitted Italy to improve the conditions in her old East-African colony, while the demarcation of the Eastern frontier of Lybia and the recognition, by Egypt, of

Italian sovereignty over the whole of Senussia allowed her to carry out an effective occupation of the hinterland of Cyrenaica, including the previously untouched oasis of Kufra.

In respect of France, « I believe — said the Duce on 15 December, 1927, in his report to the Council of Ministers — that it is possible, useful and I may say necessary, to establish a wide, cordial and lasting agreement between France and Italy. Yet this agreement, to be lasting, cannot be based on exclusively rhetorical or purely sentimental motives but rather on the elimination of those questions which may constitute points of friction between the two countries. These problems which are neither serious nor insoluble, but only delicate like all other problems of life and relations between peoples, will be broached in the near future through the ordinary diplomatic channels ».

The first of these problems, as in the case of England, was relative to the compensations referred to in Article 13 of the Pact of London. Any possibility of compensations similar to those given by England in the cession of Trans-Jubaland being excluded from the beginning, the discussions were reduced to the pure and simple question of the frontier to the West and South of Lybia.

This frontier had been the subject of disagreement between France and Turkey for twenty years when Italy conquered Lybia. The only definite treaty existing was that which divided Tunis from Tripolitania from the sea up to 15 kilometres South of Gadames. For the rest, while Turkey claimed all the desert territory up to and even beyond Lake Chad, France claimed the whole of the territory to the North of Lake Chad which the agreement of 21 May, 1899, with England had left, almost *res nullius*, under her sphere of influence. This difficulty should have been overcome above all by Article 13 of the Pact of London.

When the war came to an end Italy asked that the Lybian frontier towards Tunis and the Sudan should now be established with the recognition of her sovereignty over the caravan routes of Gadames and Ghat to the West and Tibesti, Ennedi and Borku to the South, all regions which constituted solely a part of the hinterland already claimed by Turkey and which France had garrisoned, profiting by the state of anarchy following the first Italian occupation of Lybia. France at once ceded the Oases of el-Barkat and Fehny and the route from Ghat to Tummo (agreement of 12 September, 1919) thus bringing the western frontier to the south of the Tummo mountains, and appeared to be disposed to also cede, or to

be exact, to give back, Tibesti and Borku, but owing to the opposition from colonial circles, this was afterwards refused.

Another very serious question was the statute of Tunis, that is, the treatment of Italian subjects resident in Tunisia, guaranteed by one of the conventions which, in 1896, was intended to heal what Italy considered a wound inflicted 15 years before by the coup-de-main on that region which, as Carthage, had for so long menaced, through Sicily, the security of the peninsula. These problems awaited solution, but this solution was conditional on the existence of a united allied front in Europe.

Later on there was not a single initiative in favour of peace from the Locarno Treaty to the Kellogg Pact to which Mussolini did not give his full co-operation. For the same reasons, he immediately agreed without reserve to the idea of a general disarmament to which, for that matter, the allied Powers were committed by the Versailles Treaty. The premises relative to this question were put before the Senate by Mussolini on 5 June, 1928 and were: (1) the interdependence of every kind of armament; (2) the proportion of armaments should not be based on the *status quo*; (3) limitation of armaments by Italy could not have an absolute character and should be in relation to the total armaments of other States

(parity with the most highly armed European continental nation); (4) the Italian Government declared itself, *a priori*, ready to accept as the limit of its armaments any figure, however low, provided that that figure was not exceeded by any other European continental Power; (5) the methods for obtaining limitation of armaments should be of the simplest and should not entail the necessity for foreign control.

This programme met with particular resistance on the part of France which was determined, *inter alia*, to deny to Italy that naval parity which had been, in general, decided at the Naval Conference of Washington in 1921. The attitude assumed by France made it impossible to come to any agreement on the question of disarmament, while the truce proposed by Italy at the September session of the League of Nations, 1931, was finally accepted by all. This initiative on the part of Italy has been, up to now, the only concrete result — though limited in time — of all disarmament discussions.

In the mean time and in the hope of overcoming these particular dissensions, Italy attempted to bring an even more effective contribution to a general solution and proposed, in addition to quantitative limitation of armaments, a qualitative limitation on which agreement should have

of proportions or the hierarchical status of one or other Power.

The Italian Government found a precedent of some value in the peace treaties of 1919 in which it was proposed to deprive Germany and her allies of all instruments of war of an aggressive nature, and it was on these lines that Italy sought a basis for disarmament discussions.

Already at the Naval Conference in London in 1930, the Fascist Government had declared itself « ready to accept the simultaneous abolition of two of the most destructive instruments of naval warfare: battle ships and submarines ». An even greater step forward was made in the speech by Grandi on 10 February, 1932, at the Geneva Conference whereby a general plan for qualitative disarmament was put before the Powers which in respect of the navy included the simultaneous abolition of battleships submarines and aeroplane carriers; in respect of the army the abolition of heavy artillery and armoured cars of every description and in respect of the air force the abolition of bombing machines. Also the total abolition of chemical and bacteriological means of warfare and the revision of the laws of war with a view to assuring greater and more complete protection for the civil population.

How many conferences were held from 1925 to 1930 to solve the economic problem of this or that State under control or economic problems in general? « Yet, generally speaking, — said Mussolini in the Senate on 18 December, 1930 — none of the Conferences either partial or general that have taken place up to the present time, have given satisfactory results. It is not a problem that can be solved by technicians; either it must be solved on political lines or not at all ». The political solution, the only one possible, when all the economic laws appeared to be suspended, was that proposed by him in December, 1922, that is with a « stroke of the sponge » to wipe out the international debts and credits, and to liberate certain peoples from the dread of having to work eternally for the payment of debts.

President Hoover's proposal was a step in this direction, but a year's holiday from debt payments was barely a material relief while what the peoples wanted was a moral relief, to be free from a perenial and unmeasured load, the certainty of one day being able, with small but sure means, to build up their own future.

In a speech made at Naples on 25 October, 1931, Mussolini launched another energetic appeal to common sense and to the conscience of governors and governed: « Which are the objectives in

relation to world policy today of the Fascist Regime on the threshold of its Xth year? They are precise and immutable. They are not few in the world today who confront the problems of European reconstruction from our point of view. Nine years have passed since Fascist Italy, at London, brought forward the problem of debts and reparations in terms which are now the order of the day. But ask ourselves: must we really pass sixty long years before we can write *finis* to the tragic debit and credit account which had its origin in the blood of ten million young men who never again will see the light of day? And can it be said that there exists a juridical equality between nations while on the one hand there are the nations armed to the teeth and on the other the States condemned to be weaponless? And how can one speak of European reconstruction unless certain clauses in certain peace treaties are modified which have pushed entire peoples to the edge of material hell and moral desperation? And how much more time must pass before we are convinced that in the economic apparatus of the world today something has ceased to function and is perhaps broken? These are the precise terms on which may be based a real peace which cannot be divorced from justice lest it become a protocol dictated by revenge, hate and fear ».



## EUROPEAN ORIGINS OF THE FOUR POWER PACT

*France at the Peace Conference - «Security» according to Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson - The system of European alliances - The non-aggression pacts - The Four Power Pact against the opposing blocks - The European accord - The Mussolini Pact and the Kellogg Pact - Limitations of the League of Nations - Necessity for a reform - The adherence of England, France and Germany - The reserves of the Little Entente - Examination of the Clauses.*

If Mussolini's warning was in accordance with the general preoccupations in respect of the post-war financial disorder, his Four Power Pact was a solution to the no less serious diplomatic problems.

