Spoglio delle principali riviste specialistiche estere (annata 2018)

Indice per Paese:

Francia

Germania

Gran Bretagna:

Spagna

Stati Uniti

Altro

FRANCIA

[Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos](#)

David Copello

El discurso de la víctima militante en la temprana posdictadura: Madres de Plaza de Mayo, actores paraorganizacionales y redes informales en la construcción discursiva de las luchas por los derechos humanos en la Argentina

It is usually assessed that the Argentinean human rights movement did not reproduce the political ideals of the last dictatorship's victims before the mid-1990s. However, traces can be found of a "militant victim discourse" in the first years of the post-dictatorship already, in the 1980s. Based on a reconstruction of the militant network of the *Asociación Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, this paper shows that family relatives are not the only grassroots for the human rights movement. The role of intellectuals and reviews close to *Madres* has to be highlighted, as they contributed to the formulation and diffusion of a radical political discourse on the victims of the dictatorship. It is argued that the human rights movement should be studied as a cross-organizational militant space, objectified through a network of reviews, rather than as a simple accumulation of formal organizations. The article then shows a few ways in which the commemorative repertoire of the "militant victim" has been used in the Argentinean public space in the 1980s by this militant base and identifies some of its major aspects.

Alejandro Agüero

Republicanismo, Antigua Constitución o gobernanza doméstica*. El gobierno paternal durante la Santa Confederación Argentina (1830-1852)*

This essay is concerned with the historiographical characterizations of caudillos regimes in Rio de la Plata during the period of the so called Holy Confederation (1830-1852). We consider that the approaches based on "republicanism" or on the notion of "ancient constitution" do not provide an accurate framework to grasp main features of the political praxis of the time and that they also may lead to a justifying comprehension. As alternative, we propose to recover an epocal signifier, that of "paternal government", to develop an explanation about the cultural background that held up a domestic model of political power. We suggest that the model of the "householder governance", based on the catholic tradition of the *oeconomy,* offers a better heuristic tool to understand the regimen of caudillos and their extraordinary powers.

Lucas Poy

Teoría y práctica del 'primer diputado socialista de América'. La acción de Alfredo Palacios en el Parlamento argentino y sus repercusiones en la prensa socialista, 1904-1908

In 1904, the Argentine Socialist Party managed to consecrate the young lawyer Alfredo Palacios as national deputy representing the working-class district of La Boca, a southern neighborhood of the city of Buenos Aires. Under Socialist eyes, Palacios' election confirmed the correctness of a strategy

oriented towards "political action" and electoral participation, the axis of differentiation with the anarchists since the previous decade. The objective of this article is to reconstruct the great lines of strategic and political argumentation put forward in his parliamentary discourses, in order to compare them with the more general proposals that guided the activity of the Socialist Party. The intention is to determine the relationship between Palacios' legislative practice and the strategic orientation of Argentine socialism, and the way in which they influenced each other. The article shows that, while since previous years the concern for political action and the strategic option for the electoral and parliamentary tactics had occupied an incontestable place in the political preaching of the PS, after 1904 this doctrine was finally put in practice.

Katia Escalante Monroy

Juventud mexicana, juventud ejemplar - Estampas y estigmas en las narrativas oficiales, México 1958-1976

The sixties were years in which the number of young people in Mexico grew, and also a time when this population diversified. Given this fact, statements issued by government institutions that contained dictations and statements about their duties and obligations were multiplied. Here we present an analysis of the construction of representations of exemplary Mexican youth, its contents and contrasts, its role in the regulation of youth behaviors, as well as the way in which it was adapted to the political and social conjunctures. cultural events between 1958 and 1976; that is, during the governments of Adolfo López Mateos, Gustavo Díaz Ordaz and Luis Echeverría Álvarez.

Cecilia Arias

Gobiernos reformistas en Uruguay 1947-1958: ¿profundización de la democracia en los inicios de la Guerra Fría?

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the political formulation and the social and cultural effects of the uruguayan reformist governments in the early years of the Cold War (1947-1958), focusing on the concept of democracy that they defended, the measures they promoted and the consequences of their actions.
These governments developed a nationalist, industrialist, pro-agricultural and redistributivist model. The speeches and actions of the reformist political cast were inscribed in a concept of democracy in which freedom and social justice were prioritized, including economic, social and cultural rights, as well as political and civil rights. They pointed to a deepening of democracy from a reformist liberal ideological perspective.
They differed from other reformist projects in the region, identified as populisms, in the emphasis they put on democratic freedoms while sharing some of their characteristics. They acted during a phase of economic growth of the country that ceased in 1957; year in which a deep crisis begins that highlights the weaknesses of the model and its failure, which led to the triumph of the opposition forces in the 1958 elections.

Guillermo Barón

Ecumenical Movement. In it there was discussion, among other topics, of Popular Education and popular cultures and religiosities. As transverse to these issues the question of the intellectuals and their relationship with the people always arose. In this article we think about this issue from Michael Löwy and Robert Sayre´s hypothesis for a sociology of romanticism.

(2018) HS 13

Les Républicains et le Parlement en Italie: 1861-1994

Maurizio Ridolfi, Marina Tesoro

Une France des sans voix? Immigration et vie politique en France (XIXe-XXe siècles)

É. Vial*Les immigrés italiens dans la vie politique française : présence et invisibilité*, pp.19-40

J.-C. Scagnetti

Les relations PCF-FLN au prisme de l'émigration algérienne en France (1962-1981) : des rapports «exemplaires»?, pp. 101-119

165 2018

Michel Foucher

Frontieres, rejet, attachement, obsession, pp. 5-14

Le retour des frontières ne peut que surprendre ceux qui avaient confondu la moindre visibilité de ces limites régaliennes et leur disparition dans un monde définitivement globalisé sous l'emprise de l'économie. La frontière marque la nécessaire limite entre un dedans et un dehors, fondement de toute conscience politique collective. Et il revient aux pouvoirs de « régler les confins », afin de nouer des relations civilisées avec les autres nations.

165 2018

Sabine Dullin

Le reveil des frontieres interieures, pp. 15-26

Cet article analyse le réveil des frontières intérieures des États comme autant de leviers politiques. On y remettra d'abord en cause l'opposition trop simple entre des frontières d'empire et une frontière de l'État-nation en montrant que la fabrique des États a laissé partout de multiples jointures. On se demandera ensuite s'il faut être nationaliste pour faire sécession ou ne pas l'être pour accepter de vivre dans un État multinational. Enfin, entre passé et futur, on évoquera en quoi les frontières intérieures, vieux héritages, sont plébiscitées aujourd'hui, pour refonder une démocratie de proximité.

165 2018

Catherine Wihtol De Wenden

Frontieres, nationalisme et identite politique, pp. 39-49

La thématique du bornage a servi à renforcer les thèses souverainistes de l'État-nation. L'identité nationale sert à construire, après les frontières géogra- phiques, une histoire différente en deçà et au-delà des frontières, et à intro- duire un traitement différencié à l'égard de ceux qui sont considérés comme ne faisant pas partie de la nation commune. Une refrontiérisation des États et de l'Europe est à l'œuvre, qui se conjugue à d'autres thèmes d'exclusion comme le droit de la nationalité, dans un contexte de théâtralisation de la frontière, à des fins identitaires.

165 2018

François Alabrune

Les frontieres de la France, pp. 51-64

Les frontières terrestres de la France, principalement métropolitaines, résultent d'un processus politique ancien, mené en plusieurs étapes et aboutissant parfois à des solutions originales. Les limites des espaces maritimes français, dont l'importance tient principalement à leur dimension ultramarine,

résultent d'une démarche unilatérale souvent complétée par la négociation d'accords et guidée par le droit de la mer.

165 2018

El Mouhoub Mouhoub

Les frontieres visibles et invisibles des migrations internationales, pp. 99-112

Depuis l'arrêt des migrations de travail en 1974, les coûts d'émigration sont supportés par les migrants eux-mêmes. Ces coûts exorbitants et les politiques restrictives et sélectives des pays de destination expliquent pourquoi désormais les personnes qui parviennent à émigrer viennent peu des pays pauvres et sont beaucoup plus qualifiées. Pourtant, paradoxalement, les migrations favorisent les échanges commerciaux et le développement des pays d'origine.

166 2018

Olivier Duhamel

Macron ou l'illusion de la Republique Gaullienne, pp. 5-12

Emmanuel Macron se veut le président d'une Ve République revenue à ses sources gaulliennes, dirigée par un président transformateur, incarnant le pays par-delà droite et gauche. Mais la Ve République n'a survécu qu'en démentant cette illusion originelle de De Gaulle. Le Général pourfendait le régime des partis, mais l'a revigoré, certes sous la domination d'un présidentialisme que d'ailleurs le huitième président perpétue sans inflexion majeure. La vision gaullienne des institutions avec laquelle Macron renoue pourrait s'avérer à son tour une illusion.

166 2018

Hugues Portelli

Soixante ans de subordination parlementaire, pp. 69-80

Les pères fondateurs de la Constitution de 1958 ont voulu ramener le Parlement à un rang secondaire dans les institutions et ils y sont parvenus durablement. Tant le dispositif constitutionnel (la Constitution et son interprétation) que les règles du jeu électoral (mode de scrutin et calendrier) ont veillé à ce que les chambres respectent la préséance du pouvoir présidentiel. La pratique des acteurs parlementaires, tant dans l'usage que ces derniers ont fait de leurs pouvoirs que dans leur incapacité à utiliser les ressources du bicamérisme, a achevé d'ancrer cette subordination dans le long terme.

Wanda Mastor

Les presidents de la Ve Republique : jacobins ou girondins?, pp. 81-96

Peut-être plus qu'aucune autre, la question de la décentralisation est hautement politique, et les pouvoirs accordés aux territoires ont fluctué au gré des alternances politiques, parfois dans des proportions radicales. D'un caractère « indivisible » jusqu'à la prochaine et probable indépendance

de la Nouvelle- Calédonie, en passant par la constitutionnalisation de son organisation « décentralisée », la Ve République peut aussi se raconter à travers le récit du rapport entre le centre et les territoires. La séculaire opposition entre jacobins et girondins, même éloignée de son sens révolutionnaire, semble persister. L'approche chronologique de ce grand récit permet d'y positionner nos huit présidents et de mieux comprendre le « pacte girondin » qui devrait trouver une traduction dans la prochaine révision constitutionnelle.

166 2018

Julie Benetti

Le mythe de la sixieme Republique, pp. 139-145

Sous la bannière faussement univoque d'une nouvelle ou « 6e » République se distinguent deux options constitutionnelles qui prétendent l'une et l'autre s'attaquer au présidentialisme débridé de nos institutions. La première veut conforter le pouvoir présidentiel face au Premier ministre dans le cadre d'un régime présidentiel «à la française», lorsque la seconde voudrait le neutraliser sur le modèle des régimes primo-ministériels européens. Les deux n'en procèdent pas moins d'une illusion, celle d'un véritable changement de régime qui pourrait faire l'économie d'une réforme du mode d'élection du chef de l'État.

68 (1) 2018

Vincent-Arnaud Chappe – Narguesse Keyhani

La fabrique d'un collectif judiciaire. La mobilisation des cheminots marocains contre les discriminations à la SNCF, pp. 7-29

L'article porte sur la mobilisation des cheminots marocains, engagés dans les années 1970 par la SNCF comme contractuels, et ayant fait condamner l'entreprise ferroviaire pour discrimination. L'ethnographie du processus judiciaire explore les relations entre mobilisations et action judiciaire et leurs effets sur la formation des collectifs. En revenant sur les conditions d'une action au long cours, exceptionnelle par le nombre de plaignants, et sur les modalités de sa traduction judiciaire, il montre que la judiciarisation participe à la constitution de ce collectif, mais qu'elle fait apparaître une tension entre conscientisation des plaignants et dépossession par les professionnels du droit.

68 (2) 2018

R. Cos

Les logiques du désengagement électoral au révélateur des privatisations du gouvernement Jospin, pp. 239-263

La coalition de «gauche plurielle» conduite par Lionel Jospin entre 1997 et 2002 correspond au gouvernement ayant conduit les plus importantes politiques de privatisation sous la Cinquième République. Les enquêtes statistiques établissent pourtant que le nombre de privatisations est d'autant moins important que le gouvernement est de gauche et qu'il compte plusieurs partis en son sein. Pour éclairer cette contradiction, l'article teste l'hypothèse, *a priori*paradoxale, du *«parties matter»*. La sociologie des mobilisations programmatiques socialistes permet en effet de montrer que le bilan du gouvernement de gauche plurielle procède moins de contraintes purement exogènes qu'il ne trouve son ressort au sein du Parti socialiste lui-même.

68 (4) 2018

Sylvain Antichan

Comment l'histoire légitime-t-elle l'Etat-nation? La coproduction du musée historique du château de Versailles par les élites de la monarchie de Juillet, pp. 629-650

À partir du cas du musée historique du château de Versailles sous la monarchie de Juillet, l'article interroge «comment» une politique de mémoire a pu participer à la légitimation d'un régime et à la naturalisation de l'État-nation. En reconstituant la fabrication de cette action publique dans les échanges entre des secteurs de l'État et des groupes familiaux ou professionnels, il montre que le musée constitue une offre de ralliement au régime à destination des élites. En retour, ces acteurs s'approprient le passé national en le valorisant dans des espaces sociaux et des interactions routinières, *a priori*, déliés de la nation et de son histoire. En ce sens, l'imaginaire civique et national se renforce par sa capacité à consolider d'autres groupes que l'État-nation lui-même.

GERMANIA

2 2018

Barbara Lambauer

Einleitung: Entstehung und Entwicklung transnationaler Kommunikationsräume in Europa zu Kriegszeiten, 1914–1945, pp. 7-15

The thematic issue is devoted to the influence of war on the emergence of new transnational communication spheres and experiences during the first half of the 20th century in Europe. While the interstate and civil wars during this period stand generally for a withdrawal to national or nationalistic positions, we can simultaneously observe increasing intertwining and convergence of European experiences that strengthened transnational references and networks during times of existential insecurity and threat.

The case studies presented here reveal the importance, for the study of such references and networks, of peripheral regions, detention camps, resistance and exile, the participation in collective cultural production and the construction of common infrastructure. In an exemplary manner, they o er evidence for the emergence of trans-European structures, convergences and public spheres during the rst half of the 20th century that remained not without conse- quences for later developments. Thus, the thematic issue's intention is to propose approaches for a broken Europeanisation narrative, in which divergence appears as constitutive – and not only restraining – element. In this way, it calls for a stronger consideration of transnational influences in the historiography of European wars during the 20th century.

Isabella von Treskow

Französische Kriegsgefangenenzeitungen im Ersten Weltkrieg. Internationale Erfahrung, Interkulturalität und europäisches Selbstverständnis, pp. 29-47

In spite of a severe domestic conflict on the country's entry in World War One, the small kingdom of Greece declared its political neutrality. Keeping this political status – at least officially – until summer 1917, when it entered the war on the side of the Allies, this status of political neutrality however, not only permitted the establishment of international services in Athens, but also served as an alternative battlefield of political control and influence within the Greek public sphere and in public discourse. Thus this article claims that Greece provided a sufficient basis for the development of a transnational zone of communication and European encounter of all belligerent countries, manifested also visually within the urban space, in times of heavy military and political conflict.

Élise Petit

The Börgermoorlied: The Journey of a Resistance Song throughout Europe, 1933–1945, pp. 65-81

The Börgermoorlied, Moorsoldatenlied or Lied der Moorsoldaten, better known in English as The Peat Bog Soldiers or The Soldiers of the Moor, was born under the Third Reich in the camp of Börgermoor during the summer of 1933. Created by communist inmates in one of the first Nazi camps, this song represents a unique example of a European and even international musical circulation before, during, and after the Second World War. From the first Nazi camps in Germany to the death camps of Auschwitz-Birkenau, London, the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), and French internment camps, this Song of deportation spread throughout Europe. This article traces the history and evolution of the song from its origin to nowadays. It also shows how this song was used by many artists, from the early camps to the exile, to help to build a "space of communication" and spiritual resistance against totalitarianism.

Christian Henrich-Franke, *Léonard Laborie*

European Union for and by Communication Networks: Continuities and Discontinuities during the Second World War, pp. 82-100

The Second World War stopped most of the activities of the international infrastructure organisations like the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) or the Universal Postal Union (UPU), which had managed the transnational flows of communication since the mid-19th century. Nevertheless, this did not stop international postal and telecommunication cooperation completely. In 1942 the German PTT administration convened a European postal and telecommunication congress in Vienna that pursued the work done by the ITU and UPU. They founded a 'European Postal and Telecommunication Union' (EPTU) in accordance with the ITU and UPU conventions. This article argues that the EPTU was an important step toward the Europeanization of intra-European connections. Within EPTU ideas as well as norms, values and practices of postal and telecommunication governance in view of uniting Europe continued (nearly unbroken) from the interwar to the post Second World War era.

German History

(1) 2018

Janine T. Murphy, *Contesting Surveillance: The German Gymnastics Movement and the Prussian State, 1850–1864*, pp. 21-37

While the history of the Bürgertum (the German middle class) post-1848/49 has focused on the inherently political nature of a reform-oriented group of citizens concerned with progress and modernization, the Bürgertum's explicit understanding of the political has largely remained on the periphery of research, overshadowed by nationalism and its shift to the right post-unification. This article focuses on the immediate post-revolutionary period. Using a case study, it depicts how members of German gymnastics societies relied on cultural strategies to negotiate an oppositional existence in the post-revolutionary security state. It contends that between 1850 and 1864, associations acted as a mediator between the Prussian state and its citizens in insisting upon the state's adherence to legally defined norms. It illustrates that throughout the period, gymnastics societies across the Rhine-Ruhr region engaged in a political process of contestation to question the Prussia state's justification of its power. After nearly a decade of playing by the rules of the surveillance game, the Bürgertum lost its trust in the state and began to demand that the laws the state had created to monitor voluntary associations also be used to guarantee their rights. By refusing to accept the state's authority, the Bürgertum developed a form of contentious politics that required pamphlets rather than revolutionary barricades.

(1) 2018

S. Jonathan Wiesen

American Lynching in the Nazi Imagination: Race and Extra-Legal Violence in 1930s Germany, pp. 38-59

This article focuses on the Nazi perception and exploitation of American lynching in the prewar Third Reich. It explores how National Socialist policymakers and writers addressed violence within their own society by exploring racial persecution in the United States. In particular, they drew attention to mob violence and the spectacle murders of African Americans. How, they asked, could Germany build a racially pure society absent the alleged lawlessness of the United States? Ultimately, the lynched black body became a symbol of 'racial chaos' and juridical confusion across the Atlantic. If the Nazis were to design an effective racial order, they would have to regulate visible expressions of extra-legal violence.

(1) 2018

Christian Rau

Socialism from Below: Kommunalpolitik in the East German Dictatorship between Discourse and Practice, pp. 60-77

his article examines the official and scholarly debate on Kommunalpolitik in the GDR, and analyses how the concept took root at the local level, and how the SED finally responded. While most historians tend to reduce the political system of the East German dictatorship to the highly centralized state model that was ruled only by the Politburo of the SED, this essay points out that governance within the GDR was coupled with decentralized elements. In the 1960s, the SED began to rethink the modus of governance by stressing the local sphere as a resource of economic planning and by replacing the Stalinist definition of what a city should be. However, the state party avoided a reform that might endanger the monopoly of the Politburo. Nevertheless, by leaving this opening within the discourse, the SED provided a framework in which local authorities and academics could articulate their perceptions and challenge the power of the Politburo. Even Honecker referred to the popular debate that was soon dominated by local politicians and academics, but he was unable to cope with this unloved discourse since local authorities were becoming more self-confident. These results open up new perspectives on political practices within the GDR, especially with regard to the alleged stability of the Honecker era and continuities after 1989.

(1) 2018

Pamela E Swett

Neither Too Hard, nor Too Soft: Hellmuth Heye, the Quick Controversy and West Germany's 'Citizens in Uniform', pp. 77-100

The introduction of the office of the Bundestag's military ombudsman through a 1957 amendment to West Germany's Basic Law was and remains today an important manifestation of the Bundeswehr's Innere Führung. This reform concept was aimed at transforming the new military into a force that respected the individual rights of the 'citizen in uniform' and the rule of law in the young democratic state. The ombudsman was to be an independent check on whether these goals were being met. His office, therefore, held practical and symbolic value as a tool for parliamentary oversight of the military and therein the extension and protection of democratic values and practices in the Federal Republic. In the summer of 1964, the current ombudsman, Hellmuth Heye, released a series of three articles in the illustrated magazine Quick claiming that Innere Führung was under threat and with it Germany's democracy. Reaction to the articles was swift and vociferous. While officials in Bonn universally disavowed the criticism, the West German public supported Heye in thousands of letters to the media. The article examines this controversy and argues that while concern was widespread, there was little consensus about a solution. Military training that was too 'hard' harkened back to the dark days of the Wehrmacht. Training that was too 'soft' created weak, selfish men. The welfare-supported, consumption-driven society was seen as much at fault as an unreformed military. Ultimately, the article examines the quest for a healthy male who could serve as both a democratic citizen and a soldier.

(2) 2018

Ofer Ashkenazi

Transnational Anti-war Activity in the Third Reich: The Nazi Branch of the New Commonwealth Society, pp. 207–228

Founded by Lord David Davies in 1932, the New Commonwealth Society (NCS) was an anti-war organization with members in thirty-eight countries around the globe. Its principles included the establishment of an international equity tribunal, which would arbitrate international disputes, and a world police to enforce the tribunal's decisions. Essentially, the organization sought effective means to restrict national sovereignty in order to promise a sustainable world order. Its activists included prominent politicians, generals, intellectuals, religious leaders and scientists, from Winston Churchill to Hans Kelsen and Albert Einstein. Many of the leading advocates of the NCS were Jewish or renowned Nazi criticizers. Yet, according to Davies, the NCS branch in Nazi Germany was one of the most 'enthusiastic and enterprising' groups of the organization. Furthermore, the National Socialist authorities were familiar with the organization, tolerated it and at times openly supported its campaigns. This article analyses the views and activities within the NCS group in Nazi Germany and explains their origins. The NCS's efforts to restrict national sovereignty notwithstanding, its mechanism for peaceful changes in the international status quo, based on justice, was compatible with a popular sentiment in Germany, among liberals, conservatives and Nazis alike. I argue that the support of the NCS in the Third Reich was based on a distinct meaning attached in Germany to the organization's key concepts, such as equity, emergency and sovereignty. Simply put, Nazis, liberals and Jews could conceive together a system based on these concepts as long as their actual meaning was left open.

(2) 2018

Jeremy De Waal

Heimat as a Geography of Postwar Renewal: Life after Death and Local Democratic Identities in Cologne, 1945–1965, pp. 229–251

Through a case study on Cologne, this article examines an early postwar turn to local Heimat as a geography of renewal that offered visions of new postwar lives and new identities. A series of factors informed the local turn, including the decimation of home towns, loss of former local lives, elimination of the nation as a sovereign political actor and a need for local community in the face of social divisions and reconstruction. Heimat also came to the fore as a modifying force in ideas of nationhood. Rather than shedding national loyalties, the turn to Heimat involved a turn away from national struggle and towards local reconstruction to secure new civilian lives.

By reformulating local historical memory and traditions, many Heimat enthusiasts argued for values of 'Cologne democracy', 'openness to the world' and 'tolerance' as important to democratization, European unification and outsider integration. These identifications remained proscriptive, existing alongside ongoing undemocratic and exclusionary practices, while aggravating failures to come to grips with the Nazi past. At the same time, they helped disband the notion that democracy and European unification were foreign entities.

In showing how Heimat was crucial to early postwar culture, this study challenges notions of the concept as either taboo after 1945 or primarily about anti-Westernism, ruralism, repression of the past, regressive forms of environmental protection or self-victimization. It also contributes to research on West German democratization by pointing to often-overlooked popular attempts to forge identification with democracy in the early postwar years.

(4) 2018

Alex Burkhardt

Postwar 'Existential Conflict' and Right-Wing Politics in Hof an der Saale, 1918–1924, pp. 522–543

The German Right underwent profound ideological, organizational and sociological shifts in the decades prior to the founding of the Weimar Republic, becoming more virulently populist, racist and anti-Marxist. Recent research has highlighted the intensification of this process after 1919, as a result of postwar existential conflicts unleashed by the Bolshevik Revolution, the collapse of the European land empires, and the Treaty of Versailles, which created cadres of radicalized, right-wing paramilitaries who later became prominent in interwar fascist parties. But to what extent did this dynamic of existential crisis and right-wing radicalization play out in the small, provincial Protestant towns of the German provinces where most Nazi voters lived? The following article addresses this question by focusing on a single town—Hof an der Saale, in Bavarian Upper Franconia—during the half-decade after the First World War. It argues that in the months after the war the political right appeared to be dead and buried, until local and national manifestations of the existential conflicts then wracking Europe handed radical nationalists a lifeline, allowing them to plausibly reassert themselves and their discourses. In doing so, they prepared the ground for the rise of the Nazis in Hof after the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923.

