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## Francia

### Commentaire

145 (37) 2014

Gérard Araud

*Juillet 1914 (I)*

pp. 4-14

Autant avertir les lecteurs d'entrée de jeu : le texte qui suit ne s'inscrit pas dans la tradition historiographique française de la fin du siècle dernier, puisqu'il relève d'une histoire diplomatique qui, depuis des lustres, non seulement n'intéresse pas la plupart de nos universitaires, mais est même décriée au profit de l'analyse de ce que Pierre Renouvin appelait les « forces profondes ». L'influence de l'école des Annales et du marxisme a sans doute joué pour considérer que les jeux obscurs des chancelleries ne pouvaient expliquer les heurs et malheurs de l'humanité. Toujours est-il que même si Pierre Renouvin et Jean-Baptiste Duroselle n'ont jamais négligé le rôle des États dans les relations internationales – tout au contraire – notre pays n'a pas été très fécond, ces deux exceptés, auxquels il faut ajouter Georges-Henri Soutou, en historiens attachés à l'analyse de l'histoire diplomatique, à la différence par exemple des Britanniques ou des Américains. Cette réticence, encore présente, devrait pourtant s'effacer lorsqu'il s'agit de comprendre ce qui s'est passé en juillet 1914. C'est l'objet de ce premier article. Le second, qui paraîtra dans le prochain numéro de la revue, traitera des causes et des responsabilités de la guerre

Nicolas Baverez

*Éloge d'une thérapie de choc*, pp. 37-44

Dans l'histoire de la politique économique française, il existe un exemple de thérapie de choc réussie : la réforme budgétaire et monétaire de décembre 1958. Elle avait été préparée par un comité d'experts, présidé par Jacques Rueff, qui comprenait sept membres, dont Jean-Marcel Jeanneney. Le ministre des Finances Antoine Pinay ne fut pas l'inspirateur de la réforme, mais il contribua à son succès par sa popularité. Dans l'administration, notamment aux Finances, les propositions du comité Rueff ne soulevèrent pas l'enthousiasme, on préférait à l'époque parler de « réformes de structure », excellent alibi à l'impuissance, plutôt que de réforme radicale. Celle-ci fut décidée par le général de Gaulle seul, éclairé par quelques membres de son cabinet. Le 27 décembre 1958, on annonçait une dévaluation de 17,5 %, la création du nouveau franc, la libération des échanges, la suppression de la plupart des subventions, une augmentation des impôts et la rigueur budgétaire. Ces mesures devaient permettre le redressement de l'économie et l'application du traité de Rome. Sans elles le Marché commun aurait été retardé ou empêché.

Guy Mollet, secrétaire général du Parti socialiste, au côté d'Antoine Pinay, appartenait à ce gouvernement. Certes il ne se refusait à collaborer qu'« avec ceux qui ne sont pas républicains, c'est-à-dire les communistes », mais, malgré ses profondes convictions européennes et malgré le soutien qu'il avait apporté à l'élection du général de Gaulle à la présidence de la République le 5 décembre, il désapprouva la dévaluation et les réductions de dépenses publiques. Il retarda néanmoins sa démission et ne se retira du gouvernement, avec les autres ministres socialistes, que le 8 janvier 1959, quand le Général quitta l'hôtel Matignon pour l'Élysée. Ce fut la deuxième fois que

le Parti socialiste manqua l'occasion de s'associer à une politique économique efficace. La première fois, ce fut en 1938, quand le gouvernement Daladier-Reynaud commença de réparer les erreurs de 1936.

Nicolas Baverez, dans les pages qui suivent, tire les enseignements du redressement de 1958. Son article fait suite à l'intervention qu'il a prononcée lors du colloque « Retour sur le plan de redressement de 1958 » organisé par la Fondation Charles de Gaulle, le 21 octobre 2013.

Signalons à nos lecteurs l'ouvrage que vient de publier Nicolas Baverez : *Lettres béninoises*, Albin Michel. Il s'agit d'une uchronie : qu'advient-il d'un pays qui refuse le redressement ?

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Gérard Araud

*Juillet 1914 (II) : La faillite du Système International*

pp. 244-252

Alexandre Adler

*Déploration d'un mécanisme inexorable*

pp. 252-262

Le propos de cet article se situe à mi-chemin de l'étude chronologique et de la réflexion littéraire sur la catastrophe de 14-18. Il essaie, une fois de plus, de proposer une lecture de ce mécanisme inexorable par lequel l'ensemble des puissances européennes, un siècle après le Congrès de Vienne, se sont liguées pour faire exploser un ordre ancien qui, rétrospectivement, nous semble doué de tous les mérites. Il est hors de question, comme le faisaient, dans leurs polémiques, les historiens de l'entre-deux-guerres, de faire porter sur la politique de l'une des grandes puissances la responsabilité unique de la catastrophe de Sarajevo. Pour autant, il reste encore à mettre en évidence les mécanismes fondamentaux de cette mise à feu qui n'aurait pas pu remporter un tel sinistre triomphe si le terrain n'avait pas été préparé de longue main. C'est ce que nous allons essayer de mettre au jour en considérant tour à tour les politiques à moyen terme de la France, de l'Angleterre, de la Russie et pour finir de l'Allemagne et de ses alliés les plus proches. Nous espérons ainsi clarifier des enjeux qui sont encore étrangement actuels.

## Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos

2014

Inés Rojkind

*Movilizaciones, protestas y reforma electoral. Buenos Aires, 1901-1904*

This paper studies the characteristics of the context in which Joaquin V. Gonzalez electoral reform was passed, in 1902. The paper analyzes, in particular, political opposition, press campaigns and street demonstrations in the city of Buenos Aires, at the beginning of the twentieth century. The purpose is to show some of the challenges and protests that threatened the prevailing political order and contributed to undermine its legitimacy. More generally, the intention is to stimulate debate on the relationship between the transformation of so-called *regimen conservador* and popular political participation.

Camille Boutron

*Femmes en armes, action collective féminine et projet révolutionnaire: l'émancipation féminine face aux enjeux de la construction nationale au Pérou (19e-20e)*

Armed violence plays an important role in historic Peruvian national identity. While in the 19th century warfare was associated to the defense of the territory, in the 20th century it was more considered as an instrument of emancipation promoting various political ideologies. In every case, armed violence is interpreted as a patriotic act in a nation that struggles to find its unity. Peruvian history traditionally admits a role of symbolic resistance for women. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that women's participation to armed violence is not analyzed in the same way according to the distinctive period when it takes place. While in the 19th century Peruvian women's presence on battlefields is related through patriotic notions, things changed in the 20th century as the first massive feminist mobilizations began to interfere with revolutionary projects.

Nathalie Ludec

*La fabrique du genre dans la presse mexicaine*

The beginning of the feminist movement and its development in Mexico during the 1970s was nourished by European and American influences while searching for its own basis in local reality. Intellectuals, feminists and militants, while recalling past women's struggles, tried to spread the new ideas of this second wave of feminism in the pages of the major periodicals of the moment (*Novedades, El Universal, Unomásuno*) against all odds. They built feminist history aiming at a readership that was not convinced by their ideas, all the while taking an impartial look at Mexican society. Along other lines, these journalists began, ahead of their time, a task of model and category deconstruction using gender theory. This would be developed later by Joan Scott and, in Mexico and Latin America, by Marta Lamas and Teresita Barbieri. This analysis seeks to underscore the trans-nationalization of issues in a local and global exchange with its roots in Mexican society.

## Parlement[s]

[21 2014](#)

*Un parlementarisme allemand?*

dossier coordonné par Nicolas Patin

Nicolas Patin

*1918 : une rupture au sein du parlementarisme allemand ? Sociologie et recrutement des élites (1871-1933)*

Did the Great War, defeat, revolution and the regime change in 1918 represent a major breakpoint in the long history of parliamentarism? The social and political upheavals – changing the voting system and the Constitution – has had a significant impact on political behaviors. In 1918, the parliamentary world, unlike the general architecture of partisan politics who has remained surprisingly stable, encountered significant changes in terms of recruitment. But, looking at it with finer indicators, the situation seems also, here, to be one of a great stability, and the processes of a cleaved modernization, already existing during the Empire, persisted.

Lionel Picard

*Quelle représentation au Parlement pour les Allemands expulsés de l'Est ?*

This article examines the different ways used by deportees in order to be heard in parliament. They never stopped taking relentless action to try to reverse the course of history: not only did they make attempts to obtain seats for the deputies of lost territories and to set up powerful lobbies to influence the foreign policy of the federal government, but they also created a party devoted to their cause or joined the big parties.

Céline Vintzel

*La Cour constitutionnelle allemande et le Bundestag*

From both an internal and comparative point of view, it seems from now on possible to qualify the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany of natural protector of the institutional interests of the Bundestag. Taking support on the principle of separation of powers, the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany interprets widely the rights of the Parliament in front of Government, as well as regards the legislative function of the Bundestag as its function of parliamentary control. Basing itself on the principle of democracy, it takes, in a very often unexpected and unequalled way, the defense of the Bundestag in front of the European Union.

## Pouvoirs

150 2014

*Franklin Roosevelt aujourd'hui*

Elisabeth Zoller

*The Invention of the Modern Presidency*

Contrary to Woodrow Wilson who thought that the United States would become a modern state by adopting the technique of party government specific to a parliamentary regime, Roosevelt invented the modern presidency that gives the President the means to govern without parties and constitutes the keystone of a presidential regime.

Yves-Marie Péréon

*The President, Grief and War. The Specificity of the Roosevelt Moment*

Having won the elections four times in a row, Roosevelt ruled the United States over an exceptionally long period of twelve years from 4 March 1933 to 12 April 1945. Thanks to his strong personality and vigorous action, he constituted in himself a unifying factor at a time when Americans experienced two major crises, the Great Depression and the Second World War. The coincidence between the illness of a man deprived of the use of his legs and the hardships faced by his fellow citizens sheds a particular light on his political career.

Pierre-Alain Muet

*Roosevelt Responds to the Crisis : Lessons for Economic Policies*

At a time when we are witnessing a lasting and disturbing parallel between the 1929 and 2008 crises in Europe, looking back at the economic policy of the man whose reforms revolutionized America and changed the course of history can teach us a wealth of lessons to respond to the current crisis. The generalization, after the war, of the radical measures taken by Roosevelt in the economic domain – separation between commercial banks and investment banks, creation of a welfare state, fiscal reform – ushered in the long post-war period of financial stability and prosperity.

Wanda Mastor

*Roosevelt's Politics : Social Rights for a New Era ?*

The Roosevelt presidency did usher in a new era, but was it really a "social" one? The New Deal aimed primarily at stabilizing the economy; its social legislation was of a more ad hoc character and targeted the most urgent situations that contained the germs of potential conflict. It was the "rhetoric" of the New Deal that conferred its greatest strength to its policy : the climate of confidence it restored, the call for solidarity, patriotism and the faith in the steadfastness of Americans were instrumental for the recovery, albeit imperfect, of the country.

## Revue Francaise de Science Politique

[64 \(1\) 2014](#)

Grégory Daho

*L'érosion des tabous algériens. Une autre explication de la transformation des organisations militaires en France*

pp. 57-78

The thesis of adaptation, dominant in academic and strategic circles, explains the transformation of military organisations only in terms of the changes to the international environment since the end of the Cold War, thus reproducing a deterministic, functionalist and disembodied vision of change. By observing the genesis of civil-military activities in France between 1992 and 2005, this article suggests an alternative explanation, which pays particular attention to the evolution of social interactions between officers. It is primarily the erosion of the taboo inherited from the war in Algeria which contributes to the current transformation of military actors and organisations.

[64 \(3\) 2014](#)

Sélim Smaoui

*Sortir du conflit ou asseoir la lutte ? Exhumer et produire des « victimes républicaines » en Espagne*

pp. 435-458

The forensic exhumation of the mass graves has become common practice in post-violent contexts since the 1980s. Being carried out to relieve the psychological “trauma” of the victims’ families who demand the “truth” on the past wrongdoings, forensic exhumations are now considered as a standardized “best practice” in the field of conflict resolution. Can this political therapy be put at the service of political strife and diverted from its reconciliation objectives ? This article aims at analysing the invention process of a new form of political protest. It will focus on the activities of the Federacion Estatal de Foros por la Memoria. According to this Spanish association, mass grave exhumations are a way out of reconciliation and a deliberate revival of antagonisms.

M. Weber (présenté par Isabelle Berrebi-Hoffmann, présenté par Michèle Dupré, présenté par Michel Lallement, présenté par Gwenaëlle Perrier)

*Les formes de travail parlementaires. Une causerie (1919)*

pp. 459-478

Thanks to the support of the Deutsche Demokratische Partei, Marianne Weber was elected in January 1919 as a member of the Baden's Parliament. Within the Parliament where men were dominant, she got the chance to experience the political work. In this paper, the German sociologist describes the rites and the conventions of the parliamentarians. She notes the way complicity can be mixed with demagoguery and partisan opposition. Marianne Weber analyses the cooperation methods, the decision-making conventions, the power games and the preparation of laws. She pays attention in particular to the work of the commissions and to the self-presentations of the



parliamentarians in plenary sessions. Finally, she mentions issues related to the feminisation of a professionalized politic world, while indicating ways of promoting women's' interests.

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Samuel Hayat

*La candidature impossible de François-Vincent Raspail en décembre 1848*

pp. 869-903

Democrat-socialists were beaten in the ballot box in Spring 1848, but they tried to make themselves heard during the presidential election in December. While they all refused the principle of presidency, they divided on the strategy. Some of them, gathered in the newspaper *Le Peuple*, endeavoured to promote an impossible candidacy that would embody their protest. They chose François-Vincent Raspail, a club leader, a scientist and a doctor to the poor that was then in prison. This candidacy led to a controversy during which two conceptions of politics clashed. Despite a bad result on the national scale, Raspail gathered a class vote, making this candidacy a step in the construction of the French working class movement.

Karim Fertich

*Le genre programmatique. Sociologie de la production des programmes partisans : l'exemple de Bad Godesberg*

pp. 905-928

This article is a methodological proposal for the study of political platforms. It is based on the analysis of the emergence of political platforms as a form of writing in Germany and on the study of the production of the 1959 Bad Godesberg platform of the German Social Democratic Party. It offers the tools for exploring platforms as production, hence as a result of the ways that a political party organizes its work. Political platforms can be analysed through their production process, and through what this process reveals about the functioning of political parties and about the interactions that the parties engage in with various sectors of society. Finally, we emphasize the variety of uses to which actors can put a political platform. These uses serve to weave social relations and construct the social meaning of the platform text.

Camille Bedock

*Les déterminants politiques de la fréquence des réformes démocratiques. Europe de l'ouest, 1990-2010*

pp. 929-954

The article deals with the issue of the frequency of the reform of democratic institutions in consolidated democracies. It is based on a dataset comprising six dimensions of democratic reforms between 1990 and 2010 in 18 Western European democracies. It demonstrates the crucial importance of the political context to explain the frequency of these reforms. In the long run, democracies where the level of political support is the lowest reform more their institutions. In the short run, reforms in a given legislature are more numerous when preceded by a political alternation

or a rise of the level of electoral volatility. It is therefore shown that the political determinants of democratic reforms are more relevant to explain the frequency of reform than the degree of institutional constraints inherent to each political system.

## Revue Historique

[669 \(1\) 2014](#)

Anne-Sophie Anglaret

*Le Mémorial de Verdun et les enjeux de la mémoire combattante, 1959-2011*

pp. 29-50

The Memorial de Verdun has been relatively forgotten by the media, if not by the public, and seems to have lost its place of honour among the French museums of the Great War. Yet, it is still unique compared to the Historial in Péronne or to the new Museum in Meaux : it was designed and desired in the 1960s by the war veterans themselves, who were anxious to make sure that their memory would be passed on to future generations. The history of the Memorial shows their strong emotional investment in the project : most of the men involved had been part of veterans' associations for many years and saw the museum as their last legacy. This led to violent conflicts between them over questions of leadership and organizational details. It also shows the veterans' attachment to the battlefields and the city of Verdun. To build the Memorial, the veterans actually inspired themselves as much from the battle itself as from the construction of memory in Verdun : like the Douaumont Ossuary in the interwar period, the museum was funded by a public subscription meant to establish its national legitimacy. The Memorial was designed as an educational complement to the Ossuary : it became an integral part of the Red Zone and contributed to the landscaping of the battlefields thanks to the money it yielded. In the 1960s, the first exhibition was very much shaped by the veterans' memory as well as by the traditional military history of the war. It has evolved along with the historiography of the First World War : the sufferings of the civilians and the colonial troops, for example, are much more present in the current exhibition. However, the Memorial remains difficult to modernize, precisely because of its long history, which guarantees its authenticity but also subjects it to a phenomenon of path dependence.