According to the plans of the triad — Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Wilson — who dominated the Peace Conference at Paris following the world war, the future European policy should be based primarily on a Franco-Anglo-American agreement. In form this applied solely in case of an attack on France by Germany when the two Anglo-Saxon

powers should come to her aid, but, on the day on which this engagement became a concrete fact, there would arise, in reality, an alliance which, while guaranteeing the European systemization established by the pacts against the principal Power attempting to disturb the *status quo*, would tend to become the controlling influence in continental European policy, though two of the parties constituting this alliance would be outside continental Europe.

How Wilson could ever have deluded himself into thinking that American public opinion would accept without question this role of guarantor and regulator of European policy is not worth consideration. In England also things did not go too smoothly. The American Congress, naturally, repudiated energetically the obligations proposed by Wilson and England found, in the refusal of the United States, sufficient legal justification and political grounds to withdraw also from the engagement.

France, therefore, substituted the system of an over-seas Anglo-Saxon alliance with a continental alliance with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, which this time was confined solely to Europe. But Europe was now split into four parts or four political systems: France with Belgium, Poland and the Little Entente (the

latter directed against Hungary); Germany which could count within certain limits on the German sentiment in Austria; Italy which now entered into particularly cordial relations with Hungary and Bulgaria, and, finally, Russia.

The alliance between France and Poland was anti-Russian as well as anti-German; between France and Rumania exclusively anti-Russian (if only by the usual clauses of a defensive nature already common to pre-war alliances). It is understandable that this situation might have given rise to a Russo-German rapprochement, but in spite of the fears and conjectures in this respect, the Russo-German alliance did not materialise either with the Rapallo Treaty in 1922 or with the treaty of Berlin in 1926 which were confined to agreements of friendship and non-aggression.

Germany, disarmed and occupied by foreign troops, could not afford to take up an antagonistic attitude towards the western Powers and Russia, owing to the particular trend of her policy did not admit binding and exclusive agreements.

Italy held herself even more aloof from engagements in respect of Germany in spite of the general good relations and common outlook on particular problems and in particular moments.

France, on the other hand, had never abandoned the attempt to obtain from England a definite

promise of assistance in event of a German attack, and England had never given a definite refusal. Chamberlain and Lloyd George had both recognised the validity of France's claim to a guarantee of security from England. In the Stresemann notes it is clearly stated, as the principal motive for persuading Germany to give France a guarantee of security, that the security pact would be signed in any event and, if not with, against Germany.

The Locarno Treaty was an extremely laudable attempt to emerge from the vicious circle of opposing alliances (already formed, in process of formation or likely to be formed in the future) to be substituted by agreements between antagonistic parties. Stresemann insisted repeatedly that Locarno, to be really effective, should be much more than a series of new juridical paragraphs; it should initiate a new spirit of loyal and decisive collaboration. This view, shared by Briand, never had any real practical application, and it must be said that this Treaty was very limited in scope as, while guaranteeing peace and assistance in event of attack, it contained no positive provisions for a permanent mutual co-operation.

Thus, after Locarno, not only did the existing alliances remain unchanged, but others were formed and still more appeared as possibilities. To mention only the last phase of this fractioning

policy there were: the non-aggression pacts between France, Poland and Russia which seemed to increase the isolation of Germany, aggravated by certain episodes which brought about a coldness between Russia and Germany and a rapprochement between Russia and France.

Mussolini's Four Power Pact should be considered in the light of these events in order to appreciate its full significance and potentialities. It will appear than as a vigorous turn of the tiller away from the dangerous adventures of particular alliances and towards the fairway of a common agreement. France, certainly did not intend to renounce her particular alliances and therefore wished to reassure her allies. Nor did the Fascist Government wish to see a diminution in the especially cordial relations with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria.

But the Four Power Pact implied that these specific relations, outside the quadrilateral agreement, of the contracting parties should be subordinated, in the general interests, to an accord between the signatories of the Pact. It was not at all the same thing that France, while forming a closed system with a series of minor European States, or maintaining particular relations with these States, should agree to a systematic discussion and collaboration with the great European

powers. The fundamental basis of the Mussolini Pact was the substitution of opposing European blocks by a nucleus for a European accord and it is in this light that the Pact and its future potentialities should be judged.

A comparison between the Mussolini Pact and the Kellogg Pact — which transfers the problem from a European to a world basis — may lead to rather similar conclusions. The Kellogg Pact, like the Locarno Treaty, is negative in character. It contains the obligation not to have recourse to war, but does not make any provision for arriving at a positive collaboration between the States. Certainly, the engagement not to resort to force, in so far as it is maintained, constitutes a notable benefit to humanity, but, the question is whether it can be maintained always and everywhere (as shown by the disputes in the Far East and South America) and this is doubtful unless a complex organisation is instituted and made to function which will solve pacifically and satisfactorily for all parties the questions that cannot be eliminated by the Pact itself.

Certainly the League of Nations was intended to be, and to a certain point is, an organisation of this description, but, in this respect also, experience has proved that it is far from fulfilling its functions adequately. This is not a reason, how-

ever, for abandoning or ignoring the League and, in accordance with the admonition implied by the speech of Mussolini at Turin in October, 1932 which also containing the germs of his future European proposals, it is just because the League is sick that it is necessary to remain at its bedside. The text of the Four Power Pact corresponded to this need in that constant reference is made to the League within the framework of which it was proposed to include the new Pact.

Mussolini's opinion was that the League of Nations is too vast and as yet too weak an organisation to solve the most difficult problems in all their multiple aspects. The Covenant of the League had established a permanent Council of which the four great western Powers were permanent members. To use an American expression which was adopted for the Kellogg Pact, it was necessary to supply the Council « with teeth » and give it the means to be a permanent and efficacious influence for collaboration and peace.

This however was not for the moment practically possible, except to a limited extent in respect of European policy and, more precisely, the peace treaties and the new situations created by and problems derived from them. The idea of a particular Pact was a natural consequence of this state of affairs, between the four western Po-

wers, protagonists in peace and war in so far as Europe is concerned.

Russia, owing to her particular development and isolation from 1917 onwards, remained outside the framework of this collaboration, as she had remained outside Locarno. But who would have prevented her adherence at a later date? A pacific and well balanced Europe, thanks to an intimate and constant collaboration between the Powers, would have been an enormous contribution towards the observance of the Kellogg Pact for « outlawing war » in view of the fact that there are certain European situations and, more particularly, those derived from the war and peace treaties, which constitute a generally recognised danger of new conflagrations.

It has already been said that the fundamental ideas of the Pact were put forward in the speech at Turin on 23 October, 1932. The first plan is dated: Rocca delle Caminate, 4 March XI. On 18 March 1933 the British Prime Minister MacDonald and the English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Simon, arrived in Rome. Mussolini's plan, which had already been communicated to the English, French and German ambassador on the morning of the 18th, was communicated to and discussed with them on that day and the following day.



The English ministers, and particularly Simon, made certain observations and on 19 March a second text was drawn up in English. On 21 March this was discussed at Paris by MacDonald, Simon and the President of the French Council, Daladier and the Minister for Foreign affairs, Paul-Boncour. On 23 March MacDonald spoke in the House of Commons in favour of the Pact and, on the same day, Hitler in a speech in the Reichstag, made public his adherence on general lines. On the same day the French ambassador in Rome made a similar diplomatic communication. The Little Entente, on the other hand, made a declaration to the contrary at Geneva on 25 March.

