1926-06-30

Research Notes: T.B. Morgan interview of Benito Mussolini

Tarbell, Ida M.

http://hdl.handle.net/10456/37610

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The Ambassador brought me in a copy of what he thinks is the most important interview Mussolini has ever given. It was to T.B. Morgan, United Press Staff Correspondent. Morgan was evidently as much upset by his meeting with Mussolini as I was; judging by his description, but he had his questions written out, and it was understood that it was an interview. He speaks of the ease, grace and utter composure of his manner, as, seated at his desk where the present eventful history of Italy is evolved, he courteously and in a silver, liquid voice, poured forth his plans for the future of Italy. It is in this interview that Mussolini talks of America, said that he believed that it would give a magnificent contribution to the world's spiritual activity, and spoke of William James, Emerson, Longfellow, and spoke of what he called the great magician of the magnetic world, Edison.

Does the administrative and executive policy of Fascism open up a new era? Does it imply a fresh conception of government?

In the beginning, Fascism, pragmatically engaged in action, troubled itself little with theory. But now a block of new laws, well thought out and excogitated, has penetrated into all the constituent elements of the Italian State. I think that it may be stated that the word Fascism does not only mean a certain revolutionary movement, which was victorious at the end of October 1922, but implies a real and original conception of government, particularly adapted to the changed political conditions of our age and the especial historical necessities of the Italian people.
Will the representative and parliamentary principle be abandoned?

As I have had recently occasion to state, Fascism does not propose a complete abandonment but rather a thorough transformation of the parliamentary system which without any doubt is in a state of obvious decadence in all countries which have followed it. We begin, first of all, with the concept that a government cannot carry on unless it is protected against the machinations of the lobby and the petty plottings of small groups conniving for base and personal aims, as has happened in Italy for many years. Moreover, it is our belief that it is no longer possible to neglect the great importance of the professional organizations in modern life, organizations which were once and especially in Italy, the basis of the political system.

When the parliamentary system arose, the fourth estate so powerfully organized today, hardly existed, while among the middle classes the profound changes caused by the industrial movement of the XIXth century had not manifested themselves. How can a political institution remain unchanged when the economic and social conditions in which it must work and develop itself are entirely different?

This is why Fascism has firmly determined to face the grave industrial problem with the prospective reform that reserves a part of the Senate for the representatives of the capitalist and labor federations to be mixed with the old categories of senators.
chosen by His Majesty the King.

This scheme, which may possibly lead to vaster and more profound changes in our parliamentary system, represents a happy grafting of new energies on the old still vigorous trunk of our Upper Chamber.

What will be the concrete results of the agreement between Fascist industrialists and the Fascist Labor syndicates?

With the agreement signed on October 2nd, 1925, between the "corporazion" or labor syndicates and the Industrial Federation, syndicalist unity is realized in the industrial field as it has already been realized in the agricultural. It is my conviction that all honest workers will perceive the enormous advantage they can now obtain by confronting the sole capitalist organization with their sole worksmen's organization. Nor does this fact of being in the position of fixing labor contracts imply that the Fascists will not keep a watchful eye on labor's interest. They have already done it and they will do it in future.

As to the other organizations, they are in process of dissolution and will surrender their places in the spiritual and political unity of the nation to the syndicalist unity realized by the "corporazioni".

The agreement marks a memorable point in the history of the syndicalist movement, and has an immense importance not only
for the workmen but also for the capitalists. Italy is a nation in continuous economic progress, and her progress has been really remarkable during the last years. Given the vital importance of the producing classes, it is their duty to collaborate with the government.

The agreement shows in a clear and certain manner the spirit of collaboration which sincerely animates the capitalists towards the Fascist government and party. It must, moreover, be recognised that if monopoly represents an advantage for the working classes, it may also represent an undeniable one also for a Confederation of industry which always looks to find a sincere and broadminded spirit of collaboration among the leaders of the Fascist Party and in the Confederation of the Fascist Syndicalist "corporazioni".

In this manner the practical monopoly exercised by the Socialists through the General Confederation of Labor, which monopoly had as its sole aim the constitution of a formidable manoeuvring force to throw against the state and the nation, is destroyed.

This at last gives place to syndicalist unity to be formed through the Fascist "corporazioni" which purpose to incorporate the great forces of labor more and more intimately in the productive life of the nation. The "corporazioni" from today assume the representation, in the name of the nation, of the mass of the
Italian workers and obtain the recognition of the social force they stand for.

What is your Excellency's opinion regarding Italian empire? alluded to several times by your Excellency in your speeches? What would be the political, geographical, military and economic aspects of the empire?

The word empire has more than one meaning in the Italian language. It may mean a form of government and, more especially, that marvellous statal organization which in the early centuries of the Christian era dominated the world from Rome. But empire also means force, might, dominion, command.

Empire, as the will to life and to power is at the base of all living organisms. Every nation which possesses exuberant capacity for progress is forced by its own nature, as its productive powers grow stronger, to widen the limits of its own pacific penetration in the world, to expand its power and its intellectual and moral prestige beyond its frontiers.

Does not the history of the United States of America afford us a typical example of this movement of pacific expansion? Has not an American imperialism been spoken of in the same way that reference is made to an Italian imperialism? There is no need for me to remind you, who are an American, of the ideas and the work of Roosevelt who only a few months before his death wrote: "every people must above all make use of its particular
energies and must safeguard its own honor and its own vital interests". This is what our country has done conquering for itself in the world a continually improving position, adequate to its marvellous demographic, industrial and commercial development. Today Europe and the world cannot exclude the interests of the United States in the settlement of international questions, and they are less likely to be able to do so as time goes on.

When one speaks of an "imperial" Italy, no definite territorial conquest is alluded to, but rather an attitude of mind, a rule of virile conduct, combative, if needs be, which Italy must observe in great international problems. Italy's importance among the other nations of the world, her great sacrifices during the world war and her exuberant population all give her the right to a wider expansion. He who sees an aggressive aim in such a policy is a fool.

History is not without examples of peaceful agreements and partitionings through which the powers arrived at a firmer and juster equilibrium of their forces and safeguarded the peace and tranquility of their peoples. I am confident that Italy will not lack the means, when the occasion arises, of obtaining through compromises and agreements the portion that is due to her. Other nations would assume a grave responsibility in raising any obstinate resistance to Italy's moderate aspirations only
directed to guarantee her future as a great power.

What are your Excellency's projects for rendering Italy self-supporting?

Italy can never be self-supporting in the strict meaning of the word. I think that "the closed national state" is an absurdity, and I believe that it would be an ill thing for civilization if the nations were made up into so many non-communis- cative water-tight compartments. International commerce which brings the various peoples together, and helps their mutual knowledge of one another is a potent factor of well being and of progress. Moreover, it is clear that a nation wishing to produce everything necessary for its own consumption would suffer an economic loss, for it would condemn itself to manufacture at excessive cost that which it could buy more easily and cheaper abroad at the same time exporting goods for the production of which it enjoyed some particular technical or natural superiority.

The policy followed by the national government at the present moment seeks therefore only a reduction in the imports, which have been shown to be excessive in respect to the exports, with resulting harmful effects on the exchange.