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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FASCIST STATE

by

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Colonel Jordan and Fellow Officers:

When a great town-planning scheme is undertaken, the outside observer can see but little while the foundations are being laid and the walls erected. If he wants to know about it, he is referred to the plans and specifications. Only when the scaffolding is removed do the outlines of the buildings stand forth; only then can the merits of the scheme be judged. For the past twelve years Italy itself has been a vast building enterprise on which millions of men and women have been working with zeal and confidence. This morning I shall take down the scaffolding and let you see the building. You can then judge for yourself its worth.

Of all the changes in political philosophy that were brought about by the World War, there is none that challenges the attention of the world so much as Fascism. Developed as an antidote to Communism, it has slowly penetrated the very vitals of the Italian nation, giving to the Italian people a new political, social and economic order, and such a complete metamorphosis of morale that it may be said without exaggeration that Italy is experiencing a profound renaissance.

There has been such a plethora of books and articles written about the Italian experiment in government that I fear that much of what I shall say shall appear trite but out of the mass of documentation, my hope is to present a picture of the development of the Fascist State from the birth of Fascism to the recent inauguration of the Corporative State.

First, I shall discuss the political doctrine and the organization of the State, and describe how closely is the Fascista Party interwoven with the Government. Then, I shall touch upon the gradual growth of the new economic order and the changes that have been made in the social fabric of the nation.

To appreciate justly present conditions, it is interesting to cast a backward glance at the history of the unification of Italy.

Prior to 1860, Italy was a conglomeration of small states under the leadership of Piedmont that was ruled by the House of Savoy. Austria controlled Lombardy, the Trentino, Venice and Dalmatia, while autocratic governments ruled the central and southern states, and the Pope dominated Rome. The deplorable conditions throughout the peninsula led Cavour to seek the help of Napoleon III of France, with whose aid he defeated the Austrians

at Magenta and Solferino and freed Lombardy and all of northern Italy. He was on the point of capturing Trentino and Venice when the French became jealous of the growing power of Piedmont, and withdrew their armies. The idea of unification however, persisted, and the central states clamored to be joined to Piedmont, a union which was finally permitted by the French only after their acquiescence had been practically purchased by Cavour in ceding to Napoleon III, the rich provinces of Nice and Savoy.

In 1860, therefore, we find Italy divided roughly into four large parts. In the north and central Italy was Piedmont, a kingdom with a liberal constitution; to the north-east, Venice and Trentino under the Austrians; in the center, the papal states including Rome, Umbria and the Marshes; and in the south, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

There then stalked across the scene, Garibaldi, a picturesque old man with 1000 men, clad in red shirts, conquered Sicily with the tacit support of King Victor Emmanuel. After a surprisingly easy victory, he passed to the mainland, where acclaimed as a savior and patriot, he caused the collapse of the Kingdom of Naples. Rome was his next objective, but the French intervened in defense of the Pope, and Garibaldi was forced to withdraw his forces.

There were now only two gaps in Italian unity, Venice and Trentino in the north and Rome in the center, but in 1866, Italy gained Venice for aiding Bismarck in the Austro-Prussian War, and during the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, when Napoleon III in France was forced to withdraw the French troops from Rome, Victor Emmanuel proceeded to attack and capture that stronghold of the Pope. The latter, defeated, withdrew into the Vatican where he has remained until the recent Lateran agreement that restored him to a small temporal domain. Thus briefly was unification achieved.

From 1870 until the World War, Italy fell under the domination of Germany both politically and economically. While Italy was nursing her resentment over the occupation of Tunis by the French, Bismarck astutely lured her into the famous Triple Alliance whereby she renounced the Italian lands of Trieste and Trentino, and definitely aligned herself with Austria against France. In the economic field, Germany laid a strangle hold upon Italy. Through the control of Italian banks, the Germans paralyzed the industry of the country, and prevented all competition with German goods in the markets of the world.

But the successes of the Libyan war, and the universal hatred of Austria had started an awakening of the Italian people, and made them regret the Triple Alliance that would place them in battle as her ally.