On 24 March the English Government presented the Italian Government with a text, containing modifications in addition to those of 19 March. On 11 April a French project (dated 10 April) containing a wider systemization, was received in Rome, accompanied by a Memorandum. Finally, on 21 April, the German Government also presented a text.

On the basis of these proposed modifications in which the various parties had expressed their views, a discrete but intense diplomatic activity took place throughout April and May which took form in 4 successive texts (1 May, 13 May, 20 May, 30 May) preceding the final text.

There were two main difficulties: to find formulae for the mutual action imposed by the Four Power Pact such as would satisfy the preoccupations and susceptibilities of third parties, namely the Little Entente and Poland particularly in respect of Article 19 (revision of treaties); to moderate the opposing tendencies of France and Germany in respect of Article 3 (disarmament).

The first difficulty was solved more easily and quickly than the second, in as much as the French text was chiefly concerned with this problem and it was on this text that further discussion took place as expressly pointed out by Mussolini in a speech to the Senate. France then gave her aid in removing the difficulty of the Little Entente by a declaration at Paris by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the representatives of the Little Entente in which France declared to give her support, in respect of the procedure in applying the revisionist Article 19, in maintaining the need for unanimity, including the parties in question. A definite proof of the elimination of this difficulty was a new declaration by the Little Entente on 30 May.

Article 5, concerning disarmament, however, proved to be a hard nut to crack up to the very last moment. Agreement to the final text was only received from France on 5-6 June, from Germany

on 7 June, barely half an hour before Mussolini made his speech to the Senate. The French Chamber of Deputies, which already on 16 April had given a vote of confidence in the Gouvernement for negotiating the Pact, authorised, on 9 June, the signature of the Pact with 406 votes for and 185 against.

Article 1, which sanctions the general principle of agreement between the High Contracting Parties and their obligation to carry out, within the framework of the League of Nations, a policy of effective collaboration between all the Powers directed towards the maintainance of peace, differs from the original text chiefly in that it makes it definitely clear that such an agreement will apply to questions concerning the High Contracting Parties and omits any mention of third parties. This point is particularly referred to in Mussolini's speech to the Senate in which he said that « the original plan registered a political idea in an essentially political form » while the Pact is defined as « the legal text of an agreement ».

In practice, it is clear that there is not European question of any importance which does not interest, in one way or another, the four great western Powers and on which an eventual agreement between them would not have a preponderating influence. On the other hand, it is difficult

to admit — given that it is a question of an accord between High Contracting Parties representing the greatest diversity of standpoints and interests in European policy — that such an accord once effective, could have a partisan and unequitable character.

Article 2, primarily relative to the principle of revision, united, in the final text, the provisions contained in Articles 10 and 16 (regarding the safeguarding of the *statu quo* against armed attack) and those of the revisionist Article 19 and makes it clear that the discussion on this question between the High Contracting Parties will refer to methods and procedure. These modifications, which are certainly of some importance, had the advantage of overcoming opposition and eliminating the diffidence of a whole series of European States.

Article 3 (disarmament) — apart from the logical omission of the previous mention of Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria from the time it was decided not to mention third parties — is more generic than the original proposal. There is no longer any mention of the German right to parity nor its gradual actuation through agreements between the four parties.

This became necessary to avoid the difficulties raised by the opposing parties, France and Ger-

many, but the obligation remained for the four Powers to re-examine questions which eventually would remain unsolved at the Disarmament Conference, thereby eliminating the immediate danger that might have arisen from the failure of the Conference. This concludes the political Articles of the Pact.

Article 4 established an accord of the European economic questions; Article 5, the duration of the Pact for 10 years with indefinite renewal provided it was not denounced before the end of the eighth year and apart from the opportunity to bring it to an end following notification two years previously. Article 6 contained the model protocols of the four texts; the French text being decisive in case of disagreement. The Pact, actually signed on 15 July, bears the date 7 July on the seal.

## AUSTRIA, GERMANY AND FRANCE

*The independence of Austria a fundamental principle of Italian policy - The friendly pact with Russia - Disarmament again - The protocols of Rome - The meeting between Mussolini and Hitler in Venice - The murder of Dollfuss - Energetic action by Mussolini - The Italo-French accords - Tunis - Lybia and Eritrea - Colonial interests - Central Danubian Europe - Armaments - The treaty of friendship - The Stresa Conference.*

The hope of a European stabilisation to which the Four Power Pact had given birth was soon extinguished by the dramatic events in international policy in the fall of the year 1933. After having adhered to the Four Power Pact within the framework of the League of Nations, Germany, on 14 October, 1933, resigned from the disarmament Commission and the League of Nations.

The League suffered another heavy blow with the resignation of Japan which, determined to settle her disputes with China by force of arms, could not remain in an international organisation which, although somewhat cautiously, had condemned her.

The coming to power of Hitler in Germany had given rise to new uneasiness in France and to a certain extent in England, and had indirectly influenced the internal system in Austria. The latter wished to abandon the social-democratic system, and to secure autonomy and independence from her great neighbouring Power. The international activity of the Austrian Chancellor, Dollfuss, who had already been in Rome in April, 1933 and who had sought a reasonable support from the great Powers turned particularly towards Rome which was the intermediary in the tension between Vienna and Berlin.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Reich, von Papen, had learnt in Rome the exact opinion of Italy on the need for Austrian independence and Dollfuss, at Riccione (20 August), in a conversation with Mussolini, had confirmed the conviction of Italy's interest in the whole of the Austrian problem in itself and also as part of the primarily economic problem of the Danube. Gömbös, the Head of the Hungarian Government also came to Rome and had the opportunity to explain the particular needs of Hungary.

After Riccione, direct commercial agreements between Italy and Austria and Italy and Hungary proved the active interest of Italy in the economic re-establishment in those two countries, consider-

ed as essential elements in the whole of the Danubian complex. The Duce's opinion, in his practical understanding of the whole near eastern European problem, then became manifest in the project for the economic re-establishment of the Danubian countries presented to the League during the ordinary session of the Assembly on 29 September, 1933 and shortly afterwards accepted by France.

In the mean time a « Pact of friendship, non-aggression and neutrality » with the U.R.S.S. was signed in Rome on 2 September which was the first treaty of non-aggression and neutrality signed by the new Russia with a western Power.

The foreign policy of Italy was extremely active all through 1934. One of the chief questions which occupied the Duce that year was disarmament. When announcing the decision arrived at by the League on 22 November, 1933 to postpone the general disarmament Commission until January, the Italian Government recalled how, from the time of the first announcement by Germany of her intention to abandon the Conference, its own point of view had been clearly indicated. This may be summed up in three points: (a) the inutility and perhaps harmfulness of continuing the work of Geneva in the absence of Germany; (b) dispassionate examination of the new state of affairs in order to find a satisfactory solution, per-



haps through a « general re-examination of the whole problem »; (c) the possibility of an accord, through direct negotiations, taking in to account the interests of all parties and giving them the means of stating their claims. « Italy — concluded the declaration — continuing on the lines she has constantly followed, is ready, now and always, to give all her support towards arriving at an agreement which would be the expression of a policy of effective collaboration between all the States ».

On 2 January, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon arrived in Rome to discuss the problems relative to « the reduction in armaments and the reform of the League of Nations ». He had two conversations with the Duce, on 2 and 4 January, the substance of which was published in a communication on 1 February which defined the Italian point of view.