(4) 2018

Sebastian Gehrig

Reaching Out to the Third World: East Germany's Anti-Apartheid and Socialist Human Rights Campaign, pp. 574–597

This article traces the East German encounter with anti-apartheid protests, the SED leadership's turn towards an international rights language of self-determination and against racial discrimination, and the eventual transformation of this state-mandated rights activism into socialist human rights language and advocacy for a human right of development. With formerly colonized countries' accession to United Nations membership, in the 1960s the tables within the United Nations seemingly began to turn in favour of the socialist bloc. GDR legal and foreign policy experts hoped to seize the moment and developed a comprehensive language of national self-determination and anti-apartheid to demonstrate the moral superiority of the East German socialist state over its West German neighbour. This new strategy sought to rally support from Asian and African states for the international recognition of GDR sovereignty. This GDR engagement with UN debates showcases how Third World revolutionary agendas in favour of national self-determination and against racial discrimination also reshaped European Cold War debates. The long-term conflicts over the drafting of a UN apartheid convention, which eventually was adopted on 23 October 1973, a month after both German states had gained full UN membership, facilitated the formation of East German ties to Africa. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, UN rights discourses therefore served the East German regime in many ways better than the Federal Republic. At least in the case of Cold War Germany, international rights language centred on self-determination, anti-apartheid and countering racial discrimination, and human rights had their public breakthrough largely due to socialist initiatives.

69 (1-2) 2018

Michael Gehler

Die Affäre Waldheim. Eine Fallstudie zur Instrumentalisierung der NS-Vergangenheit zur politischen Vorteilsverschaffung 1986–1988, pp. 67-85

Negli anni 1986-1988 il presidente federale austriaco Waldheim è stato al centro di un acceso dibattito. Il fattore scatenante era il modo in cui egli ha affrontato il suo passato bellico. Il saggio si occupa degli scopritori, dei retroscena e delle reazioni. A scandalizzarsi furono magazin giornalistici, il Congresso Ebraico Mondiale (WJC) così come parti della SPÖ e dei media internazionali. La vicenda politica ha avuto un impatto ben oltre i confini del paese e l'eco internazionale ha avuto un forte contraccolpo. L'Austria ha dovuto affrontare il passato nazista. Waldheim è stato oggetto di attenzione da parte degli Stati Uniti. Ambasciatori speciali entrarono in azione e una commissione internazionale di storici ha criticato Waldheim, che è rimasto politicamente isolato. L'FPÖ di Haider ha tratto vantaggio dal mutato clima politico interno.

69 (1-2) 2018

Christof Dipper

Das Jahr 2017 und die Periodisierung des 20. Jahrhunderts, pp. 86-99

In tre tappe si esamina dapprima la percezione contemporanea dello scoppio della guerra come rottura epocale, poi il modo in cui la storiografia si occupa della periodizzazione in generale e della periodizzazione relativa al XX secolo. Infine, l'articolo discute il ruolo del 1917. Il fatto che la prima guerra mondiale sia attribuibile in parte al XIX e in parte al XX secolo, senza che la storiografia se ne preoccupi, è confermato "dall'astinenza verso la periodizzazione della maggior parte degli storici" condannata da Osterhammel. In termini di storia militare e ideologica il 1917 è stato senza dubbio un anno epocale, in termini di storia nazionale lo è stato solo per la Russia. Fu solo dopo il 1945/50 che divenne una cesura globale nel segno della teoria sul totalitarismo; dal 1989-1990 esso ha conosciuto una fase di ripiegamento.

(1) 2018

Tobias Weidner

Begriffsgeschichte und Politikgeschichte, pp. 29-53

The article examines the significance of the history of concepts (Begriffsgeschichte) in the context of a revival of political history in German historiography since the early 2000s. These debates have been shaped by a specific concept of communication and a broad concept of the political. The article shows that both political history and the history of concepts implicitly share many of the same basic assumptions. This has served to reinforce the trend of extending the History history of concepts to historical semantics that systematically connects long-term language change and conflictive communicative situations. A variety of examples from recent research demonstrates how this trend in research has revealed significant historical shifts within the basic patterns of political communication

(3) 2018

Tim B. Müller, Hedwig Richter

Einführung: Demokratiegeschichten Deutschland (1800 –1933) in transnationaler Perspektive, pp. 325–335

When Francis Fukuyama pronounced the democratic "end of history," he conceded that "historical amnesia" might become its nemesis. A response could be the historical turn in studies of democracy discussed in the introduction to this issue, which brings together transnational perspectives on histories of German democracy before 1933. In contrast to the supposedly undisputed normative certainties associated with an idyllic age bygone, recent approaches have challenged standard accounts of democratic stability or democratic deficits inherent to specific national histories. Rather, they understand democracy as a transnational phenomenon characterized by constantly changing, contradictory, and complex constellations of ideas and practices.

(3) 2018

Hedwig Richter

Desinteresse und Disziplinierung. Die Anfänge der Demokratie im frühen 19. Jahrhundert im internationalen Vergleich – Frankreich, Preußen und USA, pp. 336–366

The integration of electoral practice into the analysis of the history of democracy allows a better understanding of what democracy meant for the people in their time. It becomes clear that modern elections were – not always, but often – forced from above. Elections served not only to legitimize power, but also supported other functions such as the disciplining of the population. Democracy, therefore, has not evolved from a single ideal, but from a conglomeration of conflicting ideas and powerful practices. Yet in spite of all the national differences, the history of elections and democracy proves to be a common, transnational history of the North Atlantic area.

(3) 2018

Margaret Lavinia Anderson

Ein Demokratiedefizit?, pp. 367–398

Negative assessments of the political trajectory of the Kaiserreich, known as the Sonderweg, originated in the dissatisfactions of contemporary German intellectuals, who measured real-existing Germany against an idealized England, France, and United States. A comparison of laws and practices shaping representation in these states shows that Germany was not democratically "deficient." Other elements central to the Sonderweg's indictment of the Kaiserreich, such as a federalism that gave disproportionate power to a politically backward region, a military outside of the control of parliament, and a decision for war in 1914 made without parliament's participation, were also not unique. Comparatively speaking, Germany did not constitute a special case.

(3) 2018

Isabela Mares

Menus of Electoral Irregularities, pp. 399-415

In many recent democracies, candidates seek to mobilize voters using a combination of clientelistic promises and coercive strategies. How pernicious do such infringements on voters' electoral autonomy appear if one compares national elections in Imperial Germany to elections in other recent democracies? In this contribution, I examine how the "menu of electoral irregularities" one encounters in German national elections between 1870 and 1912 differs from other first- and third-wave democracies. Electoral coercion perpetuated by state employees or employers remained the modal type of irregularity. By contrast, electoral irregularities that are common in other third-wave democracies, such as vote-buying, patronage or violence were remarkably absent in German national elections.

(3) 2018

Jeppe Nevers

A History of Democracy beyond National Narratives, pp. 416–429

It is often stressed that representation is the fundamental common characteristic of modern democracies. However, modern democracy is also marked by another striking characteristic: its close relationship to the modern nation state and its mythologies. This connection has had very deep, and to some extent unrecognized, implications for historians' understanding of democracy and its evolution in various contexts. This essay shows how the connection has played out in the Danish case. It concludes by arguing that conceptual history offers a perspective that can go beyond national narratives, while still being able to recognize national differences and peculiarities and relate them to transnational and epochal patterns.

(3) 2018

Tim B. Müller

Von der „Whig Interpretation" zur Fragilität der Demokratie, pp. 430–465

Historical debate on Weimar Germany has more often than not been fueled by divergences in either method or politics. By contrast, this article argues for the reconsideration of the theoretical foundations of our historical judgments on the fate and the future, the lacks and the lags of Weimar. Conventional categories and narratives of national exceptionalism still permeate many contributions on democracy in the Weimar Republic. At the same time, new approaches informed by theories of history and democracy and responsive to novel uncertainties about the stability of democracy rediscover the ambiguity, plurality, and openness of Weimar as a democracy.

(3) 2018

Adam Tooze

"Cruelly Absent Grandeur"?, pp. 466–490

This essay approaches the idea that current conceptions of history are in fact tantamount to ideas about the historical unfolding of democracy, with history and democracy having become intellectually intertwined. This observation starts with various present-day challenges and debates, but then integrates them in broader historiographic and metahistorical interpretations. A survey of some major publications on the history of democracy in Europe and the United States from the nineteenth century to the present brings together US, British, French and German perspectives on the democratic condition of our age.

(4) 2018

Jan C. Jansen

Flucht und Exil im Zeitalter der Revolutionen, pp. 495–525

The Age of Revolutions brought about political refugees as a mass phenomenon. While scholars have emphasized mutual influences between revolutions across the Atlantic and the broad horizons of the revolutionaries, they have not applied the same methodological rigor to those who opposed or fled revolutionary change. This article brings together cases from the American, the French, the Haitian and Spanish-American revolutions, and examines the geographic horizons, similarities and connections between the different refugee movements. It argues that a comparative and entangled history of these exiles provides a host of new insights on the history of the Atlantic during this period: from the reconfiguration of political communities and early forms of migration control and humanitarian assistance to the changing boundaries of freedom and new spaces of transnational politics.

(4) 2018

Benjamin Brendel

Experten von Krieg, Hass und Gewalt, pp. 526–553

National Socialism did not end in 1945. Nazi SS-experts on armament, propaganda and secret police operated in Egypt long after this year under cover of West German and US Cold War operations. German foreign policy had traditionally taken close interest in the region. Following this tradition, diplomats, many of them with Nazi backgrounds, aspired to new economic and political goals after the Second World War by maintaining contacts with those SS experts in the country. Only when the cooperation between Germany and Egypt finally failed, did West German diplomats establish diplomatic relations with Israel in 1965. A clear separation between functionary elites of the Third Reich and theWest German elites is not possible. Thus, new research should focus on the entangled and global post-war connections of National Socialist functionaries

(4) 2018

Thorsten Holzhauser

Neoliberalismus und Nostalgie, pp. 586–618

Why did neoliberalism allow for the creation of a new left-wing party in Germany? What developments and ideological reformations paved the way for the transformation of Germany's left in the decades after 1990? The article analyzes the developments in German party politics that led to the creation of today's Left Party and links them to the political-economic discourses of the 1990s and 2000s that are commonly called neoliberal. It identifies three closely interrelated factors: (1) a postideological Zeitgeist that deemed both socialist and welfare capitalist ideologies outdated; (2) the transformation and integration of center-left politics into a neoliberal reform consensus; and (3) a reorientation by German post-communists towards a nostalgic understanding of West Germany's "Rhine Capitalism," which was instrumental in the creation of East-Western left-wing alliances even before the Agenda reforms of 2003 / 04.

(4) 2018

Volker Barth, Michael Homberg

Fake News, pp. 619–642

This article investigates the technological preconditions, socio-economic contexts and creative "manufacturing" processes of fake news as a specific form of public disinformation in the nineteenth and twentieth century. While examining the crucial role of media critique during the formative years of a rapidly professionalizing journalism, it analyzes the varieties of "fakes" against the backdrop of transforming medial contexts, including the emerging popular press, early film, and radio, which form constitutive parts of our modern media system. Fakes question the production methods and distribution standards of news as well as their criteria of verification and reliability. Exploring the relation of facts and fictions, they finally set the scene for a new type of journalism around the turn of the century.

306 (1) 2018

Anselm Doering-Manteuffel

Deutschlands 20. Jahrhundert im Wandel zeithistorischer Narrative, pp. 97-120

While examining the relationship between historical processes and historical explanations, this article traces the development of contemporary German history. The first part addresses lines of continuity that were drawn between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Empire of 1871 from the outset. Simultaneously, any attempts made by the German Democratic Republic to depict itself as an independent socialist state in Germany were pushed aside. This constellation allowed historians in the 1950s to continue crafting a national narrative of German history that stressed a positive progression from Bismark to the Weimar Republic while dismissing the "Third Reich" as a "mishap" within this national continuity. The second section analyzes the effects of détente on narratives of contemporary history. As of 1969/70, both the FRG and the GDR claimed to be autonomous states. Concurrently, the notion of a unified nation-state receded behind the idea of national "identity". But, as the rivalry between the GDR and the FRG over the place of Prussia in German history around 1980 reveals, it was impossible for two opposing German "identities" to coexist. Simultaneously, the "Historikerstreit" in 1986 demonstrated that German identity on both sides of the Berlin Wall was tightly linked to the Holocaust. The third segment deals with globalization and its economic and technical components, namely neoliberalism and digitalization. Collectively, they sparked a profound transformation that loosened the hold of the nation state and parliamentary democracy. To properly understand the transnational effects of this transformation, however, the influence of religion and public law on present-day societies must be taken into account alongside political and economic factors.

306 (2) 2018

Carsten Groth, Philipp Höhn

Unwiderstehliche Horizonte? Zum konzeptionellen Wandel von Hanseraum, Reich und Europa bei Fritz Rörig und Carl Schmitt, pp. 321–353

The article examines far-reaching changes in the perception of Europe and of space more generally among German scholars of medieval history and public international law in the 1940s, changes that survived WW II and that are still with us today. Departing from the intense discussion of the figure of the pirate in the correspondence between Fritz Rörig and Carl Schmitt, two eminent scholars in their own respective fields, who met as part of the „Kriegseinsatz der Geisteswissenschaften", we inquire into the entanglements of the development of scientific concepts for historical inquiry with contemporary political questions in this period. In short, we argue that the defeat of WW I, National Socialism and, more crucially, the experience of the early military success in WW II, acted as a catalyst for these scholars, pushing them to abandon the nation state as their constant reference point in favor for political entities beyond the state. Based on their shared belief that space was socially constructed, Schmitt developed the concept of a „völkerrechtlichen Großraumordnung" which allowed him to make non-state-entities such as the postulated „Reiche", „empires", and „Großräume"

into subjects of public international law, and Rörig no longer conceived the Hanseatic League as a proto-nation state operating as part of proto-globalized world economy, conceptualizing it instead as the bearer of a European „Großraum". The vagueness of these concepts allowed for their survival and reminting after 1945. While Schmitt's ideas about space and „Reich" were rediscovered no earlier than the 1990s, Rörig's suggestions that historical phenomena such as the Hanseatic League should not be thought with reference to nation states but to Europe – ideas he had developed as a way of legitimising German conquest and expansion – continued seamlessly into the post-war era.

306 (2) 2018

Frank Uekötter

Techniker an der Macht. Der Ingenieur-Politiker im 20. Jahrhundert, pp. 396–423

This article discusses why engineers and technical experts, a group that commonly enjoyed scant representation in the political elite of Western countries, emerged in significant numbers as high-ranking politicians in Germany and the United States between 1930 and 1970. The article discusses the rise of engineers-turned-politicians with respect to their social role and the struggles over their allegiances within the profession. It also reflects on their authoritarian style of leadership and the rapid growth of the agencies that they were chairing. While professional ideologies held only marginal importance for the engineers' rise to power, the key factor was that infrastructure programs received lavish funding in the wake of the Great Depression. This allowed ambitious engineers to build dams, road networks, and other large technological systems with unprecedented speed, overwhelming existing mechanisms of political and administrative control. This situation came to an end in the post-war years when the engineers' power base was slowly eroding. The charismatic engineer-turned-politician gave way to infrastructure projects without a public face.

306 (3) 2018

Wolfgang Strobl, *„Culto della romanità" in einer Grenzregion des faschistischen Italien. Der (Sonder-)Fall Südtirol/Alto Adige*, pp. 685–720

After South Tyrol had been transferred to Italy in accordance with the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and once the fascist movement of Benito Mussolini had risen to power only a few years later, the regime embarked upon a radical policy of Italianisation and assimilation with regard to the Austrian minority. In its quest of legitimising and also of staging the Italian (or rather the fascist) regime, Roman history and Roman monuments on hand in that region were eagerly drawn upon. By means of reactivating historical memory it became possible to tie in with the glory and splendour of the Roman Empire and thereby to reframe the fascists' presence in the region as a natural consequence of returning to a hereditary dominion. The own superiority was to be asserted by analogously mirroring both the outstanding military and civilising accomplishments of the Romans, such as the construction of roads, bridges and houses, as well as the strong emphasis on a real and ideal continuity between the Roman and the fascist „Empire". Thus, not only the nationalist and irredentist Ettore Tolomei, but also a host of archaeologists, architects, civil engineers, artists, journalists and teachers in „Alto Adige" made a contribution towards reviving and spreading the „mito di Roma", the modern manifestation of which is rooted in Italian Risorgimento, and which was embraced by nationalist

groups and parties in the first decade of the twentieth century, thereby easily finding its way into fascist ideology.

307 (1) 2018

David Kuchenbuch

Ein Atavismus der Hochmoderne? Die Sommerzeit als „social engineering" (1907–1980), pp. 1–41

A hundred years after first being tested during World War One, daylight saving time is more contested than ever: Its effects on energy saving having long been disputed, and increasingly, its medical disadvantages become clear. Ironically, it was the „biopolitical" virtue of enhancing the societal utilization of solar energy that British developer William Willett pointed out to much acclaim in his 1907 pamphlet „The Waste of Daylight". Daylight saving time can thus be regarded as an example of „high-modernist" social engineering. As this article shows building on sources from Germany and Britain, the concept of daylight saving points to the increase in social (temporal) interdependency in the late 19th century, the belief of elites in their ability to shape society, as well as the rise of the state as the keeper of temporal order. But the political history of daylight saving in twentieth-century Germany also conveys that the framework for an „engineering of social time" was changing due to transnational entanglements and the growing importance of polling in politics. Both developments throw a light on the socio-cultural conditions shaping practices of „temporalizing" (Norbert Elias) by the state, which in turn hold theoretical insights for the analysis of modern time-regimes.

307 (1) 2018

Jan Eckel

„Alles hängt mit allem zusammen." Zur Historisierung des Globalisierungsdiskurses der 1990er und 2000er Jahre, pp. 42–78

This essay argues that historians should begin to explore „globalization" as a historical discourse that tells us much about how intellectuals, politicians, and journalists made sense of the world of the 1990s and 2000s – and how they attempted to shape it. As the German case reveals, the idea of globalization gained an almost irresistible plausibility since it connected (some) people's everyday experience with large-scale economic or political dynamics, provided a holistic category for understanding the world's inner workings and augured what may be called a return of history. In the political realm, globalization rhetoric proved arguably even more influential, strongly supporting the belief that the German economy and welfare state were in urgent need of reform. If historians today interpret globalization as the dominant trend of the 1990s and 2000s or even speak of the recent past as the age of globalization, they run the risk of reproducing many of the views that contemporaries developed at the time. Historicizing globalization discourse, then, also cautions against using the term as an analytical concept.

307 (3) 2018

Martijn Lak

„Die Niederlande haben kein Interesse an einem von Armut geplagten, ausgehungerten Deutschland"
Deutsch-niederländische Finanzbeziehungen 1945–1957, pp. 692–732

After he surrender of Nazi Germany in 1945, the Netherlands, which had been occupied by Germany between 1940 and 1945, put forward a number of heavy financial claims on the country: the return of partially illegal occupation costs extracted by the Germans, as well as getting hold again on its extensive pre-war investments in Germany. Especially those of the four large Dutch multinationals – Unilever, Royal Dutch Shell, Philips and AKU – were fiercely defended by the various post-war Dutch governments, which can partially be explained by these multinationals' strong political lobby. To the Netherlands as a whole, it was of the utmost importance to regain control over its possessions in Germany, as the Dutch-German economic relations were essential to the Netherlands, for without an economic recovery of Germany, the Dutch economic recovery was out of the question. The Hague above all wanted Dutch companies to be exempted from any special tax (Lastenausgleich). In the end, the General Treaty of May 1952 determined that companies of which 85 per cent or more of the shares were in Allied hands, would be exempted from these taxes for six years. Although success was limited, and relatively little was achieved, the Netherlands appeared happy with what they got, given the lack of cooperation they received from their Allies.

XVIII (69) 2018

Flaviano Bugatti Isolan

Cinema alemão no Brasil nos anos 1920 e 1930: percursos de uma polític cultural, pp. 175-206

This article aims to analyse the path of the German foreign cultural policy in relation to cinema in Brazil –which began in the 1920s and was interrupted in the early years of the Second World War–, linking the development of political and diplomatic relations and the activities of the agents of this cultural policy, such as the Ufa (Universum Film AG) and German government agencies.

XVIII (68) 2018

Nilesh Sharan

Liberation Theology in Latin America and in Iran: A Truly Transglobal and Transmodern Project, pp. 97-118

This article proposes to carry out a comparative study of Liberation Theology movements in Latin America and Iran. The purpose will be to underline the similarities between these theological movements through the works of Gustavo Gutierrez, a Peruvian theologian and Ali Shariati, from Iran. We will study their innovative interpretations of the religious concepts of Christianity and Islam, as well as the causes and consequences of these movements in their respective regions in the 1960s-80s. Furthermore we will discuss how these theologians –while grounding their teachings on their religions– utilize Marxist categories to interpret and transform their socio-political realities. The article argues that these movements show significant possibilities of being true transmodern and transnational projects of liberation, based on the theoretical framework proposed by Global South theorists like Enrique Dussel (Philosophy of Liberation).

XVIII (68) 2018

Isabela Cosse

¿Una teologia de la familia para el pueblo latinoamericano? La radicalización del Movimiento Familiar Cristiano en Argentina (1968-1974), pp. 57-75

This article seeks to understand how the Catholic family model was disrupted by the climate of the Second Vatican Council, Liberation Theology, and sociocultural modernization. The analysis focuses on the Christian Family Movement in Argentina and allows an examination of the political and cultural radicalization of a conservative organization of the upper classes (created to strengthen the Catholic family) and the theological debates on the subject of the family that were sparked by the preferential option for the poor in Latin America. The analysis reveals that radicalization challenged the very foundations of the Catholic Church's family doctrine, and, at the same time, the swift reaction of the Episcopate that restored order and defended the essentialist view of the family, an ideological cornerstone in the 1976 coup d'état.

O gênero do desejo: sexualidade e universo moral no cinema de Pedro Almodovar, pp. 179-201

This article discusses how, in the work of Pedro Almod.var, characters are constituted as moral subjects through desire. First, desire is understood as the guiding principle of the characters' actions. Second, desire appears as a structuring element of the meanings attributed to the body, gender, and sexuality. The analysis of both the ways the films are built and their regimens of visibility reveals differences in the construction of desire for each gender.

Thus, those films both disjoint some of the hegemonic cinematographic gender codes as well as reiterate old patterns, reaffirming the same structure of domination they supposedly want to displace. Ultimately, this ambiguity contradicts, or at least relativizes, the transgressive element commonly attributed to the work of this filmmaker.

1 (16) 2018

Peter Haslinger

East Central European History–Still a Strategically Important Field of Research, pp. 295–300

16 (3) 2018

Benedikt Stuchtey, Andrea Wiegeshoff

(In-)Securities across European Empires and Beyond. Mapping a New Research Field, pp. 321–334

Perceptions of security and insecurity and their associated practices present a fundamental element of European colonial and imperial history. European empires acted as producers of security and insecurity at the same time, because steps taken to protect colonial rule and order were most likely to provoke resistance and instability. Such responses to security acts could in turn become causes of renewed feeling of insecurity and consequently prompt countermeasures. The introduction discusses the multi-layered relationship between the dynamics of (in-)security, European history, and imperial history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It can therefore be rightly regarded as one of the first attempts to conceptualize the relationship between colonial/imperial history and security studies, and to formulate a theoretical and methodological framework. Connecting the perspectives of historical security studies with new developments in empire studies, we are arguing for an understanding of security as an alterable concept with its own history. In addition, we are considering competing concepts as employed by different groups in specific imperial and colonial contexts. Conflicting perceptions of being (in-) secure and actions that aim at (re-)establishing security developed transformative potentials. For this reason, studying European imperial history through the lens of «security» adds a new layer of explanation to mechanisms of European expansion and colonial order as well as to their limits. Notably coming from an inter-imperial comparison and processes of transfer, European history can thus be approached globally and as a history that is closely intertwined with developments and dynamics beyond the geographic realms of the European continent.

16 (4) 2018

Daniel Hedinger, Nadin Heé

Transimperial History - Connectivity, Cooperation and Competition, pp. 429-452

This Forum article argues that a turn in empire history is needed, one which we label «transimperial». Whereas national history has been transnationalized in recent decades, the history of empires has, by and large, remained nationalized. Since transnational history, global history, postcolonial studies and new imperial history all offer an abundance of tools to tear down imperial borders and deconstruct nationalized narratives, the moment seems to have come for a shift, namely for what we call a transimperial approach to imperial history. We seek to show how such an approach makes it possible to dynamize and decentralize the history of empires both on the level of empirical research and historiographical narratives. By including marginalized empires we offer a way to overcome British

centrism of empire studies. On the methodological level, this contribution seeks to discuss imperial competition, cooperation and connectivity not as separate phenomena but as entangled processes. The point is not to analytically isolate cooperation or competition but to shed light on how they reinforced each other and how connectivity plays into this. The article shows that a key to establishing a transimperial approach is to consider time and space together by focusing on the transformative aspect of competition, cooperation and connectivity in spaces in-between empires. In this article, we highlight transimperial histories avant la lettre, on which such an approach can rely. Finally, we discuss how this approach helps challenge essentializing master narratives in empire studies, be it the one in which the British Empire serves as a model for other empires or the one where the Japanese empire is seen as a mimicry of European imperialism.

