

inseparable. Every time one sets a goal, makes a plan, or considers the desirability of a course of action, one fantasizes. One of the ways in which human beings differ from animals is that animals, to our knowledge, do not have fantasies.

The use of fantasies to produce and enhance sexual excitement is common. Fantasies may contain activities one would like to do or repeat: sex with a highly desirable partner or partners, or under exciting circumstances. These are unproblematic as long as the fantasizer accepts that there are things one would like to do which are impossible or impractical to realize, and takes steps toward the realization of appropriate fantasies. The prospect of realizing sexual fantasies is one of the great stimuli of human activity.

Potentially more stressful are fantasies of activities one might not or definitely would not like to do. These involve every sort of situation depicted in **pornography**, among them the infliction or suffering of pain, violence, or humiliation; promiscuous or anonymous sex; unfaithfulness to a partner; the exposure of the body to harm; and activities which do not conform to one's sexual orientation (gay or straight). Such erotic fantasies are potentially in conflict with one's self-image, and may cause worry and guilt.

If fantasies cause great distress, the assistance of a competent therapist may be helpful. That such fantasies are very widespread, however, suggests that their existence is normal and even healthy; we all have within us atavistic capacities, such as that to inflict pain, which cannot be expressed directly in a civilized society. Fantasies can help discharge tensions rather than increase them. A fantasy does not produce action against one's principles or true wishes. Furthermore, fantasies need not be revealed to anyone, although sharing them can be an exciting part of love-making. Lovers with fantasies that dovetail (the dominant with the submissive, for example) are truly blessed, although this is far less frequent than pornography

would suggest. The commercial sex industry (pornography, prostitution, phone sex) is primarily devoted to providing fantasies.

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## FASCISM

The term fascism derives from *fasces*, the bundles of rods carried by the lictors of ancient Rome to symbolize the unity of classes in the Republic. Fascism is the authoritarian movement that arose in Italy in the wake of World War I. Although Hitler admired its founder Mussolini and imitated him at first—the term Führer is modeled on Duce—one cannot simply equate his more radical National Socialist movement with the Italian phenomenon, as writers of the left are prone to do. "Fascism" was also applied to related trends in eastern Europe, the Iberian peninsula, and Latin America. Some of these regimes (especially the Horthy dictatorship in Hungary and the Falange in Spain) had pronounced clerical-traditional overtones, which set them apart from the more secularist regimes of Italy and Germany. Whether all these political trends constitute so many variants of a single genus of fascism, or whether they are only loosely connected, is still earnestly debated by historians.

*Italy.* Not essentially racist like Nazism or anti-bourgeois like Marxism, Italian fascism, with its corporative binding of workers and employers, has been less consistently hostile to homosexuals. Attracting adherents from anarchism and syndicalism, both of which had been strong in Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) deserted pacifist, gradualist socialism to found fascism after his exhilarating wartime experience of violence. He henceforth extolled war as purifying, progressive, and evolutionary because the strong overcame the weak. He also argued in a discussion of a draft penal code in 1930 that because Italians, being virile, were not homosexuals, Italy needed no law

banning homosexual acts, which he believed only degenerate foreigners to practice. A ban would only frighten such tourists away, and Italy needed the money they spent to improve its balance of payments and shore up its sagging economy. Napoleon had promulgated his code, which did not penalize homosexual acts between consenting adults, in northern Italy in 1810, and thus decriminalized sodomy. It had already been decriminalized in Tuscany by Grand Duke Leopold, the enlightened brother of Joseph II. The Albertine Code of 1837 for Piedmont-Sardinia was extended to all its dominions after the House of Savoy created a united Kingdom of Italy, a task completed in 1870. Pervasive was the influence of the jurist Marquis Cesare Beccaria, who argued against cruel and unusual punishments and against all offenses motivated by religious superstition and fanaticism.

