

"One day I came to see Giolitti while Buchanan was calling, and jokingly denounced his apprehensions to Giolitti, who looking out of a window, said: 'Do you see that olive tree, Sir George? You have never seen one in Russia, have you? Well, you will no more see Bolshevism in Italy than olive trees in Russia!'"

"In 1920 there had been 1,881 strikes in the country (Italy); in 1921 the number fell to 1,045, with 720,000 strikers—very nearly the same figure as in 1915, the year of Italy's entry into the war. In short, there was the same curve of progress as there was in France and England.

"It was at this moment that Fascism, born as a revolutionary movement, had put itself more or less openly at the service of the employers to destroy the workers' unions. Giolitti welcomed it as a counterpoise to Socialism. But he was firmly convinced that the movement could easily be sobered into legality by Parliament. This is one of the reasons that decided him for a general election in 1921."—"Makers of Modern Europe," pages 244-5.

Don Sturzo, in his "Italy and Fascismo," a book which Count Sforza has greatly praised, \* describes the connivance of Prime Minister Giolitti with Fascist violence:—

"Fascism made a noise, but did not increase the number of its adepts . . . ; it lacked an outlet.

"And the outlet for its forces was opened by the old Giolitti. Towards the end of 1920 . . . he thought it would be well to have other forces in hand which he could bring into play," against the Socialists, "without assuming direct responsibility" for the action of these forces. He could thus hope to bend the moderate section of Socialism towards collaboration (with his own party) "which he had hoped to do for a long time. For this purpose he could not lean on the Popolari,† whom he knew to be hostile to him" . . .

"Therefore, Giolitti thought to lean on the Fascists, but his intention was to use them and at the opportune moment to get rid of them, after having gained the means of compromising their chiefs and neutralising their action should they rebel against him. With this plan, which corresponded to his well-known methods of government, he organised the national blocs for the Municipal Elections of the autumn of 1920, against the Socialists and against the Popolari . . . ; the Fascist in Upper and Central Italy took part not only with candidates and a very limited electoral contribution, but, and this was what counted, with armed bands which intimidated rural districts and towns. Part of their arms were those left over from D'Annunzio's expedition to Fiume, and part were secretly taken from the Military stores. The police

\* Italy and Fascism which with its serenity seems more the work of a philosophic historian than of a political leader.—"Makers of Modern Europe," by Count Carlo Sforza, page 314.

† The Popolari, or Popular Party were a leftish Roman Catholic Party, led by Don Sturzo.

made a show of checking and pursuing lawless and violent actions, but they nearly always arrived too late and hardly ever found the responsible persons."—Pages 101-2.

Other writers have given more detailed information about Fascism in Italy and have exposed and criticised it more drastically than Don Sturzo. Professor Gaetano Salvemini has provided an invaluable store of irrefutable facts concerning it in a series of closely documented volumes: "The Fascist Dictatorship in Italy (1928)," "Mussolini Diplomat (1932)," "Under the Axe of Fascism (1936)," "Italian Fascism (1938)." Armando Borghi, Alcide De Ambris, Pietro Nenni, at one time Vice-Premier of Italy, have written with an intimate personal knowledge of the principal actors in the Fascist tragedy: scores of books have been written about Italy under Fascism. The book of Don Sturzo has been selected here for quotation because Count Sforza has himself praised it, because Don Sturzo, whose Party actually participated in Mussolini's Government at the commencement, gives the closest view of the failure of the old Italian political class, of which Count Sforza was a member.

At the time when Giolitti, as described by Don Sturzo and others, began to make use of Fascist violence, Count Sforza was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Giolitti's Government. Sforza at that time evidently did not foresee the destruction of his own Party which was destined to follow his leader's resort to violent aids; even in 1930 he wrote of that period. "The beginnings of Fascism were not lacking in a certain idealistic passion for renovation," but, "generous as it wished to be," it had not "the luck to find either the men or the occasions that might have made it useful," as it otherwise could have been."—"Makers of Modern Europe," page 318.

It appears truer to suggest that it was the Party of Giolitti who had not the "luck" to find in Mussolini and his Blackshirts a force compliant to their ends.

In the spring of 1921, Giolitti held a Parliamentary Election, for which he formed a National Bloc, consisting of his own adherents and those of Mussolini! The violence employed by the Fascists in the Municipal Elections was now intensified. In many constituencies the candidates of other Parties were unable even to appear; with their supporters they were beaten and even assassinated. Nevertheless, the Socialists obtained 123 seats, Don Sturzo's Popular Party 107. Don Sturzo tells that the Fascists, "who had come into the Chamber by the merits and will of Giolitti, at once took up a position against him, with the Nationalists, on the question of Rapallo." Mussolini, who had been elected to Parliament for the first time with about 30 of his Fascists, thus participated in the overthrow of Giolitti who had placed him there.

Confirmed as Prime Minister in May, Giolitti fell from power in June. He was replaced by Ivanoe Bonomi, who had been War Minister in his Cabinet when the Fascists obtained weapons from