The Italian Government took three principal points as a basis: (1) condition *de facto*, that is, the danger that the question of parity, having found no written settlement, « would be solved automatically, outside the framework of an accord granting equality and providing a formula for it », and therefore, the possibility « of initiatives taking shape outside the treaties »; (2) condition *de jure*: « it is undeniable that solemn recogni-

tion has been given to Germany's equality of rights »; (3) considerations of probability: « the Royal Italian Government maintains that it is unable no to take into the greatest consideration the pacific declarations » of Germany.

The document stated, finally, that France could find « an immediate and effective counter-parity in the maintenance of her armaments » and that « a new contribution to security » would be given by « the pledge by Germany to return to Geneva, not only to sign the general disarmament convention, but also to resume her place in the League of Nations ».

At the same time the international horizon was darkened still further by difficulties created for Austria by national-socialist activity within and without her frontiers. A *Stefani* note of 17 February, 1934, stated that the Austrian Government had applied to Paris, London and Rome for their opinion on the German interference in the internal affairs of the Republic. The note adds that the conversations between the three Governments interested showed « their community of outlook in respect of the need to maintain the independence and integrity of Austria, in conformity with the treaties in force ».

As provided for in the Protocols signed in Rome on 17 March, the representatives of Italy,

Austria and Hungary met in Rome on 5 April to complete the commercial agreements drafted out in the Protocols. Two year later, on 18 March, 1936, these agreements were improved upon and consolidated in a new convention in Rome between Mussolini, the Chancellor Schuschnigg and the President Gömbös. Italy, Austria and Hungary engaged to consult each other on all questions interesting the three nations. The Roman Protocols remained open to the other Danubian States, but *uti singuli*, not as groups. On this occasion there was talk of a restoration of the Triple Alliance. The happy results of this constant and coherent diplomatic action took shape on 11 July, 1936 when the news was received of an agreement between Austria and Germany, by virtue of which Germany engaged solemnly to recognise the « full sovereignty of the Austrian Federal State ». This agreement was communicated to the Duce by the Chancellor Schuschnigg, who recalled with pleasure the « extraordinarily valuable » conversations with him on 5 June at Rocca delle Caminate which gave the direction to a policy destined to render inestimable service to the cause of peace).

In the afternoon of 14 June in the Villa Reale at Stra, near Venice, a meeting took place between the Head of the Italian Government and the Chancellor Hitler which aroused the interest of the

whole world. This first conversation lasted more than two hours and was followed by another on the following day concluded in « a spirit of cordial collaboration ». The communiqué stated that the subject of the conversations as an « examination of problems of general policy and those most directly concerning the two countries ».

This necessarily general announcement was followed by declarations made to the crowd assembled in St Mark's Square by the Head of the Italian Government after a great review of the Fascist forces. « I say to you, Italians, and to all outside our frontiers, that Hitler and I have met here not to re-make or even modify the political map of Europe and the world or to add to the motives for uneasiness which disturb all countries from the Far East to the Far West. We have met to try to dispell the clouds which darken European policy. Let it be said, once again, that a terrible alternative lies before the conscience of all the peoples of Europe. Either they must find a minimum of political unity, economic collaboration and moral understanding or the fate of Europe is irrevocably sealed ».

On his part, the Chancellor Hitler, in a speech at Gera in Thuringia on 17 June, put forward substantially pacific proposals, saying that Germany respected the right of others as she would have

her own respected. From the speeches of the two statesmen it may be concluded that the Italo-German action was not directed against anyone and is not, therefore, a block intended to set one group of Powers against another. The impression was universal that one of the points agreed upon was an absolute respect for Austrian independence.

Only a few weeks had passed after the meeting at Stra when the world received, with astonishment, grief and indignation, the news of the tragic end of the Austrian Chancellor, Dollfuss who was assassinated in his office on the eve of his departure for Italy where he was to have met the Head of the Italian Government.

The Italian Government acted with lightning rapidity. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of 25 July the Head of the Government ordered the « movement of the armed forces of land and air to the Brenner and Carinthia frontiers » to « confront any eventuality ». This was a practical application of that which Mussolini had expressed in a telegramme of condolence to the Austrian vice-Chancellor, namely that the independence of Austria, for which Dollfuss had given his life, was a principle which would be defended by Italy « ever more strenuously ». This military action, though retained within certain limits of prudence was of such a nature as to leave no doubts on the Italian

intentions in case of further unfortunate complications.

The virile attitude of Italy, with which France and England were in complete agreement, better than any diplomatic step, made it clear that any attempt to make Austria the « eighth province » of the German Reich would be checked, if necessary by force.

On the morning of 21 August the Austrian Chancellor Schusschnigg arrived in Florence and was met at the station by the Head of the Italian Government. Two conversations followed, at the Villa De Marinis, lasting three hours.

In the course of these conversations, stated the communiqué, the political, economic and cultural questions interesting the two countries were examined minutely, resulting in an effective community of views and methods relative to « the independence and integrity of the Austrian State, an independence and integrity on which depend the internal autonomy that represents a concrete European interest and an element favourable to the maintainance of tranquillity in the Danubian sector ». It was also stated that the two statesmen had confirmed the utility of the Protocols of Rome the radius of action of which might be « intensified and enlarged ».

But the most important diplomatic events took

place in Rome at the end of 1934. Following a cordial agreement between Mussolini and the Ambassador Extraordinary of the French Republic, the able and sagacious De Jouvenel, special conventions were established between France and Italy, intended to settle the thorny questions which had for so long obscured the relations between the two countries. These conventions, which were already fully studied in December, 1934, were officially concluded on 7 January 1935, on the occasion of the visit of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Laval, to Rome.

The following are the outstanding points of the agreement which opened for Italy the way to East Africa :

*Tunis.* — The Tunisian question originated in the denunciation by France on 9 September, 1918, of the two Conventions (one relative to commerce and navigation and the other relative to the consular service and establishment of Italian subjects which had been signed in 1895).

The Italian Government took notice of the denunciation and accepted the proposal for a tacit renewal and matters were left thus, pending a definite regulation.

By the pacts of 7 December 1934, the Conventions were extended until 1945 after which

date there would be a progressive return to the ordinary legal conditions.

In respect of the maintainance of Italian citizenship by Italian children born in Tunis, this remained in full force until 1945 and, in fact, until 1965, when the children of Italians who were born in Tunis during those 20 years, would have the right to choose their citizenship upon coming of age.

That which the French call « the Italian mortgage » was thus extended for 30 years after which period the *jus loci* would come into force, based on the principle that everyone has the nationality of his birthplace.

As to the Italian schools in Tunis, these would be maintained until 28 March, 1955 after which they would become Italian private schools subject to French scholastic legislation in the Protectorat.

Independently from the Convention, which fixed the gradual return to the ordinary legal conditions, it was recognised that the Italians who had been admitted, previously to 1945, to the liberal professions, would retain that right during their lifetime.

These provisions also admit the recognition due to the Italians who have contributed for so long towards the progress of Tunis and effects of



which are recognised by the legal institutions of prescription right which also has weight in public law.

*Lybia and Eritrea.* — By Article 13 of the Pact of London, 1915, it was established that, following Italy's intervention in the war, in event of France and England, at the end of hostilities, having increased their colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, Italy also would receive adequate territorial compensation in Africa.

France and England having, in fact, obtained, generally in the form of a mandate, many of the former German African colonies, England ceded to Italy the territory of Trans-Jubaland including the port of Kismayu on the Indian Ocean and had used her influence in Egypt to attribute to Italy the Giarabub zone with the oasis of the same name, over which Egypt claimed rights. In this way the dispute between England and Italy over the application of Article 13 of the Pact of London was closed.

