

Spoglio delle principali riviste specialistiche estere (annata 2016)

Indice per Paese:

Francia

Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos	p. 3
Parlement[s]	p. 8
Pouvoirs	p. 10
Revue Française de Science Politique	p. 11
Revue Historique	p. 13

Germania

Comparativ	p. 16
German History	p. 20
Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht	p. 24
Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen	p. 25
Historische Zeitschrift	p. 28
Iberoamericana	p. 30
Journal of Modern European History	p. 32
Neue Politische Literatur	p. 33
Quellen und Forschungen	p. 35
Sozial.Geschichte Online	p. 36
Totalitarismus und Demokratie	p. 37
Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte	p. 40
Zeithistorische Forschungen	p. 42
Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft	p. 43

Gran Bretagna

Contemporary European History	p. 44
European History Quarterly	p. 45
Journal of British Studies	p. 46
Journal of Modern Italian Studies	p. 49
Journal of Political Ideologies	p. 53
Journal of World History	p. 54
Past & Present	p. 56
The Historical Journal	p. 58
The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History	p. 61
The Journal of Modern History	p. 65
Twentieth Century British History	p. 66

Spagna

Ayer	p. 69
Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea	p. 74
Hispania	p. 76

Hispania Nova	p. 78
Historia Contemporànea	p. 79
Historia del Presente	p. 80
Historia y Política	p. 83
Pasado y Memoria	p. 87

Stati Uniti

American Historical Review	p. 90
Diplomatic History	p. 92
Gender & History	p. 94
Journal of Cold War Studies	p. 97
Journal of Policy History	p. 99
Journal of Women's History	p. 100
Modern Intellectual History	p. 103
Perspectives on Politics	p. 107
Studies in American Political Development	p. 109
The Journal of American History	p. 111

Altro

Desarrollo Económico (Argentina)	p. 113
Historia (Cile)	p. 115

Francia

Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos

Mélanie Sadler

Quand la «république» d'Alberdi se fait «monarchiste»

Débats, mis en ligne le 16 décembre 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/69821>

Juan Bautista Alberdi's works have often been studied through the prism of "republicanism", particularly since the author has recommended in his *Bases* the necessary construction of a "possible republic" before the establishment of a "real republic" when the young Argentinean nation will have educated its people in the principles that have to rule such a regime. This article voluntarily does not employ the terms of "republic" or "republicanism" as categories of analysis, in order to explain what could be considered as contradictions in the author's speeches, who, according to the periods, categorically defends the Republican regime or, on the contrary, the monarchy. Alberdi plays with the wide semantic plasticity of the word "republic", which allows him not to oppose it to the "monarchy" in many cases. Moreover, – Alberdi is, above all, a pragmatic empiricist – the question of the political regime to adopt does not represent the heart of his concern ; the political regime is only a means to an end, which would be civilization and progress. The best political regime will be, thus, the one that will assure peace, order, and conditions for development, whether that regime is a monarchy or a republic.

Sebastián Hurtado Torres

Chile y Estados Unidos, 1964-1973. Una nueva Mirada

Débats, mis en ligne le 10 octobre 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/69698>

The scholarship on the U.S. intervention in Chilean politics between 1964 and 1973 has dealt mostly with the covert operations carried out by the CIA to oppose, by various ways and under changing circumstances, the political project of the Marxist left. The main sources for this literature have been the records of several U.S. agencies declassified after 1999 and the reports on the intervention in Chile published by the U.S. Congress in the 1970s. In this essay I suggest that the records of the Department of State, especially those documents that record the daily workings of the political staff of the U.S. embassy in Santiago, shed new light on some issues of the utmost relevance for Chilean contemporary political history, force us to reconsider some of the most widespread interpretations about the character of the relationship between the two countries in the period covered in this article and clearly portray the ideological and political motivations that underlay the work of the U.S. diplomats stationed in Chile.

Cristina Moyano B

La visitadora social industrial en Chile: tradición y modernidad en la gestión del bienestar, 1920-

1950

Questions du temps présent, mis en ligne le 07 juillet 2016, consulté le 05 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/69328>

This article discusses the establishment of the Industrial Social Service, as a professional practice of social intervention in the workplace. Through the pages of the "Journal of Social Service ", we will analyze the representations about the worker, the employer and the industrial world made by the social worker, to understand the changes in the extensive control, the bureaucratic paternalism and the many tensions between modernity and tradition lived by the social worker in the chilean industries.

Martha Ruffini

Poder y violencia en Argentina durante la década de 1960. La trama del atentado al ex presidente Arturo Frondizi

Questions du temps présent, mis en ligne le 07 juillet 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/69324>

In 1964, and in the framework of the tension caused by the peronist prohibition and the threat of return of Perón, occurred in Argentina a thwarted attack against the former president Arturo Frondizi (1958-1962) in his frame is articulates the climate of political violence, partisan tensions, between political and military fractions and the role played by the armed organizations of the early sixties and their links with the trade union leadership and the peronist militancy. The interpretation given to the attack reveals the struggle for power between the ruling party has filed alleging a political maneuver of the former president at a time when the oil policy management was questioned, while the own Frondizi blamed the government of Illia by the aggression in the remaining involved the peronism outlawed through the armed organization "Movimiento Nueva Argentina" (MNA) and their leaders Dardo Cabo and Americo Rial. The research of the Federal Courts could not confirm an intention killer or impute to the detainees, but allows us to infer the participation of the "Movimiento Nueva Argentina", the involvement of trade unionism and the weakness of the accusations of Frondizi and the "Movimiento de Intransigencia Radical" (MIR) .

