And the only way to make that happen, he insists, is to ensure that single women who bear children suffer economic penalties. For Britain, as for America, Murray warns, the stakes are high: nothing less than "the survival of free institutions and a civil society."

Il Duce Redux?

"No, Italy Is Not Going Fascist" by Angelo M. Codevilla, in *Commentary* (Aug. 1994), 165 East 56th St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

After industrialist Silvio Berlusconi's rightist coalition swept Italy's parliamentary elections last March, many European politicians and much of the prestige press in America began warning of the return of Mussolini-style fascism. Codevilla, a Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, contends that there is no need to worry.

True, he says, the National Alliance, one of the three roughly equal parts of the coalition, won 13.5 percent of the vote and five cabinet posts (out of 25) in Berlusconi's new government. And true, the National Alliance has a core of adherents who recall Benito Mussolini fondly, including the dictator's granddaughter. But if *fascism* means anything, Codevilla says, "it means government ownership and control of business. This was Mussolini's most corrupting legacy, and it is exactly what the new majority is committed to dismantling." Mussolini invented "most of the features of modern Italy's welfare state" and also laid the groundwork for the unique "partyocracy" that governed the nation after World War II: Whether Socialists or Christian Democrats ruled, government imposed a heavy tax burden on the country and shared the wealth with party members and friends. Disillusioned Italian voters, after two years of unrelenting corruption investigations, turned in March to Berlusconi's new party, Forza Italia, and its disparate coalition partners, the National Alliance and the federalist Northern League.

Strong in prosperous northern Italy, the League attracts middle-class professionals who favor autonomy, especially fiscal autonomy, for the North and also a smaller central government. The National Alliance—strong in Rome, Naples, and elsewhere in the South—had the former Italian Social Movement (MSI), "a (truly) neo-fascist party," at its core, Codevilla notes. But during the 1990s, the MSI had attracted many new protest voters who "were not motivated by a rediscovered taste for Mussolini" and who pushed the party in new directions. Even Mussolini's granddaughter campaigned in Naples against the corporatist connection between government and business. The National Alliance, Codevilla argues, transcended neofascism.

If the boot fits, wear it? The March vote for a rightist coalition in Italy has been widely viewed as an ominous sign of resurgent fascism.

"Nor does any Italian politician propose repeating Mussolini's policies in other spheres," Codevilla says. "Worries about World War II revisionism and a revival of anti-Semitism are particularly misplaced. No country has fewer redeeming memories of the war than Italy; even those who have kind words for Mussolini typically offer the caveat, 'except, of course, for the war.' " And postwar Italy has experienced little anti-Semitism. "Nowadays it is found mainly among the leftist university students who wear fashionable Palestinian headscarves." Rome's Jewish precincts voted for the Right in 1993 and 1994, and the new rightist government tilts toward Israel. The era of Il Duce, it appears, is safely past.