When, therefore, the World War was declared, there was no enthusiasm in Italy for participation as a member of the Alliance. At this juncture, the Italian Government followed popular sentiment with a clear vision of Italian destiny in spite of the socialists, of the clergy and of the politicians. As the treaty was purely defensive and as neither Germany nor Austria had taken the trouble to consult Italy regarding their entry into a war as provided by the terms of the Alliance, Italy quite rightly felt herself absolved from all obligations. Then began a series of bargainings between Italy and the Allies on the one hand, and Germany on the other for Italy's aid, or at least her neutrality. She remained hesitant. At this moment attention was attracted to Benito Mussolini, the obscure editor of a small newspaper in Milan through whose editorial column he urged Italy to enter the war on the side of the Allies. The sincerity of his conviction began to gain supporters.

Outside of Italy he was hardly noticed, but within the peninsula people, especially the politicians, were beginning to ask, who was this fellow? He was the son of a blacksmith, of strong socialistic if not internationalistic convictions that he preached incessantly in the family circle. In such an atmosphere, his son Benito learned all about the hard life of the masses, and knew from experience what were their hopes, their fears, and their injustices. He learned to understand profoundly the psychology of the Italian people.

Gifted with unusual intelligence, he was however, pugnacious and combative, and he early chose to champion the cause of socialism. His very name, Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini, evokes revolutionary character of the past, and it is little wonder that he sought the channel of journalism as an outlet for his burning convictions.

But when the Government failed to enter the war on the side of the Allies, he split with the Socialists who were opposed to war, and exhorted the masses to fight for freedom. The Socialists shocked at what they termed his treachery to their party, dismissed him as editor of the Socialist paper, the "Avanti" and expelled him from the Socialist party. His expulsion was denounced by both Lenin and Trotsky as the greatest mistake ever made by Italian Socialism. "Mussolini!" exclaimed Lenin at a conference to a delegation of Italian socialists, "a great pity that he is lost to us. He is a strong man. In Italy, he would

have led our party to victory."

He then established another paper "Il Popolo d'Italia" and through its medium began the creation of the Fasci, small groups of men strategically located who worked for Italian intervention in the great struggle. These men lived for ideals and inflamed the spirit of the people urging upon them sacrifices in order to rid themselves of the Austrian yoke. Finally, Italy declared war on Germany and Austria May 24, 1915, after her compensation had been arranged in the Pact of London.

The history of Italy's part in the war is familiar. For the most part, her soldiers fought well, but the morale of the Army and of the people had been completely sapped by defeatist propaganda and communistic ideas. When the terms of the treaty of Versailles had sunk into the consciousness of the Italian people and they realized that they had been given only the crumbs from the feast of England and France, complete disillusionment swept the country and the people abandoned themselves to despair.

Italian unity so dearly bought over many years was threatened by Bolshevism. Throughout the country, there was the greatest want and suffering among the people. The Socialists, resentful over their failure to keep Italy out of the war saw now their great opportunity to recapture their power and ascendancy by capitalizing the low morale of the nation. The people were an easy prey in their desperate economic condition, and lent themselves readily to revolt and violence. Communistic outrages dotted the country and dissolution seemed not far distant.

Mussolini fought this condition and violently attacked the weakness of the government which now began to fear him as a potent force, and as a strong political enemy.

In February 1919, he issued a call to all patriotic citizens to rally to his standard and put an end to the violence that threatened to ruin the country. In all the towns and cities, he organized the Fascisti Party, using the agents of his paper as leaders of the movement, and in the following November elections, he entered his candidates as representatives of the new party. He was, however, hopelessly beaten by the Socialists who at once began elaborate plans for the extension of their power. The Reds took heart, staging violent demonstrations and calling strikes all over the land. Soviets were organized; a division of the land and the democratization of industry were demanded.

For two years, there raged a bitter struggle between the Fascists and the Socialists. Fights, murders, strikes, revolutions were everywhere. The Socialists continued their battle against the capitalistic system by ordering a general strike, which so paralyzed the country that it decided Mussolini to organize his forces, march upon Rome, and seize the government. The King, instead of declaring martial law, wisely invited Mussolini to come to Rome and form a ministry. Thus began, in October 1922, the Fascist era which has just completed its twelfth year.