(1) 2018

Reinhard Mehring

Krisenprismatik. Zur neueren Editionsgeschichte Carl Schmitts, pp. 9-25

The recently published volume of Carl Schmitt's diaries, covering the period between 1925 to 1929, brings the editorial project of all of his extant diaries until 1934 to a close. A synoptic edition of the fundamental work "The Concept of the Political" displays the text in all of its variants. On the occasion of these important new editions this essay reviews the recent editorial history of Schmitt's writings. It underlines the pragmatic quality of these editions, contrasting them to the historical-critical editorial method. Finally, it adds some basic considerations on Schmitt's prismatic impact on and his role in the discourse of the Weimar crisis.

(1) 2018

Bernd Lemke

Militärgeschic*hte im Vergleich: Imperien, Genozid und Kolonialkriege, circa 1860–1945. Methodische Ansätze – Forschungsergebnisse – Perspektiven*, pp. 27-66

In the last twenty years, transnational history received more and more attention. As a consequence, the main instruments of transnational history, interdependence analysis and comparison, have been established prominently and are very much in focus today. Based on recent and important publications on colonial warfare in comparison, this review essay examines how these historiographic developments can be tracked in terms of military history. After general remarks on the state of military history and comparison, the most important publications on Empires are examined concerning the role of military and war in a comparative perspective, taking into account the constantly changing state of research.

97 (1) 2018

Nicole Kramer

Der Wandel des italienischen Sozialstaats in Zeiten politischer Umbrüche, pp. 3-23

Italy is one of the countries with a history of welfare state development lasting more than a century, during which time its political history was characterized by drastic changes and severe upheavals. This article takes stock of past and recent research in this field and in doing so forms an introduction to the special section „The many faces of the welfare state. Some perspectives on the history of social security in Italy between dictatorship and democracy". The article focuses on the early days of welfare state building at the end of the 19th century and its reshaping during the two World Wars, under Fascist rule and the transition to democracy after 1945. A key aspect is the examination of the ideas and meanings that informed the emergence of the welfare state, reflecting on the fact that it was influenced by monarchism, fascism and democracy alike. Finally, it will discuss if and to what extent dynamics of change in the context of welfare state policies unfolded during times of war and political transition.

97 (1) 2018

Filippo Masina

Wutausbrüche und Bittgesuche.Kriegsheimkehrer und Entwicklung der Staatsbürgerschaft in Italien nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg: einige Fallbeispiele, pp. 24-43

The article tackles the welfare measures aimed at those injured in war in Republican Italy, but with a view to contextualizing these provisions within the broader picture of the new citizenship rights sanctioned by the Constitution of 1947. Going beyond the well-known nexus between warfare and welfare, the article reconstructs the exercise of these new rights (a genuine „right to wellbeing" that, as the „foundation for the new citizenship", has been considered one of the key points of the transition from the war to the post-war period) by a group of people often judged by the State to be deserving of the greatest attention but who often complained of institutional failure to guarantee them what was established by law. The starting hypothesis is thus that these difficulties contributed to undermining the affection of a significant number of citizens for the new democratic institutions, still extremely fragile in the early years of the post-war period. Specifically, the article analyses some cases of pension provisions, aimed at different categories of beneficiaries but suffering from identical problems: in particular the sometimes disconcerting slowness with which the General Department of War Pensions – which was, however, literally inundated with pension applications – managed these applications, to the extent that some dragged on until the 1990s. The citizen who requested a war pension (to which war invalids who had lost at least 30% of their capacity to work were entitled) often had to wait for years simply to obtain an initial response. This led to a recurrent phenomenon: recourse to a wide range of political figures and authorities requesting their intercession. Failing to perceive the force of the law, they fell back on the hope of a paternalistic generosity. Sometimes these letters – of anger and supplication – even preceded the serious delays in the administrative procedures,

thus indicating the existence of a custom whose very premises were pre-democratic. This was one sign that the realization of citizenship was still incomplete.

97 (1) 2018

Chiara Giorgi

Das faschistische System der sozialen Vorsorge im Spannungsverhältnis zwischen autoritären Maßnahmen und sozialer Integration, pp. 44-62

This paper traces some of the fundamental stages in the development of the Italian welfare state during the years of Fascism, contextualizing them both within the most recent historiographical debate and in the light of some national and international issues. As such, the national insurance and welfare policies of the Fascists are examined both within the more general context of the expansion of social policy during the 1930s (in Europe and elsewhere) and with reference to the principal Italian institutions (above all INFPS, the Istituto nazionale fascista di previdenza sociale – Fascist National Institute for Social Welfare). Above all, the text aims to highlight the central importance of the Fascist experience with respect to the historical consolidation of the Italian welfare system, whose original structure dates back to the period when the regime was established. The Fascist period laid the foundations for the so-called „individualistic-clientelist" system later developed and intensified during the post-war period and that represents, according to various historiographical voices, the most distinctive feature of the Italian experience. The conclusive facts that emerge are first that, compared to the European average, Italy succeeded in catching up in quantitative terms, increasing expenditure on social welfare and the extent of insurance coverage. However, the imprint conferred on the national social security system by the regime influenced its later development, demonstrating the central role of Fascism in determining its characteristics (and dimensions). Second, the reorganization under Fascism of the national insurance and welfare system – extending forms of coverage, increasing the number of people covered and above all systematizing it – mainly concerned management aspects. The policy of differentiating between degrees of entitlement remained unchanged or more accurately was accentuated and exploited by the regime as a form of social control. Fascism multiplied the number of diverse and differentiated forms and regimes of insurance in terms of their extent, quality and duration. The reconstruction of the history of Italian welfare during the inter-war period thus belongs to a broader context, both geographical (European and North American) and economic, political and social.

97 (1) 2018

Silvia Inaudi

Welfare und Ernährungssicherheit: Die Unterstützungsprogramme der Amministrazione per gli aiuti internazionali (Aai) von der Nachkriegszeit bis in die 60er Jahre, pp. 63-82

The article offers a critical overview of the social and welfare initiatives enacted by the Amministrazione per gli aiuti internazionali (Aai: Administration for International Aid) from the post-war period to the first half of the 1960s. This was a peculiar body in the Italian welfare context given its autonomy within the state complex and the dense network of relations established on the international level. Under the leadership of the Christian Democrat Lodovico Montini, the Aai

promoted modernization within a vision that intended to combine the tradition of social Catholicism with the modern Anglo-Saxon culture of self-help, and a model of welfare emanating from the state but respectful of private initiatives. The implementation of its programmes, with a significant focus on childhood and youth, and an emphasis on pedagogy and training, was accompanied by constant support for the professionalization of the staff working in social and welfare services. Given the highly distinctive role of the Aai within the world of Italian public welfare, an analysis of its origins and operations also means reflecting on the contradictory choices made on the issue of social intervention by the Italian government in the broader context of the intersections between welfare and the Cold War.

98 (1) 2018

Michael Thöndl

Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi, die „Paneuropa-Union" und der Faschismus 1923–1938, pp. 326-373

Initially, Coudenhouve-Kalergi conceived of „Paneuropa" as a union of democratic states. Nonetheless, already in 1923 he attempted to involve Fascism as well, considered a legitimate power in the fight against Bolshevism. As a firm adversary of National Socialism, he hoped from 1933 that Mussolini would guarantee the independence of Austria. Between 1933 and 1936 he promulgated a „Fascist Paneuropa", but the birth of the „axis" between Italy and Germany led him to – initially half-heartedly – distance himself from Fascism. Up to that point the Italian dictator and Italian diplomacy had attempted to exploit his political contacts, offering in return the possibility of publishing, in Italy, texts aimed at legitimizing the war in Ethiopia, distinguishing the Austrian from the German nation or refuting the race doctrine of the National Socialists. The Fascist secret police always considered him an incorrigible anti-Fascist. Towards the end of 1937 Coudenhouve-Kalergi published his work „The Totalitarian State against Man", moderately anti-Fascist in tone, which it was forbidden to bring to Italy. Despite this he attempted again in 1938 from his exile in Switzerland – but this time in vain – to collaborate with Fascism.

(22) 2018

Ralf Hoffrogge

Susanne Beer, *„Noch ist es Zeit der Verwirrung entgegenzutreten…“. Die Abwehr des Antisemitismus im Kaiserreich und der Weimarer Republik*, pp. 11-42

Dass der Antisemitismus in Deutschland nach der Machtübertragung an die Nationalsozialisten innerhalb kürzester Zeit durchsetzungsfähig wurde, war nicht allein Folge der brutalen Zerschlagung der politischen Opposition, der massiven Repression solidarischer Verhaltensweisen und der erfolgreichen ideologischen Durchdringung der deutschen Bevölkerung. Das Tempo, mit dem die Segregation der deutschen Bevölkerung vorangetrieben werden konnte, hing auch mit dem Zerfall institutioneller Organisationen und Strukturen zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus in der Spätphase der Weimarer Republik zusammen. Die Geschichte dieses Scheiterns nachzuzeichnen und die ergriffenen wie ausgeschlagenen Handlungsmöglichkeiten kenntlich zu machen, ist das Anliegen des folgenden Beitrags.

(22) 2018

Andreas Peglau

Vom Nicht-Veralten des „autoritären Charakters“. Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm und die Rechtsextremismusforschung, pp. 91-122

The article begins by acknowledging the pioneering achievements, with regard to the study of right-wing extremism, of the psychoanalysts and social scientists Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957) and Erich Fromm (1900–1980). These achievements, largely unknown or ignored today, are related to their historical context. The main section of the article then engages with the hypothesis that the authoritarian character is "becoming obsolete." This hypothesis, derived from the findings of the Leipzig University studies on Germany's political "center," is being defended today by the sociologist and social psychologist Oliver Decker. The article demonstrates that the arguments in favor of such obsolescence are questionable, and that it would be dangerous to underestimate the significant influence still exerted by these massively evident character structures, which are constantly being reproduced by alienated socialization and the capitalist social system.

(22) 2018

Hartmut Rübner

Antikommunismus in Aktion. Alfred Weiland, die Gruppe Neues Beginnen und die Nachrichtendienste im Systemkonflikt nach 1945, pp. 61-106

During the Cold War system conflict, both sides operated not onlywith their respective intelligence services, but also through intermediate associations. The Western intelligence services mobilized a wide range of anti-Communist "front organizations" from the right wing of the political spectrum, but also radical leftist fringe groups. For example, the Group of International Socialists (GIS), which

reemerged its their council-communist origins in the Weimar Republic, operated across the sector border of West Berlin and within the GDR in order to destabilize the totalitarian regime. This occurred with the support of US agencies. However, due to the abduction of GIS' most important activist, Alfred Weiland, the Eastern intelligence services were able to infiltrate the GIS' cross-zonal connections, which led to the destruction of the oppositional networks within the GDR. The article highlights the special role that Weiland played as a confidant of the US intelligence agencies.

(22) 2018

Rüdiger Hachtmann

Blick zurück und in die Zukunft. Die Sicht auf die „Novemberrevolution" 1919 bis 2018 und mögliche Perspektiven einer kritischen Revolutionshistoriographie, pp. 107-175

This essay was inspired by Mark Jones'monograph Founding Weimar. Violence and the German Revolution of 1918–1919 (2016). The first section of the essay highlights the relevance of this book for historical research on the revolution of 1918/19. Its second section dis-cusses relevant reviews of the monograph. The third and fourth sections focus on how different political movements, as well as the views of historians on the revolution of 1918/19, have changed within the past hundred years. Nowadays, critical historical research on the revolution has to focus on new questions. Since the outbreak of the present global economic crisis, the capitalist order has been in question. Alternative left-wing economic orders as they were developed by the German Rätebewegung (worker's council movement) in1918/19 should be discussed from a new perspective. Due to the global economic crisis, right-wing movements have gained more in-fluence over the last decade. Parliamentary democracies are progressively eroding. Jones' book is in contrast to the current academic discourse. This last can be considered to be in crisis, as it displays a limited understanding of the revolution of 1918/19 by merely regarding it as part of the success story of the Weimar Republic. Jones highlights the escalation of violence and the role proto-fascist Freikorps played as the initiators of this escalation. He also considers the political responsibility of the Social Democratic Party. Jones concludes that counter-revolutionary violence caused the founding as well the end of the Weimar Republic.

(22) 2018

Wolfgang Hien

Gesundheit als politische Kategorie. Wechselwirkungen zwischen Umwelt-, Gesundheits- und Arbeiterbewegung in der BRD der 1970er und 1980er Jahre, pp. 167-198

The protection of health has always been a stepchild of the working culture. Only since the 1970s has this tradition changed, in response to the environmental movement, Italian struggles for better working conditions and efforts to develop a critical medicine. These topics were introduced to the world of work by left-wing groups, often in open conflict with unions and works councils. The article examines cases related to chemical toxins, asbestos and other health risks and asks to what extent the struggle for better health at the workplace has been successful. Health protection and health promotion have been bureaucratized and made to conform with managerial notions of performance enhancement. Thus the core aim of the health movement – creating decent working and living conditions – remains un-achieved.

(1) 2018

Maik Herold

Fremdenfeindlichkeit im rechtspopulistischen Protest: das Beispiel Pegida, pp. 13–25

In autumn 2014, a protest movement by the name of Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident (Pegida) appeared on the streets and squares in Germany. The image presented to the outside world led to the conclusion that it was a small-minded, blatantly Islamophobic and xenophobic mob publicly displaying their diffuse fears and resentments. Nevertheless, the participants, supporters and initiators of the protest rallies always denied any xenophobic motives. In fact, they thought of themselves as the avant-garde among the citizens, who had the courage to take justified criticism generally shared by the population to the street as a public protest. By scrutinizing these two views based on existing findings this essay examines the role of xenophobia and Islamophobia for the formation and development of Pegida.

(1) 2018

Tom Mannewitz

Rechtsextreme Anti-Asyl-Proteste auf dem Höhepunkt der „Flüchtlingskrise" Sachsen im interregionalen Vergleich, pp. 27–46

In 2015/16 – at the refugee crisis' peak – Germany was facing numerous demonstrations and acts of violence – such as arson attacks, common assaults, and verbal aggressions – directly or indirectly related to the social group of refugees, their shelters, and/or the federal government's refugee policy. This article explores to which degree right-wing extremists – both partisan and non-partisan – were capable of instrumentalising the anti-asylum protests in all East German states for their own political purposes. After comparatively delineating the number of anti-asylum protests (as well as the number of participants) influenced by right-wing extremists, this contribution depicts the extremists' strategies, their aims, and their mediate and immediate political impact. Unlike the majority of media coverage, the data seem to reveal that Saxony was far from being an exceptional case in Germany's east, but an "average" region instead.

(1) 2018

Anna-Maria Haase

„Reichsbürger und Selbstverwalter" im Kontext politisch motivierter Gewalt in Sachsen, pp. 47–71

"Reichsbürgers and Selbstverwalters" have been in the focus of German national security authorities and the press since 2016. By the example of three right-wing violent felonies in Saxony between 2011 and 2016, similarities and possible crossovers with right-wing extremist groups are discussed. What are the significant common grounds and differences of politically motivated crimes committed by "Reichsbürgers and Selbstverwalters" and right-wing extremists?

(1) 2018

Sebastian Gräfe

Zwischen Parteistruktur und Subkultur Neonationalsozialisten in Sachsen und Nordrhein-Westfalen im Vergleich, pp. 73–97

Shortly after the "National Socialist Underground" (NSU) put its name on the map, six neo-Nazi groups in Saxony and North-Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) were banned. In NRW the concerned uniformly joined the party "Die Rechte". In Saxony, people joined the subcultural milieu and the youth organisation of the NPD. Being protected by the party privilege had provoked an incorporation of "free forces" into consolidated structures.

(1) 2018

Maximilian Kreter

Rechtsrock in Sachsen – Sprachrohr fremdenfeindlicher Militanz?, pp. 99–125

White-Power music was serving as the "soundtrack" of xenophobic riots in post-reunification Germany in the early 1990ies. Then it disappeared into the underground until its most recent comeback. This contribution presents an examination of the development of the scene in Germany and especially in Saxony from the beginnings to the present day. On the basis of this historical reconstruction, an analysis of the lyrics of the two Saxony based bands "Blitzkrieg" and "Heiliger Krieg" reveals which ideological, linguistic and strategic developments have occurred in the scene and how this is reflected by the songs of these bands.

(2) 2018

Thomas Raithel

Wie nah ist uns die Zwischenkriegszeit? Geschichte und Aktualität der demokratischen Staatsgründungen nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg in Deutschland, Österreich, Polen, Litauen und der Tschechoslowakei, 2, 2018, pp. 294-298

The interwar period was a phase of the formation of new states and of democratic awakening, but also a time of crises and the failure of democracies as well as the establishment of authoritarian and dictatorial systems. Until recently, it was largely overlooked by research and the general public. Given the recent increase of right-wing populist currents and authoritarian tendencies in Europe, interest has once again grown. The second "Contemporary History Podium" is thus dedicated to the question of how akin we are to the interwar period. How is it perceived in different countries which constituted themselves as democracies at the end of the First World War after the fall of the Romanov, Habsburg and Hohenzollern Empires? Also what is the relevance of this history for the present? Ota Konrád (Charles University Prague), Ekaterina Makhotina (University of Bonn), Anton Pelinka (Central European University Budapest), Thomas Raithel (Institute for Contemporary History Munich-Berlin) und Krzysztof Ruchniewicz (Willy Brandt Center, Wrocław University) look into these questions utilising the examples of Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Austria, Germany and Poland.

(4) 2018

Bernd Rother

Die SPD und El Salvador 1979 bis 1985. Linke Politik im atlantischen Dreieck von Bundesrepublik, Zentralamerika und USA, pp. 645-683

Shortly after the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship by the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in the summer of 1979, a unique political constellation emerged in El Salvador in the early 1980s. An association of guerrilla groups, which was allied with the Social Democratic Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR), attempted to overthrow the Christian Democratic led government, which was supported by the USA. Through common membership in the Socialist International, the SPD became a player within this conflict and supported the MNR. The SPD wanted to show that social revolutionary movements in the Third World could (unlike in the case of Cuba in 1959) garner help not just in Moscow, provided they were ready to acknowledge democratic principles. In doing so, the SPD was exposed to accusations of anti-Americanism and of collaborating with left-wing radicals both at home and from the USA. The activities in Central America were part of a new global strategy of the SPD. In the case of El Salvador, they finally resulted in efforts to reach a negotiated solution to the conflict, also in cooperation with the Centrist Democrat International.

(4) 2018

Susanna Schrafstetter

Zwischen Skylla und Charybdis? Münchner Juden in Italien 1933 bis 1945, pp. 576-616

Why did Jews from Germany seek refuge in fascist Italy? When did they go to Italy? How did they experience life in exile, during internment, and under German occupation? Based on the stories of 400 Munich Jews who fled to Italy between 1933 and 1940, Susanna Schrafstetter shows that emigration and flight to Italy were closely related to the expulsion of Jews of Polish background from Germany. A large percentage of the Munich Jews who arrived in Italy in 1939/40 possessed Polish passports. Whereas most foreign Jews left Italy after the promulgation of the Italian racial laws of 1938, not all of them were able to emigrate from Italy to other countries. The majority of those who remained, or were forced to remain, were interned after Italy's entry into the war in June 1940. The author describes the internment of the Munich Jews and demonstrates that nearly all of them were confronted with illness and suffering. Upon the German occupation of the Italian peninsula in September 1943, all Jews were threatened with arrest, deportation, and murder. Susanna Schrafstetter investigates regional differences in the implementation of persecution, and additionally sheds light on the heretofore insufficiently understood fate of Jewish partners in mixed marriages in Italy under German occupation.

Zeithistorische Forschungen

1/2018

Moritz Glaser

Katalonien: Region oder Nation? Der Souveränitätskonflikt in Spanien seit 1975

2/2018

Annelie Ramsbrock

Vom Schlagstock zur Sozialtherapie. Gewalt in westdeutschen Gefängnissen

Looking at prison reform in the Federal Republic of Germany, the article investigates violence as a problem in processes of creating social order, specifically the restructuring of West German society into a democratic polity. Violence was (and is) ubiquitous in detention – not only because the inmates can injure and even kill each other, but also because prisoners were exposed to potential assaults by guards. How did West Germany endeavour to contain state violence against prisoners from the late 1960s onwards, and to present even prisons as institutions that reflected the paradigm of liberalisation? To what extent did ideas and perceptions regarding legitimate and illegitimate violence change? A number of prison scandals led to increased sensitivity in media coverage and in politics regarding acts of violence in prisons. These were to be countered through new ›social rehabilitation‹ approaches, including better staff training. But the success of such approaches remained limited, the ideas controversial. To this day, prisons are places where violence is both contained and unconstrained.

3/2018

Léa Renard

Mit den Augen der Statistiker. Deutsche Kategorisierungspraktiken von Migration im historischen Wandel

How do statistics contribute to the social making of migration? What categories are involved in this process? The first part of the article outlines the historical and sociological perspective on knowledge adopted here. In the second and third parts, historical ruptures and continuities in migration categorisation are traced, looking at official statistics in the German Empire and the Federal Republic of Germany. In the German Empire, migration was used in official statistics as a category describing the movement and mobility of people. Since 2005, the term ›migration background‹ (Migrations-hintergrund) has been used in Germany as a category for the description of people themselves. The final part of the article therefore analyses the connections between this semantics of migration and integration on the one hand and past and present categorisations for refugees on the other. Besides reconstructing historical and semantic shifts, the paper aims to historically contextualise and thus reflect on the categories that are used to speak about migration and flight in research, administration and politics today.

Julia Eichenberg

Macht auf der Flucht. Europäische Regierungen in London (1940–1944)

Some 150,000 Europeans fleeing war and occupation arrived in Great Britain during World War II. Among their number were members of the former European governments, administrations, political elites, armed forces and royal dynasties. National committees and governments in exile were formed from their ranks, seeking to uphold the national sovereignty of their countries despite the German occupation and to join forces as allies to defeat Hitler. They lived and worked in central London in close proximity to one another. In legal terms, most members of the governments in exile arrived in London as individual refugees; they largely left the city as members of recognised governments. A closer exploration of the ›London Moment‹, this formative phase in European politics, questions the supposed dichotomy between power and powerlessness and helps us reflect on flight and those forced to flee. The article looks at the development of the legal status of émigrés and follows four individuals from their arrival as refugees to becoming established in London.

66 (2) 2018

Peter Hoffmann

Gespalten seit Jahrhunderten – die Ukraine, pp. 107-125

L'inasprimento dei contrasti in Ucraina – da un lato le misure del governo Porošenko contro la popolazione russofona in Ucraina, dall'altro l'annessione della Crimea da parte della Russia – è un tema attuale, che da tempo ricorre nel dibattito mediatico. Tendenzialmente però non viene menzionato il fatto che i conflitti odierni abbiano radici storiche lontane, tanto che questo aspetto è spesso poco evocato anche dagli storici di professione. Oltre a ciò, molti specialisti di storia dell'Europa orientale concentrano i loro studi sull'età contemporanea e, geograficamente, sull'ampio spazio russo e non sono quindi nella posizione di poter valutare alcune questioni, più specifiche e talvolta controverse, relative al passato ucraino. Colmare questa lacuna è dunque l'obiettivo del saggio, che nasce dall'idea che uno sguardo storico possa essere utile alla risoluzione delle controversie odierne.

66 (5) 2018

Gisela Bock

100 Jahre Frauenwahlerecht: Deutschland in transnationaler Perspektive, pp. 395-412

In occasione del centenario del suffragio femminile in Germania, questo articolo si propone di indagarne le tappe storiche e ricostruirne il contesto. In particolare, le riflessioni dell'autrice si focalizzano su due ambiti: da un lato quello delle commemorazioni legate al tema del suffragio femminile, dall'altro quello che riguarda i caratteri del processo che ha portato alla partecipazione politica delle donne. Entrambi questi aspetti mostrano una dimensione transnazionale del percorso verso il suffragio femminile, che è parte della più ampia storia della democrazia e ne ha caratterizzato lo sviluppo fino alla sua attuale conformazione. Con democrazia non ci si riferisce solo alle elezioni in quanto espressione del "potere del popolo", ma anche ai diritti fondamentali, alla divisione dei poteri, alla tutela delle minoranze, allo stato di diritto. Lo stato di diritto e le legislazioni, infatti, possono assumere molteplici forme nel corso della storia, soprattutto in relazione ai rapporti di genere, in primo linea nell'ambito del diritto matrimoniale e della famiglia. Il lungo e complesso percorso verso il suffragio femminile a partire dal 19° secolo, dunque, si è intrecciato in diversi modi al processo di democratizzazione, proprio per questo il saggio tratta, in senso lato, anche di democrazia.