As to France, with the treaty of Bonin-Pichon, she had recognised as part of Lybia the two salients between Ghadames and Ghat and between Ghat and Tummo, but the treaty itself recognised that Italy had the right to other compensations.

These she obtained through a rectification of the Lybian frontier whereby that colony was in-

creased by about 114 thousand square kilometres, and by another rectification of the Somalia frontier beyond the island of Doumerrah.

In this way the Italian compensation provided for generally in Article 13 of the Pact of London was definitely settled.

*Colonial economic interests.* — Italy and France having recognised the opportunity of developing the economic relations of their metropolitan territories with their African colonies, initiated this collaboration with the participation of Italy in the Gibuti-Addis Abeba railway, the importance of which is clear.

*Austria and Central-Danubian Europe.* — Two protocols were signed. By the first Italy and France initiated a Pact by which they and the States, heirs and successors of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, recognised their respective territorial integrity and their political social regimes and agreed not to disturb with force neither one nor the other. With the second, Italy and France established a « consultive pact » on the measures to be taken in case the independence and integrity of Austria were menaced.

Thus, in anticipation of the said Pact, if action was necessary to preserve the independence and integrity of Austria Italy was no longer obliged

to shoulder the burden alone; France was engaged to act in concert.

*Armaments.* — The declaration on « legal parity » being confirmed, it was recognised that « no Power could modify by unilateral action its obligations relative to the question of armaments » and that « in the case in which this eventuality materialised France and Italy would consult each other ».

The secret arming of Germany was thus condemned, but, in the meantime, she was remained of the recognition of legal parity and discreetly invited to return to the Conference for the limitation and reduction of armaments, where her rights and duties would be equal to those of the other nations.

*Pact of friendship.* — All the above mentioned Protocols are directed towards that objective whereby Italy and France, declaring the principal questions outstanding between the two countries as settled, confirm their friendship and agree to collaborate in a spirit of mutual confidence in the work of reconstruction, and to consult each other whenever circumstances require such an exchange of views.

This solemn declaration was a worthy crown to the efforts for reconstruction and was the be-

ginning of further developments for the good of the two countries and for European peace.

The bilateral Franco-Italian agreements of January, 1935, were followed by the memorable Stresa Conference at which Italy, France and England constituted a united front for safeguarding and guaranteeing the peace of Europe.

The Conference, which closed on 15 April, decided, first of all, the line of mutual conduct to be followed in the discussion on the protest against German re-armament presented by the French Government to the League of Nations; it affirmed the opportunity for continuing the negotiations initiated for « the greatly desired development of security in eastern Europe »; it re-examined the Austrian situation. « The representatives of the three governments — it is stated in the final declaration — confirm the Anglo-Franco-Italian declarations of 17 February and 27 September, 1934, by which the three Governments have recognised that the need for maintaining the independence and integrity of Austria will continue to inspire their mutual policy. Referring to the Italo-French Protocol of 7 January, 1935 and the Franco-English declaration of 3 February, 1935, by which is re-affirmed the decision for mutual consultation on the measures to be taken in the event that the independence and integrity of Aus-

tria are menaced, they have agreed to recommend a meeting, at an early date, of the representatives of all the Governments mentioned in the Protocol of Rome with a view to concluding other agreements relative to Central Europe ».

Regarding the Air Convention proposed for western Europe, the representatives of the three Governments established the principles and procedure to be followed which were contemplated in the communiqué of London of 3 February and agreed to carry out an active study of the question.

In respect of the problem of armaments, the representatives of the three Governments, while recording the fact that the communiqué of London contemplated an agreement (to be freely negotiated with Germany) intended to substitute the corresponding clause of Part V of the Versailles Treaty, noted with regret that the « unilateral repudiation by the German Government at the moment when negotiations were in progress for arriving at an agreement, freely negotiated, on the question of armaments, had shaken the confidence of the public in the security of a pacific regulation ».

In spite of this the representatives of the three Governments affirmed their sincere desire to maintain peace by creating a feeling of security,

and declared on their part, that they still desired to co-operate in any attempt of a practical nature likely to bring about an international agreement for the limitation of armaments.

In respect, particularly, of the desire of the countries, whose military status is defined in the treaties of Saint-Germain, the Trianon and Neuilly, to obtain a revision of this status, they decided to keep the other States informed through diplomatic channels. They were, however, in agreement in recommending the other States interested to examine this question « with a view to settling it by means of a convention within the framework of the general and regional guarantees of security ».

In respect of the Locarno Treaty, the representatives of Italy and the United Kingdom made the following mutual declaration: « The representatives of Italy and the United Kingdom, signatory Powers to the Locarno Treaty only in so far as guarantors, formally re-affirm all the obligations, which on the basis of that Treaty, are due from these Powers and declare that they intend to fulfill them faithfully ».

At the end the two Powers state « their complete agreement to oppose, by all suitable means, any unilateral repudiation of treaties liable to endanger the peace of Europe ».

## THE RE-CONQUEST OF LYBIA AND ETHIOPIAN TREACHERY

*Tripolitania - Cyrenaica - The oasis of Kufra - Eritrea - The frontier between Somaliland and Kenya - The Ual-Ual incident - The arbitral sentence confirms Abyssinian aggression - Italy's accusation against Abyssinia - Vain attempts at pacification by the League of Nations.*

It may easily be understood now the Fascist Government, anxious to increase Italy's efficiency and prestige, sought to place its own imprint also on her colonies in which confusion and insecurity still reigned.

In the first place Tripolitania. After the weaknesses and indecisions which caused so many regrettable incidents at Italy's expense, the re-establishment of this African colony began when Count Volpi was appointed Governor of Lybia. It was thus that the recovery of Misurata Marina was decided upon.

This occupation was followed by many important military operations, up to the retaking of

the Gebel, the Giado and Cabao zones, Jefren and Garian. The year 1928 opened under good auspices. While the demoralisation and panic of the rebels increased, the Italian troops occupied Msellata, Tarhuna, Sliten, Misurata and Beni-Ulid. In February 1924 in order to drive the rebels who had sought refuge in the south-western region from their positions, rendering further resistance useless, and to render the supervision of the Tunisian and Algerine frontier, more efficacious, Sinauën, Derg, Gadames, were occupied. Then the necessity arose to push the action into the very heart of the Ghibla, and Mizda was occupied on the 13th of June, 1924. On the succeeding 23rd of November the Italian troops occupied Sirte.

In June 1935 General Emilio De Bono was appointed Governor of the Colony. In the years 1925-26-27 the Government was chiefly occupied with the civil organisation of the conquered territory.

In the beginning of 1928, after careful preparation arms were again taken up to effect the reunion of Tripolitania with Cyrenaica, and thus the whole of the Syrtis, the oases of Socna, Hon, Huddan and Zella were reoccupied up to July 1928 when the Italian occupation was carried to the south of Mizda as far as Gheriat-Scerghia.



The *Quadrumvir De Bono* was succeeded, in January 1929, by Marshal Badoglio, who immediately issued a proclamation based on the spirit of peace and clemency. But the rebel bands failed to grasp the opportunity for pardon, so that it was again necessary to have recourse to a punitive action to liberate the Fezzan which had been invaded by the enemy organisations. In less than three months the Italian troops reoccupied the whole territory.