Johann Chapoutot

*Éradiquer le typhus : imaginaire médical et discours sanitaire nazi dans le gouvernement général de Pologne (1939-1944)*

pp. 87-108

When German soldiers and civil servants take hold of Poland in 1939, they see this country through the lens of ideas and stereotypes that are already old : the East is a backward, poor and dirty territory. From 1942 onwards, after the decision to kill all the Jews of Europe has been made, films and texts produced by the sanitary offices of the Wehrmacht and of the SS teach the German occupation forces how to « treat » the pathologies encountered in the East – above all typhus, which is meant to be genuinely Jewish. This biological conception of the « Jewish danger » presents the « final solution » as an unavoidable medical treatment, as a sanitary eradication.

Gaël Eismann

*Représailles et logique idéologico-répressive. Le tournant de l'été 1941 dans la politique répressive du Commandant militaire allemand en France*

pp. 109-141

With the invasion of the USSR by Germany in June 1941, the perception of the French resistance at the Majestic went through important upheavals. While assaults and assassinations of German soldiers had up until that point been generally attributed private altercations due to the effects of alcohol, the murder of naval reserve officer Alfons Moser on the 21<sup>st</sup> of August 1941 in Paris is immediately identified by the MBF as a political act, despite the absence of any material evidence permitting its establishment as such.

The repressive policies of the MBF take thus a brutal turn, taking the form of the execution of hostages and then of the first deportations. Most importantly, these policies now begin to principally target ideological enemies of the national-socialist regime, presumed guilty of the attacks. The MBF therefore breaks with its traditional practice of taking hostages. Hostages taken in order to be shot in the case of an attack were no longer to be taken from the leaders of the community, but from the “circle of presumed guilty”, that is to say, in practice, principally communist prisoners – without completely ruling out Gaullists – even when no material proof can link them to the attacks.

While the number of Jewish communists executed during this first series of executions is certainly marginal in terms of how many were actually executed, it is much less so when we remember that the Jewish population represented less than 1 % of the overall number of people living in France. But more importantly, the proportion becomes massive as of December 1941. From then on, Jewish people are, with communists, publically designated by the MBF as “expiatory” victims of the resistance to the occupiers.

The shift that happens from then on, at the same moment that the Nazi genocidal project is taking form, does not signify, however, that the German repression subsequently spared the communists. Indeed, contrary to what is suggested by the communiqués issued by the MBF from late 1941, the majority – that is to say more than 90 % - of Jewish prisoners shot were, like before, close to the communist circles. Between the convoys no. 5 and 6 of Jewish deportations for example, a “retaliation convoy” composed of around 1175 men, mostly communists, departed from Compiègne on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 1942 for Auschwitz. Thus, even if the conversion of the policy of repression of the resistance into a radical anti-Semitic policy indeed took place around the end of 1941, the fact remains that it does not dissolve therein.

The motivations underlying the choice taken by the MBF, supported by the local entities of the German military administration, are complex and cannot be reduced to simply pragmatic and objective considerations, but neither can they be reduced to simply ideological considerations. If the MBF employed an ideologically targeted terror in occupied France, it was above all because it considered this terror less detrimental to collaboration in a country where the fight against the internal enemy was defined by the same ideological presuppositions as its own, and which were going to be comforted, a posteriori, by the results of the police investigations. Indeed, the MBF knew that it could count on Vichy's support, provided that the German repression targeted principally communists and Jews, sparing the majority of the population as well as the community leaders, whose designation as hostages, as was traditionally the practice, seemed incompatible with the state collaboration chosen by the French government. Thus, the singularity of the Vichy régime

in occupied Europe is likely not unrelated to the more ideologically marked direction adopted by the German military apparatus of occupied France in its repressive policies. On the other hand, by counting on the anticommunism and anti-Semitism of the French population, the MBF was doubtless looking to isolate resistance fighters designated as vulgar and cowardly criminals from the rest of the national community. The MBF could therefore hope to frighten potential partisans of the resistance, and convince the French people that the repression only affected a certain minority of individuals, who fit a specific political and racial profile.

Whether used simply for political ends, or were the result of a real fear of the threat that the communist and Jewish communities represented for the occupying power, the security-related rhetoric and practices of the military occupation apparatus expressed in any case a virulent anti-Semitism and anticommunism. The vision of the resistance that underlies the often moderate attitude adopted by the MBF in the face of large numbers of hostage executions derives thus from an ideological and racist logic.

Marc André

*Les groupes de choc du FLN. Particularités de la guerre d'indépendance algérienne en métropole*  
pp. 143-178

The Algerian war was not only fought in the colony but also took place in metropolitan France, especially through the actions of the FLN strike force. These groups, always mentioned in the autobiographies of former militants or in historical accounts but never adequately investigated, have emerged as a blurred social category. This article proposes to follow eight armed groups (a total of 46 individuals) reconstituted with the opening of the archives of Military Justice, of French internal intelligence, and a comprehensive review of a regional newspaper (*Dernière Heure Lyonnaise*). The members of these groups will then be placed in series and observed within a larger data-base composed of acts of judgment rendered by the Permanent Military Tribunal of Lyons. The spatial framework used is that of the wilaya 3, part of the larger wilaya 7. By wilaya, we mean the regional administrative district of the FLN, the wilaya 7 encompassing the whole of France. The metropolitan wilaya 3 was the largest district internal to the mother country, as it combined the departments of central and east-central France. We will study two separate phases in the lives of the armed FLN militants : the clandestine and imprisoned phases. Each one of these moments forms one of the two parts of this article. Firstly, we intend to follow these groups throughout their arrival in the metropolis, their training, their hierarchy and leaders, and their armed action. Contrary to the official works on the FLN, this part argues that these militants were ordinary men caught up by the war, who aimed, primarily, at controlling the immigrant population, at combating the rival MNA group, and, sporadically, at fighting the French police. Secondly, we will analyse these militants' struggle on the judicial and prison fronts. Indeed, the justice system condemned strike force members very harshly (this specific population received the highest level of death sentences), while denying them the status of combatant for independence, which the prisoners demanded. This article proposes, in conclusion, a new definition of strike force organisations much closer to the reality of these groups.

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Gabrielle Chomentowski

*Un cinéma pour tous ! Politique des nationalités et cinéma en URSS à la fin des années 1930*

pp. 343-368

In 1937, the Soviet people suffered from the Great Terror. This large-scale purge led to the arrest and murder of almost one million Soviet citizens. The same year, the Soviet authority decided to celebrate the Twentieth anniversary of October Revolution, with major public celebrations, including music, literature and dance festivals. Cinema was noticeably absent. Having in mind how important cinema was for propaganda at this time, it seems strange that this “most important of the arts” was not mobilized during the Anniversary Year. Documents related to a proposed Festival of National cinema for 1937, founded in the Central Committee archives of Communist Party, and extensive correspondence between the secretary of the Soviet of Nationalities, Aleksandr Hatskevitch, and the head of the Soviet cinema industry, Boris Shumiatskij, show that cinema was also planned to celebrate the anniversary Revolution. Why has this festival been canceled? The arrest of several leaders of the Soviet cinema industry cannot be considered as the only reason. The study of archive documents helps understanding why the festival did not occur. This event aimed at showing how each Union republic had developed its film production since 1917, how national film studios worked together in friendship and collaboration, and how former “backward” republics participated in this wonderful development. 51 people, responsible for central and local cultural institutions, participated in a conference held on February the 5<sup>th</sup> 1937, to review cinema industry development. Heads of the Committee of cinema and people of different nationalities expressed their point of view on questions such as the national issue in cinema, or the development of infrastructures. But contrary to what the festival was expected to demonstrate, the representatives from national organizations complained about the bad state of the development of cinema in their territories, the lack of theatres and sound theatres, the bureaucratic slowness, the difficulties that non-Russian students experienced in cinematography teaching and training, the way non-Russian audience understood – or did not understand – Russian films without translation. More broadly, the study of the conference and the difficulties to organize the festival illustrated the difficulty of the Soviet society in the end of the Thirties: bad relationships between centre and peripheries, interethnic conflicts, economic competition between nationalities and the limits of propaganda power.

[671 \(3\) 2014](#)

Maude Fagot

*La guerre des ondes entre la France et l'Allemagne pendant la « drôle de guerre »*

pp. 629-654

In French as well as in German and British historiography, German propaganda during the Second World War is generally considered to have been more active and more effective than its French counterpart. This article calls this notion into question by looking at radio propaganda in France and Germany, and re-evaluates the balance between the two. During the inter-war period, radio propaganda became increasingly organised, so that it may even be called ‘centralised’ by the time war broke out on 3 September 1939. Centralisation of propaganda leads to complex institutions,

where rivalries arise between various services, as all of them are reluctant to cede prerogatives in the domain of information and propaganda to other institutions. However, both nations had established such an institution, i.e. a radio propaganda service to broadcast propaganda targeted at the enemy. In France, the Section germanique and in Germany the Büro Concordia organised radio broadcasts in the enemy's language. Two kinds of programmes – 'black' and 'white' – aimed at demoralising the enemy's civilian population and army in various ways. While 'black programmes' were disguised as national radio, pretending to be part of the broadcasting service of their listeners' country, 'white programmes' explicitly stated that their information came from the enemy. Thus, both civilians and soldiers in France and Germany would potentially be exposed to enemy propaganda, which was intended to convince them of their future defeat, and hence of the futility of carrying on with the war.

The approach the National Socialists took towards the French consisted mainly in virulent and aggressive anti-British propaganda. This campaign aimed at splitting the Franco-British alliance by attempting to lead the former to believe that they had been sent to the battlefield on their own and served British interests. Conversely, French propaganda targeted at Germany was more varied, yet two approaches figure prominently. The first approach taken was based on criticism of the SS, the SA, and Hitler, and called for a revolt of the German population against National Socialism, and Hitler in particular. The second line targeted the agreement Hitler and Stalin had reached in August 1939, by calling Hitler's authority into question. In both countries, France and Germany, radio propaganda was at work, employing the same methods, such as repetitions and slogans, and aimed at weakening the enemy's morale. Finally, there were no signs of particularities that could be attributed to French 'democracy' or German 'totalitarianism'.

#### [672 \(4\) 2014](#)

Riccardo Brizzi

*Télévision et personnalisation politique en Italie (1954-1994)*

pp. 855-873

This article reconstructs the relationship between television and politics in Italy from the beginning of broadcasting (January 1954) to the arrival of Silvio Berlusconi on the Italian political scene and his first electoral victory in 1994. Through a careful study of the compared dimension the author shows how Italy seemed to move away from the main Western democracies in the context of an increasing mediatisation of the public scene. Even though the development of media, and particularly of television, was comparable to other European countries and, basically, similar to France, the image of politician in Italy has been hidden for a long time behind the slogans and symbols of the parties that remained the undisputed rulers of the public and electoral scene in the 60's and 70's. However, a meaningful evolution – analysed by the author through the transformations of media as well as the disruption of the institutional and partisan context – occurred from the 80's. The article shows the new and radical hallmark of this evolution which allowed Italy not only to make up lost time in respect to the other European countries, but also to rapidly assert itself as pioneer in the field of political mediatization and personalization. In 1994, the "descent into the political arena" and electoral victory of Silvio Berlusconi – owner of a media empire who used television as a trampoline to launch himself into the national political competition

and uncontested leader of a personal and media-centred party such as Forza Italia – represent the synthesis and peak of a previously unseen process of symbiosis between politics and television that no other country experienced in such an intensive way.



## Vingtième Siècle

[121 2014](#)

Marie-Bénédicte Vincent

*De la dénazification à la réintégration des fonctionnaire. sComment construire une éthique de la fonction publique en Allemagne de l'Ouest après 1945 ?*

From Denazification to the Reintegration of Civil Servants: Establishing a Code of Ethics for Public Service in West Germany after 1945 This article is part of a larger historiographic renewal looking at the political cleansing of Germany after 1945. Whereas early works on the subject had condemned the limits of denazification in Western Germany during the Allies' military occupation, historians have more recently examined the cleansing phenomenon over several decades and have re-evaluated its scope by taking into account all of its dimensions (criminal, administrative, disciplinary). This article also analyses several internal disciplinary proceedings of the public service sector conducted in West Germany after 1949, in particular against civil servants whose were believed by their peers to be too deeply entrenched in Nazism to be reintegrated in society (for example, those accused of crimes against humanity). Analysing contemporary normative discourse reveals how the civil service sought to reconstruct its professional code of ethics in the service of democracy.

Marion Fontaine, Xavier Vigna

*La grève des mineurs de l'automne 1948 en France*

The Coal Miners Strikes (France, Autumn 1948). The coal miners' strike in the fall of 1948 has often been seen as the symbolic beginning of the Cold War in France. To date, however, only a limited number of historical works have examined this important event. By consulting the many archives available, this article seeks to understand this conflict, which can be reduced neither to the effects of Communist manipulation, nor to spontaneous ideological class action. On the contrary, the 1948 coal miners' strike was a complex social and political movement, governed by varying temporal and geographical logics. This analysis in particular attempts to elucidate the extreme violence that defined this conflict, and which erupted not only in the relationships between the coal miners and the State, but also among the coalminers themselves.

Frédéric Heurtebize

*Washington face à la participation des communistes au gouvernement en Italie (1973-1979)*

Washington faced with Communist participation in the Italian government (1973-1979) In the 1970s, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) was at the vanguard of Eurocommunism, a movement wherein some Western European Communist Parties embraced democratic principles and distanced themselves from Moscow. Far from reassuring American leaders, these developments fed their fears. For American Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, these so-called moderate Communists were actually 'more dangerous', since they were more likely to be democratically elected than their hard-line Leninist counterparts: hence the fierce opposition to any kind of 'historical compromise' between the Italian Communist Party and Christian Democrats. Following Jimmy Carter's

inauguration as president in January 1977, the Carter administration relaxed its attitude somewhat, before reverting to more clear-cut opposition.

#### [124 2014](#)

Janick Marina Schaufelbuehl

*Une dimension méconnue du Mai 68 français. La fuite des capitaux*

An Unrecognised Dimension of May 68 in France: Capital Flight. This article addresses an important economic dimension of the events of May 1968 in France: massive capital flight towards Switzerland. Based on the internal documents of the main institutions involved in both countries, the author traces the clandestine outflows of banknotes that were the direct consequence of the socio-political crisis of May-June 1968. Despite the imposition of exchange controls and secret interventions in the financial market, the outflows continued and exacerbated the major financial crisis that was plaguing the French State. On the other hand, these financial flows allowed the Swiss financial market to assert its role as a global wealth manager and solidify its relations with French capital holders.

Nicolas Roussellier

*Les mutations de Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire. Internationalisation et numérisation*

The Transformations of Vingtième Siècle. Journal of history: Internationalisation and Digitalisation Over the course of the last fifteen years, the journal Vingtième Siècle has undergone several major transformations. The first affected the composition of its reading committee, which is now considerably larger and more diverse. In 2014, the reading committee is now composed of representatives from many different fields of research, instead of being focused on political history as it had been when the journal was launched in 1984. The second transformation concerns the impact of globalisation on the choice of articles published by the journal. Vingtième Siècle now publishes a greater number of articles devoted to non-French topics, especially in the field of transnational history. Finally, the most striking change was the shift to digitalisation and its implications for the mode of reading and a broader readership.

## Germania

### [Comparativ](#)

#### [1 2014](#)

Stefanie Middendorf, Ulrike Schulz and Corinna R. Unger (Hgr.), *Institutional History Rediscovered: Observing Organizations' Behavior in Times of Change*

Stefan Couperus

*A Historical Take on Agency and Institutional Change: The Case of National Advisory Councils in Inter-War Western Europe and the Netherlands*

Dieser Artikel hinterfragt die Erklärungskraft des historischen Institutionalismus für die Interpretation institutionellen Wandels. Dazu wird ein dezentrierter Ansatz vorgestellt, der die individuelle agency von Akteuren konzeptualisiert und historisiert. Als Fallstudie dienen außerparlamentarische Gremien in der Zwischenkriegszeit in Westeuropa und in den Niederlanden. Indem diese Organisationen und die in ihnen handelnden Personen aus einer Mikroperspektive untersucht werden, wird gezeigt, dass Erklärungen institutionellen Wandels mit der situated agency der historischen Akteure verbunden werden müssen. Damit steht er Interpretationen entgegen, die sich auf die Makroebene konzentrieren und institutionellen Wandel als evolutionär betrachten.