66 (12) 2018

Nicola Labanca

Den Krieg erinnern. Der Erste Weltkrieg in einhundert Jahren italienischer Vergangenheitspolitik, pp. 993-1015

Il dibattito pubblico e accademico sulla Grande guerra, le cause e le sue possibili conseguenze si aprì, in Italia, già durante la guerra stessa. Vent'anni dopo la sua conclusione, lo storico Piero Pieri pubblicò una ricca bibliografia delle pubblicazioni italiane sulla Grande guerra e, in seguito, nel 1965, uscì un suo volume sull'Italia nella Prima guerra mondiale. Per ricostruire il percorso della memoria della Grande guerra nel corso degli ultimi cent'anni e chiarire i cambiamenti che essa ha subito in questo lasso di tempo l'autore propone l'immagine di un cantiere. La politica della memoria italiana, infatti, può essere paragonata alla veduta di un cantiere, che muta continuamente con il progredire dei lavori, così come l'intera costruzione è in continua evoluzione. Allo stesso modo anche l'oggetto e il contenuto della cultura pubblica della memoria sono cambiati dalla fine della guerra nel 1918 ad oggi.

Claudio Natoli

Der italienische Faschismus und die Judenverfolgung: zwischen Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung, pp. 1016-1028

Le storie del fascismo e del nazionalsocialismo sono state indagate raramente in chiave comparativa. Wolfgang Scheider e Enzo Collotti sono tra i pochi storici che si sono occupati a fondo di questo tema. Tuttavia, l'analisi comparativa è proficua almeno da due punti di vista: da un lato permette di evidenziare la dimensione internazionale ed europea del periodo interbellico e a seguire quello della Seconda guerra mondiale; dall'altro lato pone l'attenzione sull'appartenenza di fascismo e nazismo alla stessa famiglia politica, aspetto che certamente non esclude particolarità e differenze tra i due fenomeni. Questo aspetto è comprovato dall'osservazione dell'antisemitismo e della persecuzione degli ebrei nei due paesi, che furono caratterizzati inizialmente da diversi metodi e dinamiche, ma, nella fase finale della Seconda guerra mondiale, da una sempre più stretta collaborazione tra i regimi tedesco e italiano.

René Moehrle

Architektur im italienischen Fascismus. Zwischen Ideologie und neuer Ästhetik, pp. 1029-1048

Obiettivo di questo saggio è mettere in luce le connessioni tra architettura e politica nell'Italia fascista durante il governo di Mussolini (1922-1945). A tale proposito vengono analizzati gli attori storici coinvolti, le loro ideologie, i percorsi di vita e le loro funzioni. In particolare, vengono presi in esame quattro movimenti architettonici: il neoclassicismo, il futurismo, il novecento e il razionalismo. Questi hanno segnato il passaggio dell'Italia alla modernità attraverso progetti radicali, ma innovativi. Le fonti utilizzate per la ricerca, ancora poco esplorate dalla storiografia, sono i manifesti e le pubblicazioni dei succitati gruppi e dei loro attori, così come delle loro funzioni, carriere e reti. Che peso ebbe l'influenza di Mussolini su questa scena? Si può parlare di «architettura fascista»?

GRAN BRETAGNA

Luc-André Brunet

The Creation of the Monnet Plan, 1945–1946: A Critical Re-Evaluation, pp. 23-41

Drawing on an extensive range of French archival sources as well as Jean Monnet's papers, this article challenges several commonly held views regarding the establishment of the Monnet Plan by re-examining the domestic political context in post-war France. It reveals that the distinctive 'supra-ministerial' structure of the Monnet Plan was developed only after, and in direct response to, the October 1945 legislative elections in which the French Communist Party won the most seats and subsequently gained control of France's main economic ministries. Furthermore, Monnet managed to convince communist ministers to surrender important powers from their ministries to Monnet's nascent planning office on false premises, a finding that challenges the usual depiction of Monnet as an open and honest broker.

Antonin Cohen

Why call it a 'European Community'? Ideological Continuities and Institutional Design of Nascent European Organisations, pp. 326-344

This article challenges the idea that the Schuman Declaration of 9 May 1950 was a break with ideologies of the past. It traces the political economy of the declaration from the interwar to the post-war period. It reconstructs the conceptions of economics and politics that underlay the proposal, tracing them back to the once influential corporatist and communitarian 'third way' ideology. It then shows that the original intent of the declaration was nevertheless crushed by a powerful dynamic of institutionalisation of transnational parliamentarianism. Thus, the article demonstrates the effects of long-lasting cleavages on the institutionalisation of European organisations.

Tobias Hof

From Extremism to Terrorism: The Radicalisation of the Far Right in Italy and West Germany, pp. 412-431

Since the 1960s in Italy and Germany the notion has prevailed that 'the state' has given support to right-wing terrorism. This article challenges such views by examining the internal dynamics of right-wing terrorism in both countries with reference to Ehud Sprinzak's theory of 'split delegitimisation'. To explain the different scale of Italian and West German terrorism one must analyse personnel continuities, the nature of the perceived 'communist threat', as well as the national political culture. Thus, without neglecting state support for the far right, this article emphasises how the internal

dynamics of terrorist groups respond to political and social frameworks. Only if we acknowledge that right-wing terrorist groups possess their own agency can we fully understand their development. This is even more urgent in a time when – once again – the far right is on the rise in Europe.

Steve Wood

Das Deutschlandbild: National Image, Reputation and Interests in Post-War Germany, pp. 651-673

This article examines post-war (West) Germany's attempt to address national stigma and gain international acceptance. It surveys three domains: public relations, Foreign Cultural Policy (Auswärtige Kultur Politik) and bilateral relations with France and the United States. By the 1970s, although some images of 'Germany' were still negative, on a global scale its underlying reputation was remarkably positive. The complex of political actions involved was a pioneering example of 'nation branding'.

133 (560) 2018

Matthew S. Seligmann

A Service Ready for Total War? The State of the Royal Navy in July 1914, pp. 98-122

In early 1914 Britain's naval leadership decided to call a conference of flag officers at which the most pressing issues then facing the Royal Navy could be aired and discussed. The conference was scheduled for the end of July 1914. Owing to the European crisis that erupted at just the very moment when it was supposed to take place, the conference was never held. However, the bulk of the paperwork still exists. This documentation provides a unique snapshot of the thinking of Britain's key naval commanders on strategic, tactical and materiel considerations at the very moment when they were about to embark upon the most serious of examinations, the test of a major war. This article uses these files to evaluate the extent to which the Royal Navy was aware of the challenges that were about to confront it and the strengths and weaknesses that would aid or hinder them in this task. It thereby assesses the service's readiness for total war, concluding that it was far from the conservative body of popular caricature.

133 (562) 2018

Edward Owens

All the World Loves a Lover: Monarchy, Mass Media and the 1934 Royal Wedding of Prince George and Princess Marina, pp. 597-633

This essay examines the little-studied 1934 royal wedding of Prince George, Duke of Kent, the youngest surviving son of George V and the famously glamorous Princess Marina of Greece to argue that the British media projected this event on a scale, and in ways, never seen before. More than on any previous occasion it was a royal event driven by intimate publicity, and by a coterie of courtiers, clerics and newsmen who were committed to elevating a 'family monarchy' as the emotional centre-point of national life. I suggest that this celebration of royal domesticity engendered popular support for the House of Windsor in a period characterised by political turbulence at home and abroad. In this vein, I argue that social elites orchestrated royal family events as mass mediated nation-building exercises designed to create loyal subjects to the Crown, and that new technologies transformed how media audiences and royalty interacted with one another.

133 (562) 2018

Bernhard Rieger

Making Britain Work Again: Unemployment and the Remaking of British Social Policy in the Eighties, pp. 634-666

Faced with persistently high unemployment in the first half of the 1980s, the Conservative government fundamentally recast the social policies directed at those who were out of work. Rather than regarding them as victims of economic problems beyond their control, Thatcher and her allies

came to view the unemployed themselves as an economic problem because they allegedly lacked sufficient motivation to take up paid employment. In response, the government implemented measures that required the unemployed to play a more active role in changing their employment status. In particular, it designed new disciplinarian welfare regulations to force the unemployed onto the labour market irrespective of the incomes that available positions offered. Drawing on the national press, memoirs, parliamentary debates and official archival records, this article explores the motivations behind the gradual implementation of changes in social policy that redefined the social citizenship of millions of Britons by exposing those out work to market mechanisms. In addition to espousing market rationales, Thatcher pursued a culturally conservative project of moral reform that aimed to reinvigorate the virtues of hard work, thrift, and self-dependence. This neoliberal welfare regime had significant material consequences because it intentionally promoted low-wage labour, thereby stoking rising social inequality in Britain in the Eighties.

Matthew Grant

The Trial of Neville Heath, the Popular Press, and the Construction of the Memory of the Second World War in Britain, 1945-1946, pp. 1155-1177

This article uses the press coverage of the sensational 1946 trial of Neville Heath for murder as a case-study for exploring how the memory of the Second World War in Britain was constructed in the immediate post-war period. Historians of Europe have described how painful narratives of occupation and defeat were suppressed, and more positive memories of timeless national values highlighted, in order to aid the reconstruction of national identity and gender relations. Although Britain had not experienced such upheaval, the nation did face troubling questions about the consequences of the war for criminality and violence. The popular press, however, discussed such issues in ways which did not call into question the central narratives of the 'people's war'. The trial of Heath highlights how questions concerning violence in Britain could be resolved: whereas post-war violent crime was understood in terms of short-term social dislocation rather than the psychological impact of the war, Heath's sadistic violence was discussed using language which made it readily comparable to the German and Japanese war crimes being featured at the same time. As such, Heath was understandable as an individual, pathologised 'type' rather than as a symbol of the post-war British veteran.

Gareth Stockey

Repression, Rivalry and Racketeering in the Creation of Franco's Spain: The Curious Case of Emilio Griffiths, pp. 34-60

This article charts the personal history of Emilio Griffiths Navarro, a key individual in the Francoist administration in the Campo de Gibraltar (Cádiz province) during the early months of the Spanish Civil War. Griffiths is used as a case study to analyse the dynamics of Francoist repression in Southern Spain, and in particular the construction of what Rúben Serém has referred to as the 'kleptocratic state' that Franco's fellow conspirator, General Queipo de Llano, constructed in the South. The article reaffirms the degree to which personal networks, personal rivalries and personal gain played a role in the Francoist repression. As a local case study, it also notes the unique conditions provided by rebel Spain's border with British Gibraltar, and how this shaped the nature and extent of that repression. The article charts Griffiths' own demise, from senior rebel official to arrest and unexplained death at the hands of Francoist security forces just 10 months later, and uses the mystery to further speculate as to rivalries and repression in early-Francoist Spain.

Ana Antić

Living in the Age of Axis Internationalism: Imagining Europe in Serbia Before and During the Second World War, pp. 61-91

This article explores how 'European civilization' was imagined on the margins of Europe in the first half of the twentieth century, and how Balkan intellectuals saw their own societies' place in it in the context of interwar crises and World War II occupation. It traces the interwar development and wartime transformation of the intellectual debates regarding the modernization of Serbia/Yugoslavia, the role of the Balkans in the broader European culture, and the most appropriate path to becoming a member of the 'European family of nations'. In the first half of the article, I focus on the interwar Serbian intelligentsia, and their discussions of various forms of international cultural, political and civilizational links and settings. These discussions centrally addressed the issue of Yugoslavia's (and Serbia's) 'Europeanness' and cultural identity in the context of the East–West symbolic and the state's complex cultural-historical legacies. Such debates demonstrated how frustrating the goal of Westernization and Europeanization turned out to be for Serbian intellectuals. After exploring the conundrums and seemingly insoluble contradictions of interwar modernization/Europeanization discussions, the article then goes on to analyse the dramatic changes in such intellectual outlooks after 1941, asking how Europe and European cultural/political integration were imagined in occupied Serbia, and whether the realities of the occupation could accommodate these earlier debates. Serbia can provide an excellent case study for exploring how the brutal Nazi occupation policies affected collaborationist governments, and how the latter tried to make sense of their troubled inclusion in the racial ideology of the New European Order under the German leadership. Was Germany's propaganda regarding European camaraderie taken seriously by any of the local actors? What did the

Third Reich's dubious internationalism mean in the east and south-east of Europe, and did it have anything to offer to the intelligentsia as well as the population at large?

Miguel Ángel del Arco Blanco

Before the Altar of the Fatherland: Catholicism, the Politics of Modernization, and Nationalization during the Spanish Civil War, pp. 232-255

Catholicism has occupied a central place in debates concerning the nature of Francoism. Conventionally, scholars have suggested that the traditional, archaic elements of the Franco Dictatorship made it markedly different from other fascist regimes. This article explores the crucial role that Catholicism played in the popular mobilization, unification, and nationalization of rebel supporters during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Instead of focusing on an analysis of the discourse of the Catholic Church and its interactions with the politics and institutions of the 'New State', this study concentrates on Catholicism's role in generating social support for the regime. First, it examines the religious services and practices that occurred on the battlefronts. It then deals with events on the rebel home front. It argues that during the Spanish Civil War, Catholicism became a force that united, mobilized, and forged both individual and national Francoist identities.

Chris Millington

Getting Away with Murder: Political Violence on Trial in Interwar France, pp. 256-282

This article examines the trial and punishment of men and women involved in violence in a political context in interwar France. The law courts offered parties and leagues a staging ground to further expose the brutality of their enemy and skewer the alleged partiality of the democratic Third Republic. The investigation and punishment of such crimes encountered important obstacles, from the reluctance of witnesses to speak to the police to the practice of trial by jury, which contemporaries recognized frequently led to unsatisfactory verdicts. Acquittals, such as those of the killers at the rue Damrémont in 1925 and at Hénin-Liétard in 1934, provoked outrage in the partisan press. Yet juries brought with them to the courtroom an understanding that, in certain circumstances, extreme violence was legitimate. Analysis of the cases of those French who 'got away with murder' thus reveals broader attitudes to politically motivated violence in interwar France.

Paul Preston

Britain and the Basque Campaign of 1937: The Government, the Royal Navy, the Labour Party and the Press, pp. 490-515

The policy of the British Conservative government towards the Spanish Civil War reflected the general policy of appeasement of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. It was influenced by a belief that the legitimate Spanish Republican Government was the puppet of extreme left Socialists and

Communists. Accordingly, the British Cabinet adopted a policy of benevolent neutrality towards the military insurgents, with the covert aim of avoiding any direct or indirect help to the Popular Front Government. The official British line on the Spanish crisis was one of non-intervention despite awareness of the scale of German and Italian aid to the military rebels. The contradictions and deceit behind non-intervention were finally exposed by the humiliations suffered by the British government during the war in the Basque Country in the spring and early summer of 1937. Franco's attempts to prevent the delivery of sea-borne food supplies to a starving Bilbao challenged the Government's responsibility to protect British merchant shipping. At first, London accepted the rebel contention that they had effectively blockaded Bilbao and that Royal Navy protection of merchant shipping constituted intervention on the side of the Republic. On the basis of information supplied by the Times correspondent, George Steer, a campaign was mounted in parliament and the press which forced the government into a humiliating volte-face.

Evdoxios Doxiadis

Resurrecting the Law: State Formation and Legal Debates in Nineteenth-Century Greece, pp. 629-657

This paper discusses the legal debates of nineteenth-century Greece and the attempts to produce a legal framework following the establishment of the modern Greek state. These debates had both a practical significance since such a framework was essential for the creation of a modern state, and an ideological one since the chosen framework would be a statement about how the new state perceived itself, its history, and its place in Europe. These questions were particularly relevant in the case of civil law as Greek legal scholars contemplated whether to accept the use of customary law, or to reject it, and if so what laws should replace it. In this paper, I examine this debate within the context of European legal developments and the process of codification undertaken throughout Europe from the late eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, as well as the ideological and practical implications of the debate.

I argue that, despite the belief that the efforts of Greek legal scholars led to the elimination of the use of customary law from the Greek judicial system, my research in the archival material of the Appeals Court of Athens indicates that customary law was still dominant a generation after the establishment of the modern Greek state. I conclude that a re-examination of the role and practices of the Greek courts in the nineteenth century is much needed as their flexibility thirty years after the creation of the Greek state is closer to the legal pluralism of the courts of the Ottoman period than to the model advocated by the contemporary legal scholars who demanded a 'modern' judicial system to assist the renaissance of the Greek nation.

Alex R. Tipei

Audience Matters: 'Civilization-Speak', Educational Discourses, and Balkan Nationalism, 1800-1840, pp. 658-685

This article tracks how political and intellectual leaders from south-eastern Europe used the concept of civilization, or a particular type of 'civilization-speak', from the end of the eighteenth century through the mid-nineteenth century. It compares and contrasts how they employed civilization-speak in different linguistic milieus – French, Modern Greek, and Romanian – and how they deployed it to further changing political aims during a period of political upheaval in the Balkans. It traces how civilization-speak served initially as a tool for extracting support from west European, especially French, patrons, and was later refashioned into a rhetorical instrument of nationalism. This study places the intellectual and political history of south-eastern Europe during the era in a pan-European context and adds nuance to discussions about the development of nationalism in the region.

M. Roberts

Daniel O'Connell, Repeal and Chartism in the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, pp. 1-39

J. Gumz

International Law and the Transformation of War, 1899-1949: the Case of Military Occupation, pp. 621-660

23 (2) 2018

Jean-Guy Prévost

Statisticians, economists and the 'new economic order' in wartime Italy (1940–1943), pp. 156-175

23 (2) 2018

Maddalena Gretel Cammelli

The legacy of fascism in the present: 'third millennium fascists' in Italy, pp. 199-214

23 (2) 2018

Fiona M. Stewart

Guerra civile: experience, memory and contrasting histories of the Resistance in Italy, pp. 293-312

23 (1) 2018

Benjamin De Cleen

The conservative political logic: a discourse-theoretical perspective, pp. 10-29

In contrast to other core constituents of modern politics, conservatism has not been the object of much discursive-constructivist rethinking. Inspired by Laclau's work and by Glynos and Howarth's discourse-theoretical development of the notion of logics, this article sets out to identify the conservative political logic. Conservative politics, it argues, articulate demands as conservation, envisaged as a process of ensuring the desirable continuity of the social order between past, present and future, in opposition to a (demand for) change that is argued to constitute a dislocatory threat to the continuity of the social order. The conservative political logic interpellates citizens as members of that threatened social order, and presents conservative politics as the way to protect this threatened social order. Building on a critical discussion of dominant approaches to conservatism, the article proposes to identify the more formal logic that structures conservative rhetoric as an alternative for a substance-based ideological definition of conservatism. The distinctiveness of the discourse-theoretical perspective on conservative politics becomes more pronounced as the article moves on to argue that conservatism discursively constructs changes as threats to the social order, and, finally, shows how conservative politics discursively construct and reproduce the social order they (cl)aim to conserve.

23 (2) 2018

Thomas Jeffrey Miley

The nation as hegemonic project, pp. 183-204

This article argues that the nation is best conceived as a hegemonic project. It starts with a discussion of the dialectical intertwining of the categories of nationhood and nationalism, and continues with a treatment of the analytical distinction and historical relationship between states and nations. It sketches the rise of and problems with the principle and practice of 'self-determination' in the post-Wilsonian world, and seeks to problematize still-influential Leninist-cum-Stalinist dogmas regarding the 'self-determination' of nations. It concludes with an extended consideration of Benedict Anderson's sophisticated neo-Marxist apology for nationalist politics and ideology. It takes Anderson to task on three related counts: for paying insufficient attention to power relations; for underestimating the affinities between nationalism and racism; and for denying the intimate connection between nationalism and fascism.

23 (1) 2018

Ester Lo Biundo

Radio Londra 1943-1945: Italian society at the microphones of the BBC, pp. 35-50

Propaganda from the BBC directed at Italy during the Second World War played a dual role. The 'Radio Londra' programmes, on the one hand a propaganda tool of the British government and on the other moral support to many Italians, are part of the cultural heritage of the war. This article explores what topics and types of programme were broadcast during the period of the Allied occupation of Italy (1943–1945) in order to engage the support of different social categories, including ordinary men and women, soldiers, factory workers, former Fascists, and intellectuals. The first part analyses some of the programmes in order to determine their propaganda strategies, while the second part focuses on the letters sent by listeners in Italy to the BBC broadcaster Colonel Stevens. It will be seen how both the use of cultural stereotypes and the attention to the detail of daily life for Italian civilians contributed to the success of the programmes.

23 (1) 2018

Walter Stefano Baroni

Paradoxes of the self: the autobiographical construction of the subject in the Italian Communist Party and in Italian neo-feminism, pp. 69-84

This article compares the autobiographical practices used by the Partito Comunista Italiano (PCI) in the aftermath of the Second World War with those developed by Italian neo-feminism from the late 1960s onwards. The former involved a repeated injunction for activists to write about and express themselves upon joining the party, in what amounted to self-criticism. The latter, meanwhile, took shape as a result of self-consciousness exercises practised by feminist groups in various cities across Italy. The terms of comparison of this article aim to describe what changed and what remained the same in the technologies used to produce the political self within the Italian Left in the twentieth century, beginning from its split in the 1960s. In this context, the paper reveals that the communist and feminist experiences were supported by the same discursive mechanism, which hinged on a paradoxical enunciation of the self. Communist activists and feminists thus faced the same difficulty in political self-expression, which was resolved in two different ways, both equally unsatisfactory. In conclusion, examining the communist autobiographical injunction allows a radical critical reappraisal of the idea that the use of the first person and the political affirmation of subjectivity are determining features exclusively bound to the feminist experience.

23 (2) 2018

Stefania Voli

(Trans)gender citizenship in Italy: a contradiction in terms? From the parliamentary debate about Law 164/1982 to the present, pp. 201-214

This article concerns the processes of normalisation and medicalisation of transgender people's experiences in Italy. Drawing on the analysis of the parliamentary debate which led to the endorsement of Law no. 164/1982, 'Rules Concerning the Rectification of Sex-Attribution', the article will foreground the (still) existing contradictions between trans people's (ostensible) individual rights over their own gendered bodies, as enshrined in law, and their subjection to medico-legal supervision and control. Next, it will look at the relationship between transgender experience and the notion of citizenship: in particular, it will explore the opportunities and contradictions in the possibility of trans citizenship in the current Italian context.

Diego Gavini

Funerals of mafia victims, 1963-2012: the construction of a new civil religion, pp. 253-267

Political and criminal violence are an integral part of recent Italian history. Killings and mass murders have moulded everyday life and the collective memory of the Italian people, changing the shape of public life. Veneration of the dead has taken on a symbolic function and become part of a new 'civil religion', which has redefined Italy's national identity. Scholars are currently examining the role of mafia victims in this phenomenon, concentrating in particular on the bombings that took place in 1992. Following the crisis that marked the end of the First Republic, symbolic ties to figures like Giovanni Falcone and Paolo Borsellino became an essential aspect of redefining democratic mobilisation. Nevertheless, when examined from a long-term perspective, the relationship between the Italian population and the celebration of mafia victims is more complex than it may at first appear. This article aims to analyse the contradictions inherent in the issue, focusing on the funerals of mafia victims in order to examine the relationships between political and institutional bodies, the Italian population as a whole, and the local community, in the celebration of the dead. Through this analysis, it seeks to consider both the achievements and failures in the construction of this new 'civil religion' in a contemporary society.

Janet Sanders

'The fiery circle of temptation: opt, opt': why a minority of Italian Military Internees chose to cooperate with the Nazi-Fascists, pp. 269-282

Between 8 September 1943 and the end of the war, Italian Military Internees were confronted daily with a stark choice between continued resistance and opting to assist the Reich by fighting or working. Extraordinarily, over 600,000 said no, and endured internment or forced labour until they were liberated or died. Paradoxically, the minority who made the more predictable choice of opting to cooperate, the so-called optanti, constituted an anomaly. This article examines their motivation by giving an overview of the political background, the experience of deportation, the Lager environment and the phases and methods of propaganda. Primary sources indicate that hunger was a common denominator in their decision, but that the weight of other factors, which varied with individuals, broadly speaking fell into three categories: bleak honesty, specious cynicism and maverick idealism.

These categories are illustrated by four case studies: the mass adhesion at Biala Podlaska and the individuals Pietro Faraci, Tranquillo Frigeni and Remo Faustini.

Paolo Saporito

Cultural memory against institutionalised amnesia: the Togliatti amnesty and Antonioni's I Vinti, pp. 299-313

This article studies post-war Italy's forgetful attitude towards its Fascist past by interpreting a political measure, the Togliatti amnesty (1946), and 1950s film censorship as 'institutionalised forms of (…) amnesia' (Ricoeur 2004, 452). The amnesty, which erased the Fascists' legal responsibility for war and political crimes, represented the first act of oblivion of the Republican political establishment, embodying a forgetful mindset that influenced Italian culture through institutional instruments like film censorship. In 1950s Italy, censorship acted as a further form of institutionalised amnesia aimed at erasing from films the traces of the compromising continuity between the Fascist past and the democratic present. The story of the making and unmaking of the Italian episode of I vinti by Michelangelo Antonioni is a meaningful example of this dynamic. Producers and government commissioners censored the plot and changed it from a story about a neo-fascist militant to one about a young bourgeois who smuggles cigarettes. However, Antonioni resisted the institutional imposition to forget by choosing locations where the material dimension of the landscape still embodied the Fascist legacy of the country.