It would be superfluous to recall the negligence of preceding governments in regard to Cyrenaica. In January 1923 there arrived at Bengasi the first Governor appointed by Mussolini, General Bongiovanni. The latter followed the route mapped out by the Duce. After active but useless attempts to hold the Senussi to the pacts agreed upon, the new Governor commenced a first series of operations which led to the occupation of Agedabia, the stronghold of the Senussi. A military action of the greatest importance, and which had a wide repercussion in the Islamic world, was the conquest of Kufra. It is the crowning episode of the bloody Senussite rebellion, which was quelled after twenty one months of hard fighting.

But it was in the field of colonial politics that Fascist Italy was to take decisions and carry out

enterprises still in process of development, and the consequences of which have surpassed all anticipations.

The internal political situation of the East African Colonies had remained comparatively quiet until the end of 1933. In Eritrea the traditionally cordial relations with the neighbouring Anglo-Egyptian Soudan had facilitated the friendly settlement of some trifling local incidents. In northern Somaliland certain incidents due to the incursions of frontier tribes had been promptly settled by the rapid and energetic intervention of the Italian frontier guards and were later examined in a friendly spirit with the authorities of British Somaliland.

In April 1934, as a result of an exchange of notes between Sir John Simon and the Italian Ambassador Grandi, the Florence agreement of 1927 concerning the demarcation of the frontier between Italian Somaliland and Kenya was ratified, and certain questions of detail were arranged which had remained in suspense.

Despite the brief guerilla warfare which broke out between Suadite, Arabia and the Yemen, friendly relations with Italy and active commercial exchanges between Eritrea and the two Arab States had remained unaltered. But in 1934, just as Italy was attempting to push on as much

as possible the settlement of her East African Colonies, the neighbouring Abyssinian Government was guilty of increasing treachery and aggression, notwithstanding the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of friendship and collaboration signed in 1928.

Since the beginning of 1934 there was an intensification in the movement of Ethiopian armed bands in the Ogaden; among other things, the presence had been reported of an Eritrean outlaw, Omar Samantar, guilty of the murder of an Italian officer, who was actively recruiting men for the Ethiopian Government. Quite unexpectedly, a particularly serious incident occurred, giving an exact measure of the situation.

On the 28th of November 1934, there arrived at the Italian frontier-post of Ual-Ual the joint Anglo-Ethiopian mission, charged with the demarcation of the frontiers, between Somaliland and the Ogaden. The Italian officer in command was quite ready to allow the mission to pass, but not the accompanying escort. The Mission then withdrew to Ado, whence it sent a letter of protest to the Italian commandant for having opposed its free circulation, Ual-Ual being in Ethiopian territory. The protest was also signed by Colonel Clifford, member of the commission.

On the 5th of December the Abyssinians at-

tacked the Italian post, in force, but were repulsed with considerable losses. The Italian Government protested, demanding apologies and reparations according to local customs: the Abyssinian Government proposed to submit the question to arbitration. As a result of a request for further details, the Abyssinian Government appealed to the League of Nations, asserting that at Ual-Ual Italy, and not Abyssinia, was the aggressor.

The Abissinians at first maintained that the Italians had started hostilities; then they attempted to widen the terms of discussion, demanding that in the first place it should be established to whom Ual-Ual belonged by right. Italy replied that the Abyssinians had started the attack, and did not intend to enter into a discussion on frontier questions, which the Government of Addis Ababa had always refused to discuss, although it had solemnly bound itself to this effect by agreements signed in 1897 and in 1908. (It should be noted that according to an hypothetical straight line, established in 1897, Ual-Ual might have belonged to Ethiopia; but according to the second frontier line proposed, on general lines, in 1908, and which comprised salients for the purpose of distributing equally the use of the wells among the various tribes, Ual-Ual was comprised in Italian territory.

In any case the Italians maintained that they had occupied peacefully Ual-Ual since 1927. Ethiopia might have protested on the basis of the 1928 Treaty, which provided for the necessary procedure for resolving controversies, passing through three stages: diplomatic negotiations, conciliation, arbitration. Before submitting the question to the League of Nations, it was necessary to go through the whole procedure established by treaties existing between the two interested parties.

From the very beginning, Italy made it quite clear that the Ual-Ual incident was nothing but a manifestation of a state of affairs which had existed for a considerable time and had now come to a head. The important question, therefore was not so much that of settling pacifically the Ual-Ual incident, but of solving the problem, now become particularly acute, of symbiosis with a neighbour whose hostile intentions towards Italy were no longer hidden from anyone.

In accordance with the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928, an Commission of arbitration consisting of four members was appointed. The Commission, after several meetings held at Milan (6-7 June) and at Scheveningen (25 June), failed to arrive at any practical result, as the Ethiopian representatives insisted on dealing with frontier ques-

tions while the Italian representatives replied that similar inquiries were excluded by the agreement between the two Governments signed on the 15th and 16th of May.

It was therefore decided to appoint a fifth arbitrator in the person of M. Nicholas Politis, Greek Minister in Paris. He stated that: « No blame or responsibility for the Ual-Ual incident can be attached to the Italian Government or to its agents on the spot; the accusations levelled by the Ethiopian Government against the Italian authorities are refuted by the many precautions taken by the latter to guard against incidents on the occasion of the massing of Ethiopian regular and irregular troops, as also by the lack of any interest, on the part of the Italians in provoking the conflict of 5th December. M. Politis added that if the Ethiopian Government had likewise no interest in causing the conflict, nevertheless the local authorities « by their attitude and especially by the concentration and maintainance, even after the departure of the Anglo-Ethiopian Commission, of numerous troops in proximity to the Italian border-line of Ual-Ual, created the impression that they had aggressive intentions; which facts and considerations appear to render the Italian version plausible ».

It must be remembered that before, during

and after the Commission of Arbitration, England and France offered their mediation with a view to a pacific settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. On the 11th of July the British Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, placed before the House of Commons a statement regarding the foreign policy of the United Kingdom, both in respect of European questions and of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. On this occasion he recognised Italy's need for expansion and explicitly affirmed the British Government's intentions to continue the negotiations with a view to a solution in conformity with the procedure of the League of Nations and the Italo-Franco-British agreements of 1906 and at the same time in the interests of the two parties directly concerned.

Following this suggestion, a Conference of Three, namely of the representatives of Italy, France and Great Britain, met in Paris on the 16th of August, without, however, arriving at any definite decision. A Franco-British project, with a view to the solution of the Ethiopian problem by means of certain frontier alterations, and the installation in Ethiopia of a special juridical régime depending from the League of Nations, calculated to satisfy in a certain measure Italy's need for economic expansion, was refused by the Italian Government. The « study of the situa-

tion » was then referred to « diplomatic channels ».

On the 4th of September Baron Aloisi, Italian Delegate to the League of Nations, submitted to the members of the Council, who had met for the 88th ordinary session, a Memorandum in which were explained in detail the reasons why Italy believed that the Ethiopian Government had systematically violated all the agreements assumed towards Italy and towards the League of Nations.

After animated discussions the Council, on 6th September, appointed a Committee of five members to examine the Italian Memorandum and to arrive at a pacific settlement of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute. After twelve days the Committee presented its conclusions and proposals to the parties concerned. They included a scheme of collaboration and assistance on an international basis (closely connected with the League of Nations), which should place the Ethiopian Government in a position to commence the constructive work necessary to improve the condition of the population, to develop its natural resources and to ensure peaceful relations with neighbouring peoples.