Upon assuming power, Mussolini realized that he had to depend upon certain instruments to assist him in his work. First, he created the Grand Council of the Fascist Party composed of men who had helped him in his fight, and today representative of every phase of the regime. Next, he organized the Voluntary Militia, an armed force, separate and distinct from the regular troops in order that the decrees of the Fascist Party might be supported by force.

In the beginning, he states that he had no plan other than to work for the uplift of Italy and her people. What has been therefore accomplished in the past twelve years has been the evolution of an idea rather than the execution of a plan.

A glance then at the philosophic aspect of the State.

In a modern state no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between political, economic and social policies. As Mussolini stated recently: "The economic man does not exist. Man is integral: he is economic, he is religious, he is saint, he is warrior."

Fascist doctrine maintains that the State is supreme and that the individual must work for the benefit of the state. This is the antithesis of the democratic doctrine that the State exists only for the benefit of the individual. The Fascist idea concentrates all power in the State on the theory that the results obtained benefit the entire mass of the people. It seeks to prevent the exploitation of the resources of the State by a privileged few who have obtained control of the government, to the detriment of the social well being of the masses.

This doctrine is nothing more or less than the philosophic expression of the German philosophers led by Hegel wherein the individual, separate from the state, possesses no more function of validity of life than a cell of the body divorced from

the body, and the idea of political representation of individuals is sheer nonsense, for such representation belongs to functional units of society and not to geographical groups. Mussolini's idea is an intensification of the German philosophy and as Fascism has grown in strength and power just to that degree has Italy approached the perfect total state. Thus did the glorious idea of democracy and the State resume its right as the sole interpreter of life. "Everything within the State," Mussolini has shouted from a thousand rostrums, "Nothing without the State. Everything for the State."

Until recently the idea of a totalitarian state was alien to American political theory. Our concept was that a state should interfere as little as possible with business and with the individual. To our great development and prosperity the State in the past had contributed relatively little, and good states like good little children were to be seen and not heard. But anyone who has taken the trouble to analyze the recent trend in government in the United States will discover a movement toward a paternalistic state which is only a step removed from the idea of the total state.

Politically, Italy is a constitutional monarchy but Mussolini maintains that it is worn out. It has no provision for amendment and is concerned with the reorganization of government rather than with the protection of the rights of the citizens. The Fascist onslaught, however, upon the existing political system was not directed primarily against the constitution because as has been shown, he uses so much of it as harmonizes with Fascista needs. It was aimed to destroy the parliamentary form of government, which was declared obsolete. The outward forms of government still exist, namely, the executive, legislative and judicial branches, but their functioning has changed. To check the confusion and disorganization of government that comes from Parliament, Mussolini caused to be passed, the Premier Law, which deprived Parliament of the power to unseat him by vote, and which would permit him to carry out his plans free from parliamentary intrigue.

He next directed his power against his opponents in the Chamber of Deputies and eradicated them swiftly, sometimes by methods that have been questionable. As the Party grew in strength a system was devised that made it impossible for any but Fascists to be elected to the Chamber. Only in the Senate were there a few weak voices against his regime.

The Fascists then passed a law called the Reform of Parliament which annulled all political parties, and admitted the existence of only one political party as the organ of the regime. It also gave juridical recognition of the great productive and

economic organizations of the State.

The new Electoral Law (September 2, 1928) transformed the existing system of parliamentary representation, on lines which are better suited to the political principles upheld by Fascism. The main features of the new electoral system are:

1. The Kingdom is considered as a single national constituency;
2. The number of Members of Parliament is reduced from 508 to 400;
3. The list of candidates is drawn up by syndical organizations which are legally recognized, and by other organizations as are especially empowered to do so;
4. The definite list of candidates to be voted upon, is drawn up by the Grand Council of Fascism, upon the lists provided by the syndicates as stated above;
5. The electoral body is called upon to approve or reject the whole list.