Liesbeth van de Grift, *Political Transitions and Institutional Change: The Cases of Romania and the Soviet Zone of Germany, 1944-1948*

Die bisherige Forschungstradition zur kommunistischen Machtübernahme in Ostmittel- und Osteuropa zwischen 1944 und 1948 betonte den gewalttätigen und zerstörerischen Charakter der Maßnahmen, mit denen die kommunistischen Parteien ‚totale Kontrolle‘ zu erringen versuchten. Der vorliegende Artikel nimmt stattdessen eine Perspektive ein, die staatliche Institutionen als konkrete Handlungsorte begreift, in denen Konflikte zwischen historischen Akteuren ausgetragen wurden, welche die Verschiebung der Macht erst ermöglichten. Vor diesem Hintergrund untersucht der Artikel die Personalpolitik in den Sicherheitsapparaten der Sowjetischen Zone Deutschlands und Rumäniens. Angeleitet ist die Analyse von der auf Anthony Giddens' Konzept der Strukturierung basierenden Annahme, dass institutionelle Strukturen nur so lange existieren können, wie individuelle Akteure willens und bereit sind, sie aktiv zu füllen und zu reproduzieren.

Corinna R. Unger, *Present at the Creation: The Role of American Foundations in the International Development Arena, 1950s and 1960s*

Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der Rolle der Rockefeller Foundation und der Ford Foundation im Prozess der Etablierung der internationalen Entwicklungspolitik in den ersten beiden Jahrzehnten nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg. Dazu analysiert der Beitrag die Strategien und Mechanismen, die es den beiden Stiftungen als Nichtregierungsorganisationen erlaubten, sich einflussreiche Positionen in der internationalen Politik zu sichern. Der Antikommunismus in den USA ebenso wie die außenpolitischen Vorgaben Washingtons stellten hierbei Bedingungen, zu denen sich die Stiftungen explizit verhalten mussten. Zugleich erwiesen sie sich als geschickt darin, eigene Strukturen zu nutzen und neue herzustellen, die ihre Position in einem zunehmend kompetitiven Feld wie der Entwicklungspolitik stabilisierten.

## German History

32 (1) 2014

Erin R. Hochman

*Ein Volk, ein Reich, eine Republik: Großdeutsch Nationalism and Democratic Politics in the Weimar and First Austrian Republics*

pp. 29-52

With the establishment of republics in Germany and Austria after the First World War, many conservatives and those on the radical Right challenged this new form of government on the grounds that it was un-German. This article explores the attempts made by the defenders of the Weimar and Austrian Republics, or republicans, to legitimize parliamentary democracy. It argues that the großdeutsch idea (the historical idea that a German nation state should include Austria) and support for an Anschluss (an Austro-German political union) were central to republicans' energetic efforts to win over sceptics and attack the claims of their political opponents. Members of the Weimar Coalition parties and the Social Democratic Party of Austria drew a distinction between großdeutsch (greater German) and alldeutsch (pan-German) conceptions of nationhood, and thereby attempted to articulate a form of German nationalism that was compatible with a democratic body politic, a pluralistic society and peaceful international relations. They aimed at nothing less than fashioning their own version of German nationalism, one that stood in direct opposition to the exclusionary and violent nationalisms of the political Right. In revealing the pervasiveness of the großdeutsch idea at this time, this article points to the necessity of looking at developments on both sides of the Austro-German border when considering topics such as the redefinition of Germanness and the creation of democracy in interwar central Europe. Additionally, it demonstrates that support for transborder German nationalism was not simply the prerogative of the radical right after 1918.

Sean A. Forner

*Reconsidering the 'Unpolitical German': Democratic Renewal and the Politics of Culture in Occupied Germany*

pp. 53-78

A long-standing thesis has it that modern Germany's educated bourgeoisie identified with cultural ideals to the detriment of its political formation. Fixated on the realm of ideas, the 'unpolitical German' deferred to real-world authority, paving the road to National Socialism. While émigré scholars gave an influential version of this diagnosis, parallel concerns shaped debates within occupied Germany. On its unsettled political-cultural field, educated elites grappled with how to assess the national cultural heritage in the wake of Nazism, war and Holocaust. Most sought refuge in a compensatory cultural identity, while a vocal minority demanded a purifying break with all tradition. This article focuses on an overlooked third grouping and their equivocal position, which reworked an elitist cultural patrimony into one cornerstone of a counter-elitist political vision. On the one hand, they agreed a focus on things spiritual had fed political quiescence; on the other, they saw embedded in German Kultur a specific and rich way of thinking about freedom. After 1945, they sought neither to jettison nor to revive this cultural tradition but to extract the liberating potential at its heart and bring the latter to bear on politics, as a resource for democratic renewal. Various loosely linked clusters of intellectuals pursued this project through cultural-political

journals and in a new type of association, the Kulturbund. This article explores the conditions of their novel rearticulation of received frameworks of cultural and political meaning in the years after 1945 and reflects on its resonance in West and East Germany after 1949.

### [32 \(3\) 2014](#)

Arnd Bauerkämper

*The Twisted Road to Democracy as a Quest for Security: Germany in the Twentieth Century*

pp. 431-455

The article provides a distinct interpretation of the ‘twisted road to democracy’ based on the idea of the ever ambivalent nature of contingency. The account relates pre-1945 developments to the history of Germany, in particular of the Federal Republic after the Second World War. It argues that the winding path to democracy in twentieth-century Germany cannot be understood without due recognition of the underlying quest for security. Abhorrence of uncertainty went hand in hand with a desperate search for stability. In the Weimar Republic, experiences and fears of anomy led Germans to abandon parliamentary democracy and ultimately seek refuge in authoritarian rule, which the National Socialists transformed into a fully-fledged dictatorship in 1933/34. Although the Third Reich was lastingly discredited in 1945, the political elites of the two German states made sure not to return to the Weimar Republic, tainted by its erosion and the Nazi seizure of power. In the new West German state, in particular, Adenauer’s authoritarian chancellorship, the unprecedented economic boom, the rapid expansion of the welfare state and western consumer culture encouraged West Germans to adopt and welcome parliamentary government. Unlike in the Weimar Republic, democracy and security came to be perceived no longer as opposing forces, but as mutually reinforcing. As discussions about terrorism and the debates on the impact of globalization on united Germany have demonstrated, however, this newly-found combination of democracy and stability has remained vulnerable.

### [32 \(4\) 2014](#)

Heidi J.S. Tworek

*Journalistic Statesmanship: Protecting the Press in Weimar Germany and Abroad*

pp. 559-578

From August 2013, a new, controversial ancillary copyright law (Leistungsschutzrecht) permitted German publishers to charge online news aggregator, such as Google for displaying article snippets. Implementation remains contested, but this is not the first time that new technology has prompted Germans to seek intellectual property rights in news. In August 1927, a German delegation successfully pushed through its compromise resolution on the legal protection of news during a Conference of Press Experts at the League of Nations. The resolution foresaw protection for news before publication, but allowed national governments to regulate news after publication. This left space for Germany to promulgate a national law on news that Germans hoped would become a model for others. This article uses the Conference of Press Experts to argue that German approaches to media, technology and law developed from the intersection between national and international

concerns. In contrast to other scholars' focus on the press as a national phenomenon, the article shows that the international spotlight enabled a temporary cooperation between two groups often at odds during the Weimar Republic: the press and government officials. Officials saw law as a form of soft power to raise Germany's international profile, while the semi-official news agency, Wolff, aimed to counter domestic competition and stop radio listeners eavesdropping on its news. Yet, bureaucrats and the media only cooperated effectively on the international stage. In domestic discussions after the conference, consensus swiftly disintegrated. This interplay between national and international imperatives remains key for media policy today as well as in interwar German history.

Pertti Ahonen

*On Forced Migrations: Transnational Realities and National Narratives in Post-1945 (West) Germany*

pp. 599-614

This article examines tensions between the transnational realities of the extensive forced migrations that accompanied the end of the Second World War in Europe and the nationally focused public portrayals of those forced migrations that have prevailed in individual European countries since the war. The article does so through a case study of West Germany, which became home to some eight million forced migrants defined as ethnic Germans. It argues that a nationally oriented, highly selective public narrative of the forced migrations soon emerged in the Federal Republic, a narrative that stressed German suffering, relativized German crimes, and, crucially, elided differences among the forced migrants as well as between them and the rest of the West German population. The narrative had various useful societal functions, at least in the short term, but in the longer term it imposed significant costs on West Germany, both domestically and internationally. These costs related not only to foreign relations, especially vis-à-vis Eastern Europe, and to memory politics, but also to even wider challenges that contemporary Germany continues to face. These include the ongoing attempts to reconcile the reality of the Federal Republic as a multi-ethnic society of large-scale immigration with the myth of Germanness as an ethnically homogeneous and exclusive category, a myth that the post-1945 public narrative of German forced migrants helped to uphold.

## Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht

14 (3/4) 2014

Marcel vom Lehn

*Kalte Krieger? Deutsche und italienische Historiker in der Frühphase des Ost-West-Konflikts*

pp. 146 – 160

Negli anni della guerra fredda importanti storici tedeschi hanno preso parte, proprio come i loro colleghi italiani, al dibattito pubblico. L'esistenza di culture politiche e opinioni pubbliche differenti ha però avuto conseguenze diverse nei due paesi. Mentre in Italia gli storici hanno spesso preso la parola indipendentemente dalle proprie competenze scientifiche e nella DDR hanno svolto un'azione pubblicistica allineata alle posizioni del partito, gli storici tedesco-occidentali hanno ricavato i propri orientamenti politici a partire dalla riflessione scientifica.

## Geschichte und Gesellschaft

### 40 (1) 2014

numero monografico sul “biographical turn” nella storiografia degli imperi coloniali e multietnici.

### 40 (2) 2014

Numero monografico sulla “prima guerra mondiale in prospettiva globale”, nel quale si sottolinea la dimensione globale della prima guerra mondiale attraverso l’impatto sulle colonie degli imperi europei, sugli imperi extraeuropei e sulle Americhe.



## Historische Zeitschrift

[298 \(3\) 2014](#)

Kristina Schulz

*Sozialistische Frauenorganisationen, bürgerliche Frauenbewegung und der Erste Weltkrieg. Nationale und internationale Perspektiven*

pp. 653–685

The effects of World War I on women's lives are still an open to historical debate. Similarly, the influence of the war on the increasingly international feminist scene is still contested. World War I aggravated feminism's dilemma in the era of nationalism: the idea of boundless solidarity between women was challenged by the call for unconditional support for one's own nation in wartime. This article analyses the different ways in which bourgeois and socialist feminists faced the „paradox of feminism“ (Joan W. Scott). The International Socialist Women's Conference in Berne in March 1915, and the International Women's Congress at The Hague at the end of April 1915 can be seen as milestones in the history of feminist activism for peace. Examining these conferences allows us to highlight solidarity, participation and peace as values common to feminists involved in peace efforts, but also demonstrates that socialist and bourgeois peace activists gave different meanings to these key notions. It reveals why it was impossible for both wings of the women's movement to form a common front against war in the name of peace.

Christoph Nübel

*Der Bismarck-Mythos in den Reden und Schriften Hitlers. Vergangenheitsbilder und Zukunftsversprechen in der Auseinandersetzung von NSDAP und DNVP bis 1933*

pp. 349–380

Research thus far has presumed that Bismarck was a crucial feature in Hitler's propaganda. Conversely, this article reaches the conclusion that Bismarck merely played a subordinate role in Hitler's remarks. There were two reasons for this. For one, the dominant Bismarck myths were largely incongruent with National Socialist ideology. Furthermore, Hitler sought to make National Socialism appear as a new and dynamic political „movement“ in an effort to distinguish it from other groupings on the right and the DNVP in particular. For the DNVP, the past and Bismarck were guiding principles, whereas Hitler strove to make the future the most important category of his propaganda.

[299 \(1\) 2014](#)

Maren Röger

*Von Fischotter und seiner Frau. Besatzungsalltag und NS-Rassenpolitik am Beispiel eines deutsch-polnischen Paares im Generalgouvernement*

pp.70–98

The article deals with the career of a perpetrator of the Nazi-Regime in occupied Poland and his Polish-Kashubian girlfriend. In spite of the racist laws to which members of the SS were subjected, the couple married during the German occupation. The example of Alouis Fischotter and his wife

Urszula B. shows the divergence between the ideology of National Socialist racist policy and its real and contradictory implementation in occupied East Europe. Furthermore, the variety of sources about this couple allows a biographical perspective on both partners. While the material about the policeman Fischotter provides insights in the everyday life of German policemen in the occupied territories, especially Lublin and Memel, the „woman at his side“ (Gudrun Schwarz) was a local, who fraternized on a sexual level and cooperated politically. Thus, she is a member of a rarely examined group.

[299 \(3\) 2014](#)

Paul Nolte

*Innovation aus Kontinuität. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (1931–2014) in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft*

pp. 593–623

With the death of Hans-Ulrich Wehler, it becomes possible to analyze this probably most influential German historian of the last half century with regard to his motives, writings, and impact. While Wehler himself strongly emphasized his being in contrast to major traditions of German historiography, he really pursued much continuity to its classical questions and patterns of representation. In his own view, his intention was not to split the discipline or break it apart, but rather move its coordinates – up to those boundaries that he often marked with an equal measure of his polemics: with regard to political positions and intellectual trajectories, in methods and historiography. When the discipline as a whole had changed by the 1980s – due to Wehler’s engagement, but also more general trends and a generational transition – the former outsider became a mainstreamer. And yet, especially in the „Historikerstreit“ controversy, he appeared to decline such a centrist role. Only with his „Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte“, the political historian Wehler fully became a social historian, but still proceeded in traditions: the tradition of the learned magnum opus, the national framing of history, a master narrative that focused on synthesis, and, even more general, on an „auctorial“ mode of historical writing. In his enmity with the new cultural history, he defended not so much a specific program of social history but rather such general patterns of the discipline, which remain up for discussion.

Andreas Dietz

*Historische Erkenntnis und juristische Bewertung. Die Berücksichtigung fachfremder Forschungsergebnisse durch die Sozial- und Verwaltungsgerichte am Beispiel der Rolle der Wehrmichtsgerichte im nationalsozialistischen System*

pp. 669–695

The historic research and the jurisdiction can support one another in cases, in which historic information is necessary to decide. An example are legal actions of descendants of persons, who have been expropriated after 1945 by the Soviet occupation administration (in the later GDR) because of involvements into the nationalsocialist system between 1933 and 1945. These heirs want to get compensation for the lost property of their testator. But compensation cannot be awarded, if the antecessor committed crimes against the humanity or the rule of law or effectively supported the

nationalsocialist system. For today's courts it is difficult, to detect the involvements 80 years ago for lack of documents, lost in WW II. So the courts need general and special information given by the historic research about facts, persons and incidents. If all instruments by process of law, to find out the truth in a concrete case, fail, the courts use abstract presumption concerning special facts. If an organisation was deeply involved into the nationalsocialist system and regularly supported it by suppressing the opposition or by executing the genozidal program, there can be presumed, that all members of this organization did so and committed crimes against the humanity or the rule of law or effectively supported the nationalsocialist system. The uniformer the structure and the activity of the organisation was, the probabler is the general presumption. The courts extend this to typical terror-organisations like the Gestapo and the SS, but not to the military courts of the Wehrmacht or to simple members of the NSDAP and the SA. The essay compares the jurisdiction of the German Federal Social Court and of the German Federal Administrative Court concerning the former courts of the Wehrmacht and analyzes, how the historic research can support the legal jurisdiction within the judicial proceedings of the courts.

## Iberoamericana. America Latina - España – Portugal

### XIV (53) 2014

Phillip Dehne

*How important was Latin America to the First World War?*

pp.151-164

This article examines the impact of Latin America on the First World War, fitting into the gap between the existing histories of Latin America that focus on how the Great War impacted each republic and the histories of the First World War that completely ignore Latin America. This study exposes ways that the war was fought in Latin America, considers how the diplomacy and decisions of the region's leaders affected the situation of each belligerent side, and judges the impact of the conflict in Latin America on the outcome of the overall World War.

