

the arsenals of the State. Sforza had continued serving under Giolitti despite these tragic events; he lost the Foreign Secretaryship in July, 1921, when his leader fell, but was appointed Ambassador in Paris in February, 1922.

Giolitti soon withdrew his support from the Ministry of Bonomi, and thereby compelled his resignation. Bonomi was replaced by Luigi Facta, known as "Giolitti's friend." Count Sforza describes Facta scathingly, as a "pitiable little provincial lawyer, a nonentity assuming power for a few months while the leading actors arrange their troupe as they please and stage their re-entry." "Just because he was the arch-type of those who *mal non fur vivi* was he chosen to preside over a provisional Ministry that ought soon to have given way to a Giolitti cabinet, thought some; to a Cabinet of All the Talents, thought others." This is a striking picture of Italian politics in those days.

The Fascists were permitted to conduct a reign of increasing terror; Mayors and Councillors were driven from the Municipal buildings with firearms, towns were stormed and occupied. Mussolini's party held only 35 seats in a Parliament of 535 Members. Nevertheless, he ordered, and obtained the resignation of the Facta Government, and announced his "March on Rome." The King refused to sign a declaration of martial law, though Badoglio, as head of the Army, declared the Fascist rabble could be subdued in ten minutes with a whiff of shot. Mussolini was offered a place in a Government under Salandra, but replied that he would accept no office save the highest. The King then supinely invited him to Rome as Prime Minister.

Giolitti was meanwhile away in his country seat at Cavour. Count Sforza seeks to excuse his leader's connivance with Fascism on the plea that Giolitti believed it could be "sobered into legality by Parliament."

Don Sturzo, with much hesitation, offers the same excuse for the acceptance of seats in Mussolini's predominantly Fascist Cabinet by members of his Popular Party and the parties of the old political leaders, Giolitti, Orlando, Sonnino and Salandra—all the parties except the Socialists.

Mussolini faced the Chamber on November 15, 1922, "in the guise of a lion tamer," announcing that he could have made of that House the bivouac of his Black Shirts, and that he had the power to decide "whether it would live two days or two years." Despite that brutal challenge, the political parties of Italy, with the sole exception of the Socialists, slavishly passed a vote of confidence in Mussolini, and accorded him plenary powers to reform the administration, finance and the codes. Says Don Sturzo:—

"Both Senate and Chamber yielded up to him the legislature."

#### Count Sforza's Resignation

Mussolini had made opposition to the Treaty of Rapallo an important plank in Fascist propaganda and a crucial question in

his opposition to the Giolitti Government when he and his little company of Blackshirt M.P.s reached Parliament by Giolitti's aid. The resignation of Count Sforza, who had negotiated the Treaty of Rapallo was, therefore, inevitable on the Fascist ascent to power. Sforza's opposition to Fascism was, nevertheless, not of such a character as to render him one of the numerous victims of Fascist violence. In his chapters on the Fascist regime, notably that on Mussolini himself and that on Giolitti, Sforza passes lightly over the sins of Fascism; he does not mention the murder of Matteotti, the courageous leader of the Parliamentary Opposition, an event which given a resolute leadership on the Opposition side might have overthrown the regime. He does not refer to the murderous assaults by Fascist gangs, which led to the death of Amendola, the Liberal leader, and other Parliamentary colleagues. Whilst deprecating dictatorship in principle, when he wrote in 1930, he did not want his readers to think hardly of Mussolini, urging that he had been "convinced in good faith" that all the problems could be easily solved. When he realised the truth he had become "a slave of the myth artificially created about him." "When comedy turned to tragedy one had to stay, cost what it might. Hence the complete transformation of the old romantic and revolutionary Fascism into an exact copy of France under Napoleon III."

So it would seem Sforza would have us believe there was little to be ashamed of in Italian Fascism; Italy had only repeated the errors of her greater Latin sister. He reminds us that Italy had had scant experience of freedom and democracy. That is truer still to-day.

The rise of Fascism Sforza ascribes to diplomatic, not to economic causes, nor to any misgovernment inside Italy. He puts the blame for the overthrow of democracy upon Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, under whom he served in 1919-20, and whom he thus describes: "The son of a Scotch Presbyterian mother, and of an Italian Jew, he was obsessed by a puritanical and, seemingly pharasaical mania for thanking God that he was 'not as other men.'" In what Sforza terms "my tolerant Italian way," he has some bitter words for his former Chief, but excuses him somewhat on the ground that his "narrow honesty was outraged by the greeds and selfishness" which the representatives of other Powers "hid under the cloak of the new words" enunciated by President Wilson. Sforza had warned Sonnino of the need to adapt Italian diplomacy to the new model, but Sonnino lacked Sforza's adroitness. Unable to secure Dalmatia for Italy he made the mistake of allowing the Italian people to believe they had been cheated of their due proportion of the war spoils. Sforza, on the other hand, has always been at pains to assure everyone that Italy had gained by his own diplomacy "the most perfect natural boundary in the world," and that "no one has, in Europe, won the war as Italy has." The interpellation "in Europe," is worthy of note.