This was the first step toward the realization of the Corporative State, and toward replacing the deputies, politically and geographically elected, by men chosen from the various trades and professions. At present, election to the Chamber is provided for in the Syndical Law, which organized the employers and employees into thirteen great confederations (later changed to 9). Each of the latter submits a panel of twice the number of names corresponding to its quota. A total of 800 names is thus submitted to the Grand Council from which 400 are selected and presented to the electorate for confirmation. In the political framework, therefore, we have the King, the Duce, the Grand Council of the Fascista Party, the Fascist Party itself, the Senate and the Chamber of deputies, - the whole system fused and integrated into what has been called the Corporative State.

The King, while exercising little political power, is nevertheless essential in the Italian scheme and there is no disposition on the part of the majority of the Italians to dispense with the Royal family. The people can never forget that it was under the leadership of the House of Savoy that Italians achieved national unity, and the Fascists remember with gratitude that the King judged correctly the chances of Fascism coming to power, and at the psychological moment invited Mussolini to form a government instead of turning the machine guns of the Army upon the Fascists as he was urged to do by the weak government in power at the time of the march on Rome.

Victor Emmanuel is secure upon his throne but it is not so sure that the Crown Prince will succeed to that chair since recent laws place in the hands of the Grand Council the right to determine the succession, and since Mussolini and the Crown Prince do not appear to see all things eye to eye.

Mussolini has no desire to destroy the throne. His ambitions do not appear to aspire to wear a crown himself. Rather is he interested in perpetuating an idea, and he is seeking to solve the problem, which baffled Napoleon, of creating a succession without creating a dynasty, by weaving into the political fabric of the nation such powerful bodies as the Grand Council of the Party, and the Corporative Chamber. Once that is done the political bloodstream of Italy will have been definitely inoculated with Fascism, and the regime will be perpetuated after his death.

The Grand Council which started out as a party organ has by law become a part of the constitution and is today the supreme organ of the state and chief agent of the government. The Council is composed of 20 distinguished men who represent the quintessence of Fascism and all shades of activity including the revolution, the state, the party and the corporative state. This council functions as a creative and advisory body representing the spirit and will of Fascism.

The Government is compelled by law to consult the Grand Council on the following questions:

1. The succession to the throne; attributions and powers of the Crown;
2. The composition and duties of the Grand Council of Fascism, of the Senate, of the Chamber of Deputies;
3. The attributions and powers of the Head of the Government, Prime Minister Secretary of State;
4. The power conceded to the Cabinet of taking legal measures by Royal Decree;
5. The syndical and corporate organization;
6. Relations between the State and Holy See;
7. International treaties when they entail modification to the territory of the State and the Colonies, or renunciation to the acquisition of further territories.

The Grand Council of Fascism may be called upon to give advice upon all political, social, or economic questions of national interest. It keeps a list of eligibles to succeed Mussolini in case a vacancy occurs. Upon his death, resignation or disappearance, the Grand Council is empowered to submit to His Majesty a panel of three names from which to choose his successor. This panel, it is understood, has already been made up, and naturally Mussolini presided at the meeting when the choice was made. It is in the Grand Council that we see the most complete merging of the structure of the State and of the Party, but the amalgamation takes place as well in all of the lower hierarchies of the Party.

Its tentacles reach down into the very lowest strata of the body politic through the administrative channels of the provincial organization. Italy is divided into 92 provinces each governed by a prefect. Each province is subdivided into county seats and townships governed by a podesta, or mayor. These officials are all appointed direct from Rome by Mussolini on the recommendation of the Secretary General of the Fascista Party, resulting in a complete executive control, in pyramidal form centering in Rome in the person of the Duce. As an analogy, it is just as if in our country every governor of the states and the mayor of every town and city were appointed by the President upon the recommendation of the National Democratic, or Republican Party as the case may be. In each province is a provincial federation of the Fascista Party whose secretaries are appointed by the Secretary of the National Party as are the prefects. Then on the lower level are the lesser provincial secretaries and still lower the secretaries of the local fascists centers. Through this closely knit organization in which every member swears implicit obedience to Mussolini his slightest command reaches all parts of the country.