As regards Italian concerns and interests, the plan of the Five was limited to a statement that France and Great Britain were disposed to encourage a territorial settlement between Italy and



Ethiopia, making, on their part, certain grants on the Somaliland coast in Ethiopia's favour. Moreover the French and British delegates had informed the Committee of the Five that their respective Governments, without derogating from the system in force with regard to foreign trade and to the treatment of strangers, were disposed to recognise Italy's special interest in the economic development of Ethiopia. The Italian Government declared these proposals to be unacceptable.

On the 26th of September the Council of the League of Nations met again to examine the report of the « Committee of Five » and to initiate the procedure in accordance with art. 15, paragraph 4, of the Pact of the League of Nations. To this end the Council formed itself into a Committee of Thirteen, namely, as many as there were the members of the Council, with the exception of the representatives of Japan and Germany which had resigned, and Italy which was absent.

## THE CONQUEST OF EMPIRE

*The rally of the Fascist people - Mussolini addresses the Italians throughout the world - General mobilization in Abyssinia - Adowa avenged - Sanctions as Italy suppresses slavery in the conquered lands - Badoglio in command of the forces - The British fleet in the Mediterranean - The Laval-Hoare plan - « Wedding ring » day - Summary of operations in East Africa - Italian troops enter Addis Ababa - The rally of May 5th - Mussolini announces the end of the war and the annexation of Ethiopia - The rally of May 9th - Mussolini tells the world that Italy has an Empire - The King becomes Emperor of Ethiopia - The King and the Duce.*

On October 2nd Mussolini ordered a general rally of the people all over the country. From his balcony on the Piazza Venezia he proclaimed that Italy would oppose sanctions with her discipline, her sobriety, her spirit of sacrifice. « Military sanctions, he said, will be answered by military measures. To acts of war with shall respond by acts of war. »

On September 28th, the Negus had informed the Chairman of the Council of the League of Nations that the gravity of the situation compelled

him to call a general mobilization of his armed forces. Owing to this announcement, on October 3rd the Fascist Government issued a communiqué declaring that Italian Military Headquarters in Eritrea had received orders to act in consequence of it.

On October 5th the Italian troops occupied Adigrat, on the 6th they captured Adowa and thereby avenged the tragic day of March 1st 1896.

Simultaneously Geneva, was acting with vigour. On October 5th the Council of the League of Nations appointed a Committee of Six members to study the situation and draw up a report which was eventually submitted to the Council on October 7th. The report stating that, by resorting to warfare Italy had violated Clause 12 of the Covenant, was unanimously approved by the Council.

On the 9th the Assembly resumed meetings and declared itself favourable to the imposition of sanctions on Italy, as provided for in Clause 16 of the Covenant. The representatives of Austria and Hungary refused to support this decision.

On the 10th a committee for Co-ordination of sanctions, comprising all the delegates to the Assembly excluding those representing Austria and Hungary was appointed to enforce measures against Italy.

On the following day, October 11th, the Committee of Co-ordination held their first meeting, a sub-committee of 17 members (eventually changed to a committee of Eighteen through the inclusion of the Mexican delegate) proposing an embargo on arms for Italy and the raising of a similar embargo for Ethiopia.

On Oct. 19th the Committee of Eighteen met to approve other restrictive measures: the exclusion of Italian imports from sanctionist countries; prohibition to export certain raw materials to Italy; mutual economic support among sanctionist countries.

On Oct. 20th the Italian High Commissioner for East Africa, General De Bono, issued a proclamation announcing the suppression of slavery throughout the territories under Italian occupation.

On November 2nd the Committee of Eighteen set the date of November 18 for the actual enforcement of sanctions. The list of sanctionist countries was the following: 51 countries enforced the embargo on arms, 51 joined financial measures, 49 the severing of trade relations with Italy, 41 pledged themselves to mutual assistance, Albania, Austria and Hungary opposing all such measures. Switzerland only joined such economic measures as were compatible with her particular form.

of neutrality ratified by the Assembly of the League of Nations in the year 1921.

On November 16th General De Bono was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal « in recognition of his reconquest and pacification of the Tigris », Field Marshal Pietro Badoglio being appointed High Commissioner for Italian East Africa in his stead.

At the beginning of December, the British Government which, from as far back as August, had concentrated the Home Fleet in Mediterranean waters in response, it was alleged, to anti-British attacks in the Italian press and to the sending of two Italian divisions to Cirenaica, took diplomatic steps to secure support from Mediterranean countries (Turkey, Greece, Spain, and Yugoslavia), in the event, it was stated, of the British Fleet being attacked in consequence of the enforcement of sanctions.

Such a step was taken with France on September 26th, the Paris Government replying in the affirmative on October the 4th. France, remarked, however, that preventive enforcement of mutual aid contemplated in Clause 16 paragraph 3 of the Covenant, was legal only if an agreement of this nature had been previously stipulated by the parties concerned. This had not been the case with regard to the concentration of the Home Fleet

in Mediterranean waters. The French Government, moreover, while admitting the legality of mutual aid in the majority of cases, declared that such measures should also apply in the event of aggression on land and from the air, as well as on sea, and even if the aggressor were a power outside the League, thereby alluding to Germany.

Franco-British conversations intended to provide a settlement for the dispute were under way at the same time. In fact, on December 7th, the French Prime Minister, M. Laval, and the British Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, met in Paris to draw up a plan by which to end the conflict. Their talks finished on the 8th with the drawing up of a scheme which received the approval of the British Cabinet on the 10th. On the following day the Laval-Hoare proposals were submitted to the Italian Government, to Addis Ababa and to Geneva.

The text of the proposals was made public on the 13th. They provided for a territorial exchange by which Italy was to extend her sovereignty over part of the Tigrai (excluding Axum), part of Dankalia and part of the Ogaden, while Ethiopia was to receive an outlet on the sea (the port of Assab, for instance); secondly Italy was to be allowed economic exploitation of an area limited by the 8° parallel

and the 35° meridian (the Kaffa region) over which, however, Ethiopia retained sovereign rights.

The proposals were rejected by the Negus on December 16th. Two days later the British Foreign Minister resigned owing to the hostility of British public opinion towards this settlement. On the 19th the Negus officially confirmed his rejection of the proposals to the Governments of France and Great Britain and upon that day Mr. Baldwin and Sir Samuel Hoare sought to justify their conciliatory efforts before Parliament while announcing that the Laval-Hoare plan had collapsed.

On December 20th the Grand Council of Fascism met in Rome and, having placed on record the repudiation of the Laval-Hoare plan by Great Britain while the Italian Government still had the scheme under consideration, confirmed Italy's determination to pursue the ends clearly set forth by the Head of the Italian Government in previous pronouncements on the question.

Italy had no choice other than to continue her resistance to sanctions and her campaign in Ethiopia. Sanctions were faced by restrictions on consumption, by the collection of gold offerings which rose to an acme of generosity on

« Wedding Ring Day » opened by the Queen on December 18th. At the opening of the University City in Rome, the King had urged the people to resist, and had explained the civilising and peaceful ends which Italy had in view.

The following is a summarized account of the Italo-Ethiopian campaign:

On October 3rd, 1935, General De Bono ordered the Italian troops to cross the Mareb river, which demarcated the boundary between Eritrea and Ethiopia.

Italian forces drawn into action during the first phase of the campaign, which lasted until the middle of February, consisted of four divisions. After the Italian occupation of Adigrat (October 5th), Adowa (October 6th) and Axoum (October 15th) the Abyssinians were forced out of the Enticho valley and the Italians entered Makalle (November 7th).