Paolo Foradori, Giampiero Giacomello

Fighting nuclear proliferation through education. The remarkable story of ISODARCO, pp. 331-344

Disarmament and non-proliferation education is a key tool in curbing the spread of nuclear weapons, with a view to their elimination. This article examines the remarkable story of the International School on Disarmament and Research on Conflicts (ISODARCO) on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary of continuous engagement in educational and training activities. ISODARCO offers a unique forum where nuclear experts from different backgrounds and approaches can meet, debate, and promote action as a transnational knowledge-based network of experts and, equally important, pass on their expertise to the 'next generation of non-proliferation specialists'. The contribution of this small Italian NGO is indeed noteworthy, highly praised at the national and especially international level, and worth the attention of an audience broader than just non-proliferation and security experts.

Nina Valbousquet

Race and faith: the Catholic Church, clerical Fascism, and the shaping of Italian anti-semitism and racism, pp. 355-371

In this essay, I argue that despite the Vatican's condemnation of Nazi racism as an anti-Christian ideology, some Catholic sectors in Fascist Italy were not impervious to anti-semitic and racial prejudices. Looking at the discussion on race and anti-semitism in the propaganda of clerical Fascism and its simultaneous echo in Church discourses, this research delves deeper into the formation of a specific Catholic trend of racial anti-semitism that excluded Jews from a religiously and ethnically homogeneous definition of the Italian nation. A significant part of the propagandists of clerical Fascism attempted to define a racial and anti-semitic narrative that could be suitable for both Fascist racism and Italian Catholic culture. I examine the Catholic appropriation of racial anti-semitism on a broad spectrum of positions, ranging from Catholics who only flirted with racialist rhetoric to those who dismissed the transformative value of conversion because of alleged racial barriers. Challenging the traditional distinction between Christian anti-Judaism and modern anti-semitism, the examples under examination demonstrate the entanglement of religious and racial arguments in the shaping of a 'Jewish race' that was considered foreign to the italianità celebrated by the regime.

Valeria Deplano

Within and outside the nation: former colonial subjects in post-war Italy, pp. 395-410

After Mussolini's regime collapsed, Italy rebuilt itself as a nation and a democracy. The Republican Constitution approved in 1948 rejected the ideologies of both racism and racial discrimination, which had been strengthened and made harsher by Fascism since the mid-1930s. Yet, despite this, racism and racialisation continued in the post-Fascist years. The article analyses how the presence of former colonial subjects in Italy between the 1940s and 1960s was perceived, represented and managed, and demonstrates that the hegemonic discourse of the post-war period still considered Italy to be a white and ethnically homogeneous nation. It considers the stories of people from Libya and Eritrea who applied for Italian citizenship and the life in Italy of some Somali students in the 1960s. From different perspectives, these case studies show how in republican Italy inclusion and exclusion, as well as concepts of identity and otherness, were the consequence of processes of racialisation and ideas inherited from the previous period.

Gaia Giuliani

Razza cagna: mondo *movies, the white heterosexual male gaze, and the 1960s–1970s imaginary of the nation*, pp. 429-444

This article investigates the role, reception, and socio-cultural, political relevance of *mondo* movies in the context of late 1950s-early 1980s film and documentary. The *mondo* genre debuted with reportage films about sexuality in Europe and reached its pinnacle with Gualtiero Jacopetti's assemblage films. The historical context in which this genre evolved, and white masculinity was rearticulated and positioned at the centre of the national imagined community, is mapped focusing both on gender and race constructions and on the *gaze* identifying, encoding and decoding the sensationalist presentation of postcolonial/decolonising Otherness. A brief review of some of the author's published work on 1962-1971 *mondo* movies introduces *Cannibal Holocaust* (1979) and

director Ruggero Deodato's controversial reflection on the white, capitalist, sexist, Western and neo-colonial anthropological gaze.

Silvana Patriarca

The invisibility of racism: on the reception of Giovanni Vento's Il Nero *and Antonio Campobasso's* Nero di Puglia*, 1967-1982*, pp. 445-459

This essay explores attitudes towards home-grown anti-black racism in Italy from the 1960s to the early1980s by focusing on the reception of Giovanni Vento's *Il Nero*, a 1965 film that depicts the everyday lives of two biracial Italians born at the end of the Second World War from encounters between Italian women and non-white Allied soldiers, and of Antonio Campobasso's *Nero di Puglia*, a partly autobiographical book by one of these biracial Italians, published in 1980. Campobasso's powerful text, which denounced the hypocrisies of the Republic, received some acknowledgement in the intellectual community, but the lenses that the cultural critics used to interpret the text impeded a foregrounding of the racism that the book denounced. Giovanni Vento's innovative film, on the other hand, did not even reach the commercial circuit and was also interpreted in leftist circles through a political and aesthetic paradigm that downplayed the specificity of anti-black racism. The article invites a reflection on the legacy that these attitudes have had in shaping the limited sensitivity to racism in contemporary Italy.

Past & Present

239 (1) 2018

Michele Alacevich

Planning Peace: The European Roots of the Post-War Global Development Challenge, pp. 219-264

241 (1) 2018

Sheila Fitzpatrick

The Tramp's Tale: Travels Within the Soviet Union and Across its Borders, 1925–1950, pp. 259-290

61 (1) 2018

Gavin Daly

British Soldiers And The Legend Of Napoleon, pp. 131-153

Investigating the letters, diaries, and memoirs of British officers and enlisted men from the Napoleonic Wars, this article explores the hitherto neglected subject of British soldiers' perceptions of Napoleon. Soldiers often formed mixed and ambivalent views on Napoleon. At one level, this corresponds with a range of attitudes within Britain, highlighting the important connections between soldiers and domestic culture. Yet these views also reveal what soldiers as a distinct cohort prioritized about Napoleon, and how these perceptions evolved over time. They also reveal tensions and divisions within the army itself, and shed light on British soldiers and patriotism. And finally, they add to our understanding of soldiers' writing practices, especially their cultural context and the differences between wartime writing and memoirs. A diverse and shifting set of cultural frameworks and lived experiences shaped soldiers' writings on Napoleon – from the Black Legend and Napoleonic Legend, to the Enlightenment and Romanticism; and from Spain and its battlefields to Restoration Paris and post-Waterloo Britain. Tracing the evolution of British soldiers' perceptions of Napoleon from the outbreak of the Peninsular War in 1808 to the mid-nineteenth century reveals a growing admiration of Napoleon and the increasing hold of the Napoleonic Legend.

61 (1) 2018

Benjamin Weinstein

Liberalism, Local Government Reform, and Political Education in Great Britain and British India, 1880–1886, pp. 181-203

This article attempts to shed new light on the character of late Victorian Liberalism by investigating its political priorities in British India. It takes as its particular focus the debates which raged between 1881 and 1883 over the Government of India Resolution on Local Self-Government. Along with the Ilbert Bill, the Resolution comprised the centrepiece of the marquis of Ripon's self-consciously Liberal programme for dismantling Lytton's Raj. When analysed in conjunction with contemporaneous Liberal discourse on English local government reform, the debates surrounding the Resolution help to clarify many of the central principles of late Victorian Liberalism. In particular, these debates emphasize the profound importance of local government reform to what one might call the Liberal project. Beyond its utility in effecting retrenchment, efficiency, and 'sound finance', local government reform was valued by Liberals as the best and safest means of effecting 'political education' among populations, in both Britain and India, with increasingly strong claims to inclusion within the body politic.

61 (1) 2018

Simon Gunn

Ring Road: Birmingham and the Collapse of the Motor City Ideal in 1970s Britain, pp. 227-248

Reconstructing Britain's cities to accommodate the 'motor revolution' was an integral part of urban renewal in the post-war decades. This article shows how opposition to urban motorways had a pivotal role in the retreat from urban modernism in the 1970s. It takes as its case-study Birmingham, Britain's premier motor city, headquarters of the motor industry, and with heavy investment in roads, including the Inner Ring, Britain's first urban motorway completed in 1971. The article traces the collapse of the motor city ideal in Birmingham sparked by controversy over car pollution at Spaghetti Junction, the growth of roads protest, and the implication of the Inner Ring in municipal corruption. In so doing, it identifies the intersection of environmental, political, and economic factors that lay behind the *volte-face* in urban policy and compares Birmingham with other cities which witnessed similar revolts. It argues that the 1970s in Britain saw the end of a specific engineering vision of the post-war city, centred on the car and the 'citizen-driver'.

61 (2) 2018

Perry Wilson

Group Portrait: The Ispettrici Nazionali of the Italian Fascist Party, 1937–1943, pp. 431-451

The years of fascist rule in Italy saw an unprecedented mass political mobilization of women, a mobilization that has, to date, been little studied by historians. This article focuses on the role of the *ispettrici nazionali* – the highest rank that women ever reached in the fascist party hierarchy. It attempts to piece together a 'group portrait' of these hitherto unstudied female hierarchs, who were appointed from 1937 onwards to form a group leadership for the *fasci femminili* – the women's section of the party and the only way that women could join it. The article investigates who these women were, how they managed to rise to this prominent position, their ideas and motivations, and their role in organizing and mobilizing millions of female party members for political campaigns and for the war effort.

61 (3) 2018

Frank Trentmann, Anna Carlsson-Hyslop

The Evolution of Energy Demand in Britain: Politics, Daily Life, and Public Housing, 1920s–1970s, pp. 807-839

This article offers a fresh perspective on the evolution of energy consumption in Britain from the 1920s to the 1970s. The twentieth century witnessed a series of energy transitions – from wood and coal to gas, electricity, and oil – that have transformed modern lives. The literature has primarily followed supply, networks, and technologies. We need to know more about people and their homes in this story, because it was here where energy was used. The article investigates the forces that shaped domestic demand by focusing on working-class households in public housing. It examines the interaction between political frameworks, public housing infrastructures, and the changing norms and practices of people's daily lives. It connects social and political history with material culture and compares the different paths taken in London, Stocksbridge, and Stevenage in the provision of gas, electricity, and heating. Evidence collected by local authorities is used to analyse the uptake, use, and

resistance to changes in domestic infrastructures, such as gas-lit coke ovens and central heating. The case-studies make a more general pitch for a new historical study of energy that places people's lifestyles, their ideas of comfort, and political attempts to change them more squarely at the centre of inquiry.

Mark McLay

The Republican Party and the Long, Hot Summer of 1967 in The United States, pp. 1089-1111

During the summer of 1967, the United States experienced a series of race riots across the nation's cities as largely black neighbourhoods rebelled against the conditions in which they were living. The crisis reached its apogee in July when the worst riots since the American Civil War struck Detroit. In this atmosphere, legislators were faced with a stark choice of punishing rioters with stricter crime measures or alleviating living conditions with substantial federal spending. Despite being a minority in Congress, elected Republicans found themselves holding the balance of power in choosing whether the federal government would enforce law and order or pursue social justice for ghetto residents. While those Republicans who pursued 'order' have been given prominence in historiographical narratives, such politicians only represent one side of the Republican response. Indeed, moderate and progressive Republicans rallied to save Democratic President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty and a host of urban spending initiatives that had appeared politically doomed. These actions reveal that scholars have overestimated Republican conservatism during the 1960s. Nonetheless, the rioting left a long-term legacy that enabled 'order' eventually to triumph over 'justice' in the following five decades.

29 (1) 2018

Helen Smith

Working-Class Ideas and Experiences of Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Britain: Regionalism as a Category of Analysis, pp. 58-78

This article will explore region as a category of analysis for understanding gender, sexual cultures, and the expression of same-sex desire. In unpicking the notion of regional difference in both its tangible and intangible forms, it outlines the corresponding impact on how sexual cultures developed and were experienced in twentieth-century Britain. By recognizing that the area in which an individual lived could have as much impact on their sense of self and their sexual experiences as issues of race, gender, and class, a new and fruitful avenue of interpretation is opened up for the history of sexuality and twentieth-century British history more broadly. Such a methodology has the potential to add a new dimension to all histories of non-state-sanctioned sexual experience such as illegitimacy, premarital sex, extramarital affairs, and prostitution. In using regional case studies and interrogating ideas of sexual taboo, this article offers a unique interpretation of sexual experience that destabilizes current London-centric narratives and offers a more democratic and nuanced history of sex.

29 (1) 2018

Laura Levine Frader

International Institutions and Domestic Reform: Equal Pay and British Membership in the European Economic Community, pp. 104-128

Despite having been overlooked in the standard histories of the UK and the European Community, gender politics and gender policies played a significant role in Britain's applications for membership in the EEC in the 1960s. Joining the European Community required that Britain comply with Article 119 on equal pay for equal work. A combination of domestic feminist and labour movement activism, the commitment of unions and parties, and the internationalization of formal commitments to women's rights constituted internal and external pressures for the passage of an Equal Pay Act in 1970. The article argues that the formal legislative commitment to gender pay equality, changing public attitudes towards women's employment, and European membership impacted further domestic social policy reform and slowly began to shift government attitudes towards gender equality.

29 (2) 2018

Eliza Riedi

War and the Origins of War Widows' Pensions, pp. 169-198

The South African War of 1899-1902 cost the lives of 22,000 British and colonial soldiers and created almost 5,000 British war widows. It was in this context that the first state pensions for the widows of rank and file soldiers were introduced in 1901. Triggered by unexpectedly high casualty rates and

widespread dissatisfaction with charitable provision, the introduction of state pensions also reflected changing public attitudes towards soldiers and their dependants in the context of an imperial war. Dismissed in the historiography as insignificant because of its low rates and restrictive eligibility clauses, the 1901 scheme in fact delivered pensions to the majority of war widows and made the Edwardian state their most important source of financial support. This article, after discussing the social and political context in which widows' pensions were developed, analyses the economics of the scheme and how key eligibility rules were formulated, before investigating significant changes in the scheme to 1920, the point at which Boer War widows were finally granted full maintenance. Strongly influenced by the practices of Victorian armed forces charities and by contemporary ideologies of gender and class, the South African War pension regulations created precedents which would continue to shape pensions for military widows to the end of the twentieth century.

29 (2) 2018

Alistair Kefford

Housing the Citizen-Consumer in Post-war Britain: The Parker Morris Report, Affluence and the Even Briefer Life of Social Democracy, pp. 225-258

This article examines debates about the design and provision of post-war housing within the papers and report of the Parker Morris committee. It does so to show how the models of citizens' rights and expectations which underpinned post-war welfare provision were transformed by mass affluence and the dynamic sphere of commercial consumption. Parker Morris's deliberations demonstrate that, as early as the 1950s, the citizen-subject was reimagined as a consuming individual, with requirements based on their expressive needs and consuming desires, and that this had far-reaching consequences for social democratic systems of universal welfare provision. The introduction of consumerist imperatives into publicly defined models of citizens' needs enhanced the political and cultural authority of the commercial domain, prompted a heightened role for commercial experts and market logics within public governance, and served to devalue socialized forms of provision in favour of consumer choice in the private market. The article thus engages with the growing scholarship on the politics of mass consumerism by showing how the material and emotional comforts of post-war affluence came to be constructed as critical to social democratic citizenship and selfhood. Situating this uneasy entanglement of social democratic rights with consumer satisfaction as part of a wider trajectory of political change, the piece suggests that Parker Morris marks an early but significant moment in the transition from post-war welfarism and social democracy to the consumer- and market-oriented forms of governance which came to dominate British politics and society in the latter part of the twentieth century.

29 (2) 2018

Anna K Danziger Halperin

'Cinderella of the Education System': Margaret Thatcher's Plan for Nursery Expansion in 1970s Britain, pp. 284-308

The Department of Education and Science, led by then Secretary of State Margaret Thatcher, published a White Paper in December 1972 calling for a dramatic expansion of public nursery

education, so that it might be available within a decade to all families with 3- and 4-year-old children who chose to utilize it. While this failed policy is seldom remembered today, and Thatcher's efforts to promote the care and education of young children are not considered part of her considerable legacy, the White Paper's policy propositions challenge understandings about the formation and consistency of both Britain's child care policy and 'Thatcherism'. During this period, Thatcher believed that extending the frontiers of the state was appropriate to promote child welfare during the crucial first years of life. She conceived of nursery education as serving a developmental and educational purpose for all children, quite separate from welfare provisions for poor families or work supports for women. It is this crucial, albeit arbitrary, distinction which explains how nursery education was envisaged as an exception to her advocacy of cutting welfare spending.

29 (3) 2018

James Thompson

'The Lights of the Electric Octopus Have Been Switched Off': Visual and Political Culture in Edwardian London, pp. 331-356

This article reconstructs the visual culture of politics in Edwardian London through a study of the 1907 London County Council election. It moves beyond the memorable account given in Graham Wallas's Human Nature in Politics to examine the actors, especially associations and newspapers, that participated in the election. Drawing upon newspapers, election addresses, cartoon, leaflets, and posters, the article argues that Edwardian London was a prime site in the application of new media for political communication. It shows, however, that new modes of communication could co-exist with, and intensify, established forms of public politics. It reveals a highly knowing visual culture of politics through which issues of authenticity and identity were contested, and recasts understanding of a controversial and critical election.

29 (3) 2018

Keith Gildart

Séance Sitters, Ghost Hunters, Spiritualists, and Theosophists: Esoteric Belief and Practice in the British Parliamentary Labour Party, c1929-51, pp. 357-387

This article explores esoteric identities and cultures in the British Parliamentary Labour Party c1929–51. The historiography of the Labour Party has tended to overemphasize the one-dimensional nature of ideological affiliation and identity amongst Labour Members of Parliament in this period along the lines of a rather simplistic left/right dichotomy. Moreover, some historians have suggested that after 1918 particular socialist traditions and currents had become marginalized or dissolved once the party had developed a clearly defined constitution and the experience of political power. The argument presented here is that a range of esoteric identities remained a feature of labour culture through to the general election of 1951 and beyond. Three currents highlight the complexity and fluidity of specific strands of labour/socialist identity; in particular, spiritualism, theosophy and belief in the supernormal and the fantastic. Spiritualism and esotericism attracted a range of Labour MPs and shaped their reaction to contemporary political problems and the purpose and direction of working-class politics. An examination of such individuals and beliefs raises some new questions and challenges existing

assumptions relating to labour identities in mid-twentieth century Britain. Socialist spiritualists, ghost hunters, and theosophists viewed political identity, mobilization and practice as an activity that drew as much on the personal, the spiritual and 'other-worldly' as it did on the economic, social and material basis of society.

29 (3) 2018

David Cowan

The 'Progress of a Slogan': Youth, Culture, and the Shaping of Everyday Political Languages in Late 1940s Britain, pp. 435-458

In 1948, worried that young people would take full employment and the welfare state for granted, the Labour Party trialled a new slogan: 'Ask your Dad'. This slogan encouraged the young to learn about the hardships which their parents had experienced in the inter-war years, largely under Conservative governments. Using archived interviews and letters sent to the press, this article provides the first study of the popular reception of this slogan. Most people had not heard of this slogan, and most of those who had heard of the phrase showed no knowledge that it was associated with politics, turning instead to popular culture. Those who understood the slogan were not the passive conduits of their party's message; often, they reworked political ideas to fit their own memories. Because repeating slogans was associated with a lack of political independence, not listening to party politics could conceal an intense interest in creating political change—an attitude which was, apparently, pronounced amongst the young. This article uses these responses to suggest how political language was as much produced by ordinary people's memories and daily discussion, as it was something drawn from professional campaigners.

29 (4) 2018

James Freeman

Reconsidering 'Set the People Free': Neoliberalism and Freedom Rhetoric in Churchill's Conservative Party, pp. 522-546

It is often assumed that 'Hayekian' or 'neoliberal' influences lay behind Conservative attacks on socialism in 1945 and subsequent calls to 'set the people free' in 1950 and 1951. This assumption has had consequences for our understanding of late-1940s Conservatism and for wider interpretations of post-war politics. Heeding recent calls to reconnect the inter-war and post-war parties and to pay closer attention to how opponents and contexts generate arguments, this article revisits senior Conservatives' rhetoric between 1945 and 1951 to break the link between neoliberal influence and freedom rhetoric. First, it argues that the rhetoric of 1945 was derived from a distinctly Conservative lineage of interwar argument and reflected strategies developed before the publication of F. A. Hayek's 'The Road to Serfdom'. Second, it demonstrates that senior Conservatives' emancipatory rhetoric in opposition after 1945 was neither a simple continuation of these themes nor primarily a response to the public's growing antipathy towards rationing and controls. Rather, such rhetoric was a complex response to Britain's immediate economic difficulties and the political challenges presented by austerity. Finally, the article sheds new light on the strategy that governed the party's campaigns in 1950 and 1951. Churchill and others' calls to 'set the people free' stemmed from a

belief that the rhetorical opportunity lay in reconciling liberty with security. In that sense, the leadership had moved beyond begrudging compromises with the 'Attleean settlement' and was instead attempting to define a new identity within the parameters of the welfare state.

Alistair Fair

'Modernization of Our Hospital System': The National Health Service, the Hospital Plan, and the 'Harness' Programme, 1962-77, pp. 547-575

This article augments the literature on the British experience of planning by examining attempts to plan the hospital system between 1962 and 1977. The Hospital Plan for England and Wales of 1962 proposed the construction of a suite of new 'District General Hospitals'. Underpinning this proposal was a belief in the value of standardized designs and construction methods, both of which were subsequently investigated in detail by the Ministry of Health and the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS). The history of this project reveals the challenges of putting centralized planning into practice. Yet while the standardization programme was scaled back in 1975, the article suggests that the drive to 'plan' modern Britain perhaps lasted longer than might initially be thought, into the 1980s, with implications for the way that the broader history of this period is framed.

SPAGNA

Ayer

109 (1) 2018

Miguel Alonso Ibarra

Guerra Civil Española y contrarrevolución. El fascismo europeo bajo el signo de la Santa Cruz, pp. 269-295

109 (1) 2018

José Vidal Pelaz López, Darío Diez Miguel

El Gobierno de Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo o es eslabón perdido de la Transición, pp. 325-348

110 (2) 2018

Matilde Eiroa San Francisco

El pasado en el presente el conocimiento historiográfico en las fuentes digitales, pp. 83-109

110 (2) 2018

Sophie Bustos

Francia y la cuestión española. El golpe de Estado del 7 de julio de 1822, pp. 179-202

110 (2) 2018

Mercedes Yusta Rodrigo

Hombres armados y mujeres invisibles. Género y sexualidad en la guerrilla antifranquista (1936-1952), pp. 285-310

111 (3) 2018

Maria Aurora Artiaga Rego

Voluntarios para un golpe, soldados para una guerralas milicias rebeldes de primera línea en la Guerra Civil, pp. 23-51

111 (3) 2018

Angel Alcalde Fernández

78 (258) 2018

F. Sevillano

La controversia finisecular sobre el método histórico en Alemania y Francia (1883-1908)

El propósito de este trabajo es analizar la controversia sobre el método de las ciencias sociales que ocurrió en Alemania a partir de 1883, conocida como «la disputa del método» o Methodenstreit, y en Francia desde 1903, en torno al estatus científico de la historia. Estos episodios sirven como ejemplos para responder a la pregunta de cómo avanza epistemológicamente el conocimiento científico.

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Manuela Aroca Mohedano

Internacionalistas entre la revolución y el fascismo. La Unión General de Trabajadores en el mundo (1919-1936)

El artículo analiza la política exterior que desarrolló UGT de España, en el marco del internacionalismo obrero, durante el periodo de entreguerras. Se ha consultado documentación del Instituto de Historia Social de Ámsterdam, documentación de las Fundaciones Francisco Largo Caballero y Pablo Iglesias, así como abundante documentación de hemeroteca. Metodológicamente, se basa en la comparación entre los documentos de las Internacionales y los que elaboró la central sindical española, referidos a cuestiones exteriores. Entre 1919 y el estallido de la guerra civil española, se estabiliza el mundo internacional obrero, al que los ugetistas españoles se incorporaron en la creencia de que el internacionalismo sería eficaz para solucionar grandes problemas. Los acontecimientos fueron demostrando la impotencia de las organizaciones obreras a la hora de enfrentarse a los grandes desafíos de las décadas de los años veinte y treinta. UGT acudió al internacionalismo para justificar la estrategia reformista que el sindicato había adoptado en el interior. Durante el bienio negro, contribuyó a radicalizar la posición de líderes y militantes. El artículo pretende demostrar que la política exterior fue, en todo este tiempo, muy influyente en la línea estratégica que adoptó el sindicato en el interior de España.