Under this political direction flourishes the great youth movement upon which reliance is placed for the perpetuation of Fascism. In these organizations are about 3,500,000 children, and boys and girls. Fascist education begins in the kindergarten from which the children pass to the Ballilla Foundation control. This organization corresponds to the boy and girl scout movement in our country except that, in Italy, membership is obligatory.

From 14 to 18 years of age the boys and girls pass into senior sections of the Foundation. Party membership can only be gained by rising through these ranks. At 18, the keenest youths are given a gun and admitted to the Voluntary Militia for National Security, the Party's army to which I have referred. It is fully equipped and trained for war and has come to assume a major role in the affairs of state. It associates and cooperates fully with

the regular forces of the Army, having one battalion assigned to each division of infantry. In addition, there are special categories for peace time duties, the port militia, to oversee the customs and prevent smuggling and stealing on the docks; the Forest Militia to police the forests and prevent fires, the Finance Guards which correspond to internal revenue troops and the railway, highway and post office militia. In this manner, the national government covers the whole nation like a network reaching into every nook and cranny. Government is largely by Royal Decree. These decrees it is true must be confirmed by the Grand Council and ultimately by the Senate and House but this procedure is a mere matter of form. A decision of the Grand Council becomes a law automatically when presented to the Chamber. The existing parliamentary chamber will soon be replaced by the Corporations composed of the tops of Labor and Capital, when the Corporative State reached its fullest development. The candidates will then come, not from geographical constituencies but from constituencies of production. Wine for example, or olive oil, or pig iron. As one writer facetiously expresses it: In parliamentary language we should expect to speak of the gentlemen from Piedmont. The Fascist concept is the "Gentleman from Asbestos" though the phrase is not yet used. And this brings me to a consideration of the economic aspect of the Mussolini regime.

For the past 12 years Italy has been engaged in building a vast economic structure on the theory that all national activities - agricultural, industrial, commercial, financial, cultural and recreational - should be inserted within the framework of the State which thus becomes totalitarian. It is based upon a conception of collective welfare realized by bringing into harmony under the aegis of the State all productive forces of the country, without in any way destroying the initiative of labor, thought and individual genius, but creating a new balance between the economic forces of the land. Capital and labor were to be allies in production instead of enemies, and as between categories of production cutthroat competition was to end. But not only capital and labor, but all other elements necessary for production were to be united toward the one end so that invention, preparation, study and intellectual knowledge were included in this community of interests. In other words, the goal of achievement was the so-called Corporative State. The entire nation was to be brought into a system of organization based on everyone's economic utility to the State. Such was the original conception, which to many minds appeared fantastic. At the moment, you will get a clearer picture of the Corporative State by thinking of it as a big branch of a Cabinet department called the Ministry of Corporations, whose principal job is to preside over and manage the many groups into which a large part of the Italian people have already been organized.

Before the work could be undertaken Mussolini had to create an atmosphere propitious to the task, developing a spirit akin to that which animates armies and makes men endure all sorts of hardships in campaign. When he took power, Mussolini was not content to deal with contingent phenomena but went behind them to get at causes. He held as absurd the idea that the vicissitudes of economic life suffice to explain history, and he opposed to it the conception of life, in which the will of man is the determining factor in history. Fascism denies the immutable and irreparable character of the class struggle which is the natural outcome of this economic conception of history, and above all that the class struggle is the preponderating agent in social transformations.

From the beginning Mussolini did not hold out to the Italians any promise of great and immediate prosperity under his regime. He did not tempt them, with a vision of two chickens in every pot and two cars in every garage, when he knew that for the most of them there would hardly be one chicken in the coop. He made no demagogic appeal to the masses and held out no promises of good times ahead. On the contrary, he told them to take a notch in their belts, that life is a struggle full of hard work, and self-sacrifice, and not a thing of easy triumphs. His appeal was to the idealism of the people; it brought to civilian life the spirit of the Army which makes soldiers accept hard discipline to ensure a victory for the country. General national interests take precedence over personal interests. The whole tenor of Italian life for the past decade bears witness to this subordination of special to collective interests. We of the Army perhaps are better able to appreciate and understand his concept than any other group of men, for it corresponds largely to the concept of life under which we live. Taking events in chronological order we will now make a rapid survey of the several stages in the development of this work which have led to the practical realization of the Corporative State.