From the middle of November to the middle of January operations were centred in the North Eastern Tigray. Abyssinian forces advancing towards the Italian line comprised 40.000 men at the orders of Ras Seyoum and Ras Kassa, whose plan it was to make headway into the Tembien, sever connections between Adowa and Makalle, and eventually reconquer lost territory.



The Ethiopian menace in the Tembien, a natural stronghold universally considered impregnable, was supplemented by the concentration on the Amba Aradam facing Makalle, of 80,000 men commanded by Ras Mulugheta, and of another 40,000 in the Shire commanded by Ras Immerou. The latter were directed towards Axoum, the Holy City of the Empire. The Emperor's own army, trained and equipped in European fashion, was brought into line at Dessye, by the Negus himself.

In Somaliland, General Graziani, after leading his vanguards into action along the Webbi Shebeli and occupying Gabredarre and Gorrahei, met the forces of Ras Desta near Dolo and Lugh, marching towards Somaliland along the course of the Juba.

At the outset of January 1936, the situation of the Italian army in East Africa was by no means an easy one. However, between January 9th and 24th, General Graziani in command of 20,000 men attacked, near Dolo, and destroyed the army of Ras Desta which had been reduced to 15,000 men during their forced march. General Graziani completed his victory by advancing 400 kilometres into Ethiopian territory (Borana region) and occupying Neghelli. At that time he might easily have pushed his motorised columns as far as

the Allata pass, and into the Sidamo region, thence proceeding to the capital along the road from Kenya to Addis Ababa. But shortage of men and inadequate transport, as well as the excellent equipment of Ras Nasibou's army in the Harar and Ogaden provinces, organised by Wehib Pacha, dissuaded him from carrying out this scheme. The Abyssinian forces in the South were 100,000 strong.

Towards the middle of February Marshal Badoglio took command of the Italian forces in East Africa, while preparations for attack on the Northern front were still intense. Thanks to reinforcements reaching his expeditionary corps, which now comprised five army corps (including nationals and natives) plus one division in the Western Amhara and other troops due to march into the Aussa province from Assab by the middle of April, he was able to draw up a strategical plan. This included strengthening of General Graziani's front in the South with an Arab division from Libya, while in the North the Abyssinian armies, now pressing on all sides except the East, were to be attacked simultaneously and at once. The Air Force (500 machines) was instructed to ascertain the position of the enemy forces along the Northern front. The battle of Enderta was fought. There was an

attack on the Tembien from the North, while the advance on and taking of Amba Aradam, annihilated the army of Ras Mulugheta. The second battle in the Tembien proved decisive, a simultaneous and victorious offensive North and South forcing Ras Kassa and Ras Seyoum to withdraw with their troops into the Takazze valley.

A battle in the Shire followed almost at once, which compelled Ras Immerou to order a retreat which eventually changed into a rout of the three armies, under the unrelenting pressure of the Italian Air Force.

At the beginning of April, the Italian forces held a practically unbroken front from the Sudan border to the Danakil desert.

Divisions operating in Western Amhara reached Gondar and Lake Tana while the five Italian army corps moved swiftly into the heart of Abyssinia together. The left wing pressed towards the Amba Alaji, the centre marched on Socota, proceeding into the Lasta region, the right wing encircled and climbed the Semien plateau (13,920 ft. high) descending on the eastern shores of Lake Tana, Debra Tabor and the Beghemeder, the core of the Empire.

An advanced column operating near the Sudan border, occupied Gallabat, an important cen-

tre where all roads join that lead from the Soudan to Ethiopia. The retreating armies of the Abyssinian Rases suddenly began to disintegrate. Practically without resistance, the Italian forces conquered the Alaji pass which opened the way into the central provinces. When still thirty kilometres away from Lake Ashanghi, Marshal Badoglio became aware of the fact that the tribes of the Northern Galla had turned against the Negus, and had dealt a death blow to the retreating armies, while Haile Sellassié was attempting to stop the Italian advance on Dessye, and bar the way to Lake Ashanghi.

The army of the Negus attacked on April 10th. on the assumption that the Italian native division holding the sector would be short of artillery and ammunition owing to lack of roads, and that by temporizing a week or two the heavy rains, which had started earlier than usual, would bring action on the northern front to a standstill. The scheme failed, however, for the Italian forces resisted and counter-attacked, while the rebel Galla tribes decimated the Negus' men.

At this stage the campaign became merely a question of keeping the troops sufficiently supplied with food and ammunition to enable part of them, if not the whole army corps, to reach Dessye and Addis Ababa in the shortest possi-

ble time, and secure possession of the Shoa and the central region of the Empire.

In the South Ras Nasibou made a vain attempt at resistance around Sassabaneh, while Italian divisions commanded by General Graziani began a triple offensive. It was in this sector that the outstanding example of Abyssinian resistance was seen but even here, they were forced into it by the strategical plan which they were putting into operation rather than by a desire to fight.

On May 3rd Marshal Badoglio's forces were only 70 kilometres away from the capital. The Negus had escaped to Jibuti, Addis Ababa was in the hands of a barbarous and unruly populace and the Ethiopian Empire was rapidly disintegrating.

On May 5th Marshal Badoglio entered Addis Ababa. That same day Mussolini called another rally of Fascist forces in Italy and from the balcony of Palazzo Venezia in Rome announced to his people that « the war was finished and Ethiopia was now Italian. Italian *de facto*, he said, because it has been occupied by our victorious troops, Italian by right because civilisation brandishing the Roman sword, has triumphed over the barbarians, justice has defeated cruelty and lawlessness, and by the redemp-

tion of slaves has triumphed over a centuries old servitude.

« With the populations of Ethiopia peace is already an accomplished fact. The many races of the former Empire of the Lion of Judah have given clear evidence of their desire to live and work peacefully in the shade of the Italian flag ».

On May 9th another rally was called. From the fateful balcony Mussolini informed the world that Italy had conquered her Empire. « It is a Fascist Empire, he said because it bears the indestructible mark of the determination and power of the Roman fasces, because this is the goal towards which, during fourteen years, we spurred the ardent yet disciplined energies of the young and gallant generations of Italy. An Empire of peace because Italy wants peace for herself and for all, and decides upon warfare only when compelled to do so by imperious, incoercible necessities of life. An Empire of civilisation and humaneness for all the populations of Ethiopia, in the traditions of Ancient Rome which, after conquering associated the vanquished peoples with her own destiny ».

Mussolini then proclaimed the text of the Act which « closes one period of our history and begins another, like an immense gateway flung open on the untold possibilities of the future ».

The Act drafted and voted by the Grand Council of Fascism and by the Cabinet, decreed that the territories and the peoples belonging to the Empire of Ethiopia were placed under the full and unquestionable sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy, the title of Emperor of Ethiopia being assumed by the King of Italy for himself and his successors.

« The Italian people, he concluded, have created an Empire at the cost of bloodshed, they will make it fruitful by their labour and will defend it with arms against everyone. In this supreme certainty, Oh legionaries, raise high your banners, your weapons and your hearts to greet, after fifteen centuries, the rebirth of the Empire upon the fateful hills of Rome ».

Two days before the King had presented Mussolini with the insignia of Knight Grand Cross of the Military Order of Savoy for the following service to his country: « As Minister of the Armed Forces, he prepared, conducted and won the greatest colonial war recorded in history; a war which he — Head of the King's Government — foresaw and decreed for the prestige, the life and the greatness of our Fascist Fatherland ».

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