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Bruno Vargas

La Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) y la Confederación Francesa Democrática del Trabajo (CFDT), 1971-1978

La opción sindical defendida por la Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) a lo largo del exilio consistió en privilegiar el trabajo en las grandes instituciones sindicales del mundo occidental y mantener una presencia casi testimonial en España. Esta elección pudo representar un serio obstáculo a la muerte del dictador, en su lucha con Comisiones Obreras (CCOO) y sobre todo la Unión Sindical Obrera (USO) para recuperar la representatividad de los trabajadores españoles, por actuar esta última en el mismo campo ideológico. A partir de un conjunto de fuentes impresas y fondos de archivo,

custodiados en la Fundación Francisco Largo Caballero, se examinan las relaciones que la UGT entabló con la Confederación Francesa Democrática del Trabajo (CFDT). UGT intentaba, en el terreno internacional, asegurarse el liderazgo del sindicalismo socialista español en la Confederación Europea de Sindicatos (CES) y en la Confederación Internacional de las Organizaciones Sindicales Libres (CIOSL). Los nuevos dirigentes de la UGT buscaron el apoyo de la central francesa para recuperar el terreno perdido y desarmar el potencial de su gran rival tanto en el interior como en la escena internacional.

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Alejandro Lora Medina

Sexualidad, desnudismo y moralidad en el anarquismo español de los años treinta: de los debates en la prensa a la aplicación de la ley del aborto durante la Guerra Civil Española

Este artículo tiene por objetivo el análisis de la visión anarquista de la sexualidad, el cuerpo, el desnudismo y la moral sexual, como conformadores de un nuevo individuo. Dichos debates, que encuentran en las publicaciones anarquistas el medio principal para su difusión, se basan necesariamente en los avances logrados en décadas anteriores en el campo de la medicina y en la extensión de una visión naturalista y armónica del cuerpo desnudo. El estudio forma parte de un análisis cuantitativo que muestra la defensa de una nueva ética sexual que moraliza el sexo como un comportamiento biológico saludable e introduce las bases para el debate posterior en las publicaciones anarquistas de la época: ¿procreación sin límites o anticoncepcionismo? Ambas corrientes trascendían el debate sexual para centrar la discusión en el modelo de sociedad que se construiría con la aplicación de cada una de estas opciones. Controversia que pareció, sin embargo, cerrarse parcialmente con la aprobación de la ley del aborto durante la Guerra Civil Española.

Paul Preston

Engaños y errores en el Homenaje a Cataluña

Homenaje a Cataluña, de George Orwell, se incluye habitualmente en la mayor parte de las listas de importantes libros sobre la guerra civil española. Sin embargo, no es sino un vívido testimonio presencial de únicamente dos pequeños fragmentos de la misma. Exhibe una escasa comprensión de la política española o catalana y no presenta un análisis creíble de la más amplia política de la guerra y, en particular, de sus determinantes o condicionantes internacionales. La noción que le subyace es que el aplastamiento de la revolución en Barcelona contribuyó a la derrota final de la República. Pero esta "explicación" obvia la contribución de Franco, Hitler y Mussolini así como la pusilanimidad y los intereses propios de los gobiernos británico, francés y norteamericano. Basada en las opiniones muy sesgadas de los anarquistas y poumistas así como en su ignorancia del contexto de la guerra los análisis y predicciones de Orwell desorientan al lector. El objetivo de este artículo estriba en llevar al ánimo del mismo la idea de que la visión que contiene el libro es con frecuencia errónea porque está fundamentada en una información insuficiente y prejuicios

Carlos Segade

El liberalismo visto desde la revista del Ateneo franquista (1952-1955)

En 1952 sale a la luz la revista Ateneo como órgano de difusión cultural dependiente de la Dirección General de Información. Su misión era la de motivar la unidad intelectual de España, concitar la adhesión al régimen de los intelectuales y promocionar los valores de la monarquía católica leal a los principios del Movimiento. En consonancia con el pensamiento reaccionario tradicional, Ateneo criticó cualquier manifestación y herencia del pasado régimen parlamentario y liberal. Este artículo estudia cómo se materializaban esas críticas en servicio y exaltación de los valores políticos subyacentes bajo el franquismo.

Alejandro Lora Medina

La vivencia del ideal anarquista en la España de los años treinta

El presente artículo tiene como objetivo analizar la vivencia del ideal y la importancia que adquiere la moral ácrata como moduladora del carácter del militante de la CNT en la España de los años treinta. El compromiso debía demostrarse a través de un estricto comportamiento ético que condujera al fiel a abandonar su identidad para luchar por el advenimiento de la revolución y el triunfo del colectivo. La propaganda por la conducta adquiere una especial relevancia en el anarquismo, tanto por alentar al trabajador a adquirir una cultura y educación propias, como por servir de atractivo a personas ajenas al colectivo a engrosar sus filas. Esta responsabilidad definía al seguidor de las ideas anarquistas frente a otros colectivos, pero también frente a muchos militantes que no seguían este estilo de vida "libertario". De este modo, la cuestión principal a resolver es si hubo realmente una vivencia práctica

de los ideales defendidos.

Historia Contemporánea

(56) 2018

Raanan Rein

El desafío a los Juegos Olímpicos de Berlín 1936: Barcelona, la Olimpiada Popular olvidada y los atletas judíos de Palestina

El día 19 de julio de 1936 la ciudad de Barcelona albergaba a un número inusual de personas. Miles de atletas y hasta 20 mil visitantes se encontraban presentes en la ciudad para asistir a los actos de inauguración de la Olimpiada Popular que había sido convocada como desafío a los Juegos Olímpicos de Berlín de ese mismo año. Sin embargo la insurrección militar contra el gobierno electo de la Segunda República puso fin a esta iniciativa antifascista auspiciada por la Generalitat catalana. Debido a ello esta iniciativa quedaría relegada al olvido durante las décadas siguientes, recibiendo muy poca atención por parte de la historiografía dedicada a este agitado periodo de la reciente historia española.

Este artículo arroja nueva luz sobre el desafío que la Olimpiada de Barcelona planteaba al imparable crecimiento del fascismo europeo a lo largo de los años centrales de la década de 1930. Igualmente, destaca el hecho de que algunos de los atletas presentes en Barcelona durante esos días pasarían a ejercer como los primeros voluntarios en sumarse a la defensa en armas de la sitiada República. Una de las delegaciones que viajaban a Barcelona partió desde la Palestina judía. Fue esta la primera expresión de solidaridad desde el Yishuv judío con la República española y su lucha por la supervivencia.

(57) 2018

Julián Paniagua López

La red de servicios secretos españoles durante la Guerra del Rif (1921-1927): los servicios especiales reservados dirigidos por Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti

Durante la Guerra del Rif el ejército español contó con varios servicios de información y espionaje, sin embargo hasta 1925 no hubo una doctrina o metodología que sirviera para sistematizar y organizar la información para que fuera realmente útil de cara a los objetivos militares y políticos. Las consecuencias fueron muy graves, tales como total ineficacia y gasto de dinero. Tras varios fracasos, el Directorio Militar organizó unos eficientes servicios secretos que fueron dirigidos por un civil, Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti. En este artículo se analizará la red de espías de este organismo usando la metodología del análisis de redes sociales.

(57) 2018

Josep Pich i Mitjana, David Martínez Fiol, José Contreras Ruiz

El último romántico de nuestra política. Fernando Soldevilla Ruiz y el españolismo "imparcial"

Este artículo es una aproximación a la trayectoria de Fernando Soldevilla Ruiz (1854-1931) escritor

relativamente prolífico y periodista respetado, con una larga trayectoria en diarios de la relevancia de "El Imparcial" o "La Correspondencia de España". De orígenes humildes fue un dirigente del liberalismo español. Ejerció de gobernador civil, siendo elegido por dos veces diputado a Cortes. En 1913, con cincuenta y nueve años, fue nombrado jefe de la Inspección Mercantil y de Seguros, detentando este cargo hasta su jubilación en 1929. Se caracterizó por ser un acérrimo defensor de una España políticamente centralizada y culturalmente uniformizada, sosteniendo un discurso de un marcado nacionalismo español. Su retórica españolista se tradujo en sus sistemáticas críticas hacia el catalanismo y el nacionalismo vasco, movimiento que identificaba como "bizcaitarra". Soldevilla era conocido por ser el autor de "El Año político" anuario político publicado de forma ininterrumpida durante las primeras décadas del siglo xx.

(58) 2018

Eduardo González Calleja, Francisco Sánchez Pérez

Revisando el revisionismo. A propósito del libro "1936. Fraude y violencia en las elecciones del Frente Popular"

El propósito de este ensayo es discutir con datos contrastados las dos principales afirmaciones que, a juicio de los autores, articulan la obra en cuestión, esto es, el pretendido fraude que favoreció decisivamente la victoria electoral del Frente Popular y la consecución de su mayoría absoluta, y el empleo sistemático de la violencia colectiva para alcanzar ese objetivo, facilitado por la dimisión de Portela Valladares. Por último, también se discute el peso de la amenaza de golpe de estado en las decisiones de Portela, factor prácticamente ausente de esta obra.

(58) 2018

David Beorlegui Zarranz

La fábrica como espacio de lucha y de memoria, el caso de Bilbao y la Margen Izquierda (1975-1995)

Varias investigaciones han insistido en la importancia de la fábrica en el contexto de las sociedades modernas, y han señalado a la desindustrialización como un elemento distintivo del último cuarto del siglo XX. El artículo recoge esos puntos de vista para abordar la memoria del movimiento obrero en la ciudad de Bilbao y en la Margen Izquierda de los ríos Ibaizabal y Nervión. Valiéndose de una metodología de historia oral, el texto analiza los efectos de la desindustrialización en las personas que participaron de la oleada de huelgas y manifestaciones que se desarrolló en la zona durante los últimos años de la dictadura, destacando el rol que desempeñan las emociones en la conformación del recuerdo del mundo obrero. La euforia reivindicativa de mediados de los años setenta y la angustia creciente se alimentan del paisaje de ruina industrial y conectan el pasado con el presente, dando significado de modo retrospectivo a la memoria del mundo obrero en el período estudiado.

45 (1) 2018

Peter Horwath, Sarudi Csaba

Las experiencias del regionalismo y la regionalización española para la formación de las regiones húngaras, pp. 7-20

El artículo se ocupa de la comparación del regionalismo y la regionalización en España y Hungría, las características de las regiones posteriores al régimen de Franco y al cambio de régimen en Hungría. Investiga las semejanzas y diferencias de las regiones en ambos países buscando las causas de ellas. Se presentan las experiencias españolas que pueden ser útiles para las regiones en Hungría. La investigación de las enseñanzas del debate sobre región-provincia en Hungría puede ser útil para comprender los antecedentes de las decisiones sobre la centralización y la descentralización.

45 (1) 2018

Ana Belén Gómez Fernández

La transición en la esfera municipal. Gobierno local y democracia. El caso giennense 1975-1983, pp. 103-116

Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar la llegada de la democracia a los municipios a partir de las elecciones locales de 1979. Para poder ilustrar con detalle el proceso de democratización de la vida municipal se ha tomado como ámbito de estudio la provincia de Jaén, y más concretamente dos municipios: La Carolina y Torredonjimeno. Para ello se hace previamente un acercamiento al contexto y la situación en la que se encontraban los ayuntamientos al final del franquismo y los inicios de la democracia. A partir de aquí se puede reconstruir el proceso de unas instituciones locales democráticas, donde la toma de decisiones no fuera arbitraria y fraudulenta, y donde la llegada de servicios públicos y sociales sería la base para construir un modelo de bienestar social en el que los ayuntamientos se convertirían en elemento fundamental.

46 (2) 2018

Sergio Molina García

¿Un arma de doble filo? PCE, PSOE y Franquismo ante Mayo del 68, pp. 7-21

En mayo de 1968, los estudiantes y obreros franceses se rebelaron contra el sistema. Mientras tanto, en España, la dictadura comenzaba a acusar también las consecuencias de los desafíos de parte de la sociedad española, integrada también por trabajadores y estudiantes, además de católicos y nacionalistas. Ante esta situación, y aprovechando la efeméride de 2018, este artículo pretende adentrarse en la lectura que el PCE, el PSOE y el franquismo hicieron en esos momentos desde España de los sucesos del 68. A priori, podríamos sostener que las organizaciones que luchaban por la democracia utilizaron aquellas movilizaciones como justificación para acabar con la dictadura, pero el origen anti sistémico de los movimientos juveniles criticaba también a las formaciones políticas. Ante esta paradoja, ¿Cuáles fueron las posiciones que adoptaron ambos partidos políticos? Al mismo

tiempo, la dictadura se opuso a dichos movimientos, pero, ¿qué información tenía para frenar las ideas revolucionarias?

46 (2) 2018

Said Elghazi

La gestión del Islam en España: entre el Islam inmigrante y el Islam español, pp. 91-105

Este trabajo pretende revelar los aspectos sociopolíticos de la gestión del asunto religioso islámico en España; las garantías constitucionales que abarcan las libertades religiosas, el marco jurídico y social del islam español y, por último, los obstáculos políticos para normalizar este campo dentro del tejido social español. En estas páginas no se pretende elaborar una hoja de ruta para resolver el asunto, sino simplemente exponer esta problemática. El fin es lo de abordar el tema dentro del debate identitario español que finalmente sería el enfoque idóneo para resolver la complejidad del campo religioso islámico en España. El islam como religión y cultura forma parte de la sociedad española por motivos históricos, culturales y sociales. Su integración definitiva en el cuerpo patriótico en España es una oportunidad para reforzar el carácter laico e intercultural del Estado español y proteger el tejido social de este país.

46 (2) 2018

Aurelio Velázquez Hernández

La movilización mexicana en favor de los republicanos españoles. El caso de la FOARE (1938-1956), pp. 145-158

En el artículo se estudia la movilización de la sociedad mexicana en favor de los republicanos españoles a través del análisis de la organización de ayuda más importante de entre las formadas en aquel país: La Federación de Organismos de Ayuda a la República Española (FOARE). A partir de una profunda investigación con fuentes primarias tratamos de reconstruir su evolución política e institucional.

47 (3) 2018

Raúl Ramírez Ruiz, Sara Núñez de Prado Clavell

Ideas y mensajes en la propaganda de las distintas corrientes ideológicas de oposición al franquismo. Una visión desde el análisis del delito de "propagandas ilegales" en las sentencias del Tribunal de Orden Público, pp. 7-28

Este trabajo parte de una amplia investigación de análisis del contenido de las sentencias del Tribunal de Orden Público. En él, a través de un detenido estudio del delito de Propagandas ilegales se expondrá cuales eran las ideas programáticas básicas que los grupos opositores exponían en sus textos "subversivos". Se pretende aportar luz sobre la visión que de sí mismos, del régimen y del futuro tenían los movimientos de oposición al franquismo y constadar, además, las ideas comunes y las divergencias existentes en los programas de las distintas organizaciones opositoras en función de su adscripción ideológica.

47 (3) 2018

Dolores Ferre Abellán

La participación de las mujeres en el proceso autonómico español. El caso de la Región de Murcia, pp. 51-69

El objetivo principal es examinar la participación política que las mujeres tuvieron en el proceso de configuración de las autonomías durante la Transición Española. Destacar a aquellas mujeres con papeles protagonistas o secundarios, haciendo especial referencia al caso murciano. La historiografía nacional como la regional apenas visibiliza a las mujeres en la Transición y esa invisibilización es más evidente en el proceso autonómico. Se visualiza entonces, la participación política de las mujeres en la construcción del Estado de las Autonomías, destacando el papel de las constituyentes y estatuyentes, sus agendas feministas, sus perfiles profesionales y formativos.

47 (3) 2018

Sergio Molina García

De la nueva transición a la segunda transición o cómo banalizar un período histórico, mayo 2014-diciembre 2016, pp. 110-119

Las últimas campañas electorales y el cambio del panorama político han provocado que el Congreso de los Diputados sea muy diferentes de los períodos anteriores. Las organizaciones políticas han intentado defender y justificar sus posturas y para ello han acudido al proceso de transición española (1976-1982). Nueva transición, segunda transición o "espíritu del 78" son algunos de los términos que han utilizado los diferentes partidos. ¿Cuáles son los diferentes significados? ¿Predomina una lectura política o histórica? En definitiva, se pretende mostrar los riesgos que entrañan estas visiones simplistas, electoralistas y puramente instrumentales que reducen uno de los procesos más complejos de la historia de España a simples eslóganes políticos.

39 (1) 2018

Isabel Burdiel

La revolución del pudor: escándalos, género y política en la crisis de la monarquía liberal en España, pp. 23-51

En este artículo se trata de analizar el carácter performativo de los grandes escándalos morales y políticos en torno a la familia real, que afectaron a la imagen pública y a los mecanismos de legitimación de la monarquía liberal en España durante el reinado isabelino. Abordo el tema desde la perspectiva actual de reflexión sobre la imbricación histórica de las nociones de virtud política y escándalo moral que dio lugar a la idea de «corrupción» en el universo liberal. Una idea que, como trato de demostrar, tuvo fuertes connotaciones de género, estuvo ligada a la dinámica de construcción del Estado nación, obliga a una ampliación sustancial de nuestra noción de «lo político», sugiere el carácter históricamente creativo de los escándalos y demuestra las formas heterodoxas, no necesariamente públicas o convencionalmente «razonables», que fueron conformando, en la práctica, la opinión pública y el régimen de publicidad modernos.

39 (1) 2018

Pol Dalmau i Palet

La reputación del notable. Escándalos y capital simbólico en la España liberal, pp.79-107

El objetivo del presente artículo es examinar la importancia que el prestigio y la reputación jugaron históricamente en la legitimización de las élites liberales. Mientras que la historiografía tradicionalmente ha justificado la preeminencia social de las élites en base al control que estas ejercían de los mecanismos de influencia (como el clientelismo), y de su adscripción a espacios de sociabilidad más amplios (como los partidos y las redes de afinidad personal), nuestra intención es analizar la función que la imagen pública jugó en la perpetuación (o declive) social de dichas élites. Por medio de un escándalo político que afectó a la familia Godó, propietaria del diario barcelonés La Vanguardia, el artículo examinará la transformación de los valores morales en los que se basaba la legitimidad de las élites liberales, destacándose la función cada vez más importante que la prensa y la esfera pública jugaron en la nueva política de masas. De esta manera, el fenómeno del escándalo será usado como un recurso heurístico dirigido a renovar el estudio de las élites liberales, a partir de un enfoque multidisciplinar que combina la historia cultural y la historia de la comunicación política.

39 (1) 2018

Francisco J. Reyes

La patria es el otro, pero no para siempre. La cuestión de la nación en el socialismo de la Argentina finisecular (1894-1912), pp.203-234

Este trabajo aborda en el caso argentino un problema fundamental en la constitución del socialismo moderno durante la Segunda Internacional: el lugar de la nación y del nacionalismo en los partidos

socialistas. Se toman en cuenta una pluralidad de voces e intervenciones que demuestran, a la vez que la temprana presencia de dicho problema en el socialismo local, una constante tensión identitaria dentro del mismo. Las fuentes analizadas evidencian la riqueza que adquirió la intromisión de los motivos nacionales en el Partido Socialista argentino, desde escritos regulares en la prensa partidaria y en órganos de reflexión teórica hasta conferencias a cargo de dirigentes e intelectuales de aquel, pasando por algunas voces críticas de las posiciones socialistas y de referentes internacionales del movimiento. La perspectiva adoptada comprende a los procesos identitarios en sus diferentes dimensiones analíticas y en sucesivos momentos que muestran los cambios operados en la mediana duración histórica. De acuerdo a la hipótesis de un temprano rechazo de las efusiones patrióticas desarrolladas en el país, se sostiene que, a partir de ese fenómeno más general que fue el nacionalismo, la recepción de los debates y resoluciones de la Internacional, así como de querellas internas al socialismo argentino, cobró forma hacia el centenario de 1910 una versión propia del patriotismo, el «buen nacionalismo», que intentó conciliar la base doctrinaria internacionalista con un nuevo contexto que marcará por décadas a esta identidad política.

39 (1) 2018

Laila Yousef Sandoval

El terrorismo contemporáneo a la luz del pensamiento de Carl Schmitt: la metamorfosis del partisano, pp. 327-357

La expansión del terrorismo yihadista se plantea como uno de los problemas más graves de la política internacional. Para comprender sus raíces y orígenes conceptuales es necesario echar una mirada a la teoría del filósofo y jurista Carl Schmitt. Schmitt dedicó parte de su obra al estudio del fenómeno partisano o guerrillero. Tal y como él explica, los partisanos emergieron en el siglo xix y se caracterizaron por su irregularidad, su movilidad y su carácter político y telúrico. Con el desarrollo de la técnica y en el contexto de lucha bipolar los partisanos del siglo xx irían perdiendo la contención que les caracterizaba inicialmente. Existe un debate acerca de si el terrorista del siglo xxi es la evolución de dichos partisanos o si, por el contrario, constituye una figura diferente. Para dar respuesta a ello se compara en este artículo, desde la perspectiva teórica de Carl Schmitt, los rasgos propios del yihadista con los del guerrillero.

40 (2) 2018

Carolina García Sanz

«Disciplinando al gitano» en el siglo XX: regulación y parapenalidad en España desde una perspectiva europea, pp. 115-146

Este trabajo se aproxima a la denominada «cuestión gitana» en España, tomando como referencia los estudios existentes de las estrategias coercitivas que sobre este grupo minoritario se han desarrollado en Europa en los siglos xix y xx. En primer lugar, se introducirá el estado actual de conocimientos para otros casos nacionales, con el propósito de dotar de contexto a una propuesta de estudio sobre el tema desde la aplicación del llamado «derecho de culpables», reforzado en el penalismo español por la introducción de la noción de «peligrosidad social». En concreto, partiendo de la existencia de regulación específica sobre el «gitano» durante el periodo de la Restauración, se explorará la

coyuntura de entreguerras, con la adaptación republicana de instrumentos de control y resocialización mediante la Ley de Vagos y Maleantes de 1933, y al primer franquismo con la intensificación de la estigmatización penal de determinadas situaciones sociales atribuidas a este colectivo. Para ello, se analizarán textos legales, noticias de su aplicación en prensa, expedientes procesales y publicaciones técnicas producidas en el circuito judicial y penitenciario español en ese amplio arco temporal.

José Carlos Rueda Laffond

Fábricas de comunistas: escuelas de partido y estrategias orgánicas en los años treinta, pp. 263-297

El artículo analiza las escuelas políticas de cuadros comunistas en la década de los años treinta. A partir de documentación orgánica procedente de los fondos de la Internacional Comunista (IC) y del Partido Comunista de España (PCE) explora los rasgos distintivos de la Escuela Internacional Lenin (ELI), la presencia de militantes comunistas españoles en ese centro, las políticas de fomento de escuelas nacionales y el devenir histórico de las escuelas del PCE entre 1936-38. Sus conclusiones resaltan tres elementos: la necesidad de ubicar el objeto de estudio en los parámetros transnacionales y en la simbiosis entre el canon político-cultural estalinista y las estrategias de nacionalización existentes en el movimiento comunista, el valor medular adquirido por la formación de cuadros en el ideal orgánico comunista y los desajustes presentes en la plasmación práctica de esa labor pedagógica en la España en guerra.

Josep Àngel Guimerà i Orts

El papel de la comunicación en la construcción nacional de Cataluña: Jordi Pujol y la instrumentalización política de los medios (1968-1989), pp. 363-387

Desde el inicio de su actividad política bajo el franquismo y durante los veintitrés años que presidió la Generalitat de Catalunya, Jordi Pujol mostró un gran interés per intervenir en los medios de comunicación. Este artículo tiene por objetivo describir e interpretar las acciones llevadas a cabo por Pujol para crear y/o controlar medios que le ayudasen a conseguir sus objetivos políticos durante su etapa de opositor antifranquista y sus dos primeras legislaturas como presidente de la Generalitat. Para conseguir estos objetivos se diseñó una estrategia de investigación cualitativa que combina fundamentos teóricos de la ciencia política y las ciencias de la comunicación y que triangula las técnicas del análisis documental (marco legal, literatura gris, monografías y artículos científicos, libros de memorias) y las entrevistas en profundidad a los protagonistas de las acciones analizadas, incluido el propio Jordi Pujol. El resultado es una investigación original que aporta luz sobre las relaciones entre movimientos políticos y medios de comunicación en un momento fundacional como la Transición española. El artículo muestra una clara voluntad intervencionista de Pujol sobre unos medios que consideraba infiltrados por partidos de izquierda y hostiles al nacionalismo catalán. Siempre tuvo una concepción instrumental del periodismo, tanto para la promoción de su partido e ideas políticas como en el proceso de (re)construcción nacional de Cataluña (proyecto compartido con otras formaciones). De acuerdo con los resultados obtenidos, Pujol convirtió la creación de medios de comunicación en un objetivo fundamental de su acción política.

(17) 2018

Dossier coordinato da Andrea Geniola

El estado de la nación, las naciones del Estado. El socialismo español y la cuestión nacional/regional en la Transición

El PSOE fija su posición sobre la cuestión nacional y la organización del Estado en 1974 en su congreso de Suresnes. Para algunos en el marco de una profunda renovación programática y generacional (Juliá, 1996: 397-429) y para otros en plena continuidad con su historia (Mateos, 2007), el principal partido histórico del socialismo español se declara por a favor del derecho de autodeterminación de las llamadas nacionalidades y el Estado federal. En 1982 ambos objetivos habían desaparecido de su horizonte programático en un contexto de profunda transformación del partido, así como de las condiciones en que se iba desempeñando su actividad (Molinero, Ysàs, 2008). Algunos vieron en las posturas iniciales del PSOE una traición a la nación española, mientras en sentido contrario, pero en la misma senda interpretativa, otros percibieron las evoluciones o cambios posteriores como una traición a las nacionalidades sub-estatales y sus derechos nacionales (Quiroga, 2009a: 96). Un análisis más detenido y menos instrumental-presentista del asunto nos brinda la oportunidad de arrojar algo de luz sobre este recorrido y sus contenidos.