Under the new conception of class cooperation, the first step was the organization of the producers which was initiated in 1921. It was then declared that work was the only title justifying the claim to exercise full rights of citizenship, and the term "workers" was defined as covering all who in any way devote their efforts to creating, improving, or increasing those things which contribute to the moral, material and intellectual welfare of mankind. During a period of four or five years there was a gradual substitution of Fascist syndicates for labor unions on this side. The employers used the General Confederation of Italian Industry as a nucleus round which they could be grouped. Through reiteration, the principle of class collaboration gained ground slowly but surely, and bitter class struggles gave way to

a sincere effort for mutual understanding between capital and labor.

Taking advantage of this lull in industrial peace, the government in 1926 furthered the cooperation of capital and labor by the enactment of the Syndical Law. Under this statute, all workers are organized into syndicates and all employers into federations, and both types of organizations are given a legal status. The five main branches of productive activity - agriculture, industry, commerce, credit and insurance, arts and professions, are then grouped into confederations whose duly elected officers represent the members in their relations with the political and administrative authorities, with other confederations, and with the Labor Courts. The first four are organized on a dual basis, unions of employers being matched by twin unions of employees.

As for the internal organization of the occupational unions and confederations they vary considerably from one to the other, arising as it does from the intimate needs of each occupation and each branch of production. For example, in agriculture, farming and renting land-owners, tenant farmers, and peasants working their own land or land held on lease are organized in each of the 92 provinces into "provincial federations" representing the groups formed for each of the above categories in the several communes of each province. These federations represent their members, who may be individuals or corporate bodies, in negotiating collective leases and labor contracts, and they take measures regarding the increase of production and the reduction of costs.

The non-land-owning farmers, or workers, laborers, crop sharing tenants, shepherds, and herdsmen are similarly organized into syndicates and federated provincially, paralleling the land-owners organization described above.

As another illustration, in industry and commerce, the occupational unions or syndicates both of employers and workers, formed for each separate trade are federated horizontally into provincial unions embracing all occupations and vertically into separate national federations, one for each trade (engineering, chemical, wool, clerical staff, shop assistants, commercial travelers, etc.) each of which belongs to some particular corporation.

Under the law governing these bodies arbitrary infringement of the conditions laid down in the collective labor contracts is illegal and strikes and lock-outs become penal offenses. In the case of disputes, the matter is referred to a joint syndical

committee for settlement, failing which it is referred to its respective Corporation and finally to the Ministry of Corporations to which the whole system heads up. Should conciliation fail the matter then goes before the labor court Magistracy of Labor.

In working out the corporation system, which the syndical organization was designed to bring about, there was enacted the Charter of Labor, one of the fundamental documents of the Fascist regime. This charter defines the fascist position on the vexed question of private enterprise versus state control. While private initiative is encouraged, yet production is a matter of national concern and therefore the organizer of a business is held responsible to the state for the direction. The Charter of Labor is aimed to protect the worker and to insure for him many social benefits. It is really the Magna Carta of the Corporative State.

As has been shown above the syndical law was an organization of producers, both employers and employees, and the various unions and syndicates are designed to regulate matters affecting personnel and services. We now come to the next and final step in the Corporative State which is the organization of production, provided for in the Corporation Act of February 1934. Under the provisions of this Act the representatives of the occupational unions of employers and employees together with technical experts and ex-officio members are brought together in guilds formed for the several categories of production. Mussolini has stated the purpose of the corporation organization as follows:

"I desire work to be organized in function of the interest of consumers, producers, wage earners, technicians. The State should not intervene except as supreme umpire, the protector of the community. It is the task of the Corporations to regulate all the problems of production, for we must not just make anything, anyhow. That is folly and leads to catastrophe. The main task of the corporation is the coordination and the rationalization of production."

On July 1st, 1934, Mussolini established another link in the chain of development of the Corporative State by the creation of the Corporations of Category, to be headed by the National Council.