### XIV (54) 2014

Carlos Riojas-López

*1989: Global History?*

pp. 7-26

This paper presents historical facts from the year 1989 in order to show the relevance of conducting comparative analysis between Latin America and Central Europe at the end of the twentieth century, in the setting of their respective processes of institutional change. It also confirms the existence of common features in the trajectories of countries in these groups, motivating studies of this type to be undertaken as part of a Global History. Common features include the influence on them of neoliberalism, the legacies left by their institutions, and finally a generalised picture of economic and institutional crisis. Hence a historical dialogue between Latin America and Central Europe may be promoted as a way of contributing to Global History. The body of the work is in two parts: an account is given of parallel facts that point to the transcendental nature of 1989, and then, historical events in Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland are addressed specifically. The aim of the study is to support and encourage comparative studies of the two subcontinents.

### XIV (55) 2014

Marialba Pastor

*Los temblores de tierra en el organismo novohispanico*

pp. 105-120

This text touches on some relevant explanations given during New Spain's colonial period for "earth tremors" in order to draw attention to the difficulties found to dispense with medieval fantasies and theological authorities in them. Despite the efforts toward the gradual separation between faith and reason, science and religion, it can be observed how the connection among earthquakes, human sins and divine punishment was maintained.

Pablo Buchbinder

*Los cambios en la política social argentina y el impacto del terremoto de San Juan (1944)*

pp. 121-133

The aim of this paper is to analyze the social and political consequences of the earthquake in San Juan. The study focuses on three areas: those related to collecting money for victims with housing policies and the emergence of new child adoption laws.

## Journal of modern European History

### 1 (12) 2014

Sandro Rinauro

*L'émigration illégale des Italiens en France et en Suisse après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale*  
pp. 84-106

The Illegal Immigration of Italians to France and Switzerland after the Second World War: Differences and Similarities of French and Swiss Immigration Policies. The great size of the black labour market and the restrictive legal immigration policies of both the French and the Swiss State were the main causes for the illegal immigration of Italians to France and Switzerland after the Second World War. While the French State actively controlled and encouraged the immigration of foreign workers by promoting settlement services to immigrants and their families, the Swiss immigration policy was characterized rather by reluctance and even hostility towards the reunification of immigrant families. In both countries, the restrictive nature of immigration policy was designed to reduce the number of foreign workers during economic crises. However, it also complicated the recruitment of foreign workers during phases of economic growth. Illegal immigration enabled both the French and the Swiss State to add the necessary flexibility to this rigid framework.

### 3 (12) 2014

Fulvio Conti

*The Religion of the Homeland. The Cult of « Martyrs of Freedom » in Nineteenth-century Italy*  
pp. 398-417

In recent years, the historiography of the Risorgimento has been transformed by a new approach that began with the so-called linguistic turn. One particularly stimulating element of such studies are attempts to read the cult of martyrs as a motive for patriotic volunteering, and as one of the tools used by the Risorgimento movement, starting with Mazzini, to convert people to the nationalist cause. This article outlines the development of martyr literature in Italy from the early nineteenth century up to Fascism. The author distinguishes his approach from other scholars to argue that, with the partial exception of Mazzini, those who participated in the construction of patriotic martyr cults were strongly anti-clerical. They attempted to build a civic religion, which consciously drew elements from traditional Christian religion in order to utilise its symbols and liturgies. At the same time, the cults remained firmly fixed within a secular culture.

### 4 (12) 2014

Sebastian Huhnholz

*Deutschsowjetische Bloodlands? Zum methodologischen spatial und imperial turn der aktuellen Totalitarismustheorie*  
pp. 427-447

Timothy Snyder's book *Bloodlands* was sceptically received by a considerable part of the community of German historians. It was intensively criticized, among other places, in this very publication. It is not difficult to see, however, that this reception was a result of a basically normative discomfort with Snyder's comparison between National Socialist and Stalinist mass murder between the rise of Hitler and the death of Stalin. The heritage of the *Historikerstreit* still makes itself felt. The critique of *Bloodlands* by historians of the Holocaust and the Second World War reveals itself, in this connection, as a questionably self-referential and moreover national methodology based upon morally grounded, politically motivated, and intellectually unrealisable ideals. This presumption for redemptive history conveys the impression of a kind of special German right to paternalism in the field. In all this it has been neglected that Snyder has presented not an analysis of ideological motives but rather a structural analysis of totalitarian mass murder that is sensitive to the concept of space. In so doing he takes up the major themes of classical political totalitarianism theory and brings them into harmony with the most recent international imperial histories and interdisciplinary studies of the politics of space.

## Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte

[62 \(4\) 2014](#)

Hermann Wentker

*Die Grünen und Gorbatschow. Metamorphosen einer komplexen Beziehung 1985 bis 1990*

pp. 481-514

In their appraisal of Gorbachev and his policies, the Greens were shaped by a worldview which denied the existence of any serious willingness to disarm among the American leadership while simultaneously not allowing for an overall damnation of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev's disarmament initiatives fitted into this worldview and were thus welcomed. Due to their hostility to modern industrial society and the market economy, the Green assessment of Soviet domestic policy under Gorbachev was dominated by scepticism with respect to his efforts at increasing economic efficiency and intensifying cooperation with the West. Additionally the Greens saw themselves and the Peace Movement as allies of Gorbachev, even though they did not notice that their importance for him lessened as of 1987. At the same time, only few Greens maintained grass-roots contacts in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. These Greens widely appreciated the grievances of the dissidents and the respective societies and understood that they were striving for the fulfilment of their consumption needs and even more for a democratic state under the rule of law. Other Greens, who, if at all, only dealt with the Eastern Block theoretically, wanted to continue discussion about a "Third Way" with the increasingly eroding Soviet regime even in 1989. All Greens were however surprised by the revolutionary developments in 1989/90, as they had underestimated the resilience of the nation state.



## Zeithistorische Forschungen

### 2 2014

Stefanie Heisenhuth, Scott H. Krause

*Inventing the <Outpost of Freedom>. Transatlantic Narratives and the Historical Actors Crafting West Berlin's Postwar Political Culture*

In spite of the prevailing myth, neither the political self-conception of West Berlin that emerged soon after the war nor the city's international image were mere by-products of the Cold War. They resulted, rather, from a binational campaign that was based on strategic considerations. Returned Social Democratic émigrés, sympathetic American officials, and certain journalists convinced the German and the American public of West Berlin's heroic defence of democratic ideals with remarkable speed and success. They could rely on both tangible and intangible resources for their campaign of erecting an ›Outpost of Freedom‹ in what was left of the former *Reichshauptstadt*. While the heady Weimar days of pre-war Berlin provided countless images that appeared to authenticate this new narrative, the transatlantic network was also able to draw on considerable financial resources and media outlets to promote it. This article seeks to outline the historical actors behind the project and the narratives on which they drew.

### 3 2014

Cécile Stephanie Stehrenberger

*Systeme und Organisationen unter Stress. Zur Geschichte der sozialwissenschaftlichen Katastrophenforschung (1949-1979)*

How do human beings behave in a disaster? How can populations be governed in extreme situations? These were some of the questions that drove the activities of several American, partly army-funded, research groups during the 1950s, '60s and '70s. These groups were interdisciplinary but mainly interested in sociological questions. In the US and abroad, they studied the stress reactions of individuals and groups in tornados, blizzards and racial riots, as well as during laboratory simulations. Analysing some of their publications and internal documents, this article explores the research goals and findings of social science disaster research and their application. The researchers' activities must be interpreted in the context of the Cold War and of changing conceptions of danger. However, the paper shows that their work was by no means fully determined by the political agenda of their sponsors – they followed their own research interests, producing results that sometimes deeply questioned the intentions and policies of their patrons.

[62 \(10\) 2014](#)

Gerhard Neumeier

*Der Bundesnachrichtendienst aus der Sicht des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der DDR*

pp. 823-842

Nello scontro che ha coinvolto la Repubblica Federale di Germania e la Repubblica Democratica Tedesca ha svolto un ruolo centrale anche la lotta tra i due servizi di intelligence: il Servizio Informazioni Federale (BND) e il Ministero per la Sicurezza dello Stato (Stasi), che è stato in gran parte tenuto lontano dal pubblico. Inoltre, il precursore del servizio di intelligence federale, l'“organizzazione Gehlen” fondata negli anni 1946-1947 e attiva fino al 1956 era già parte di questo conflitto segreto tra i servizi segreti dei due Stati tedeschi durante la guerra fredda. Il BND era ed è soggetto alla Cancelleria federale, la Stasi, invece, era “la spada e lo scudo” della SED e rientrava sotto la responsabilità di quest'ultima. La Stasi doveva sostenere, come strumento della SED, l'autocrazia del partito dentro e fuori la DDR, dare sicurezza e stabilizzare. Oltre ad ottenere informazioni sulle “centrali del nemico” come il governo federale, i partiti politici, o lo stesso BND, la Stasi organizzò anche dei sequestri nella Repubblica federale di Germania di cui caddero vittima, tra gli altri, alcuni membri del BND. Il seguente articolo esamina il punto di vista della Stasi sul suo principale avversario, il BND, esaminando soprattutto tutte quelle informazioni che la Stasi aveva sviluppato sul conto del BND.

## Gran Bretagna

### Contemporary European History

[23 \(1\) 2014](#)

Walter L. Adamson

*Fascism and Political Religion in Italy: A Reassessment*

pp. 43-73

This article challenges the currently dominant understanding of Italian Fascism as a ‘political religion’, arguing that this view depends upon an outdated model of secularisation and treats Fascism's sacralisation of politics in isolation from church–state relations, the Catholic Church itself and popular religious experience in Italy. Based upon an historiographical review and analysis of what we now know about secularisation and these other religious phenomena, the article suggests that only when we grasp Italian Fascist political religion in relation to secularisation properly understood, and treat it in the context of religious experience and its history as a whole can the nature of Italian Fascism be adequately grasped.

[2 \(23\) 2014](#)

Forum: *Stephen Kotkin's Magnetic Mountain (1995)*

pp. 166-236

[4 \(23\) 2014](#)

Special issue: *Emotions in Protest Movements in Europe since 1917*

It might seem trivial and mere common sense to note that revolts and revolutions are deeply emotional moments. In history books and newspapers, we read about the tense and emotionally charged atmosphere that leads to violence when protestors confront police forces, or about furious and passionate crowds acting in defiance of the ideal of rational and coldblooded politics. But rage and anger are not the only emotions involved in the politics of protest. Consider the iconic photographs of the summer strikes during the French Popular Front in 1936, depicting smiling workers occupying their factories and construction sites, or the cheering crowds storming the Berlin Wall in November 1989. Or consider the genre of protest songs, telling stories of solidarity and hope as well as deep sorrow. At times, social and political movements even made feelings their central concern, such as the hippy movement with its calls for free love. On the other side of the political spectrum, conservative as well as social democratic observers often denounced protests and riots as politically irrelevant outbreaks of hatred, or mocked the ‘hysterical’ fear of the peace movement during the 1980s. Somehow, these examples suggest, feelings mattered, yet how precisely they mattered is rarely investigated. The essays in this special issue will address this question in order to enrich our understanding of protest movements, revolts and revolutions. Collectively, they intend to open a theoretical and methodological debate on the role of emotions in the politics of protest and resistance.

## English Historical Review

[129 \(536\) 2014](#)

Stuart Middleton

*'Affluence' and the Left in Britain, c.1958–1974*

pp. 107-138

Accounts of British politics in the 1950s and 1960s have treated 'affluence' as a socio-economic condition to which political thinkers and actors responded, with greater or lesser success. This overlooks the contemporary significance of 'affluence', which is better understood as a conceptual field in which many of the Left's crucial ideological and strategic battles were fought during the 1960s. Whereas historical usage has broadly followed Labour revisionists' sense of 'affluence' as a determinate socio-economic condition, at least three critical usages were developed in opposition to this, which contested both its specific detail and its conception of a prior socio-economic reality to which it was the task of politics to respond. These were synthesised into a shared Labour critique of the Conservative Government in the early 1960s, before being gradually turned against the Wilson administrations by their critics on the left. In particular, two major interventions—the 'rediscovery of poverty' (1965), and the 'Affluent Worker' study (1968–9)—restored a material referent to these critical accounts of 'affluence', but in a more equivocal sense than historical usage has assumed. These critiques helped to influence a broader reorientation of Labour politics after 1970, which accorded greater salience to redistribution and the interests of workers. Simultaneously, they may have helped to fix the meaning of 'affluence' in the usage of historians, as a result of which its significance for contemporaries and its influence upon the course of Labour politics have hitherto been incompletely understood.

[129 \(537\) 2014](#)

Selina Todd

*Family Welfare and Social Work in Post-War England, c.1948–c.1970*

pp. 362-387

This article examines the transformation in family welfare work precipitated by the post-war expansion of the welfare state. While existing scholarship has suggested that welfare work pathologised working-class families, and particularly working-class mothers, I argue that many family-welfare workers advanced a progressive understanding of poverty's causes that sympathised with those living in hardship. These workers' experiences of talking to clients in working-class homes led them to realise that poverty could never be eradicated simply by helping 'the poor' to help themselves. Some of these workers came to believe that poverty could be destroyed only by government intervention. Following recent revisionist historiography, I suggest that the 1950s were not a decade of moral conservatism or political consensus, but rather a time of heated debate over the pattern of class and gender relations. However, I offer two caveats to this new direction in scholarship. Firstly, this article suggests that the influence of the psy-sciences in shaping discussion over social relations was more qualified than existing historical studies suggest. Secondly, the impact of this debate on practice and policy was extremely limited until the late 1950s and the 1960s. This indicates that the connection between discourse and experience is far from

straightforward, and that more studies of the connections between them would be valuable in helping us to understand the history of post-war Britain.

[129 \(538\) 2014](#)

Chris Millington

*Street-fighting Men: Political Violence in Inter-war France*

pp. 606-638

This article examines violence between political groups in inter-war France. Previous studies have dismissed violent confrontation during this time as ‘simulated’ and unworthy of serious attention in comparison with political violence in other European countries. This article contends that existing scholarship has underestimated the place of violence in Third Republican political culture. The French culture of violence is reconstructed through a close examination of the narratives that political groups constructed around incidents of street violence. An analysis of these narratives reveals the unspoken rules and assumptions that informed understandings, discussions and representations of one’s own aggressive behaviour and the behaviour of one’s opponents. It will be demonstrated that left- and right-wing activists shared common understandings about their conduct during violence and the circumstances in which force could be deployed legitimately. These understandings were rooted in contemporary notions of manliness. This culture of violence was not free from contradiction and it could be used to restrain as well as enable the perpetration of physical violence. The article assesses the acceptability of violence in French inter-war politics and its place within the broader context of European political violence.

[129 \(539\) 2014](#)

Naomi Lloyd-Jones

*Liberalism, Scottish Nationalism and the Home Rule Crisis, c.1886–93*

pp. 862-887

The present scholarly focus on Unionist-nationalism has obscured crucial features of late nineteenth-century Scottish political life. In a period of acute political crisis precipitated by the introduction of William Gladstone’s first Irish Home Rule bill, there emerged a movement for the restoration of an Edinburgh parliament. Led by the Scottish Home Rule Association, campaigners promoted a fundamental reassessment of Scotland’s post-1707 history, and argued that only a reinstated legislature could arrest a process of decay which they associated with the failures of a London-oriented Union. In setting out to demolish what we have come to understand as the Unionist-nationalist case, Home Rulers initially sought assistance from the Liberal party, which had been electorally dominant in Scotland since 1832. Their virulent attacks on the party, its organizational machinery and its leaders are far more illuminating for our understanding of how Liberalism operated after 1886 than has previously been understood.

## Gender & History

### 26 (1) 2014

Jean Elisabeth Pedersen

*'Speaking Together Openly, Honestly and Profoundly': Men and Women as Public Intellectuals in Early-Twentieth-Century France*

pp. 36-51

'Speaking together openly, honestly and profoundly'.<sup>1</sup> In 1904, French scholar, teacher and essayist Paul Desjardins used these words to signal the inauguration of a new intellectual endeavour, the foundation of the *Libres entretiens* or Open Conversations. In a divided nation that was experiencing acute political conflict between Roman Catholic right and secular republican left, Desjardins hoped to create a space where people of all religious and political persuasions could meet to discuss questions of common concern.