Andrea Geniola,

Un "partido de partidos" para una "nación de naciones". Los socialistas catalanes y el socialismo español de la dictadura a la democracia (1974-1979), pp. 43-79

Manuel Ruiz Romero

La dialéctica andalucismo/socialismo en el contexto del sistema de partidos de la Transición. La emergencia nacionalista y la asunción estratégica de sus aportaciones por el PSOE (1977-1982), pp. 81-102

Vega Rodríguez-Flores Parra

Por un País Valenciano libre, autónomo y socialista. El PSOE y la identidad valenciana (1974-1978), pp. 103-125

Carlos Serrano Lacarra

El socialismo aragonés, entre la obediencia territorial, el federalismo y el posibilismo autonómico (1976-1983), pp. 127-153

Patrick Zimmerman

Cuando otra Asturias parecía posible: regionalismo y la izquierda heterodoxa en la Transición, pp. 155-182

Emilio Grandío Seoane

Nación y socialdemocracia en Galicia: PSG-PSdG, pp. 183-207

Francisco Jiménez Aguilar

El desfile de lo femenino. Las mujeres de la Sección Femenina y las celebraciones franquistas en Granada (1937-1951), pp. 389-412

Una de las cuestiones más debatidas sobre la Sección Femenina de Falange durante el franquismo han sido los límites de su agencia y cómo esta fue representada en la esfera pública. En este artículo se plantea cuál era el papel de las mujeres falangistas dentro del calendario y las celebraciones franquistas: sus festividades, su lugar y función en los rituales, su voz y presencia en los discursos y los símbolos. Con ello se observará cómo la organización femenina fascista era partícipe y estaba simbolizada en el imaginario colectivo del franquismo al tiempo que se legitimaba la posición subalterna de las mujeres.

Damián Alberto González Madrid, Manuel Ortiz Heras

El franquismo y la construcción del Estado de Bienestar en España: la protección social del Estado (1939-1986)

Transcurridos más de cuarenta años desde el final de la dictadura franquista, una parte del imaginario colectivo español la identifica como la primera gran impulsora del Estado de Bienestar en España. Dislocados por la historiografía los viejos, pero eficaces, mitos que sirvieron para justificar el origen de la rebelión militar y el hambre, y también el que pretendía redimir a la dictadura por el desarrollo económico posterior, todavía permanece en pie el de la dictadura como creadora de un sistema de seguridad social en España que anticipa el actual. Las investigaciones existentes sobre las políticas sociales de la dictadura, realizadas por historiadores de la medicina o de la economía, demuestran sin embargo lo exagerado de este tipo de percepciones, y revelan una realidad más compleja que requiere un debate en profundidad al que este trabajo pretende contribuir.

José Carlos Mancha Castro

La Semana Santa y la recatolización de Huelva. Un acercamiento a la construcción simbólica del franquismo de posguerra, pp. 413-452

El presente trabajo aborda una aproximación a la Semana Santa de Huelva durante los años más intensos del proyecto de "recatolización" llevado a cabo en la ciudad por las autoridades franquistas y la jerarquía de la Iglesia católica. La Semana Santa onubense fue utilizada para la creación y reproducción –a través de sus símbolos– de un imaginario memorialista sobre el período republicano y la guerra, y para la socialización en los valores y las ideologías del régimen naciente, fusionando en el ceremonial público liturgias militaristas, fascistas falangistas y nacional-católicas. La fiesta,

resignificada como un evidente rito de victoria, aunó –en sus complejos rituales– símbolos referentes a las diferentes construcciones ideáticas de los grupos políticos que compusieron el régimen franquista. Sus cortejos mostraron una sinergia, una comunión pública, entre la jerarquía eclesiástica y las distintas autoridades cívico-militares, aunque esos poderes persiguieran fines diferentes.

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Emma Griffin

The Emotions of Motherhood: Love, Culture, and Poverty in Victorian Britain

Is maternal love biologically determined and independent of class and culture, or is it fluid and changeable, shaped by the social context within which individuals find themselves? Recent work on the history of emotions has encouraged us to regard not simply the outward cultural configurations of human emotion as mutable and changeable, but also the actual emotions themselves. Yet so deeply rooted is the Western belief that mothers' love for their children is natural and innate that scholars have struggled to envisage parental love in the past as differing significantly from that in the present. Looking at working-class mothers in Victorian Britain, this article argues that the very different norms and values surrounding motherhood in this historical context did indeed create a different range of emotional experiences. It also, however, seeks to deepen our understanding of why emotions take the precise forms they do. By shifting focus away from the social elites who form the mainstay of most emotions history, this article offers new insights into the ways in which societies construct and experience their emotional norms.

123 (2) 2018

Matthew Hilton

Charity and the End of Empire: British Non-Governmental Organizations, Africa, and International Development in the 1960s

British non-governmental organizations (NGOs) became a part of the modern aid industry in the 1960s, particularly across Africa. At the moment of decolonization, humanitarian charities were recast into modern NGOs focused on small-scale grassroots initiatives nevertheless tied to long-term official development planning. NGOs and charities were popular because they represented many things for many people. For the late colonial state, they were the agents that would step in where government retreated, providing vital lessons in self-help for the future leaders of the country. For newly independent governments, they were both suppliers of Western funds and props to impoverished social service departments. For donors and international aid agencies, they were a route through which liberal internationalist sympathies could be directed. That no one in these early decades of development was certain which aid initiatives actually worked on the ground was therefore of less importance than the optimistic hopes placed upon charity to tackle global poverty. Indeed, it was the ad hoc, confusing, and complex landscape of charitable aid that lay behind the rise of the modern NGO. For a variety of reasons, all had a stake in their continued presence and expansion across the developing world.

123 (3) 2018

Judy Tzu-Chun Wu

The U.S. 1968: Third-Worldism, Feminisms, and Liberalism

This opportunity to reflect on the significance and legacy of 1968 is particularly meaningful for me. Born that year, I became a scholar of U.S. history largely inspired by the liberation movements of that era. My family and I emigrated from Taiwan in 1975, ten years after the Hart-Celler Act eliminated discriminatory quotas that had previously disadvantaged migration from Asian countries. As one of just a handful of students of Asian ancestry in my public schools in Spokane, Washington, I met other Asian newcomers who began arriving as refugees, collateral damage from the U.S. War in Vietnam.

123 (4) 2018

Ethan B. Katz

An Imperial Entanglement: Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Colonialism

This article probes the historical relationship between anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and colonialism. Scholars have typically employed two frameworks in writing about anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: treating the Muslims of contemporary Europe as "the new Jews," and regarding anti-Semitism and Islamophobia as coterminous hatreds within broader Orientalist systems of exclusion. These approaches both miss the mark: anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, defined substantially by the colonial context, constitute an entangled history of Othering. French North Africa, particularly Algeria, offers a suggestive starting point for writing this history. The article examines closely three fragments of entangled history: sections of Edouard Drumont's 1886 bestseller La France juive; a memo from the French resident-general of Tunisia during World War I; and the manifesto of a pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic French Muslim. In each instance, we see how a document ostensibly focused on Jews is also deeply concerned with Muslims and the two groups' interrelationship. These fragments point up the necessity of placing the historical position of Jews and Muslims—as well as that of other marginalized groups—within a single analytical frame.

42 (1) 2018

Eddie Michel

The Luster of Chrome: Nixon, Rhodesia, and the Defiance of UN Sanctions.

My article discusses the tilt towards the white minority regimes of southern Africa, specifically Rhodesia that occurred during the Nixon era. The White House approach was shaped by anti-communism and economic interest combined with an apathy for the cause of black liberation. This led to a blatant disregard of the principle of majority rule and open violation of UN sanctions. Furthermore, as Nixon's actions regarding southern Africa were reflective of core beliefs within the White House of how to approach international politics, Rhodesia provides an illuminative lens regarding the broader imperatives that guided the Nixonian approach to global relations.

42 (2) 2018

Jonathan Winkler

The Forgotten Menace of Electro-Magnetic Warfare in the Early Cold War

Recently declassified archival materials permit the revelation of a previously unknown element of the early Cold War. Specifically, U.S. officials worried about an electro-magnetic attack by the Soviet Union, using hundreds of radio transmitters, on worldwide communications in advance of or in conjunction with the outbreak of general war.

42 (3) 2018

Judy Wu

What Makes a Good War Story? Absences of Empire, Race, and Gender in The Vietnam War

To a serious student of Vietnamese history, Ken Burns's and Lynn Novick's The Vietnam War is both refreshing and maddeningly unimaginative. Perhaps the most outstanding feature of the mini-series is the inclusion of politically diverse Vietnamese voices. The film boasts a rich tapestry of interviews with North and South Vietnamese veterans, communist guerilla fighters, and Vietnamese refugees. Their stories are interwoven with more familiar accounts of American soldiers, protestors, and government officials. Although the filmmakers give more airtime to American perspectives, The Vietnam War does a far better job of acknowledging competing Vietnamese viewpoints than most documentaries.

42 (4) 2018

David S. Busch

The Politics of International Volunteerism: The Peace Corps and Volunteers to America in the 1960s

"The Politics of International Volunteerism" examines Volunteers to America (VTA), a little known program that returned Peace Corps volunteers, VTA participants and program staff often called the "reverse Peace Corps." Lasting from 1967 to 1971 under the United States Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, the VTA brought international volunteers from Africa, Asia, and Latin America to work alongside their American counterparts in War on Poverty initiatives throughout the United States. VTA volunteers' direct experiences in confronting American forms of racism and poverty led many to question not only the efficacy of their work, but also more broadly America's role in the world, its model of development, and its commitment to universal values. Operating as a pilot program, the VTA never received full congressional approval. The idea of placing foreign volunteers in American communities made policy makers uncomfortable and was quickly defunded by Congress in 1971 when the Peace Corps sought further expansion of the program. Despite its short history, the VTA and the volunteers' encounters in the United States offers a way of rethinking the relationship between the Peace Corps and postwar development ideas and the possibilities and limitations of international volunteer programs in the 1960s.

42 (5) 2018

Andrew Patrick

Woodrow Wilson, the Ottomans, and World War I

On December 6 and 7 of 1917, the U.S. Congress was debating whether to declare war on Austria-Hungary, as it had on Germany eight months earlier. President Woodrow Wilson had advocated for war in his Annual Message to Congress on December 4 and, while Congress seemed overwhelmingly inclined to accept his call for war, a New York Times reporter noted that "the talk at the Capitol" after Wilson's speech "bore more upon the Executive's advice against a pronouncement [of war] against Turkey and Bulgaria than upon the demand for hostilities against Austria-Hungary."

30 (1) 2018

Brian K. Feltman

'We Don't Want Any German Off-Spring After These Prisoners Left Here': German Military Prisoners and British Women in the First World War

At the October 1918 meeting of the Carmarthenshire Standing Joint Committee, Aldermen J. L. Thomas and E. B. Richards asserted that the German prisoners of war in Wales 'constituted a very serious menace to the womanhood of this country'. The aldermen warned that German prisoners in other locations had reportedly assaulted young girls and created an atmosphere in which women were afraid to 'move about the country where these prisoners were located'. Calling for stricter oversight, Dr J. H. Williams reinforced the aldermen's warnings and divulged his deeper concerns, cautioning, we 'do not want any German off-spring after these prisoners left here … if we do not try to prevent it … it will be our fault if it happens; we shall be conniving it'.[1] The tone of the committee's discussion suggested that it feared German offspring would result from sexual assaults against British women rather than consensual relationships. Nonetheless, the Carmarthenshire aldermen believed they were responsible for protecting their country's womanhood, and authorities across Britain were equally concerned with preventing more amicable interactions between German prisoners and British women on the home front.

30 (1) 2018

Giusi Russo

Contested Practices, Human Rights, and Colonial Bodies in Pain: The UN's Gender Politics in Africa, 1940s–1960s

A newspaper article titled 'Just Cargo' was part of an appeal, dated 28 November 1947, with which St Joan International, a Roman Catholic NGO, petitioned the United Nations Trusteeship Council.[2] St Joan aimed to attract international attention to a 'scandalous' issue in one of the colonies under UN administration, British Cameroons. Titled 'Our African Sisters', the text denounced the presumed abuse that young women suffered when betrothed to the Fon of Bikom (a native ruler). The petition became popular because of the ties between St Joan and the United Nations, specifically, the Commission on the Status of Women and the Trusteeship Council. Its setting was a small territory in the Bamenda region, but to UN delegates the painful scenario the petition evoked was seen as representative of the status of women in the colonial world. This case inaugurated a set of UN debates on women and culture in relation to the international monitoring of readiness to self-rule.

30 (2) 2018

Ben Griffin

Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem

The history of gender is necessarily a history of power, whether it concerns power relations between men and women, between women, or between men. Power relations between men have long been a central theme of historical writing, but it is only in the last thirty years that they have been understood in gendered terms. The criminalisation of male homosexuality before 1967 is one of the most striking ways in which the modern British state has sought to privilege some forms of masculinity over others, but laws regulating leisure practices (especially drinking) and family maintenance contributions have served the same purpose. The state has not only punished unacceptable masculinities, it has endorsed or rewarded more acceptable forms.

30 (2) 2018

Jennifer Illuzzi

Reimagining the Nation: Gendered Images of Italy and the Italo-Turkish War of 1911–12

At the fiftieth anniversary of united Italy in 1911, an international exposition in Florence, Rome and Turin was meant to display a carefully crafted vision of modern Italy that was 'modern yet ancient , cosmopolitan yet bucolic. European yet regional, and imperial yet developing'. .... Historians have explored the archives of Italian foreign ministry, personal accounts of the war, diaries and parliamentary records to discover why Italy decided to embark on a war in 1911, and their accounts tend to focus on sociopolitical and economic reasons for the war, but they generally neglect the gendered aspects of the decision to go to war.

30 (3) 2018

Lilia Topouzova

Re-inventing Socialist Eastern Europe: Gendered Representations of the Communist Experience in Post-Communist Cinema

In the second week of November 1989, Berliners joyously took down the wall that had divided their city for twenty-eight years. … At the momentous events taking place at the Brandenburg Gate gripped the world's attention, some 1,700 kilometres southeast, in a modest Bulgarian school, a group of unsuspecting fourth-graders were about to witness their own – less spectacular but no less dramatic – end of communism.

20 (1) 2018

Alison Kraft

Dissenting Scientists in Early Cold War BritainThe "Fallout" Controversy and the Origins of Pugwash, 1954–1957

British nuclear policy faced a major challenge in 1954 when the radiological dangers of the new hydrogen bomb were highlighted by an accident resulting from a U.S. thermonuclear test in the Pacific that underscored how nuclear fallout could travel across national borders. Echoing the response from the United States, the British government downplayed the fallout problem and argued that weapons testing was safe. Some influential scientists rallied behind the government position on fallout and weapons tests, but others disagreed and were regarded within government circles as troublesome dissidents. This article focuses on two of the dissident scientists, Joseph Rotblat and Bertrand Russell, showing how they challenged government policy and sought to make public their view that fallout was dangerous and that weapons testing should stop. Their objections ensured that the fallout debate became a part of public life in Cold War Britain, imbuing the hydrogen bomb and the arms race with new meaning. The article casts new light on the process by which the fallout/testing issue came to be the most publicly controversial area of nuclear weapons policy, serving as a rallying point for scientists beyond the nationstate, at once a national and transnational problem.

20 (2) 2018

Jeremy Friedman

The Enemy of My EnemyThe Soviet Union, East Germany, and the Iranian Tudeh Party's Support for Ayatollah Khomeini

This article examines the strategy of the Iranian Tudeh Party in concert with its Soviet and East German patrons and allies during and after the Iranian revolution of 1979. The article assesses the thinking behind the Tudeh's strategy of unwavering support for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and his Islamist allies, even after other major leftist parties had begun fighting the new Islamic regime. This strategy was a product of the international Communist movement's model of revolution in the developing world that envisioned new states following a "non-capitalist path of development." In Iran, this was compounded by the use of Allende-era Chile as a model for the politics of revolutionary Iran, as well as a deep conviction that Islamism could not provide an effective model of governance in the twentieth century and therefore would collapse of its own accord within months after the Islamists seized power.

20 (3) 2018

Milton Leitenberg

The Hazards of Operations Involving Nuclear Weapons during the Cold War

This article provides an overview of the perils of U.S. and Soviet nuclear war planning during the Cold War. In particular, the article discusses instances of false alarms, when one side or the other picked up indications of an imminent attack by the other side and had to take measures to determine whether the indicators were accurate. None of these incidents posed a large danger of an accidental nuclear war, but they illustrate the inherent risks of the war preparations that both the United States and the Soviet Union took for their immense nuclear arsenals.

S. Mozumi

The Kennedy–Johnson Tax Cut of 1964, the Defeat of Keynes, and Comprehensive Tax Reform in the United States, pp. 25-61

In 1964, President Lyndon B. Johnson, the successor of John F. Kennedy, signed into law the largest tax cut in U.S. history until 1981, the so-called Kennedy–Johnson tax cut. Many scholars have evaluated it as representative Keynesian tax policy; this article focuses on the effort of the Treasury Department, tax experts such as Stanley S. Surrey and Wilbur D. Mills, the chairman of House Committee on Ways and Means, to reform the federal income tax system comprehensively—making it simpler, fairer, and more equitable—and their defeat by the 1964 tax cut. Through the policymaking and legislative process, the Kennedy administration's Council Economic Advisers defeated the Treasury and Surrey by domesticating Keynes's ideas on tax policy. Until the 1964 passage of the tax cut, Mills, with his inconsistent action, abandoned the accomplishment of their ideal tax reform.

D. McCool

Integrated Water Resources Management and Collaboration: The Failure of the Klamath River Agreements, pp. 83-104

This article addresses the origins of the immigration restriction movement in the late 19th century United States, a movement that realized its aims in the early 20th. It critiques the dominant scholarly interpretation, which holds that the movement sprang from a racism that viewed the new immigrants of this period as biologically inferior. It argues first that activists did not have at hand a biological theory sufficient to this characterization and did not employ one. It argues second that the movement arose as an adroit political response to labor market competition. The Republican Party recognized the discontent of resident workers (including those of older immigrant origin) with competition from new immigrants. The Party discerned ethnic differences among new and old immigrants and capitalized on these conditions in order to win elections. Ethnocentrism and middle-class anxiety over mass immigrant added to a movement that depended on bringing working class voters into the Party.

D. Beito

New Deal Mass Surveillance: The "Black Inquisition Committee," 1935–1936, pp. 169-201

At the behest of the Roosevelt administration in 1935, the U.S. Senate established a special committee to investigate lobbying activities by opponents of the "death sentence" of the Public Utility Holding Company Bill. Chaired by Hugo L. Black (D-Ala.), the "Black Committee" expanded its mission into a more general probe of anti–New Deal organizations and individuals. The committee used highly intrusive methods, notably catch-all dragnet subpoenas, to secure evidence. It worked closely with

the IRS for access to tax returns and with the FCC to obtain copies of millions of telegrams. When the telegram search became public information, there was a major backlash from the press, Congress, and the courts. Court rulings in 1936, resulting from suits by William Randolph Hearst and others, not only limited the committee's powers but provided important checks for future investigators, including Senator Joseph McCarthy.

30 (3) 2018

J. Hillyer

The Fiscal Revolution in America: A Reinterpretation, pp. 490-521

Between the 1930s and early 1960s, U.S. economic policy underwent an important transformation, described by economist Herbert Stein as "The Fiscal Revolution in America." During those years, policymakers utilized Keynesian ideas to promote prosperity, and the fiscal revolution reached its peak after John F. Kennedy proposed a growth-boosting tax cut despite the unprecedented peacetime consequence of running a deficit in nonrecession conditions. This article explores how that revolution developed during the postwar period. It challenges the argument that the business community shaped and consolidated the fiscal revolution in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Instead, this article shows that liberal economists played a crucial role in fashioning Keynesianism's postwar consolidation, so much so that the brand of that doctrine implemented in the early 1960s owed much to their efforts and was significantly different to the one championed by the business community.

30 (4) 2018

C. Kaplowitz

The Great Repudiator and Immigration Reform: Ronald Reagan and the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, pp. 635-656

In 1981, Ronald Reagan created a task force intended to gain the initiative on immigration reform. But immigration reform presented obstacles to his political stance in repudiation of his Democratic predecessors. After four years of wrangling, internally as well as with Congress, many on the Reagan team viewed the immigration task force as having shackled the president to an unwinnable issue. Frustrated politically, Reagan aides shifted focus to an emerging presidential tactic—the signing statement. This allowed the president to sign the Immigration Reform and Control Act while setting important precedents for his larger conservative agenda. The trajectory from presidential task force to presidential signing statement on immigration reform reveals the challenges Reagan faced on policy issues outside his core priorities, and also the development of a tactic to maneuver through the challenges. Immigration reform became less about immigration than about serving the administration's larger core priorities.

30 (1) 2018

John Pettegrew

From Radicalism to Perspectivalism: US Feminist History, 1970–2010, and the Example of Linda Gordon

This article examines the scholarship of the women's historian Linda Gordon and argues that she has developed a sophisticated mode of historical analysis that maintains allegiance to objectivity while supporting her feminist commitment to women's equality and related democratic goals. Gordon's perspectivalism can be traced to 1970s socialist feminism and its attempt to mediate criticism of gender relations and criticism of the inequalities of economic class. From dual systems theory came a more deliberate effort in the 1980s to identify and move between several subject positions within the same analytical frame; amid postmodern relativism and poststructuralist linguistic determinism, Gordon stressed the virtues of (a qualified) objectivity, which included an effort to identify one's own interests and biases while at the same time pursuing instrumental value between historical scholarship and democratic politics. Perspectivalism came into full bloom in Gordon's two leading books, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (1999) and *Dorothea Lange* (2010).

30 (2) 2018

Alissa Walter

Rural Women, Resistance, and the Egyptian Family Planning Program, 1965–1980

This article proposes new ways of thinking about subaltern agency and resistance through a historical study of Egypt's family planning program. According to demographic data and ethnographic studies of rural reproduction in Egypt from 1965 to 1980, the vast majority of rural Egyptian women resisted government attempts to manage their reproduction. This resistance was unique from other forms of subaltern resistance scholars usually study: it was neither a violent uprising, nor was it a "hidden transcript" as described by the historian James C. Scott. Instead, rural women engaged in a different kind of resistance by openly flouting the government's initiatives in an unorganized way without fear of state retribution. Examining rural women's responses to this new government family planning program reveals the state's developmental anxieties in the post-colonial period and the strategies that rural women adopted in response to changing economic circumstances. This article contributes new insights about subaltern agency, resistance, and state power.

30 (2) 2018

Teresa Ortiz-Gómez, Agata Ignaciuk

The Fight for Family Planning in Spain during Late Francoism and the Transition to Democracy, 1965–1979

This article examines the founding and early development (1965–1979) of the Spanish family planning movement. This movement was composed of two branches: one medical, the other feminist.

Despite their different roots, the two branches had complementary interests. From 1976 to 1979 they cooperated in the dissemination of contraception and sexual education, the establishment and consolidation of private and public family planning centers, and the promotion of a new, more egalitarian (woman) patient-doctor relationship. The movement's final achievement was the legalization of the sale and advertisement of contraception in 1978, followed by the incorporation of family planning into the Spanish public health care system. This article is based on oral history interviews with feminist activists and doctors involved in the Spanish family planning movement, print media from the period, and archival material.

30 (2) 2018

Sato Masaya

Bella Abzug's Dilemma: The Cold War, Women's Politics, and the Arab-Israeli Conflict in the 1970s

This article examines Bella Abzug's activities with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict at home and abroad during her congressional career (1971–1977), with a focus on the dilemmas she faced, her approach to overcoming them, and her ability to mobilize like-minded but diverse American women for her struggle. After tracing her Labor Zionist background and her activities in the early 1970s, this article investigates her strategy for defending Israel during and after the 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico. Abzug's story offers a useful window into the connection between women's politics and the Middle East question; it also illuminates the active role of a group of American women in making the US-Israeli relationship closer during the 1970s. This article concludes that, ironically, in order to endorse Zionism, Abzug, a staunch critic of the Cold War, relied on the US Cold War strategy of eliminating Communist influence from women's politics.