Three principal functions were assigned to the corporations. They were to act as advisory bodies to the government; conciliate disputes between labor and capital, and regulate wages

and production costs within their respective categories as well as between several categories.

In November 1934, Il Duce inaugurated 22 Corporations, each of which has Mussolini as President and members of either the government or of the party among its officers. In each corporation there is equal representation of employers, workers and technicians in the following branches of production: cereals, fruits, vegetables and flowers, viticulture and wine, beets and sugar, edible oil, husbandry and fisheries, forestry, lumber and wood, textile fibres and products, metals and metallurgical engineering, chemical trades, water, gas, electricity, paper and printing, building trades, clothing trades, mining and quarrying, glass and pottery, credit and insurance, arts and professions, sea and air transports, inland communications, theater and public entertainments, hotels and restaurants. The members of these corporations total 824 and form the Central Corporative Committee.

These corporations are clothed with self-governing powers for the regulation of the productive activities of the country. They assure the participation of the producers themselves in the planning and regulation of Italian economic life. Throughout the system, the national interests are safeguarded against the pressure of special interests through the presence on the corporations of members of the government and of the party. After a period of trial and error in the operation of the corporations, it planned to substitute for the Chamber of Deputies these corporate bodies representing the fruits of private enterprise, and individual initiative exercised under the supreme control of the State. The Corporative State will then have been completely achieved.

Let us now see how well adapted to the purposes of mobilization is the organization of the Fascist State just described. In this respect, Italy's task is particularly complex and difficult. In fact the industrial power and the natural richness of Italy are far from being the equivalent of the other great powers. Besides, the country finds itself lacking in nearly all of the essential raw materials. She is practically without mineral resources as she must depend on the outside world for coal, petroleum, largely for iron and steel. Her resources in copper, zinc, tin, nickel, manganese and nitrates are small compared with her needs. She cannot provide sufficient foodstuffs for her population but must import 15 per cent of her supplies. In time of war this deficiency would mount to 30 or more per cent. In the World War it rose to 40 per cent. On the other hand, the Fascist regime

allows the government to draw from existing resources all that they are capable of giving. There are no restrictions on the Duce. The imperious subordination of the individual to the needs of the State, the discipline demanded of all, the coordination imposed upon the different departments by the personal action of the Duce, and finally a sort of Latin exaltation for the grandeur of the nation that Fascism has developed, favor, in the extreme, measures of national defense.

Mobilization, both military and civil, comes under the Supreme Council of Defense. As for the military mobilization, the War Ministry has complete charge of military conscription and assigns men to the other branches as the Navy, and the Air Army, Fascist Militia, finance guards, etc.

But all Italians are mobilizable under the law. Italy repudiates any distinction of the past between military and non-military population in time of war. Every citizen must give his services the same as soldiers, and receive pay according to the same scale. The civilians are obliged to remain at their work under all conditions and are treated as deserters if they should absent themselves for periods as long as five days. To oversee the execution of the law there will be in each of the 8,000 communes, a Commission of Civil Defense. For the operation of the system of industrial mobilization, the Supreme Council of National Defense disposes of a "Committee for National Mobilization." This body is an organ of coordination that unites the decisions of the Supreme Council. It has juridical recognition and is provided with all means to insure the execution of its measures in peace and in war.

Each ministerial department is charged with the preparation of its own mobilization as well as with that of the necessary services with which it is concerned in time of war. The same status applies to all syndicates, societies, organizations, etc., that may be designated. Their preparation must be effectuated with the consent and approval of the Committee of National Mobilization, and if need be, the Supreme Council.

Under the rigorous cadre of these principles, the law defines the domains in which the organization must take place, namely, munitions made by private firms, foodstuffs, propaganda and civil aid, and labor. The ensemble of the preparation of these matters is entrusted to a "Bureau of Civil Mobilization" forming part of the Committee of National Mobilization, and attached to the Ministry of Corporations. Thus oriented the industrial preparation of the nation has made great progress.

