

## The New Order

(Continued from page one)  
take the lead. I shall not indulge in commenting on the difference between each of these four institutions: it is not great, or hardly so. The difference lies between imposts and taxes. Economists have not yet defined them, but the contributor knows that when he presents himself at the cashier's window, it is useless to discuss; whether it be an impost or a tax, he must pay.

It is not true, as an Italian economist of the old "Liberal Economy" has said, that the trusts, the syndicates and the pools' system of economy is an outcome of the War. This is not true, as the first coal pool in Germany, as agreed at Dortmund, dates as far back as 1879, while in 1905 — that is 10 years before the great War — there were in Germany as many as 62 pools; of these, one was for potash (1904), one for sugar (1903), 10 for glassware industries. During that lapse there grew up in Germany from 500 to 700 pools which fully handled and ruled industry and commerce in that Country. Meanwhile in France there were being formed in 1877 the Longwy metallurgical industrial office, in 1888 that for petroleum, and in 1881 all the Insurance Companies had joined to act as one single body. In Austria the iron pool was formed in 1873. Meanwhile, even international combinations of the kind make their show aside from the domestic ones. There are the bottle manufacturing syndicates formed in 1907, those for glass and mirrors, in 1909, formed by French, English, Austrian and Italian elements. The railway rolling stock manufacturers unite together internationally in 1904; the zinc syndicate takes up work in 1899. Englishmen and Chilians form a nitrate pool in 1901. Briefly, the chemical, the tissue, the navigation trusts, and others, are all formed during the period preceding the War. I have a whole list of such trusts, both national and international, with which, however, I shall not annoy you by citing. We may say, in conclusion, that there is no sector of economical life, either in Europe or in America where these forces characterizing Capitalism are not evident.

What is the consequence of all this? The end of free competition. The margins of profit having grown smaller, the capitalistic undertaking finds it better to unite and work in common, sharing in common markets and profits. This they find more convenient than to struggle in contrast. Offer and bid is no longer a ruling dogma, since pools and trusts handle the whole operation. At the end, this coalized Capitalism turns to the State. What is it asking for? It seeks Customs protection. In this way, "Liberalism" which is but a vast aspect of the liberalistic economic doctrine, receives its final blow.

The Country, in fact, which, as first, fixes insurmountable barriers, is America. Even England, abjuring all that seemed traditional in her economical, political and moral life, enforces an ever harsher protective regime. Next comes the War. Once the War is over, as a consequence thereof, capitalistic enterprises become inflated; from the million mark they step to the billion. These so-called vertical constructions seen from the distance give the impression of something monstrous and babelic. The same dimensions of the enterprise surpass all man's possibilities. Once it was the spirit to rule over the matter, now it is the matter that domineers the spirit: what was physiology has now become pathology. In a few words, all is abnormal.

Two men—for in every human vicissitude the representative ones are those who spring forth along the horizon—identify this situation: they are Krueger, the Swedish matchmaker, and Insull, the American jobber. With the cruel sincerity that is a Fascist habit, we shall add that in Italy as well there have been some specimens of the kind; these, however, in the lump, have not reached peaks so high.

"Capitalism" having come to this phase, draws its inspiration and justification from an utopia: that of unlimited consumption. The capitalistic ideal would be that of standardizing mankind from its cradle to its coffin. Supercapitalism would covet to have all men born of the same size so as to fit them in the same sized cradles; they would welcome children playing with the same toys, men dressed in the same clothes, reading the same books, relishing the same films; in short, they would wish to see all men appealing for the so-called utilitarian machine; which fact, after all, is not a mere fancy, but even logical, in so far as supercapitalism may trace out its plans in this manner.

When does capitalistic undertaking cease to be an economic fact? It is when its size leads it to become a social one. Now, we have arrived at the moment when capitalistic enterprise, having fallen into difficulty, throws itself desperately in the State's arms. This is the instant when the State's intervention becomes more and more necessary, and is fretfully sought just by those who ignored it. We are at a point that were the States to fall asleep for 24 hours, a parenthesis of the kind would suffice to determine a disaster. There is now no economical field in which the State has not but to intervene. Had we to yield — just as an hypothesis — to this last kind of Capitalism, we would arrive straight at "State Capitalism" which is nothing else but "State Socialism" capsized. Taken either way, it would mean the handling of the national economy by the officials of the State. All this forms the crisis of the capitalistic system considered

in its universal sense; but for us there is a specific crisis which particularly regards us as Italians and Europeans, since there is a typical European crisis at stake. Europe is no longer the Continent that directs human civilization: this is a dramatic statement which men who have the duty to think, should consider and have others do. There was a time when Europe ruled the world politically, spiritually and economically. It did so politically, through its political institutions; spiritually, through all that Europe has produced with its spirit along past centuries; economically, as being the sole Continent strongly industrialized. Beyond the Atlantic, however, there have been growing and developing great industrial and capitalistic enterprises, while Japan, in the Far East, after getting into touch with Europe through the war in 1905, has kept advancing westwardly at quick pace.