Thus Italy with its age-old "Mediterranean homosexuality" in which women were protected, almost secluded—upper-class girls at least in the South being accompanied in public by dueñas—had like other Latin countries allowed female prostitution and closed its eyes to homosexuality. As such it had become the playground par excellence during the "grand tour" of the English *milords*, and also the refuge of exiles and émigrés from the criminal sanctions of the Anglo-American common law and the Prussian code. The Prussian Code was extended in 1871–72 to the North and then South German territories incorporated in the Reich, including ones where the Code Napoléon had prevailed in the early part of the century. Byron and John Addington Symonds took refuge in Italy, as William Beckford did in Portugal and Oscar Wilde in Paris. Friedrich Alfred Krupp's playground was in Capri, Thomas Mann's in Venice, and Count Adelswärd Fersen's also in Capri.

Il Duce's rise to power did not end Italy's welcoming role. Although he emphasized the virility of Italians and the

decadence of foreigners and decried homosexuality as a sign of weakness, Mussolini regarded homosexuals either in the old clerical fashion as sodomites given over to vice or in the ancient Roman fashion as effeminate—but not as a threat to the virility of the race. (Personally, Mussolini was somewhat of a sexual acrobat, in that he had a succession of mistresses and often took time out in the office to have sex with one or another of his secretaries.) Like Napoleon III under the French Second Empire, he preferred to leave same-sex conduct outside the criminal code in order to avoid sensational trials that would expose his nation to ridicule in the foreign press. Rather he decided to exile homosexuals to remote areas of Italy where they would provoke no scandal. Believing in military strength through numbers, Mussolini did more than Hitler to subsidize parents of numerous progeny, thus hoping to increase Italy's population from 40 to 60 million. Although local authorities occasionally conducted raids on gay cruising areas and the like, before 1938 he did not persecute homosexuals more than previous regimes had done.

However, after he formed the Rome-Berlin Axis with Hitler in 1936, Mussolini began, under Nazi influence, to persecute homosexuals and to promulgate anti-Semitic decrees in 1938 and 1939, though these were laxly enforced, and permitted exceptions, such as veterans of World War I. New laws were passed penalizing "offenses against race and the provisions for education of the youth of the Regime." After 1938 homosexuals thus were considered political offenders. Oppressing homosexuals more than Jews, Mussolini's regime rounded up and imprisoned a substantial number, a procedure poignantly depicted in Ettore Scola's excellent film *A Special Day* (1977). Fascists whose homosexual behavior embarrassed the regime were usually only dismissed from their posts. Notorious homosexuals without influence were

punished merely with short jail sentences. Political opponents received longer sentences. Following established Italian fascist practice, homosexuals were sent into exile (*confino*) in remote places (generally islands) where they eked out a meagre existence. The actual enforcement of the laws, and in particular mass roundups of suspected homosexuals, were left to local authorities. But the bulk of Italians in town and country continued under fascism, as they had previously, the occasional homosexual practices for which Italy had been so famed. Even exclusive homosexuals, if they were not unlucky, survived fascism unscathed.

*Eastern Europe.* In Eastern Europe "clerical fascism" overthrew all the democratic regimes established in the wake of the Allied victory and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, as well as those carved from the territory of the Russian Empire. The only exception was Czechoslovakia. With the encouragement of the clergy and support from the peasantry, gentry, army, and professional and business classes, Admiral Horthy seized control of Hungary from the Communist Béla Kun in 1920 and as "Regent" unleashed a "White Terror" largely directed against Jews, two years before Mussolini marched on Rome with his blackshirts. One by one the other democracies fell. In Poland the tolerant Marshall Piłsudski, who dominated Poland after seizing Russian and Lithuanian territory, actually decriminalized sodomy when a uniform penal code (*Kodeks karny*) was adopted for the whole of Poland in 1932. (This perhaps hearkened back to the days of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw when Poles lived under the Code Napoléon, or perhaps to the thwarted project to introduce the Code into "Congress Poland" after 1815.)

By contrast, most of the dictators of East Central Europe simply perpetuated the old clerical strictures; by allying with the Catholic or Orthodox Church they stiffened reactionary opposition to liberalization, just as they encouraged tradi-

tional Christian hatred of Jews. In this unfavorable climate none of these countries could develop a sexual reform movement of any significance.