### 26 (2) 2014

Gillian Frank

*The Colour of the Unborn: Anti-Abortion and Anti-Bussing Politics in Michigan, United States, 1967-1973*

pp. 351-378

In October 1972, anti-abortion activists campaigned in Michigan to prevent the liberalization of the state's 126-year-old abortion laws. Going door-to-door, they distributed over one million brochures warning voters against the consequences of supporting abortion reform in the November election.

### 26 (3) 2014

Sarah Steinbock-Pratt

*'It Gave Us Our Nationality': US Education, the Politics of Dress and Transnational Filipino Student Networks, 1901-45*

pp. 565-588

In 1939, Caridad T. Elumba, a Filipina student in the United States, wrote to a former American teacher in the Philippines about some of her early experiences abroad. She noted that all 'the Filipino girls' had a picture taken with other foreign students, for which they 'dressed up in our favorite skirts and *camisas*'. This dress was important to Elumba because, she declared, it 'gave us our nationality. Without it we were either Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Porto Rican, or even Portuguese'.<sup>1</sup> This episode reveals the intimately personal political decisions that Filipinos, especially those away from home, made every day

[26 \(4\) 2014](#)

Shaul Mitelpunkt

*The Tank Driver who Ran with Poodles: US Visions of Israeli Soldiers and the Cold War Liberal Consensus, 1958-1979*

pp. 620-641

On 7 May 1973, an issue of *Life Special Report* marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of Israel's independence. The volume contained varied stories on Israeli life, contrasting it with American society. The magazine's cover revealed a full colour close-up of an Israeli reserve soldier in an olive uniform, his bristled face beaming. This image of the soldier summed up the message of the volume as a whole: the Israeli man takes his military commitments in his stride. This message was promoted most strikingly in an article titled 'A Sabra's Life is Hard but Sweet'.<sup>1</sup> The piece concentrated on a young Israeli man with a name seemingly tailored for the occasion: Yossi Israeli

Katherine M. Marino

*Marta Vergara, Popular-Front Pan-American Feminism and the Transnational Struggle for Working Women's Rights in the 1930*

pp. 642-660

In December 1935, the newly formed Popular-Front feminist organisation, the *Movimiento pro Emancipacion de la Mujer Chilena* (MEMCh, or 'Movement for the Emancipation of Chilean Women'), convened a large public meeting in Santiago before the first regional conference of the International Labor Organization (ILO), in order to voice their demands for working women. MEMCh co-founder Marta Vergara concluded the meeting with a strong message of support from a somewhat surprising source: the Washington DC-based Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW), an inter-governmental organisation created in 1928 as part of the Pan American Union, and led by the US National Woman's Party (NWP). Speaking as the Commission's Chilean delegate, Vergara cited the IACW triumph at the most recent 1933 Pan-American Conference in Montevideo, where four countries – Uruguay, Cuba, Ecuador and Paraguay – had endorsed the Commission's Equal Rights Treaty prohibiting any juridical distinctions based on sex. Vergara contrasted this western-hemisphere-wide defence of women's equality with the growth of fascism in Europe that was stripping women of their rights, and urged those at the ILO Conference to pass no resolutions that would put women and men on unequal footing in the economic struggle.

W. Chris Johnson,

*Guerrilla Ganja Gun Girls: Policing Black Revolutionaries from Notting Hill to Laventille*

pp. 661-687

In 1973, a secret wing of the Trinidad and Tobago police service went to war against an equally shadowy group of young people called the National United Freedom Fighters (NUFF). From secluded campsites in the mountains of Trinidad's Northern Range, NUFF prowled the island, robbing and bombing banks, petrol stations and remote police outposts. NUFF promised to rid the country of international capitalists and their 'local stooges' by attacking their purse strings and meeting police terror with 'superior violence'. That summer, while searching the hills for guerrilla fighters, a joint army police, anti-guerrilla task force discovered 'a pleasant surprise: a fluttering of

dresses, panties, and female apparel' among parcels of rice and ammunition in a deserted NUFF camp. 'Police now believe the men in the hills have a long-term supply of food and girls', the Trinidad *Express*, a local newspaper, reported. But instead of concubines, the task force discovered revolutionaries with shotguns



## Journal of Modern History

86 (4) 2014

Alexander Watson

*“Unheard-of Brutality”*: *Russian Atrocities against Civilians in East Prussia, 1914-1915*  
pp. 780-825

On August 11, 1914, a week and a half after war had broken out between Germany and Russia, a terrified crowd from the East Prussian border village of Radszen appeared at the office of the local district administrator. That morning, the people told him, there had been a clash between a German cavalry patrol and a larger Russian force in their village. When the Germans withdrew, the Russians had burned down almost every building and had “begun to beat us and to shoot at us.” Four villagers had been killed, five wounded; the rest had fled in panic. Similar accounts of violence against civilians multiplied once border skirmishes gave way to full-scale invasion in the middle of August. As tsarist troops poured across East Prussia’s eastern and southern borders, penetrating deep into its interior, frightening reports of civilians tortured and murdered, officials arrested, and farms and villages set ablaze attracted the attention of state authorities. On the eve of the Battle of Tannenberg, as East Prussia’s fate hung in the balance, the Reich’s alarmed deputy chancellor, Clemens Delbrück, telegraphed the Prussian government from Army General Headquarters: “Russians annihilating property and lives of population in the occupied areas with unheard-of brutality.”

This article examines whether East Prussia did, in fact, suffer “unheard-of brutality” at Russian hands during the invasions of 1914–15. German complaints about the tsarist army’s violence toward civilians never attracted much sympathy. For both international opinion at the time and historians today, they were always overshadowed by the “atrocities” that, as John Horne and Alan Kramer conclusively demonstrated a decade ago, the Germans themselves perpetrated in Belgium and France. Indeed, until very recently, the consensus was that stories of the “Cossack terror” in East Prussia were mostly propaganda fabrications. While looting and even destruction have sometimes been acknowledged, systematic violence against civilians, and especially killing, has been regarded as uncharacteristic of the Russian invasions. Work by Vėjas Gabriel Liulevičius and Peter Hoeres has begun to question this view but, based on wartime and postwar publications rather than archival sources, has not disproved it.

## [Journal of Modern Italian Studies](#)

[19 \(1\) 2014](#)

Jorge Dagnino

*Italianness during Fascism: the case of Il Selvaggio*

pp. 1-14

This article deals with the notion of Italianness in the Fascist journal *Il Selvaggio* (1924–43). It sets out to do this through the examination of the concepts of Fascist purity and intransigence, the nation's purported vices and virtues, and the publication's idiosyncratic belief in an Italian road to modernity as a means of regenerating the national character. While it is claimed that the latter goal ultimately failed, the article argues that the endeavour to *fare gli italiani* can usefully serve the purpose of exploring the totalitarian dynamic and the utopian dimension present in the Fascist movement.

Theodoros Rakopoulos

*Cooperative modulations: the antimafia movement and struggles over land and cooperativism in eight Sicilian municipalities*

pp. 15-33

Debate on the antimafia movement has placed the phenomenon mainly in the urban civil society tradition of new Italian social movements. While acknowledging the resonance of antimafia mobilization in this context, this article explores a different tradition, wherein struggles against the mafia in Sicily are analysed alongside, and in constant interconnection with, the development of the agrarian cooperative movement of the island. Focusing on the Alto Belice area of western Sicily, the article argues that antimafia politics evolved from an association with agricultural workers' cooperativism in an anti-middleman direction after the 1950s land reform. Moreover, it assesses ethnographically how this tradition has influenced actors in the contemporary, largely successful, movement of antimafia cooperatives that cultivate land confiscated from the mafia by the Italian state. It examines how these actors link to this genealogy, associating their contemporary activity, in largely imaginary ways, to this history of struggles, and claiming inheritance over it.

### **Special section: Italy on the 150th Anniversary of National Unity**

Roland Sarti

*Italy on the 150th anniversary of national unity*

pp. 34-43

Mario di Napoli, Giulia Limiti

*The celebrations between history and politics*

p. 44-52

John A. Davis

*The South and the Risorgimento: histories and counter-histories*

pp. 53-61

Frank J. Coppola

*Church and state. Two different approaches to Italy: Pius IX's confrontation versus Pius XII's conciliation*

pp. 62-70

Giuseppe Monsagrati

*1861–2011. The celebrations in Italy and in the international context*

pp. 71-77

#### [19 \(2\) 2014](#)

M. Giovanni Cavagnini

*'Reckless youth'. Cardinal Maffi and Fascism (1919-31)*

pp. 99-118

The article focuses on Cardinal Pietro Maffi's attitude towards Fascism. As one of the mightiest princes of the Church and a well-known patriot, the Archbishop of Pisa enthusiastically supported the war effort in 1915–18. Concerned by the spread of strikes and social disorders after the victory, he saw Fascism as a bulwark against socialism and tried to make an alliance through celebrations of the 'heroic' memory of the Great War together with the Black Shirts. Maffi's strategy seemed to work: with a few exceptions the alliance remained effective and became official with signing of the Lateran Pacts of 1929. Consequently, Cardinal Maffi made a significant contribution to the success of the secular religion of the Fatherland preached by Fascism which shortly after his death in March 1931 would become a major source of tension between the regime and the Church.

Giuseppe Monsagrati

*Margaret Fuller and Mazzini again: an almost unedited letter*

pp. 132-144

The essay examines two documents: the first is in part unedited, while, although the second was published in 1879, it has only recently been rediscovered by an American scholar. Both documents are of particular interest for what they tell us about the relationship between Margaret Fuller and Giuseppe Mazzini. In both documents the two protagonists are brought together by the well-known English wood engraver and journalist William Linton, who later in life emigrated to the United States. The first document consists of a letter that Fuller sent to Linton, accompanied by verses that were to be published in a journal edited by Linton. The letter is presented in its full and original form for the first time, and it shows that Fuller's verses were written as a tribute to Mazzini's patriotism. The second document is the transcription of a text that Linton published in 1879, in which long after their deaths Fuller and Mazzini engage in an imagined conversation in which both express their lifelong commitment. For Mazzini, the imagined dialogue provides an opportunity to

reaffirm his conviction that religious and political faith are inseparable.

Marco Valbruzzi

*Is trasformismo a useful category for analyzing modern Italian politics?*

pp. 169-185

The Italian vice, a historic stain, national character or simply a system of government? For many years and certainly since the founding of the Italian state, transformism/*trasformismo* has been one of the concepts most used and abused by scholars to describe the (mal)functioning of Italian political institutions and the low yields of its political system. This essay reconstructs the entire political and historical trajectory of transformism in Italy, from the coming to power of the liberal Left under Agostino Deprestis in the 1870s to the so-called Second Republic of today which, precisely because of its transformist tendencies, seems to be facing yet another new crisis of the 'system'. But is the concept of transformism really applicable only to Italy, although this was certainly where it was first born, grew and was exported to the rest of the world? These questions are addressed in the concluding sections of the essay.

[19 \(4\) 2014](#)

Alessandro Santagata

*Ruinismo: the Catholic Church in Italy from 'mediation culture' to the Cultural Project*

pp. 438-452

It is only seven years since Monsignor Camillo Ruini resigned from his role as President of the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI), yet it feels much longer. The tempestuous events that marked Silvio Berlusconi's decline, on one hand, and the election of Pope Francis to the Holy See, on the other, have made such an impression on recent Italian history that seems to leave no time for reflection on what has happened over the last twenty years. This article explores how, during this time, Cardinal Ruini has re-fashioned the relations between the Catholic Church and Italian politics, following a pattern that has come to be known as '*ruinismo*'. The essay follows the development of the theological-political line of the Conference, from the "mediation" of the "Catholic Party", the Christian Democrats (DC), to the "policy of presence" of politically committed Catholics, defined in these terms by the ecclesiastical congress in Loreto in 1985 and fully carried out under Ruini's management, with the backing of Berlusconi's governments. The aim is to establish whether and to what extent the "*Ruinian*" rule may be regarded as the consequence of mainstream Catholic politics of the 1980s and, equally, as a response to the cultural and political transformation brought about by the upheavals of the corruption scandals of 1989–91. Only from this long-term perspective is it possible to determine whether Ruini's exit has brought an end to *ruinismo*.

Andrea Maruzzo

*Italian universities, Fascism and the promotion of corporative studies*

pp. 453-471

This article deals with a specific aspect of the development of corporativism as 'unofficial' doctrine

of Fascist Italy: its presence in Italian universities. It argues that corporatist schools followed the fortune of the ideals they were called to represent, which were definitely eclipsed by the mid-1930s, when the economic crisis called for more direct and effective forms of state intervention in economic life. In the universities, the rise of corporativism as a specific field of study, and the broader project of creating an ideologically educated future ruling class, challenged the domination exercised by the powerful faculties of law in particular, which traditionally were the key paths for access to the legal profession and the civil service. The resistance of the conservative university establishment meant that the plans to promote corporatist curricula had failed well before the fall of the regime, but many of those appointed to teach Corporative Studies under Fascism maintained their academic positions in Italy's 'de-Fascistized' post-war law faculties, and made innovative contributions to Italian social and economic thought.

## Modern Italy

19 (1) 2014

Lucy Riall

*Travel, migration, exile: Garibaldi's global fame*

pp. 41-52

In this article, it is argued that Garibaldi's global fame owes much to his own experiences as a migrant and exile in the Americas. Overseas, Garibaldi not only acquired several practical and political skills, he also built up an important network of friends and supporters and became a hybrid figure able to adapt his image to diverse political settings. At the same time, Garibaldi relied on the trope of exile, developed by people like Ugo Foscolo, to define his opposition to, first, Italy's Restoration governments and, after Italian unification, the new moderate liberal regime. The article also looks at Garibaldi's life on Caprera and it is further argued that here Garibaldi combined elements of his previous experiences to fashion a role for himself as a 'foreigner in Italy'. Garibaldi was a symbol of many worlds as well as a hero of two and it is precisely this hybrid nature of his appeal that can explain his global popularity.

19 (4) 2014

Laura Cerasi

*Empires ancient and modern: strength, modernity and power in imperial ideology from the Liberal period to Fascism*

pp. 421-438

This article examines the image of Empire developed in public discourse in Italy during the late Liberal period and Fascism by placing it in the context of representations of the British Empire, with which Italian imperial ambitions were compared. There is a continuity in seeing the British Empire as the expression of industrial and commercial modernity and its resultant strength, but what in the Liberal period was seen as an unparalleled superiority became under Fascism a supremacy acquired in a particular period but now exhibiting signs of decline, which Fascism should contest and surpass. Admiration of the British was mixed with disparagement: key figures expressed a competitive resentment towards Britain and its dominant international position, seeing it as the epitome of 'modern' imperial power against which Fascism was destined to be measured. In the 1930s signs of the British Empire's decline were sought, developing the idea in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* that British domination would also rise and fall, and announcing the replacement of the 'British order', founded on commercial modernity and the strength of money and capital, by Fascism's new civilisation, with its authentic heritage of imperial *romanità*. This competitiveness towards Britain, which historiography has principally seen as a component of foreign policy (as was clear over Ethiopia), has additional significance when seen as an element of political culture that relates to the concept of the State. The autonomy and strength of the State were an important feature of Fascism's self-representation and of its legal culture, and in this light the possession of an empire came to be seen as an essential aspect of statehood and power.

## Past & Present

[225 \(1\) 2014](#)

Rudi Batzell

*Free Labour, Capitalism and the Anti-Slavery Origins of Chinese Exclusion in California in the 1870s*

pp. 143-186

On 14 July 1877 workers on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in Martinsburg, West Virginia, blocked the tracks in response to wage cuts. Within a week, cities from New York to San Francisco were swept into a pitched confrontation between wage earners and property owners. The Great Strike of 1877 gave vent to broad hostility towards the capitalist order that had consolidated in the fifteen years following the Civil War. The railroads had become the most visible symbol of a great transformation towards corporate power and sharp class divides in America.<sup>1</sup> In California violent confrontation with railroad authorities was averted because the managers rescinded the wage reduction, and rioters in San Francisco redirected their hostility towards the residents of Chinatown.<sup>2</sup> Yet of all the great upheavals in Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Syracuse, Chicago and Baltimore, only in California did the rebellion sparked in July 1877 take sustained political form. In the months following the Great Railroad Strike, men meeting in the vacant ‘Sand Lots’ next to San Francisco’s City Hall rallied around the newly organized Workingmen’s Party of California, led by an Irish drayman, Dennis Kearney. Welding together critiques of corporate capitalism, the role of Chinese labour and the corruption of politics in California using the language of anti-slavery, the Workingmen’s movement in the state proved pivotal in pushing the national parties to support the exclusion of Chinese labourers from further immigration in 1882. Often seen as simply racist, the Exclusion Act was specifically aimed at barring labour migration: Chinese scholars and merchants and their minor children were still free to enter the United States.<sup>3</sup> The Workingmen’s emergence from the Great Strike of 1877 marked a transition in national politics, as attention shifted away from the ‘negro question’ and debates about civil rights and home rule in the South ...