As far as munitions are concerned, Italy maintains a group of observers in all factories. These men have a legal status and nothing can be concealed from them. They oversee the government contracts and report on the capacities and limitations of the factories. The government exercises a veritable control of the operation of the manufactures in time of peace. The Ministry of Corporations fixes periodically the list of industries that are considered "fundamental". Metallurgy, textiles, chemical products, wood industries, power, all appear on that list. None of these industries can be established nor expanded without a license from the Bureau of Civil Mobilization. It is obvious that there is a constant intervention of the State in all manufactures that are capable of making munitions or war material.

This same discipline applies to all other industrial concerns in Italy in addition to those mentioned as fundamental. The Ministry of Corporations is charged with making and executing plans for industrial mobilization of all enterprises and supplies, other than foodstuffs which are considered vital to the nation in time of war. For foodstuffs, the responsibility rests with the Ministry of Agriculture which has twelve interprovincial foodstuff offices in the Agrarian Inspectorate which plans for the mobilization of foodstuffs in time of war. But to assist industry and to utilize to the best its resources, the Fascist State constituted the "National Research Council" under Marconi. This Council exercises a control over all scientific activities notably inventions, in view of the technical and industrial progress of Italy.

All of this control presupposes, among the agents of execution technical competence, or rather extended knowledge. To assure this knowledge, men are trained in a school of Engineers. The problem of labor in industry in time of war is a responsibility of a "Central Labor Office" whose function in time of peace is to prepare the recruiting of the supply of labor required in plants supplying war necessities or products essential to domestic existence. It acts in coordination with the War Department in carrying out these plans in time of war. Finally, to carry out the industrial mobilization program, there exists the "Office of Commercial Information" attached likewise to the Ministry of Corporations which is to say to the Bureau of Civil Mobilization. The same draconian means of investigation are accorded this office as were given the observers in the factories. In this manner, the Bureau of Mobilization is kept informed of the stocks on hand, of imports, and of the distribution of everything that concerns the National Defense and which acts in time of peace upon the economy of the country. No foreign commercial treaty, no bonuses or subsidies from the state, no program of public works is under-

taken without reference to this committee to ascertain its effect upon mobilization needs. This Office can therefore foresee an eventual policy regarding raw materials, and with full knowledge draw up plans for importation, purchase, requisition, restrictions, transports, all that may be necessary in time of war for military manufactures.

It is thus obvious that in case of a war, the Italian government is well prepared to direct industry and draw from it, its maximum effort, provided that it can assure the elements of production, that is a disciplined labor, and raw materials.

In the field of transportation, Italy is well supplied with railroads and in time of war would have no difficulty in moving her troops from one end of the peninsula to the other. In the north, her lines naturally lead to the passes through which an invasion of Italy by land is only possible. All of these lines are double tracked. The most important line is the four tracked line connecting Aquata and Genoa and running through the Giove Pass. Nearly every point in Italy can be reached by railroad. Three double track lines can transport all men and supplies that are needed in the north from any point of the peninsula. For meeting an invasion from the west, four lines are available for moving of troops and supplies to within 40 miles of the frontier. In addition there are two lines running parallel with the border and connecting the main lines. Italy has 10,489 miles of railroad of which 7,943 is double tracked. There are 3,653 miles of privately owned railroads. Twelve per cent of the lines are electrified. Her road net is sufficient for her needs inasmuch as all points of commercial or military importance are connected by National Road Highways and in nearly every case they parallel railroads. In Italy there are 100,000 miles of roads, of which 13,000 are national roads and 26,000 provincial which together form the main strategic road net. There are 125 miles of autostrada. In the past five years, 10,000 km. of roads have been rebuilt or resurfaced.

This brief outline will suffice to show that in the preparation for war Italy has made great strides. It has not reached maturity, for since it is tied closely to the national life, this gigantic enterprise is still in a state of gestation. But it is certain that the measures foreseen, the discipline, and the organs of execution exist and are ready to serve, and that the impulsion that Mussolini gives unceasingly, smoothes out all obstacles and excites further activities.

The technical preparation of the nation for war marches abreast of that of the armed forces, and of the spiritual prepara-

tion of the younger generation. In a future war, Italy should give a good account of herself, due to the extraordinary qualities of Mussolini who perhaps more than any man today has earned his title -- IL DUCE.