Naturally amid such ethnic diversity and various dates of introduction of the Code Napoléon, differences in sexual expression were vast, and even within one country no consistent pattern existed. Fascists were less consistent and more divided among themselves than even Communists or Nazis. After all, they had no sacred text like *Das Kapital* or *Mein Kampf*, and further were not ruling only a single powerful country. Many were nevertheless influenced by Hitler, himself perhaps in part inspired by his totalitarian rival Stalin's homophobic repression in Soviet Russia beginning in January 1934. Being hostile to classical liberalism with its emphasis on toleration and the rule of law, fascism made homosexuals uneasy. However, it may be doubted whether they suffered more during the 1920s and 1930s in the fascist countries (not counting Nazi Germany) than in France and the Anglo-Saxon democracies, where premature attempts to found gay movements were suppressed by police action with no outcry whatsoever from the defenders of civil liberties. Czechoslovakia, the only democracy in Central Europe to survive this period, simply continued the Austrian penal code of 1852 that penalized both male and female homosexuality.

*Spain and the Falange.* The middle-class, ascetic, deeply Catholic Franco, who overthrew the Spanish Republic in the Civil War of 1936-39, established one of the harshest of the fascist regimes, executing many of the defeated republicans and jailing others under brutal conditions. The great homosexual poet Federico García Lorca was shot by a death squad near Granada in 1936; it is said that they fired the bullets through his backside to "make the punishment fit the crime." On the other hand, the Falange theoretician José Antonio Primo de Rivera, who was killed by the left at the beginning of

the Civil War, was widely believed to be homosexual. Even Franco himself, rumor has alleged, had an occasional fling during his service in Morocco.

More than Mussolini, Franco resisted the theories and pressures of Hitler, whom he regarded as a despicable (and perhaps deranged) upstart. It has been argued that Franco was not a fascist at all and that he actually maintained a pro-Jewish policy, granting asylum to refugees from Nazi-occupied Europe and attempting to protect Sephardic Jews in the Balkan countries. In his last years he in fact liberalized Spain to a certain extent, allowing among other things a resurgence of gay bars, baths, and culture even before the accession of King Juan Carlos upon his death in 1975. Today Spain is one of the freest countries in Europe.

*Latin America.* Juan Perón in Argentina and other dictators in Latin America mouthed fascist doctrines without even the consistency of Mussolini's Eastern European imitators. Naturally Latins, like Slavs, being considered inferior peoples by Hitler, did not in general espouse racism (Hitler had to make the Japanese honorary Aryans to ally with them in the Tripartite Pact of 1937), so they had no reason to think of homosexuals in his terms. Rather, they looked upon them with amused contempt, in the vein of Latin machismo. This machismo reinforced clerical prejudice to keep social intolerance the rule in Latin America. As Perón was gaining power in 1943-44, there was some repression, perhaps instigated by the military, but after he consolidated his rule in 1947 there was little.

*Conclusion.* On the whole, fascism was too tradition-minded and lacking in innovative will to formulate a coherent policy regarding such a "modern" phenomenon as homosexuality. The twentieth-century demand of homosexuals for justice and equality, the homosexual emancipation movement, which was heralded in Germany as early as 1864, and was

first organized by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1897, elicited a violent and reactionary response from National Socialism and to a lesser extent from the other great totalitarian movement, Stalin's Communism. However, in countries where homosexual emancipation did not exist (and no need was felt for it in states that had adopted the Code Napoléon), a campaign of repression simply had no motive in the ideology of the rightist regimes that dominated much of the interwar period.

*See also* Holocaust; Nationalism.

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## FASCIST PERVERSION, BELIEF IN

Fascism and National Socialism (Nazism) were originally distinct political systems, but their eventual international ties (the "Rome-Berlin axis") led to the use of "fascist" as an umbrella term by Communist writers anxious to avoid the implication that "National Socialism" was a type of socialism. Neither in Italy nor in Spain did the right-authoritarian political movements have a homosexual component. Rather it was in Weimar Germany that the right-wing paramilitary groups which constituted the nucleus of the later National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) attracted a considerable number of homosexuals whose erotic leanings overlapped with the male bonding of the party. This strong male bonding, in the later judgment of their own leaders, gave the Nazis a crucial advantage in their vic-