Laura Lee Downs

*‘And so we Transform a People’: Women’s Social Action and the Reconfiguration of Politics on the Right in France, 1934–1947*

pp. 187-225

In autumn 1935 Monique Horaist’s life took an unexpected turn: I had just divorced, and so went back to my parents’ home where ... I was bored. My father would not hear of my going out to work. What was I to do? One day, a friend told me about a social service that Mlle de Préval was creating in the Zone. And since I was a nurse, and they were looking for nurses, I went off to work as a nurse in the Saint-Ouen social centre.<sup>1</sup> Located in an abandoned factory on the rue Kléber, Saint-Ouen’s Centre Kléber was the first in a series of six such centres that Antoinette de Préval, chief architect of the women’s social action groups of the anti-parliamentary and ultra-nationalist Croix de Feu movement, would implant in the dreaded ‘red zone’, those desperate shanty towns of tin and tar-paper shacks that stretched in concentric circles just beyond the city walls, in the recently demilitarized zone between Paris and its industrial suburbs: ‘It was not even the banlieue, it was the Zone’, recalled Mme Horaist some fifty-three years later: Today, you cannot even imagine ... there

were great stretches of wasteland dotted with shacks made up of planks, cardboard and corrugated iron. There were just two water supply points in all the Zone, two faucets at each end. There was no water, no electricity, there was nothing, it was ... a favela, I would say these were the favelas of that time.



## Twentieth Century British History

[25 \(2\) 2014](#)

Andrew Thorpe

*Locking out the Communists: The Labour party and the Communist party, 1939–46*

pp. 221-250

The Second World War was a crucial period in the development of the British left, and particularly in finally delineating between the Labour and Communist parties. Communist party membership hit record levels just when Labour's own organization was creaking under the impact of war, while Britain's alliance with the USSR from 1941 onwards brought reflected glory on the CP. This gave the Communists their best-ever opportunity to influence, and perhaps even join, Labour. Yet Labour's leaders and officials were clear in their opposition to Communism, and worked hard to contain the threat they believed that it posed. This led to a long-running battle, which was only ended by Labour's landslide victory in 1945, and the concomitant organizational changes that it, and the deterioration of Anglo-Soviet relations in 1945–46, allowed. By 1946, for all the fleeting successes of wartime, the Communists were more effectively shut out of Labour politics than ever before. There were long-term effects on Labour's leadership and officials. By 1946, partly as a result of the war years, Labour language had developed in ways that would enable a close fit with Cold War stereotypes. Crucially, too, Labour's long struggle against the British Communists prepared it well for the rigours of office after 1945, and set the tone for much of Labour politics over the next three decades.

[25 \(3\) 2014](#)

Susan R. Grayzel

*Defence Against the Indefensible: The Gas Mask, the State and British Culture during and after the First World War*

pp. 418-434

It remains a truism about twentieth-century warfare that its parameters expanded to produce something known as 'total war'. While historians and other scholars have debated the precise meaning of this term, most acknowledge that it signified the fundamental incorporation of what was labelled the 'home front' into the waging of war.<sup>2</sup> In practical as well as cultural terms, this produced a newly calibrated role for civilians in modern war. To a great extent, technology enabled and accelerated this transformation. Air power predated the First World War, but its use intensified greatly during the air raids of that conflict, killing and injuring civilians in Paris and London, in the frontier areas of Germany and France, and along Britain's eastern coastline.

In response to such attacks gradually arose features of what would become 'civil defence', a ubiquitous legacy of the First World War. At its core, civil defence accepted that civilian populations had a vital role to play in defending a state whose entirety could now be under fire during wartime. Instead of assuming that building up the military in terms of personnel and/or developing military practices would alone suffice to protect the nation, civil defence reflected the new reality of total war. Everyone had a role to play in the wartime state but, more than this, civilian participation had to be organized and sustained, requiring attention to training and the maintenance of morale as well as to more practical measures.

Complicating matters further was the concern that air power might be used to more heinous ends by deploying chemical weapons against civilians. Chemical munitions were first launched with lethal effect against soldiers on the Western Front in April 1915, and they inspired an immediate technological counter measure: the gas mask.

[Published online](#)

Gareth Millward

*Social Security Policy and the Early Disability Movement. Expertise, Disability, and the Government, 1965–77*

In 1965, the Disablement Income Group launched its National Disability Income campaign to fight for equal treatment of disabled people in the British social security system. By 1977, a series of benefits were created to cover the general population. Yet, despite the obvious political significance of these developments, very little research has focused on the early pan-impairment disability non-governmental organization (NGO). Existing scholarship has come from one of two traditions: the ‘poverty lobby’ and NGO histories that focus on expert campaign groups; and disability studies which describes a teleological narrative of the development of disabled people's attempts to secure civil rights.

This article contends that neither approach is satisfactory. The crossovers between these two historical approaches are necessary to understand how these groups operated and to appreciate their political significance. Using the archives of the Disablement Income Group, the Disability Alliance and the Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation, this article shows that the history of these NGOs is more nuanced than previously described. Similarly, the novelty and growing power of civil rights and poverty lobby campaigning should not be overstated. Through a specific analysis of the lobby in its social and political context, historians can find a clearer picture of how these groups operated and better analyse their significance.

[25 \(4\) 2014](#)

David Rooney

*The Political Economy of Congestion: Road Pricing and the Neoliberal Project, 1952–2003*  
pp. 628-650

This essay explores the role of urban road pricing in the ideological battle between Keynesianism and free-market neoliberalism in post-war British politics. Practical arguments for using price to reduce congestion were first developed in the early 1950s, led in the USA by public choice theorist James M. Buchanan, and in the UK by Alan Walters, later to be the architect of Margaret Thatcher's free-market economic policy. In the 1960s, Walters and a group of transport economists attempted to gain the ear of British transport minister Ernest Marples through a Ministry of Transport report framed in opposition to the dominant discourse of centralized planning and urban reconstruction. Their work was promoted energetically by neoliberal think-tanks including the Institute of Economic Affairs and, later, the Adam Smith Institute. Ultimately the idea foundered in the 1970s and 1980s on Tory-led concerns about individual freedom and taxation, and Thatcherite class politics of car ownership, but in the early 1990s it was repositioned as a social democratic

project in an early example of the Blairite turn, with congestion charging being introduced in London in 2003.

**Spagna**

[Ayer](#)

[94 \(2\) 2014](#)

Juan Luis Simal

*El exilio en la génesis de la nación y del liberalismo (1776-1848): el enfoque transnacional*  
pp. 23-48

Omar Acha

*Transnacional y global: la crítica del concepto de historia ante la emergencia de la historiografía posnacional*  
pp.121-144

## Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea

36 2014

Maciej Górný

*Alma y hueso: La antropología física, la Gran Guerra y el nacionalismo en Europa Oriental*

pp. 239-258

Durante y después de la Primera Guerra Mundial, el discurso científico de la antropología racial sirvió como una herramienta de las definiciones étnicas de la propia nación y de las naciones enemigas. En la antropología racial austriaca y alemana, la noción de *Mongolización* fue usada popularmente para representar al enemigo ruso como una raza extraña. Esta forma de pensamiento encontró su principal expresión empírica en la investigación antropológica alemana y austro-húngara sobre los prisioneros de guerra. Górný muestra cuán activos fueron los antropólogos en Europa central y oriental, no sólo reaccionando a las corrientes intelectuales alemanas, sino también influyendo en los antropólogos de las potencias centrales con sus propias teorías raciales. Este discurso racial encontró su continuación en la Europa de posguerra Centro-Oriental y los Balcanes en la legitimación de los Estados recién creados.

## Hispania

74 (247) 2014

Joaquín Ocampo Suárez-Valdés

*Las Cortes de Cádiz: de la "felicidad pública" al "interés particular". La crisis de la utopía ilustrada*

pp. 439-464

La quiebra económica del Antiguo Régimen, la invasión francesa y el vacío de poder subsiguiente a las abdicaciones de Bayona, junto a las revoluciones norteamericana y francesa, la difusión de la obra de A. Smith, o la crisis colonial, definen la singular coyuntura y “oportunidad” histórica que preside la acción legislativa de las Cortes de Cádiz. En estas páginas, a partir de la propia documentación emanada de las Cortes y de los textos económicos coetáneos, se pretende valorar tanto el alcance del cambio institucional promovido, como el de las respuestas ofrecidas a los problemas económicos. En las Cortes de Cádiz el sujeto colectivo, encarnado en la soberanía nacional, tomará el relevo del «rey filósofo» como promotor de las reformas. La «utopía liberal» llegará a hacer creer a los parlamentarios gaditanos que el cambio institucional sería condición necesaria y suficiente para restaurar la economía. La legislación liberal, al marginar el mundo rural y los intereses industriales, nació sin los apoyos sociales capaces de garantizar la viabilidad de las reformas emprendidas.

## Hispania Nova

n. 12, 2014

Eduardo González Calleja

*La contribución de Julio Aróstegui al debate historiográfico sobre la violencia política en la España contemporánea*

Julio Aróstegui fue uno de los científicos sociales que contribuyó de manera más destacada a la inserción de la violencia política como elemento central del desarrollo histórico español contemporáneo. Sus aportaciones han resultado fundamentales a la hora de delimitar el objeto de estudio y abordar su análisis histórico en España con herramientas prestadas de otras ciencias sociales. Dichas contribuciones se han centrado en tres áreas que se analizan en el presente artículo: las bases de conceptualización de la propia violencia política, su historización a través del despliegue de conceptos anejos como el insurreccionalismo, y su aportación específicamente historiográfica sobre diversas manifestaciones de violencia política en la crisis española de entreguerras.

## Historia Contemporánea

48 2014

Andoni Elezcano Roqueñi

*El cine y la celebración de la nación vasca. Las filmaciones del Aberri Eguna durante la II República*

pp. 283-315

En este artículo se analizan las filmaciones de las cuatro primeras ediciones del Aberri Eguna (Día de la Patria Vasca), celebradas en Bilbao en 1932, San Sebastián en 1933, Vitoria en 1934, y Pamplona en 1935. De este modo es posible conocer las iniciativas cinematográficas llevadas a cabo durante la II República por el Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV) y la evolución de esta festividad nacionalista en sus vertientes rituales, simbólicas, organizativas y políticas. El análisis de estas películas permite profundizar en el modo en el que el PNV empleó el cine y esta celebración para unir a la comunidad nacionalista en torno no sólo a unas ideas sino también a unos símbolos. Esta misma fiesta se convirtió rápidamente en un importante símbolo nacionalista vasco y actuó a su vez como catalizador de nuevas construcciones simbólicas. Las fuentes cinematográficas se emplean aquí por vez primera también para conocer más a fondo la historia del PNV, su organización y su liderazgo en la década de 1930.

Javier Lion Bustillo

*¿Cómo sobrevivir a Suez? El Gobierno Macmillan y el Imperio Británico en Oriente Medio*

pp. 315-344

Habitualmente se considera que el Reino Unido llevó a cabo un proceso ordenado de descolonización en el Oriente Medio, el cual habría tenido su punto de arranque en el desastre de Suez. Por el contrario, la evidencia histórica nos muestra que el gobierno Macmillan optó por mantener el imperio en esa zona mediante estrategias de "salir del paso" (muddling through) y cierto redimensionamiento (retrenchment), por lo que la supervivencia de sus alianzas debió garantizarse mediante nuevas intervenciones militares. No obstante, fueron la propia debilidad británica, la actividad del nacionalismo árabe y los problemas para conciliar sus intereses con los de Estados Unidos los que hicieron inviables los esfuerzos del gobierno Macmillan



## Historia del Presente

21 (2) 2013

Javier Muñoz Soro, Emanuele Treglia

*La política de la fuerza o la fuerza de la solidaridad: franquismo y antifranquismo en la Italia de los años sesenta*

## Historia y Política

30 2013

Daniel Gomà

*Socialismo y ejército: la «vía birmana al socialismo» y la consolidación del Partido del Programa Socialista de Birmania (1962-1974)*

From the analysis of primary sources available, combined with foreign literature, this article examines the first stage of the so-called «Burmese Way to Socialism», a utopian, revolutionary and militaristic experiment developed in Burma between 1962 and 1988, which ended in a resounding failure. This first stage was marked by the left-wing military regime's desire to promote this socialist ideology with Burmese characteristics and, as we shall see, by the attempt of the regime to legitimize its authority by strengthening its political wing, the Burma Socialist Programme Party, as the only authorized party.

Javier Lion Bustillo

*¿Cómo controlar el poder alemán? Mendès France, Mitterrand y la integración europea*

Since the end of World War II, there were two moments when France had to face a dramatic increase of German power: the first one corresponded to Pierre Mendès France's tenure as Prime Minister, who had to deal with German rearmament; the second moment was coincident with François Mitterrand's presidency, when the question of German unification was again on the table. Traditionally, it has been asserted that French attitude concerning these problems had been merely reactive and incapable of exerting any significant influence on the course of events. However, during the last years a new literature has emerged which emphasizes the importance of French contribution to the evolution of institutional continental architecture. In this article, there has been implemented a comparative study on the reaction of both French leaders and their influence on European integration. Its conclusions are closer to the latter view, because Mendès France was decisive to enhance the Anglo-saxon compromise in the defence of the continent, with a division of labour between the European Communities and NATO. For his part, Mitterrand's action helped to anchor united Germany in Europe more closely, even though his ability to influence the events was narrower. Finally, France evidenced in both moments its reluctance towards federalism, and preferred intermediate solutions. These solutions provided Paris with a certain autonomy of action, a result that was coherent with its objective of preserving its world power status.

## Pasado y Memoria

3 2014

Carmine Pinto

*Guerras europeas, conflictos civiles, proyectos nacionales. Una interpretación de las restauraciones napolitanas (1799-1866)*

pp. 95-116

Examining *counter-revolution* through its greater achievements, that is, the four winning restorations, and also their disastrous fall, that is, the defeated restoration, may contribute to enrich traditional perspectives on the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies' resis -

Javier Navarro Navarro

*La calle rojinegra. Anarcosindicalismo, rituales de movilización y símbolos en el espacio público (1931-1936)*

pp.141-172.

This article focuses on the analysis of the typology, characteristics and evolution of some of the rituals of mobilization and symbols that Spanish anarchist and anarchosyndicalist organisations displayed in public spaces during the years of the Second Republic, before the July 1936 military uprising: strikes, revolutionary insurrections, rallies, demonstrations, tours, partisans' funerals, etc. The aim of all these actions was clear: both internal cohesion and identity reaffirmation, and external projection of the movement. With these collective action strategies, anarcho-syndicalists tried to be present in public spaces, to make the movement strength visible and to reinforce their demands and aspirations. This visibility was enhanced by displaying its own symbols: hymns, songs, flags, etc.

Ana Belén Gómez Fernández

*Del antifranquismo al feminismo: la búsqueda de una nueva ciudadanía del movimiento democrático de mujeres en la Transición democrática*

pp.251-270

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the role of the Women's Democratic Movement in the building of democracy. An organization formed by several generations of women who fought dictatorship and struggled to develop an equal status for men and women. The analysis of the movement evolution begins with their denunciation of repressive policies in Franco's regime, highlighting their supportive role and assistance with political prisoners. Their work in low-income districts against the high cost of living and the lack of infrastructure will be revised next. Finally. A final stage deals with the organization's fully feminist approaches by developing solid arguments in support of the struggle for democracy and freedom.