30 (3) 2018

Rachel Hui-Chi Hsu

Propagating Sex Radicalism in the Progressive Era: Emma Goldman's Anarchist Solution

This article charts the discourse, propagation, and reception of Goldman's anarchist-oriented sex radicalism to reveal the influence and the limits of anarchism as a political philosophy in the early twentieth century. My study reveals three important but underexplored points: first, Goldman radicalized sexological ideas by demonstrating the role that liberated and equal intimacies could play in creating anarchist revolution; second, her version of sex radicalism created a native-born intellectual audience for anarchism; and third, among other European thinkers, she was a pioneer in exporting the idea of free love to East Asia. These points shed light on the interplay between various radical and progressive ideas in and beyond America. By explicating Goldman's anarchistic ideas and influence as a sex radical in a cross-cultural context, this article clarifies the strength, the limits, and the historical significance of her project to popularize anarchism.

30 (4) 2018

Rachel Sandwell

The Travels of Florence Mophosho: The African National Congress and Left Internationalism, 1948–1985

Born in South Africa in 1921, Florence Mophosho led an extraordinary life, running the gamut from domestic service to eventual international diplomacy undertaken in her role as a representative of the exiled African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). This article outlines Mophosho's diplomatic travels and argues that the routes she traversed reveal a world of Eastern Bloc and Third World women's political struggle that was particularly active through the 1960s and 1970s. Her career exposes moments in women's history largely missed by existing historiography and resituates the work of the ANC within these networks. The fragmentary archives of the ANC, coupled with the personal archives of members of the South African liberation struggle, reveal the interplay between the ANC and other socialist and national liberation movements of this period via women's work.

30 (4) 2018

Laura Moore

"The fighting had ceased but… democracy had not won": Helen Noble Curtis and the Rise of a Black International Feminism in World War I France

Helen Noble Curtis was a prominent race woman, peace advocate, Pan-African spokesperson, and the first African American woman to serve in France during the First World War. Although scholars have focused on the totality of the war moment for African American male soldiers, less attention has been given to the African American women who served as Young Men's Christian Association canteen workers in France. The fact that they were African American and women magnified the risks they faced and intensified the extent of their sacrifice. In applying a microhistorical analysis of Curtis's activism, this article describes the particulars of the African American female experience in the First World War and the processes by which these experiences cultivated and emboldened an internationalist and militant activism in the postwar period. It is imperative that the experiences of the African American women who served in France be brought out of the shadows of the past and their service acknowledged.

30 (4) 2018

Imaobong Umoren

"We Americans are not just American citizens any longer": Eslanda Robeson, World Citizenship, and the New World Review in the 1950s

Eslanda Robeson is mostly remembered as the wife and manager of activist and performer Paul Robeson. Yet, as recent scholarship has shown, she was an influential activist and intellectual in her own right. This article argues that the newspaper *New World Review* was a crucial space for Robeson to express her vision for world citizenship that was tied to her work in the United Nations and stressed ending hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union, challenging Western dominance at the United Nations, promoting ties between African and Asian freedom struggles, dismantling racial and gender inequalities, and urging peace. Robeson's notion of world citizenship was imagined

as her articles were often speculative and experienced in the way in which her role as a journalist allowed her to build various informal and formal local and global networks.

16 (3) 2018

J. Obert, E. Mattiacci

Keeping Vigil: The Emergence of Vigilance Committees in Pre-Civil War America

What explains the emergence of organized private enforcement in the United States? We study the formation of vigilance committees—that is, coercive groups organized in a manner not officially sanctioned by state law and with the purpose of establishing legal and moral claims. We argue that these committees were primarily intended to help create civic political identities in contexts of social ambiguity and institutional instability, what we call social frontiers. Relying on quantitative and qualitative analysis, we find that these committees were more likely to form in contexts where levels of ethno-nationalist heterogeneity were high and where political institutions had recently changed. Contrary to common wisdom, vigilance committees were much more than functionalist alternatives to an absent state, or local orders established by bargaining, or responses to social or economic conflict. They constituted flexible instruments to counteract environments characterized by social and political uncertainty.

16 (3) 2018

S. Gunitsky

Democratic Waves in Historical Perspectives

For over two centuries, the evolution of democracy has been marked by repeated democratic waves. Yet these cross-border bursts of revolution and reform have varied widely in their origins, intensity, and success rates. How do we compare cascades of regime change, and what lessons do they offer about the spread of democracy? I lay out a historical framework of democratic waves that focuses on recurring causal mechanisms across time. Thirteen democratic waves are categorized according to two dimensions: 1) the origins of external influence, located in either vertical hegemonic transformations or in horizontal cross-border linkages; 2) the strength of external influence, taking the form of contagion when outside forces dominate and emulation when domestic focal points shape the timing of contention. This approach allows for more meaningful comparisons between these important, recurring, yet seemingly incomparable democratic waves. More generally, it suggests that the global history of democracy cannot be reduced to the sum of its national trajectories.

Studies in American Political Development

32 (1) 2018

Swenson, P.

Misrepresented Interests: Business, Medicare, and the Making of the American Health Care State, pp. 1-23

A belief that there is a pervasive and enduring adversarial relationship between business and the welfare state is shared widely across scholarly disciplines engaged in historical and comparative analysis of social politics. According to that view, each stage in the expansion of the American welfare state was a defeat for capitalists. Detailed evidence on the politics of health care, with special focus on the passage of Medicare in 1965, casts serious doubt on this dominant view about class politics, the welfare state, and the power of business. It shows that much of the literature takes a hazardous inferential leap from national business organizations' official positions against reform to overconfident conclusions about actual business opinions. The literature also mistakenly discounts evidence of business support for moderate reforms as strategic camouflage of actual opposition designed to head off more radical ones. Extensive evidence reveals enormous division within business rather than unity about the health care state, and a great deal of support from large and powerful corporations for its creation and expansion. Evidence about the economic implications of health insurance for businesses, including before and after Medicare, and all the way to the Affordable Care Act of 2010, indicates that the support was genuine, not strategic, and that sometimes it was critical for passage. That support calls for new thinking about how to answer the perennial question about class power in America: "Who actually governs?"

32 (1) 2018

Kuo, A

The Spread of Anti-Union Business Coordination: Evidence from the Open-Shop Movement in the U.S. Interwar Period, pp. 103-126

What explains the development of repressive employer coordination? Classic historical American business and labor literature focuses on institutions of labor repression and employer associations, but little systematic examination of such associations exists, particularly during the interwar period. Similarly, recent political science literature on the origins of industrial institutions underemphasizes the importance of repressive employer associations. I use new quantitative subnational evidence from the U.S. interwar period, with data from the open-shop movement in the United States at the local level after World War I. I test a variety of families of hypotheses regarding variation in repressive employer coordination, with specific data measuring the threat posed by organized labor. I find that such threats posed by unions are correlated to repressive employer associations. The results have implications for understanding local-level variation in the business repression of labor movements in the early twentieth century and contribute to our understanding of labor repressive institutions and the incentives of firms to collectively act.

Hertel-Fernandez, A., Skocpol, T., & Sclar, J.

When Political Mega-Donors Join Forces: How the Koch Network and the Democracy Alliance Influence Organized U.S. Politics on the Right and Left, pp. 127-165

As economic inequalities have skyrocketed in the United States, scholars have started paying more attention to the individual political activities of billionaires and multimillionaires. Useful as such work may be, it misses an important aspect of plutocratic influence: the sustained efforts of organized groups and networks of political mega-donors, who work together over many years between as well as during elections to reshape politics. Our work contributes to this new direction by focusing on two formally organized consortia of wealthy donors that have recently evolved into highly consequential forces in U.S. politics. We develop this concept and illustrate the importance of organized donor consortia by presenting original data and analyses of the right-wing Koch seminars (from 2003 to the present) and the progressive left-leaning Democracy Alliance (from 2005 to the present). We describe the evolution, memberships, and organizational routines of these two wealthy donor collectives, and explore the ways in which each has sought to reconfigure and bolster kindred arrays of think tanks, advocacy groups, and constituency efforts operating at the edges of America's two major political parties in a period of intensifying ideological polarization and growing conflict over the role of government in addressing rising economic inequality. Our analysis argues that the rules and organizational characteristics of donor consortia shape their resource allocations and impact, above and beyond the individual characteristics of their wealthy members.

Lewis, V.

Party Control of Government and American Party Ideology Development, pp. 188-216

Throughout U.S. history, the two major political parties have switched positions many times on a variety of issues, including how powerful the national government should be and how much it should regulate and guide the American economy. Are these changes simply the product of historical contingency, or are there structural factors at work that can help explain these developments? This article finds that change in party control of government can help explain change in party ideologies with respect to economic policy. Parties in long-term control of unified government tend to develop their ideology in ways that call for a stronger national government and more economic intervention, while parties in opposition tend to change their ideology in ways that call for less national government power and less economic intervention.

104 (4) 2018

Thomas A. Guglielmo

A Martial Freedom Movement: Black G.I.s' Political Struggles during World War II

In addressing the impact of World War II on the black civil rights movement, scholars have failed to appreciate the full scope and sweep of black G.I. activism. Thomas A. Guglielmo argues that African American servicemen and women spearheaded the most dramatic and significant assault on military Jim Crow, part of a broader effort to topple wartime white supremacy. In the process, they built a "martial freedom movement," a fuller appreciation of which deepens and refines our understanding of modern black freedom struggles.

104 (4) 2018

Jonathan Bell

Rethinking the 'Straight State': Welfare Politics, Health Care, and Public Policy in the Shadow of AIDS

The AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) crisis in the United States killed tens of thousands of people in the 1980s and revealed homophobia and political inertia at the heart of American governance at the same time that it spurred a new wave of social activism. Jonathan Bell explores battles to access the welfarestate for people with AIDS, unveiling how a system designed in the 1930s for women with children and the permanently disabled was adapted to meet the demands of gay men.

105 (2) 2018

Kirsten Swinth

Post–Family Wage, Postindustrial Society: Reframing the Gender and Family Order through Working Mothers in Reagan's America, pp. 311-335

In the 1980s business leaders, social scientists, women's rights advocates, and policy makers agreed on a startling new fact: working mothers had moved to the center of the nation's economic life. Foot soldiers of the new service economy, their labor shaped the nation's work force and future competitiveness. As *Working Woman* magazine told its readers in November 1986, "women's incomes—women's *own* incomes—and our new life-styles are at the heart of a restructuring of this country's economy, not only changing employment patterns but deciding the fates of whole business sectors and redistributing the nation's wealth." By boosting "slumping family incomes," the magazine crowed, these female workers stimulated billions in new child care and "homey chore" businesses.

105 (2) 2018

Lisa Levenstein

A Social Movement for a Global Age: U.S. Feminism and the Beijing Women's Conference of 1995, pp. 336-365

In September 1995 the Atlanta-based black women's reproductive health organization SisterLove conducted a workshop titled "OJ Simpson: Black Women Speak on Violence, Black Men, and Interracial Relationships." An interracial group of over one hundred feminists shared perspectives on domestic violence and expressed frustrations with the sensationalized news coverage of the trial of the African American football star for the murder of his white ex-wife. In many respects the exchange felt familiar. Similar dialogues were happening in churches, universities, community centers, and living rooms across the country. But this conversation happened far from home. The site of the workshop was Huairou, China, a suburb of Beijing.

ALTRO

Ab Imperio

(1) 2018

Z. Hoffman

Subversive Patriotism: Aleksei Suvorin, Novoe vremia, and Right Wing Nationalism during the Russo-Japanese War, pp. 69-100

This essay explores the particular type of nationalism expressed by the publisher Aleksei Suvorin and his newspaper, *Novoe vremia*, during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905 and the ways it led to conflicts with some of the empire's highest-ranking officials. Suvorin and his newspaper depicted the war as both a linchpin of Russian national and international prestige and a project of national reinvigoration. *Novoe vremia*'s articles, Suvorin's diary, and the files of the imperial censorship bureau show that these ultranationalist sentiments ultimately pitted the usually loyal newspaper against a tsarist government that could not deliver victory. The back and forth between the newspaper and foreign ministry in particular demonstrates the virulent international focus of the newspaper's rhetoric about the war. Moreover, it shows the seriousness with which the regime took these ideas and Suvorin's position as an arbiter of public opinion.

(3) 2018

A. Semenov

The Ambiguities of Federalism as a Postimperial Political Vision: Editorial Introduction, pp. 23-30

In this editorial introduction to the thematic forum "Political Imaginaries at the End of Empire," Alexander Semyonov, explicates the ambivalently hybrid nature of federalist projects as influential scenarios of the postimperial political order that bridged the seemingly unsurmountable gap between imperial and national principles (with the effect of producing an original form of composite polity). Semyonov also points out problems in the reception of federalism citing the U.S. case, which is often viewed as paradigmatic, but obscures the fact that most of the world population now lives in federations created by the reformatting of formerly imperial spaces. Federal and quasi-federal arrangements of today are thus a direct consequence of imperial diversity, and they often reveal the same challenges of ethnoterritorial nationalism, uneven development, and de facto layered citizenships.

(3) 2018

K. Mantena, R.S. Mantena

Introduction: Political Imaginaries at the End of Empire, pp. 31-35

In the introduction to the forum "Political Imaginaries at the End of Empire," Karuna Mantena and Rama Sundari Mantena remind readers that the original projects for postimperial society did not necessarily envision the ideal of the nation-state. One of the most prominent alternatives proposed to

the nation-state was the idea of federation, which ranged in form and scale from imperial and regional supranational configurations to more pluralistic domestic constitutional arrangements.

58 (224) 2018

Benjamín García Holgado - Nicolás Taccone

Diseño institucional e inestabilidad presidencial en autoritarismos: el Proceso de Reorganización Nacional en la Argentina (1976-1983), pp. 3-24

The last military dictatorship in Argentina (1976-1983) was an authoritarian regime with many veto players and high levels of political competition within the Armed Forces. Notwithstanding the plentiful political conflicts during Jorge Rafael Videla's administration (1976-1981), Roberto Viola took office as his successor in March 1981. However, only nine months later the Military Junta removed him, starting a complex and uncertain transition to democracy. Why was Viola removed as president of the National Reorganization Process in December 1981 in Argentina? This paper proposes an institutionalist argument to answer this question. In that dictatorship, the institutional design conditioned the political survival of the president since he was subordinated to the Military Junta, allowing the conformation of an opposition coalition inside the Armed Forces. Process tracing is used as a methodological tool to explain how the formal and informal rules of the Process affected the political competition and, in this manner, contributed to produce this outcome.

58 (223) 2018

Carlos H. Acuña

El peronismo que no fue. El papel de la lucha política interindustrial en la temprana frustración del peronismo de Perón, pp. 339-435

Peronism is considered a political movement that led organized workers and small-medium entrepreneurs in their confrontation with the different fractions of big business, a confrontation that shaped the Argentine political-economic process since the second half of the twentieth century. This study focuses on the 1943-1955 period to argue that Peronist policies pursued the inclusion of the great industrial bourgeoisie as part of its socio-political alliance. And this, not merely to capitalize its investment capacity but also aiming at placing the great industrial bourgeoisie in a central leadership role over business as a whole. In this sense, the study argues that "really existing Peronism" that set the basis for Argentine politics since the 1950s, was not the one that Peronist governmental strategies sought to build but –to the contrary– the result of Perón's political defeat in the achievement of his goals, a defeat brought about by different industrial groups in conflict. In a nutshell, "Perón's Peronism" was not the one of the triple alliance between the State, organized workers and small-medium entrepreneurs, but one that included in a leadership role the great industrial bourgeoisie. This is why this study is, ultimately, about the "Peronism that wasn't".

58 (223) 2018

Ignacio Mamone

Instituciones autoritarias y promoción industrial. La política de la reforma industrial de 1977 en Argentina, pp. 437-459

Why would an authoritarian regime that seeks to discipline national businessmen grants them considerable large economic rents? The last military dictatorship in Argentina established the 21.608 Industrial Promotion Law. It deepened state intervention in industrial planning and financing with tax subsidies to businessmen and local firms from the postwar substitutive industrialization process. Thus, the reform contradicts the objectives of fiscal adjustment and market liberalization that the dictatorship had adopted. The reason behind this paradox can be found in the choice of the institutions that the armed forces adopted to share the state power which condition the establishment of different public policies. An analysis of original documents from the Comisión de Asesoramiento Legislativo offers evidence of how three key actors in the authoritarian coalition advanced their opposite interests over the industrial policy reform. The statist faction of the armed forces, national businessmen, and economic bureaucrats shaped the timing and content of the new legislation, leading to the adoption of a public policy contradictory with the foundational economic objectives of the authoritarian regime.

Historia (Cile)

51 (1) 2018

Juan Jesús Morales Martín

Dominación Filantrópica y governabilidad democrática: el caso de la Fundación Ford y CIEPLAN en Chile (1976-1990), pp. 141-163

The principal objective of this article is to explain the change in political ideas, between 1976 and 1990 of the leading group of intellectuals that led the first democratic Chilean government's economic team after the last civil-military dictatorship. More specifically, we will focus on Alejandro Foxely, founder and president of the independent academic center CIEPLAN. We propose a documental and historiographic analysis to comprehend that the decisions that favored a stable democracy and the maintenance of a neoliberal model were also played in the field of international philanthropic domination. The results show that the interests of the Ford Foundation regarding to Chile and CIEPLAN were to supervise a technocratic vision of democracy and the insertion of this country in the world economic system.

51 (1) 2018

Ignacio A. López

Los conservadores contraatacan. Repensando la política presidencial y las redes políticos-partidarias en tiempos de Ramón S. Castillo (Argentina, 1940-1943), pp. 79-112

This article analyzes presidential policy during the times of Ramón Castillo through a reconsideration of his political capacities and party resources. It is carried out mainly through a reevaluation of the attempts made by the last conservative Argentinean president to reconstruct the political-party fabric concerning some provincial cases like Jujuy, Corrientes and Tucumán. Through a varied repertoire of sources like the press, private correspondence and official documents, the article concludes that, if the political abilities and the resources of the president were not sufficient to guarantee his survival in power, a partial explanation of his fall should be found in the same policy that promoted the Executive Power, his unilateral actions, and their unexpected consequences.

51 (1) 2018

Carolina Cerrano – Fernando López D'Alesandro

Las Fuerzas Armadas Uruguayas durante la Segunda Guerra y el Advenimiento del Peronismo (1939-1945), pp. 11-29

This article addresses how Uruguayan Armed Forces inserted themselves into American hemispheric

defense strategy during the Second World War. Additionally, the war pushed the Uruguayan government to pass a series of legislation to guarantee its defense, and to also involve the citizenry in the defense process. When the enemy seemed distant those same citizens boycotted Obligatory Military Service. The birth of Peronism, visualized as a Nazi-Fascist enemy, also contributed to

increase fears of a conflict and to justifying defense plans and evaluate the geopolitical insertion of the country in the postwar order.

Francisca Espinosa Muñoz

"La Batalla de la Merluza": política y consumo alimenticio en el Chile de la Unidad Popular (1970-1973), pp. 31-54

This article studies food consumption during the Popular Unity as a space for debate and tension with respect to the hake supply policy implemented by Salvador Allende's government, given the scarcity of meat, through a campaign to incentivize its consumption. Considering that, the opposition developed a counter-campaign that questioned not only the product but the procedure in which it was obtained. Starting from the analysis of mainly newspapers and magazines, it makes visible the relation during this period between political legitimacy and food supply, which the opposition utilized to weaken the government's image regarding consumption.

In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content:

In 1896, an anonymous "Warsaw publicist" in the German city of Leipzig published a revealing commentary on the nature of Russian rule over its Polish subjects. According to this author, conditions in the Polish provinces were dire. The region was awash with lawlessness. Corrupt officials acted at will through an overbearing bureaucracy. Local society was completely demoralized. In the decades that followed the January uprising of 1863–64, he argued, "despotism" had become "second nature for the representatives of [tsarist] power."[1] Not only did this abuse cause the suffering of Poland's citizens; it also had a "corrosive effect … on Russia's own internal development." For "as long as despotism exists in Poland," the author continued, "respect for the law in Russia is also impossible."[2]

The Warsaw publicist's dramatic polemic thus characterized one of the most important territories of the Russian Empire as little more than a "breeding ground for arbitrary rule" (*rassadnik proizvola*).[3] For a contemporary Polish critic to offer this view of the tsarist order is perhaps not terribly surprising. More startling, however, is the extent to which historians have agreed with this dim picture ever since, and not just of Russian Poland in the late imperial era but of the entire so-called "123 dark years" of tsarist rule over the country more generally. This perspective largely denies the reality of multiple and varied forms of engagement between the state and the local population throughout the long 19th century. It also effectively dismisses the no less remarkable flexibility and variety of options for political maneuvering that remained available to the kingdom's population, even in the aftermath of the January uprising of 1863–64. Most of all, this narrative tends to keep us from looking more carefully into the structures and actors of imperial rule that shaped the politics of empire at the regional and local level.

This article aims to revise this approach through a careful focus on the activities of Russian central institutions and their representatives in the Kingdom of Poland during the late imperial decades. To do this, I begin by assembling an overview of the leading figures of the state bureaucracy in the region, which exposes the structure and complex practices of the imperial administration. I then provide a detailed analysis of the Warsaw city administration to highlight the inner dynamics of the government apparatus, focusing in particular on two areas: interactions between official decision makers in the imperial capital and in the region; and the varied contacts that unfolded between state bureaucrats and Warsaw's Polish-Jewish civil society. As my research suggests, these state-society relations were characterized not only by confrontation but by various forms of cooperation as well.

A great break to this pattern, however, occurred with the revolution of 1905, which ushered in a period of rising pressure on the imperial system. To trace this profound turn in imperial politics, I follow the story of state-society relations across the 1905 divide to examine the postrevolutionary political configuration and the changing significance of the state bureaucracy in the years just before

World War I. After 1906 conflicts in Poland cast a growing shadow over the overall structure of the empire—full proof, it would seem, of the critical feedback loop between Poland and Russia to which the Warsaw publicist had alluded so evocatively a decade earlier.

My goal in digging into the Warsaw case is not, however, merely to expose the intricacies of imperial power in a troublesome imperial region. The broader patterns that defined tsarist rule in the imperial periphery in general around the turn of the 20th century deserve greater attention from historians, and in this respect, Poland has special importance. Among other things, the Kingdom was always a significant proving ground for the empire, a kind of laboratory where the authorities modeled practices for securing power and integrating local populations.

In lieu of an abstract, here is a brief excerpt of the content:

In 1983, a great legal scholar and a uniquely engaged expert on Soviet law began his controversial masterwork as follows: This book tells the following story: that once there was a civilization called "Western"; that it developed distinctive "legal" institutions, values, and concepts; that these Western legal institutions, values, and concepts were consciously transmitted from generation to generation over centuries, and thus came to constitute a "tradition."

Our question for today's lively field of Russian law is, could we substitute the word "Russian" for "Western" and proceed to describe the dynamics and characteristics of a Russian legal tradition?

To do so, we must first have the confidence, as Harold Berman did, to challenge commonly held notions of what law is. The proposal to study a legal tradition recognizes both the plurality of understandings of law and the historical construction of all legal systems. What people regard as law in different times and places depends on particular, but often intersecting, cultural trajectories and particular, often intersecting, conjunctures of power.

Second, we must call into question, or at least set into a new context, many of the assumptions about Russian law that have underpinned intellectual, political, and scholarly discourse for at least two centuries. One of the most powerful of these lines of thought is the "not law" conceit, a repeated insistence that Russia did not have a strong legal culture and that "real law" existed only outside Russia in a place called "Europe" or the "West." Discourses about what law should be in Russia can be seen as part of Russia's legal tradition; as such, they have a place in our project. But our emphasis is on practices, on lawmaking and law using, rather than on theory and critique of Russian law.[2]

To uncover the "institutions, values, and concepts" (Berman's terms) of a Russian legal tradition, we must escape from the confines of comparative thinking and checklists of qualities presumed to constitute law. Most scholarly writing on Russian law reverts explicitly or implicitly to comparison with European developments and with "rule of law" as defined, insistently, in the aftermath of World War II. In this evaluative context, the salient questions for Russia become: did its legal history replicate or diverge from a European path, and did its legal system conform to the principles of

Western legalism? Never mind that both notions—a European path and Western legalism—obscure the complexity and multiplicity of legal trajectories within Europe and the "West."

In this proposal, we attempt to start out afresh, looking at Russian law in intertwined spatial and chronological perspectives. Spatially, our approach is both more global and more local. Russia's geopolitical environment was indeed crucial for its legal tradition, but that location, we argue, was not uniquely European. Russia was from the beginning and is to this day in meaningful contact and interaction with cultures and polities to its east and south as well as to the iconized "West." It is imperative to enlarge the region of reference for Russian law beyond Europe. Where principles and qualities of law are concerned, we take a local approach and work outward, revealing those practices and habits of legal rule that emerged over time in what became Russia's political space. The lining up or checking off of these Russian legal traits against the attractive fiction of a universal "rule of law" is not our goal.

If the space of Russian legal development was Eurasian in the first place, and even transoceanic after Russian expansion and in the context of "international" law, what about time? Our approach intersects with recent studies of Russian law that challenge conventional assumptions about the uniqueness and/or backwardness of Russian law. But efforts to show that Russian law was on the same track as "other civilized states" or that in various aspects of law Russia was "ahead" of other societies put legal developments on a time line toward perfection that daily becomes harder to defend. Moreover, making judgments about being "ahead" or "behind" assumes that we agree on what constitutes improvement.