Here the problem is political. I use this word, inasmuch as this Assembly is exquisitely a political one. Europe may still attempt to take over the rudder of universal civilization, were we to find a 'minimum' of political unity. We must follow what we have constantly planned: a political European understanding cannot be attained unless we remedy, beforehand, some great injustices which have been committed. We have now arrived at an extremely serious point of this situation. The "League of Nations" has lost all that might have given it a political signification and an historical value. The very same one who invented it has kept far from it; Russia, the United States, Japan and Germany are absent. This League started out on principles which, as expressed, are appealing, but once atomized and sectioned prove to be absurd. Which other diplomatic act is fit to place the States in touch with one another? Locarno? But Locarno is something else; it has nothing to do with disarmament. We cannot pass that way.

"There has been much silence lately over the 'Four-hand Covenant'; no-one speaks about it, but all think of it. It is just for this that we do not propose to take it up anew, or to overhasten the time of a situation that logically and fatally keeps ripening.

### Is Italy a Capitalistic Country?

Now, let us ask ourselves this: Is Italy a capitalistic Country? Have you ever thought of it? Well, if for "Capitalism" we mean to say the assemblage of uses, customs, and technical progress now common to all Nations, we might hold Italy as a capitalistic Country as well; but if we go deeper into the situation, and examine it from a static viewpoint, that is, referring our scrutiny to the masses of the various economical categories of the populations, we must conclude, by our findings, that Italy is not a capitalistic Country in the common meaning of this word.

The farmers who work their own lands, at the date of April 21st, 1931 number 2,943,000, farm tenants, 858,000, metayers and husbandmen 1,631,000, the other countrymen, handicraftsmen, country day-labourers sum up to 2,475,000, making, all told, a total of 7,900,000 men engaged in tillage work.

The industrial craft totals 523,000; tradesmen, 841,000, artisans, both subalterns and masters 724,000; labourers on salary, 4,238,000; servants, 849,000; the armed forces of the State, 541,000, these latter including the police body. Those engaged in professional work and free arts number 553,000; public and private employees, 905,000; forming, thus, with both groups, a total of 17 millions.

Proprietors and wealthy people are few in Italy: 201,000. There are 1,945,000 students, and 11,244,000 housekeepers. There are 1,295,000 persons engaged in various unprofessional activities. You can see from this schedule how Italian economy is varied and complex, not

to be defined through a single type, and owing to the fact that the industrial craft which shows an imposing total of 523,000 constituents, is formed by parties having, almost entirely small concerns. The small firms engage from 50 to a maximum of 500 workmen; the larger ones employ from 500 to 5000 or even 6000 men. Above this we have the great industry, and sometimes we break into supercapitalism. This table shows us also how Karl Marx was wrong in claiming, with his apocalyptic plans, that mankind might be divided into two uprightly distinct and irreconcilable classes.

Italy, in my opinion, should remain as a mixed economy Nation, with a strong agricultural activity, which is the base of all. This is so true that the slight revival in industry, of late, is due — as is the opinion of competent — to the fair crops of the last years. She should, furthermore, have a small, medium but sound industry, a Bank foreign to speculation, and a trade responding to its unreplaceable function, that of rapidly and rationally conveying the goods to the consumer.

In my declaration as presented last evening, I gave a definition of the "Corporation", such as we understand it and want it to be. We have as well defined its scopes. We have said that such a "Corporation" is formed in view of the development of the wealth of Italy, her political power and her welfare, which three conditions are well subordinate, one to another. Political strength creates wealth, while wealth, in its turn, invigorates political action.

I wish to call your attention to what is mentioned as our scope, namely the Italians' welfare. It is necessary that at a certain moment the institutions which we have created shall be felt and identified by the masses as instruments by means of and through which they improve their lives' level.

The labourer, the husbandman, should be brought at a certain moment to tell himself and his dear ones: "If I am better off today, I owe it to the institutions which the Fascist Revolution has created".

In all Countries there is a branch where poverty unavoidably lodges; there is an aliquot of people who live at the margin of social intercourse. Special institutions take care of these. What should grieve us is the misery of healthy and sound men who eagerly but in vain seek work.

We want to have Italian workmen — we are, of course, interested in these as Italians, as laborers, as Fascists — to feel that we are forming institutions not merely for the sake of giving shape to our doctrinal plans, but such as shall give, at a certain moment, positive, concrete, practical, tangible results.

I shall not go over the conciliatory task that the "Corporation" might exercise, nor do I see any inconvenience in practicing consulting means. It already happens that every time the Government has to provide for matters of certain importance it appeals to the interested parties, and if, some day, such advisory means were to become obligatory, there would be no harm, as all that brings the citizen near to the State, and makes him penetrate into its gear, is useful to the social and national objects of Fascism.

"Our State is not an absolute one, nor is it absolutist; not far from men and merely armed with inflexible laws. Ours is an organic, human State that wants to adhere to the reality of life."