## Stati Uniti

### [American Historical Review](#)

[119 \(3\) 2014](#)

*AHR Roundtable: You the People*

pp. 741-823

The Roundtable, “You the People,” is a rather unusual project for this journal. Normally the *AHR* does not publish articles that address professional or pedagogical concerns—those more generally related to the practical side of history as opposed to historical scholarship itself. These essays, however, produced by a group of historians working in the UK, Poland, France, Italy, Germany, the Republic of Ireland, the Netherlands, and Australia, offer what we imagine to be a novel perspective for most readers: reflections on what it means to be an American historian living and working in Europe. An introduction is followed by six essays, along with two comments. In the introduction, Nicolas Barreyre, Michael Heale, Stephen Tuck, and Irmina Wawrzyczek set out the overarching theme of “You the People”—that the writing of history is influenced as much by the place in which it is written as by when it is written. “Characteristics and Contours: Mapping American History in Europe,” by Susan-Mary Grant, Michael Heale, Halina Parafianowicz, and Maurizio Vaudagna, focuses on the principal characteristics of the writing of American history in Europe. In “‘Brokering’ or ‘Going Native’: Professional Structures and Intellectual Trajectories for European Historians of the United States,” Nicolas Barreyre, Max Edling, Simon Middleton, Sandra Scanlon, and Irmina Wawrzyczek examine the impact of professional structures and academic institutions on scholarship. “Teaching in Europe and Researching in the United States,” by Trevor Burnard, Jörg Nagler, Simon Newman, and Dragan Živojinović, acknowledges that while the pedagogical approaches to American history in Europe vary, they are still shaped by common features. In “American History and European Identity,” Mario Del Pero, Tibor Frank, Martin Klimke, Helle Porsdam, and Stephen Tuck explore European historians' efforts to make American history relevant to the European present. In “Europeans Writing American History: The Comparative Trope,” Susanna Delfino, Marcus Gräser, Hans Krabbendam, and Vincent Michelot discuss the institutional, cultural, and intellectual factors that have long prompted European historians to adopt a comparative approach to the study of American history. In “The Weight of Words: Writing about Race in the United States and Europe,” three historians of race relations, Manfred Berg, Paul Schor, and Isabel Soto, ponder the difficulties of translating and adapting the American terminology of race in their respective languages. There are two comments on this Roundtable, offered by historians who, in different ways, embody the U.S.- European exchange in historical research, writing, and teaching. In “Location, Location, Location: We Are Where We Write?,” Nancy L. Green, an American who works in Paris at the *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, argues that in addition to the consideration of location in these essays, other themes need more systematic attention, including time, politics, and disciplinary boundaries. The second comment is by Sven Beckert, a native Swede who is now at Harvard University. In “The Travails of Doing History from Abroad,” he suggests that the situation these authors describe is not so unique among historians: with the internationalization of academic life, histories are increasingly being written by “non-nationals.” And in fact, he criticizes them for falling into the “exceptionalist trap” often ascribed to American historians.

## Diplomatic History

### 38 (1) 2014

Simen Zernichow, Hilde Henriksen Waage

*The Palestine Option: Nixon, the National Security Council, and the Search for a New Policy, 1970*  
pp. 182-209

Were the Palestinians anything more than simply a refugee problem? Since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, the USA had pretty much ignored this haunting question. However, as the Palestinian guerrillas' wide-ranging armed struggle seemed to be approaching a climax in 1970, U.S. policy makers were forced to reassess whether they might also need to view the Palestinian issue as a political problem. In April to May of that year, U.S. State Department officials began to doubt whether the Jordanian regime would survive the civil war then brewing in that country. In response, a strategy paper examining the possibility of a joint Jordanian-Israeli-Palestinian settlement—a policy that would come to be known as the “Palestine” or “Palestinian option”—was developed within the U.S. State Department. Between October and December 1970, the National Security Council discussed various versions of this strategy paper. At the same time, members of the main Palestinian guerrilla organization, Fatah, sent messages to the Americans indicating that they might be willing to enter into negotiations. Why, then, did these efforts fail to bring about a change in U.S. policy toward the Palestinians?

### 38 (2) 2014

Brooke L. Blower

*From Isolationism to Neutrality: A New Framework for Understanding American Political Culture, 1919–1941*

pp. 345-376

This essay assesses the pitfalls of relying on isolationism to describe American political culture during the 1920s and 1930s and proposes that the concept of neutrality offers a more useful framework for understanding how Americans struggled with their place in a world at war. Americans had long worried about foreign entanglements, but what lent the debates after World War I their special urgency and potency was a sense that one important option in the traditional conduct of international relations—neutrality—had become unhinged from its moorings. Understanding the shifting meanings, and ultimately the perceived demise of neutrality as a viable form of statecraft, points toward a new way to narrate the turning points and political alliances of the interwar years. It also helps to explain why, since the 1930s, Americans have become more readily embroiled in military conflicts overseas despite their recurring doubts about the price of such engagement.

### 38 (3) 2014

Christian Philip Peterson

*The Carter Administration and the Promotion of Human Rights in the Soviet Union, 1977–1981*

pp. 628-656

This article will examine the effectiveness of the Carter administration's efforts to promote human rights in the Soviet Union. It will pay particular attention to how human rights promotion fit into a larger approach to transforming Superpower relations in ways favorable to U.S. interests called "reciprocal accommodation [détente]." The use of this framework provides an excellent way to tease out the complexities of how the administration balanced the promotion of human rights in the USSR with other important objectives such as concluding the SALT II treaty. It also helps reveal how executive branch worked to reduce Soviet human rights violations by citing the provisions of the Final Act and working with private citizens to raise international awareness about human rights issues. Without losing sight of his administration's inability to protect Soviet dissenters from arrest and harassment, this article will demonstrate that Carter had every intention of making the issue of human rights an important element of Cold War competition and implementing a new approach to détente that at least in part aimed at transforming Soviet internal behavior.

[38 \(4\) 2014](#)

Robert Gerwarth, Erez Manela

*The Great War as a Global War: Imperial Conflict and the Reconfiguration of World Order, 1911–1923*

pp. 786-800

The First World War was part of a global imperial and postimperial conflict that began in 1911 and did not end until 1923. Its supreme irony was that a war fought for the protection and expansion of empire in fact led to the dissolution of empires.

## [The Journal of American History](#)

[100 \(4\) 2014](#)

Julia L. Mickenberg

*Suffragettes and Soviets: American Feminists and the Specter of Revolutionary Russia*

pp. 1021-1051

That the U.S. woman suffrage amendment passed within a few years of the Russian Revolution was no mere coincidence. Many know that antisuffragists (the “antis”) used charges of socialism and “bolshevism” to discredit American suffragists. Some know that proponents of woman suffrage taunted their opponents with reminders that women in “darkest Russia” had obtained the vote before their American sisters. But historians have been so loathe to validate red baiters’ accusations that they have ignored U.S. feminists’ abiding attention to revolutionary Russia. In her essay, Julia L. Mickenberg argues that the Russian revolutionary agenda—in theory if not in practice—provided a framework for reimagining the terms of women’s citizenship, and as such, was of vital interest to U.S. feminists. It also reveals historical continuities between abolitionists, feminists, and “friends of Russian freedom.”

Dorothy Sue Cobble

*A Higher “Standard of Life” for the World: U.S. Labor Women’s Reform Internationalism and the Legacies of 1919*

pp. 1052–85

Worker and democracy movements surged around the world in 1919, as did hope for a more just international world order. Dorothy Sue Cobble recovers the surprisingly robust traditions of social justice internationalism among U.S. labor women in the aftermath of World War I. She chronicles the internationalist initiatives of the Women’s Trade Union League of America, the largest U.S. working women’s organization in this era, and uses U.S. and non-U.S. sources to compare the class and gender politics of U.S. and European women trade unionists. Her study challenges reigning scholarly tropes of American exceptionalism, expands understandings of U.S. internationalism in the World War I era, and reveals the significance of the 1919 moment for later transformations in global gender and economic policy.

[101 \(1\) 2014](#)

Thomas Jundt

*Dueling Visions for the Postwar World: The UN and UNESCO 1949 Conferences on Resources and Nature, and the Origins of Environmentalism*

pp. 44–70

Thomas Jundt examines the 1949 United Nations Scientific Conference on the Conservation and Utilization of Resources held in Lake Success, New York. Concerned that the conference would promote only traditional notions of conservation focused on the wise use of natural resources and the preservation of natural spaces deemed aesthetically pleasing, one of the United Nations’ own agencies, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, held the concurrent

International Technical Conference on the Protection of Nature designed to encourage broader ideals of environmentalism—focused on issues of ecology, pollution, and sustainability—that emerged after World War II.

[101 \(2\) 2014](#)

*The History of Capitalism*. A round table about the history of (American) Capitalism: Sven Beckert, Angus Burgin, Peter James Hudson, Louis Hyman, Naomi Lamoreaux, Scott Marler, Stephen Mihm, Julia Ott, Philip Scranton, and Elizabeth Tandy Shermer discuss the new historiographical trend and research

pp. 503–36



## [Journal of Cold War Studies](#)

[16 \(1\) 2014](#)

Thomas Tunstall Allcock

*The First Alliance for Progress?: Reshaping the Eisenhower Administration's Policy toward Latin America*

pp. 85-110

The Eisenhower administration's policy toward Latin America is typically viewed as a failure. The general view is that by ignoring calls for increased economic aid and undermining governments suspected of harboring Communist sympathies, U.S. policymakers allowed relations with Latin American countries to deteriorate so much that Vice President Richard Nixon was almost killed during a goodwill tour. Belated efforts were then made to improve relations, but only the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba and the Kennedy administration's embrace of modernization theory—the argument goes—saw a genuine change in U.S. attitudes. Using a wide variety of sources, including rarely studied personal papers and newly released oral histories, this article demonstrates that even before the Nixon trip a small group of experts on Latin America were determined to adjust attitudes in Washington. Understanding their impact and achievements casts fresh light on the policies of the Eisenhower administration and the nature of hemispheric relations in the subsequent decade.

[16 \(3\) 2014](#)

Rory Cormac

*The Pinprick Approach: Whitehall's Top-Secret Anti-Communist Committee and the Evolution of British Covert Action Strategy*

pp. 5-28

This article examines Great Britain's approach to covert action during the formative years of British Cold War intelligence operations, 1950–1951. Rather than shy away from such activity in the wake of the failure in Albania in the late 1940s, the British increased the number of operations they pursued. This was the start of a coherent strategy regarding covert activity that can be conceptualized as the “pinprick” approach. The strategy was overseen by a highly secretive Whitehall body, the Official Committee on Communism, which in effect became the government's covert action committee. This article uses the commission's recently declassified papers for the first time to assess the merits of this approach.

## [Journal of Policy History](#)

[26 \(1\) 2014](#)

William Crafton

*The Incremental Revolution: Ronald Reagan and Welfare Reform in the 1970s*

pp. 27-47

Seeking the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, Reagan recounted the story of a “welfare queen” from Chicago. He noted that despite the “welfare workers who tried to hush the story up”, the recipient “used 127 names, posed as mother of 14 children at one time, 7 at another, signed up twice with the same case worker in 4 days and once while on welfare, passes as an open heart surgeon complete with office”. He clinched the story by noting, “She has 3 new cars, a full length mink coat, and her take is estimated at a million dollars!. Sounding dated and trite, these stories reflected how Reagan’s philosophy is popularly remembered regarding welfare policy: he won, and whose administration infamously attempted to classify ketchup as a vegetable as part of its effort to curb school lunch expenditures

Jon A. Shields

*Fighting Liberalism’s Excesses: Moral Crusades During the Reagan Revolution*

pp. 103-120

The 1980s were a decade shaped by genuine grassroots movements that fought liberalism’s perceived degeneration into libertinism. The varied political ambitions of these movements have long obscured what they shared in common. All of these grassroots campaigns were driven by a similar critique of American liberalism. From the perspectives of their activists, American liberalism had been corrupted by a debased libertinism.

[26 \(3\) 2014](#)

Gareth Davies (ed.)

*Special Issue on American Disaster Politics*

American historians and social scientists are evincing a growing interest in the subject of disaster and how American society and politics have responded to catastrophe. Since the mid-1980s, a series of important books has sought to employ disaster not simply as a vehicle for telling a good story but as a way of analyzing broader themes in national life: humanitarianism, the growth of government, environmentalism, social and racial injustice. This is a special issues on the American Politics of Disaster from the Civil War to the Present, with essays on the emergence of a National Politic of Disaster (1865-1900), the Civil Defense Federalism for the Homeland Security Era, racism and violence in the 1926 Miami Hurricane, the Hurricane Camille and the new Politics of Federal Disaster Relief (1965-1970)

## Journal of Women's History

[25 \(4\) 2013](#)

Karin Alejandra Roseblatt

*Welfare States, Neoliberal Regimes, and International Political Economy: Gender Politics of Latin America in Global Context*

pp. 149-162

This article draws on feminist scholarship regarding gender, especially the literature on Latin America, to argue that we should qualify prevailing grand narratives regarding the transition from welfare states to neoliberal states. Recent historical scholarship has re-emphasized the U.S. role in undermining movements for social, political, and economic democracy and in helping to roll back social safety nets and labor protections. But standard narratives on this transition fail to integrate the insights of feminist literature. That literature suggests that gender dynamics may converge with or diverge from other social, economic, and geopolitical forces—such as imperialism, neocolonialism, nationalism, or neoliberalism. Feminist scholarship and the changing condition of women, I suggest, require that we jettison tired narratives regarding imperial power and economic might and produce new ways of talking about historical transitions.

Francisca de Haan

*Eugénie Cotton, Pak Chong-ae, and Claudia Jones: Rethinking Transnational Feminism and International Politics*

pp. 174-189

This article sketches the historical field of transnational feminisms and women's movements as it has developed since the mid-1990s. It outlines the field's main contributions and shortcomings, identifying as the latter its strong focus on white, Western, liberal, "gender-only" feminism. Subsequently it discusses some of the contributions of the progressive Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF, established in Paris in 1945) and of women and men from Second and Third World countries to the international domain of women's rights—largely overlooked in mainstream historiography. The article ends by emphasizing the scholarly and political importance of including the WIDF, left feminist leaders such as Eugénie Cotton, Pak Chong-ae (internationally known as Pak-Den-ai), and Claudia Jones, and a broader definition of feminism in our historical research of transnational feminisms and the global women's movement.

Ida Blom, Mineke Bosch, Antoinette Burton, Anna Clark, Karen Hagemann, Laura E. Nym Mayhall, Karen Offen, Mary Louise Roberts, Birgitte Sølund, Mary Jo Maynes

*The Past and Present of European Women's and Gender History: A Transatlantic Conversation*

pp. 288-308

..... when we were invited to provide an article on the status of European women's history for this anniversary volume, it seemed to us that bringing together a group of scholars for a discussion was the best way of honoring the spirit and history of the journal. As we set out to organize this conversation, the remarkable flourishing of European women's history made our task simultaneously exciting and daunting.....

Judith P. Zinsser

*Women's and Men's World History? Not Yet*

pp. 309-318

This article explores why women have been excluded from the narratives and analyses of world historians. It explains, for example, that the usual patriarchal narratives speak in abstractions like: “societies,” “human groups,” and “populations.” These hide the maleness of the protagonists despite women’s presence in all aspects of all histories. The creation of a separate women’s history for every region of the world over the last four decades means inclusion is possible. Obstacles remain. In the interim, the article teaches a gender inclusive world history while continuing to research and write a separate women’s world history by analyzing women’s experiences in cross-cultural comparative, thematic, or global contemporaneous frameworks.

[26 \(2\), 2014](#)

Eileen Hunt Botting, Christine Carey Wilkerson, Elizabeth N. Kozlow

*Wollstonecraft as an International Feminist Meme*

pp. 13-38

This article charts the rise of Mary Wollstonecraft as a international feminist meme in 1890s Britain, Germany, and the United States as a result of the centennial markers of her 1792 Rights of Woman and 1797 death. To this end, we conduct a comparative rhetorical and ideological study of the symbolic political uses of Wollstonecraft by four leaders of women’s movements at the turn of the twentieth century: Millicent Fawcett of Britain, Bertha Pappenheim and Lily Braun of Germany, and Carrie Chapman Catt of the United States. We trace the emergence of two dominant feminist memes of Wollstonecraft between 1890 and 1941: the womanly women’s rights advocate and the feminist pioneer. With their mimetic makeovers of Wollstonecraft, feminist leaders and activists exploited intersections of race, class, gender, and nation to build the authority, appeal, and sense of history and purpose of their movements.