The very same bureaucracy is not today, nor will it be even less, tomorrow, a diaphragm between the action of the State and the interest and requirements of the Italian people. I feel sure that the Italian bureaucracy — which is indeed admirable — will tomorrow work, as it has heretofore, with equal vigor, together with the "Corporations", every time the solution of problems will call for more valuable assistance.

What has, however, most eagerly interested this Assembly, is the idea of proposing to confer upon the National Council

of Corporations legislative power. Someone, anticipating events, has even spoken of the liquidation of the present House of Deputies. Let us explain.

The present body of Deputies, since the present legislature is about to expire, should be dismissed. Secondly, as there is not sufficient time during these months to form the new corporate institutes, the House will be dismissed following the same method of 1929. The House at a certain moment shall have to decide on its own destiny. Are there some Fascists who would weep over such a hypothesis? If so, let them know that we shall not wipe their tears!

It is quite conceivable that a National Council of the Corporations might replace in full the House of Deputies. As a matter of fact I have never liked this House: it is now anachronistic even in its title; it is an institute that we have found, which is foreign to our mentality and to our Fascist passion. It presupposes a world that we have demolished; it greets a plurality of Parties which more than often become targets to reciprocal attacks. Since the instant in which we have annulled the plurality of Parties, the House has lost the essential reason for which it was formed.

Almost all of the Fascist Members of the present Chamber of Deputies have been at the height of their faith, and we should have reason to believe that their blood must be very good, as they have not dropped into that atmosphere which recalls so much of the past.

All this will take place shortly, as we need not precipitate events. What is important is to establish the principle, as it is from this that we draw our fatal consequences.

When on the 13th of January, 1923, the "Grand Council" was formed some superficial minds may have thought that an institute had been created. No. On that day the political liberalism was buried.

At the moment that the "Militia" — the armed garrison of the Party and of the Revolution — was formed, and the "Grand Council" — the supreme organ of that Revolution — rose, a final blow was hurled at all that sounded theory and practice of liberalism. We drove, then, directly into the road of our Revolution.

"Today we are burying economical liberalism."

"Corporation is playing its game in the economical field, such as did the 'Grand Council' and the 'Militia', in the political. Corporation means a disciplined and therefore a controlled economy, since there can be no discipline which is not controlled. 'Corporatism' overcomes 'Socialism' as well as it does 'Liberalism'; it creates a new synthesis.

### Decline of Capitalism and Socialism

"There is a fact which has not been sufficiently reflected upon, and this is that the decline of 'Capitalism' coincides with that of 'Socialism'. All Socialist Parties in Europe have become smashed!" I am not speaking of Italy and Germany alone, but also of other Countries. Evidently, the two phenomena, I shall not say, were conditioned one to the other, from a strictly logical viewpoint; there was, however, between one another, a simultaneousness of historical order. "This is why corporate economy rises at a determined historical moment, that is, when the two concomitant phenomena — Capitalism and Socialism — have already given all they could. From them both, we are inheriting what they had of vital importance.

We have rejected the theory of the "economic man" — the liberal economy. We have reared every time we have heard it said that work is a merchandise. The "economic man" does not exist; there exists the "integral man", who is political, economical and religious; one who is saint; one who is a warrior. "Today we are making an-

other decisive step on the road of Revolution."

Justly, comrade Tassinari has said that a revolution, to be great, to strike a deep impression upon the life of a people, and in history, has to be social. If you sip deep, you will find that the French Revolution was eminently a social one, since it demolished all that still remained of middle-ages, from turnpike moneys to corvees; it was social inasmuch as it roused that vast upsetting of everything that meant land distribution in France, and created these millions of proprietors, who have formed and still form of the solid and sound forces of that Country.

Otherwise, everyone will have thought he made a revolution. Revolution is a serious thing; it is not a conspiracy of palace, nor is it a change in the State Departments, or the advent of one Party supplanting another. It is laughable to read that in 1876, the fact that the "Sinistra" had gotten into power, was defined a revolution.

Let us, finally, ask ourselves this question: Can "Corporatism" be applied in all other Countries? We must ask ourselves this as a solution is being tried in all Countries, where the matter is studied. There is no doubt that, on account of the general crisis of "Capitalism", some corporate solution shall impose itself everywhere. However, to render "Corporatism" fully complete, integral and revolutionary, three conditions, are needed to wit: firstly, a single Party, which allows a combined action between a political and economical discipline, which may bind everyone in a tie of common faith, above any and all contrasting interests; secondly, a totalitarian State, which may absorb within its bosom all energies, interests and aspirations of the people, transforming and affording them potential virtue; thirdly, last but not most important, to live a period of most high ideal tension.

We are now living that period, and it is for this that, little by little, we are giving strength and consistence to all our realizations, converting into facts all our doctrine.

Who can deny that this Fascist period of ours is one of high ideal tension? No one. This is the time that all arms are crowned with victory: we are renewing institutions, we are redeeming lands, we are founding towns.

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