Ann Taylor Allen

*Feminism and Fatherhood in Western Europe, 1900–1950s*

pp. 39-62

This article focuses on work-life balance: the combination of work outside the home with parental and domestic responsibilities. Today, problems arising from work-life balance constitute an important obstacle to gender equality. Most commentators have defined this as a women’s problem, but others argue that until men assume an equal share of responsibilities in the home women cannot gain equality in the work-force, the home, or many other areas of life. The article looks at the origins of this debate, focusing on three prominent feminist thinkers—the German Lily Braun, the Swedish Alva Myrdal, and the French Simone de Beauvoir. The central issue—a father’s role in the family—is placed in the context of three historical periods: the pre-war era (1900–1918); the interwar era (1918–1945); and the post-war era (1945–1960).

Katherine M. Marino

*Transnational Pan-American Feminism: The Friendship of Bertha Lutz and Mary Wilhelmine Williams, 1926–1944*

pp. 63-87

This paper explores Bertha Lutz and Mary Wilhelmine Williams's trans-national, Pan-American friendship in the interwar years. Lutz was the leader of Brazil's suffrage movement and Williams was a U.S. historian and member of the National Woman's Party and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. They collaborated together to advance Pan-American feminism, a belief that the Western Hemisphere shared a common history and that, through unity, women of the Western Hemisphere could bring about greater equality for women and world peace, which they saw as two inextricably linked goals. The women's influence over each other's feminist activism was mutual; in turn, each utilized ideas forged through their friendship to shape the feminist movement in her respective country. The case revealed in this paper thus prompts a reconsideration of interwar international and Pan-American feminism, so often described as a hegemonic, one-way ideological project of North American and European women.

Doreen J. Mattingly, Jessica L. Nare

*"A Rainbow of Women": Diversity and Unity at the 1977 U.S. International Women's Year Conference*

pp. 88-112

The 1977 National Women's Conference in Observance of International Women's Year (IWY) was in many ways the zenith of U.S. second-wave feminism, producing a Plan of Action that remains a comprehensive statement of the movement's ideals. It also played an important role in the growth and visibility of anti-feminist activism. The conference accomplished meaningful inclusion of women of color and lesbians, both as participants and as authors of the Plan. Notably, this diverse group of over 2,000 delegates agreed on twenty-six of twenty-seven proposed planks, presenting the U.S. public with an image of feminist unity. In this article the authors examine the factors that contributed to both the diversity of the conference and its apparent unity. They argue that two factors were particularly important. First, the threat of anti-feminists motivated lesbian participation and contributed to strategies that minimized dissent among supporters of women's rights. Second, many of the Washington feminists in leadership positions were committed to inclusion and worked to achieve a diverse conference. The article provides important historical detail about the politics of inclusion within second-wave feminism in the late 1970s.

Lisa Rumiel

*Getting to the Heart of Science: Rosalie Bertell's Eco-Feminist Approach to Science and Anti-Nuclear Activism*

pp. 135-159

This article focuses on Rosalie Bertell's activist work with Indigenous communities in the Marshall Islands, Canada, and the United States. It examines how Bertell's religious identity and her

involvement in the eco-feminist, social justice, and anti-nuclear movements influenced her to develop a distinct approach to epidemiology. Bertell drew upon eco-feminist philosophy to challenge predominant ideas about scientific objectivity and detachment as they developed in modern epidemiology. She adopted a situated approach to epidemiology by relying on her expertise in biostatistics and incorporating a multi-disciplinary set of tools for perceiving radiation damage in the body to do small-scale community health studies. Bertell's study model was shaped by the specific environmental health concerns of communities, designed to encourage community involvement, and intended for use as a political tool. Most significantly, with it she challenged the notion that scientists could achieve scientific objectivity only through detachment from the subjects of one's analysis.

[26 \(3\), 2014](#)

Yiğit Akın

*War, Women, and the State: The Politics of Sacrifice in the Ottoman Empire During the First World War*

pp. 12-35

The Ottoman Empire was one of the belligerents most severely affected by the First World War. The war lasted four years and required the most comprehensive mobilization of men and resources in the history of the empire. The extraction of millions of men from society and the economy, coupled with the state's increasingly ruthless intervention in the everyday lives of the Ottoman people, placed unprecedented burdens on their shoulders. Women bore most of the brunt of the war and the state's wartime policies on the home front. Focusing on their perceptions of and reactions to the war and the dramatic changes it brought to Ottoman society, this article examines how the war shaped women's relationships with the state and influenced their understanding of gender roles. In doing so, it aims to challenge the historical and cultural construction of war as exclusively male centered and render Ottoman women's wartime actions and experiences visible.

Daniela Rossini

*Feminism and Nationalism: The National Council of Italian Women, the World War, and the Rise of Fascism, 1911–1922*

pp. 36-58

This article addresses the issue of Italian feminists' acquiescence to fascism during the early postwar years. What process drove the liberal feminists into the orbit of a reactionary movement hardly likely to promote women's emancipation? At the heart of the problem lies a myth of war elaborated during the conflict. Feminists came to consider the World War as a process of national regeneration, a gender revolution: the war educated women to citizenship, asking for the contribution of women in all fields. Perceiving the war as the cradle of a "new Italy" brought feminists close to nationalist rhetoric, making difficult the defense of women's rights vis-à-vis the aggressive campaign of right-wing politicians and veterans against women's work. Eventually feminists found themselves complicit in a regime which stifled their movement and remained hostile to most forms of women's emancipation.

Carolyn Strange

*Sisterhood of Blood: The Will to Descend and the Formation of the Daughters of the American Revolution*

pp. 105-128

The Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), one of many white lineal societies that emerged in the late-nineteenth century, promoted a fantasy of the nation as an extended white family, united by blood. Yet the DAR faced internal and external challenges before it could transform documented Revolutionary blood into political capital. The organization accomplished this by asserting its biological credentials selectively, not just in racial and class terms, but also in reference to the fitness of its ancestors and descendants. The DAR's "will to descend," and the ambition of its leaders, meant that patriotic character had to be demonstrated as well as celebrated. By narrating a compelling, ethno-nationalist interpretation of U.S. history—inclusive and elitist, democratic and demonstratively exclusionary—the DAR began to exercise a marked influence over political culture within a decade of its founding, culminating in its enthusiastic support for the War with Spain.

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John E. Wills Jr.

*Review Article: What's New? Studies of Revolutions and Divergences, 1770-1840*

pp. 126-186



## Perspectives on Politics

[12 \(1\) 2014](#)

Kimberly B. Cowell-Meyers

*The Social Movement as Political Party: The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition and the Campaign for Inclusion*

pp. 61-80

For about 10 years beginning in the mid 1990s, Northern Ireland had its own women's political party. The Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC) was created by members of the women's movement to achieve "equitable and effective political participation" for women. Despite being small, marginal and short-lived, the party increased access for women in nearly all the other political parties in the system. I connect the scholarship on social movements with that on political parties by examining the impact a social movement can have through the venue of its own political party. I argue three main points. First, the success of the NIWC means political parties may be an under-employed tactic in the repertoires of contention used by social movements. Second, the way the movement had an effect as a party is under-theorized in the literature on social movements because it requires consideration of party-system variables such as competition and issue-space. Third, as an identity-based movement, the women's movement in NI construed its goal of access differently than social-movement literature typically does. This underutilized and undertheorized tactic of movement qua party delivered gains with the potential for long-term influence over policy and cultural values. In short, the movement-party may be an effective mechanism for changing the patterns of democratic representation of marginalized groups.

Paul Frymer

*"A Rush and a Push and the Land Is Ours": Territorial Expansion, Land Policy, and U.S. State Formation*

pp. 119-144

examine the role of US land policy in strategically controlling and moving populations around the continent with the goal of expanding borders and securing and incorporating new territory on the frontier. The government effectively used land policies and population control to enable an otherwise constrained American state to assert authority over the direction of expansion, to engineer settlement patterns in a manner to secure the territory without a large military, and to maintain an official fidelity to constitutional principles while engineering a dominant racial vision. I examine both the success and failures of these policies over the nineteenth century, with material drawn from government documents and primary sources. I discuss the consequences of this land policy for how we understand the American state in the context of comparative state and racial formation.

[12 \(3\) 2014](#)

Sheri Berman, Edward G. Carmines, Cathy J. Cohen, George Lawson, David R. Mayhew, William E. Scheuerman, *A Discussion of "Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time" By Ira Katznelson*

pp. 704-715.

Ira Katznelson's *Fear Itself: The New Deal and the Origins of Our Time* is a big book, and it addresses a big theme: the historical significance of the New Deal, as a watershed moment in U.S. political history, as a form of "social democracy, American style" that allowed liberal democracy to prevail in competition with Soviet communism and fascism, and as the "origin" of key features of contemporary politics in the United States. The book is a contribution to the study of U.S. politics, but also to the study of comparative politics, international relations, political theory, and comparative history. We have thus invited a range of political science scholars to comment on the book as a work of general political science; as an account of the New Deal and its political legacies in the United States; as a contribution to the comparative analysis of social democracy and the welfare state; and as a way of integrating the study of domestic and foreign policy, and in particular the study of U.S. politics and international relations.

[12 \(4\) 2014](#)

Bronwyn Leebaw

*Scorched Earth: Environmental War Crimes and International Justice*

pp. 770-788

Environmental devastation is not only a byproduct of war, but has also been a military strategy since ancient times. How have the norms and laws of war addressed the damage that war inflicts on the environment? How should "environmental war crimes" be defined and addressed? I address these questions by critically examining the way that distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate wartime environmental destruction have been drawn in debates on just war theory and the laws of war. I identify four distinctive formulations for framing the wartime significance of nature that appear in such debates and analyze how each is associated with distinctive claims regarding what constitutes "humaneness" in times of war: nature as property; nature as combatant; nature as Pandora's Box; and nature as victim. I argue that efforts to investigate and judge the environmental impact of war destabilize and expose the limitations of core distinctions that animate humanitarian norms, but also offer an important and neglected source of guidance in addressing those limitations.

Valentini Laura

*No Global Demos, No Global Democracy? A Systematization and Critique*

pp. 789-807.

A globalized world, some argue, needs a global democracy. But there is considerable disagreement about whether global democracy is an ideal worth pursuing. One of the main grounds for scepticism is captured by the slogan: "No global demos, no global democracy." The fact that a key precondition of democracy--a demos--is absent at the global level, some argue, speaks against the pursuit of global democracy. I discuss four interpretations of the skeptical slogan--each based on a specific account of the notion of "the demos"--and conclude that none of them establishes that the global democratic ideal must be abandoned. In so doing, I systematize different types of objections against global democracy, thus bringing some clarity to an otherwise intricate debate, and offer a robust but qualified defense of the global democratic ideal.

## Studies in American Political Development

[28 \(1\) 2014](#)

Andrew S. Kelly

*The Political Development of Scientific Capacity in the United States*

pp. 1-25

When well directed, science is the greatest agency for the welfare of mankind. John Wesley Powell, the director of the United States Geological Survey (USGS), delivered this message to Congress in 1884. The purpose of Powell's testimony to Congress was not to argue for the erection of an organizational framework for American science, but to defend the one that had been put in place decades earlier. At the time of Powell's testimony, the United States had already begun to assume the mantle of the greatest scientific nation on the planet. "I have studied the question closely," declared W. H. Smyth, the president of the Royal Geographical Society of London, "and do not hesitate to pronounce the conviction that though the Americans were last in the field, they have, per saltum, leaped into the very front of the rank." The organizational structure at the heart of America's rapid scientific rise was initially constructed by scientists serving in the nineteenth-century American bureaucracy—by men like John W. Powell. Often seen as a source of state incapacity, in this instance, the federal bureaucracy was the most important force in American scientific development.

Jonathan Obert

*The Six-Shooter Marketplace: 19th-Century Gunfighting as Violence Expertise*

pp. 49-79

How are new forms of violence expertise organized and exploited? Most scholars view this as primarily a question of state-building; that is, violence experts use their skills in an attempt to regulate economic transactions or to extract and redistribute resources via protection rents either for themselves or at the behest of political elites. In an alternative view, this article demonstrates that historical gunfighters active in the late 19th-century American Southwest were actually market actors—the possessors of valuable skills cultivated through participation in the Civil War and diffused through gunfighting and reputation building in key market entrepôts. Neither solely state-builders nor state-resisters, as they have traditionally been interpreted, gunfighters composed a professional class that emerged in the 1870s and 1880s and who moved frequently between wage-paying jobs, seizing economic opportunities on both sides of the law and often serving at the behest of powerful economic, rather than political, actors. I establish this claim by examining a dataset of over 250 individuals active in the "gunfighting system" of the post-bellum West, demonstrating that the social connections forged through fighting, and diffused through social networks, helped generate a form of organized violence that helped bring "law and order" to the frontier but as a byproduct of market formation rather than as state-building.

[28 \(2\) 2014](#)

Alexis N. Walker

*Labor's Enduring Divide: The Distinct Path of Public Sector Unions in the United States*

pp. 175-200

Why did public sector unionization rise so dramatically and then plateau at the same time as private sector unionization underwent a precipitous decline? The exclusion of public sector employees from the centerpiece of private sector labor law—the 1935 Wagner Act—divided U.S. labor law and relegated public sector demand-making to the states. Consequently, public sector employees' collective bargaining rights were slow to develop and remain geographically concentrated, unequal and vulnerable. Further, divided labor law put the two movements out of alignment; private sector union density peaked nearly a decade before the first major statutes granting public sector collective bargaining rights passed. As a result of this incongruent timing and sequencing, the United States has never had a strong union movement comprised of both sectors at the height of their membership and influence.

M. Stephen Weatherford

*The Eisenhower Transition: Labor Policy in the New Political Economy*

pp. 201-223

Eisenhower is credited with steering a course between ideological extremes, his “presidency of consolidation” implying that his economic policy traced a smooth, unitary path. Instead, I argue that his is a twofold legacy. Eisenhower's most frequently cited actions, such as modifying Social Security and unemployment insurance, involved moderating the pace but maintaining the direction of past policy. But in relation to the New Deal labor policy regime, his actions carried a quite different developmental significance. When it came to the federal government's posture toward unions and labor organizing, Eisenhower reversed both the direction of policy and the future capacity of institutions to fulfill the New Deal's goals. As with any presidency, the first two years of Eisenhower's term were crucial in setting the agenda and determining priorities. Two initiatives, amending the Taft-Hartley Act and shaping the membership and decisions of the National Labor Relations Board, show how Eisenhower's ideas and policy tactics developed. The success of his administrative strategy had the effect of consolidating the potential inherent in the Taft-Hartley Act and—long before Reagan's “war on labor”—altering the developmental trajectory of the political economy of labor policy.

**Altro**

**Ab Imperio**

1 2014

Darius Staliūnas

*Making a National Capital out of a Multiethnic City: Lithuanians and Vilnius in Late Imperial Russia*

pp. 157-175

## [Historia](#) (Cile)

[47 \(1\) 2014](#)

Rodrigo Araya Gómez

*Cambios y continuidades en el movimiento sindical chileno en los años 80. El caso del Comando Nacional de Trabajadores*

pp. 11-37

This paper analyzes the trajectory of the National Command of Workers (CNT), a labor union that was against the Pinochet regime during the 1980s. It argues that the Command was an opportunity for leaders of different political parties to meet, although they were predominantly Christian Democrats. Thus the CNT represented an attempt to build a new type of unionism committed to the restoration of democracy, and the construction of an alternative economic project to the neoliberal model imposed by the Pinochet regime.

[47 \(2\) 2014](#)

Olga Ulianova

*El despliegue de un antagonismo: el ex presidente Frei Montalva y el Dictador Pinochet en los Archivos Estadounidenses (1973-1982)*

pp. 401-441

Using declassified US documents, this article examines the complex relationship between the Democracia Cristiana (PDC) –Chile’s largest political party– and the Military Regime, between the years 1973 and 1982. The American idea of the PDC was primarily centered on its leaders, especially on the political figure Eduardo Frei Montalva. This article argues that American documents reveal that of Eduardo Frei Montalva’s numerous interactions with the international community were to critique the Military Regime, which happened much earlier than it was supposed. The same documentation reveals that the regime’s animosity and growing irritation with Frei’s political activity in Chile and on the international scene, reached obsessive levels in trying to build a negative image of its main enemy.