Isabel Jara Hinojosa

Nacionalismo y política artístico-cultural de la dictadura chilena: la secretaría de relaciones culturales

Questions du temps présent, mis en ligne le 25 janvier 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/68967>

This article describes the contribution of Department of Cultural Relations on the artistic and cultural discourse of the dictatorship, analyzing their coordination with the government's cultural apparatus, his path in the vagaries of government policy and the ideological conflicts that influenced on it. It suggests that the identification of the SRC with the nationalism allowed it to

prolong the life and make narrative sense to the hesitant and weak “cultural policy”, through a anti-marxist, essentialist and heroic story; but, at the same time, it was trapped in the paradox of publicize it consistent with the internationalizing and modernizing trend of neoliberalism, and the aesthetics opening of the art circuit.

Barbara Ghiringhelli

La valorisation des relations transnationales de solidarité. Le cas du transnationalisme pour la protection des droits de l'homme durant le régime de Pinochet

Colloques, mis en ligne le 10 octobre 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/69627>

The Allende's Government was brutally cut short by a coup led by General Pinochet. The following crackdown on activists did not spare members of the deposed government, directors in public companies and in civil society organizations. The commendable efforts of officials at the Italian Embassy in Chile, saved dozens of people, providing them with a safe haven behind the Embassy's walls before helping them leave the country. Some of the leading figures who escaped like this made their way to Rome. Here, through the solidarity of NGOs committed with Chile, these political refugees were able to piece together in Italy effective support for Chilean people and organizations fight back against the human rights violations perpetrated. Back to Chile, thanks to a project promoted by the NGO “MLAL”, co-financed by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Italian Bishop Conference, these political refugees led a Communication Agency cleaver for the Referendum. The whole experience remains one of the best examples, with true value added, of the use of displaced human resources - with their expertise and in-depth knowledge of the local socio-political, cultural and anthropological climate - in international cooperation activities.

Massimo De Giuseppe

Italia frente a la guerra civil salvadoreña : la iglesia, los movimientos religiosos, denuncias jurídicas e iniciativas políticas

Colloques, mis en ligne le 10 octobre 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/69633>

The crisis that transformed, in the late Seventies and early Eighties, Central America in one of the strategic areas of the tension of the "Cold War", produced an international mobilization of political, social and religious actors. In particular, after the tragic death of Archbishop Oscar Romero on March 24, 1980, an historically marginal theater as the small El Salvador became the center of a complex network of diplomatic activities, policy initiatives and forms of unpublished mobilization. The Salvadoran case represents a powerful model for reading the relationships between endogenous processes and the impact of the Cold War, and its interpretation from Europe and Italy. In Italy the Salvadoran crisis held important places in the national public discourse, gaining a presence in major newspapers, mobilizing action of NGOs, political parties, social groups and especially in the Catholic world; ecclesiastical and secular actors promoted a large number of initiatives, books, reports, events. This research is based on documents preserved in historical archives (Lelio and Lisli

Basso Foundation, Pax Christi, Foundation Balducci, Sturzo Institute) and private collections (Turoldo, Bassetti, Cardinal Casaroli) without the addition of brochures, magazines and literature.

Ernesto Bohoslavsky

Los liberalismos de Argentina, Brasil y Uruguay ante el enigma peronista (1943-1955)

Colloques, mis en ligne le 25 janvier 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/68805>

For a long time, Latin America has been considered a hopelessly populist land. This very essentialized and comprehensive academic and political characterizations on the continent disowns the power of anti-populist actors. This paper aims to reconstruct the behavior and speeches of some of the anti populist coalitions as well as those of liberal politicians in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay in the peronist scenario. This work provides some evidence on mutual perceptions and cooperation among national actors from a transnational history approach; and portrays the collective imagination and the republican, anti-fascist and in some cases, elitist political culture shared by antiperonist Argentine leaders, as well as those of the UDN in Brazil and of Batllism in Uruguay. This perspective was shaped by the denunciation and the critique on what has been reported as "populist" practices - demagogic and empty rhetoric, irresponsible public expenditure and political manipulation. Since politicians in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay have held political, personal and intellectual bonds stated in newspapers, letters and public speeches, it is easy to identify joint features and ties across frontiers. They have understood -and intervened in- the political life keeping an eye on the political situation of the neighboring country in an effort to build an anti populist South American coalition in the transition between the end of WW2 and the beginning of the Cold War.

Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárata

La unión demócrata independiente (udi): un caso de conservadurismo modernizador en Chile

Colloques, mis en ligne le 25 janvier 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/68811>

This article analyzes the Chilean right-wing party Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI), leading political supporter of Pinochet's dictatorship and molder of its authoritarian-neoliberal project. My hypothesis suggests that this political formation represented a "new right" born in the 1960s, whose aim was to provide a political alternative based on a neoliberal capitalist agenda and on a very conservative stance in political, social and cultural matters. The specific features of Chile's transition to democracy, retaining substantial elements of the dictatorship's economic and institutional model, as well as its links with the Opus Dei, allowed the UDI to consolidate its presence and redefine the nature of Chilean politics, especially through the "municipalization" of political practices.

Rodrigo Patto Sá Motta

O anticomunismo nas pesquisas de opinião: Brasil, 1955-1964

Colloques, mis en ligne le 14 janvier 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/68817>

Anticommunism is rooted in Brazil since the 1920's and 1930's, especially after the 1935 revolutionary insurrection which gave birth to a strong repressive and discursive answer from the state and the social elites. Hence, the cold war winds met an anticommunist tradition already established in Brazil, although it grew in combination with the new influences arriving from North America. Based on the results of polls and surveys conducted by north-american and brazilian agencies the aim of this text is to analyze anticommunist influence in brazilian political opinion during the 1950's and the 1960's.

Gilberto Grassi Calil

Por uma democracia sem liberdades democráticas: Plínio Salgado e os católicos portugueses no difícil contexto de 1943 a 1946

Colloques, mis en ligne le 25 janvier 2016, consulté le 06 mars 2017.

<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/68906>

This article aims to analyze the final period of permanency of the “National Chief” of Brazilian integralism, Plínio Salgado, in Portugal, between 1943 and 1946 and the doctrinaire elaboration occurred at that time. In this period, Salgado deepened his interaction with intellectuals, catholics and Salazar's political leaders, delivered countless lectures and launched several books. The international defeat of Nazi-Fascism made necessary a new discourse, and because of that he has developed, in an intense cooperation with the Portuguese Catholic hierarchy, the “Christian concept of democracy”, according to which “democratic” amounted to defend the eternal truths of Christianity.

Parlement[s]

1 (2016)

Pierre-Emmanuel Guigo

La rose et le souffre: Michel Rocard et le PS, entre subversion et banalisation (1974-2014)

Michel Rocard a toujours eu un rapport complexe avec le Parti socialiste. Scissionniste avec le PSU (1960), il s'est trouvé marginalisé au sein du PS après l'avoir rejoint. L'essentiel de sa carrière s'est joué autour de la tension entre la volonté de conquérir l'appareil partisan et la distinction qui lui permet d'asseoir un succès sondagier sans égal. Son cas permet d'étudier la subversion en tant que ressource indispensable dans un champ où sondages et médias occupent une place croissante.

Frédéric Fogacci

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber et le Parti radical: la transgression comme méthode de conquête (et ses limites)

La notion même de transgression est attachée au nom et à la carrière de Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber. Sa prise de contrôle du parti radical (1969-1971), marqué par des traditions bien ancrées, provoque une sidération politique qui lui permet un temps de bousculer les habitudes et les conservatismes et de rénover un corps politique sclérosé. Mais l'usage systématique de la transgression crée un climat d'instabilité à terme destructeur pour le parti et contre-productif pour JJSS et son équipe.

Ismail Ferhat

Le PS et la laïcité, du Congrès d'Épinay à la Commission Stasi. De l'unité au dilemme?

Le Parti socialiste a traditionnellement accordé une grande importance à la laïcité, présentée comme un pilier identitaire. Si cet attachement ne s'est pas démenti, il a été confronté à une période complexe, allant du congrès d'Épinay de 1971 à la commission Stasi de 2003 (liée à la question du foulard islamique à l'école). Cette période, traversée par de multiples facteurs et changements, a interrogé de manière intense l'identité laïque de ce parti.

2 (2016)

Denis Pernot

Un antiparlementarisme au féminin: le cycle de Bouboule, (1927-1937) de T. Trilby

Les romans politiques que publie Marie-Thérèse de Marnyhac (1875-1962) entre 1927 et 1937 sont présentés ici comme la tentative de l'épouse d'un parlementaire pour trouver une place et un rôle à jouer dans la vie politique de son temps. L'antiparlementarisme de l'héroïne y est montré comme le support d'une recherche visant à découvrir et à mettre au point un mode d'expression lui permettant de transmettre ses préoccupations sociales et politiques à côté et aux marges des discours officiels.

Éric Anceau

Le Parlement et les parlementaires dans l'œuvre de Zola

Plusieurs romans du cycle des Rougon-Macquart abordent les questions politiques et parlementaires, très importantes aux yeux de Zola mais encore peu étudiées. C'est au prisme du naturalisme que leur analyse doit être menée. En effet, Zola mêle réalité et fiction pour montrer la dérive de la III^e République naissante et la nécessité de l'amender. Aborder cette question, en particulier par Son Excellence Eugène Rougon, permet de mieux comprendre la mission grandiose que Zola assigne au romancier.

[3 \(2016\)](#)

Jérôme Bocquet

L'amitié en politique, de la Résistance à l'Algérie

Moins directement présente dans le champ du politique qu'au cours des périodes précédentes, l'amitié se saisit plutôt, à la période contemporaine, au moyen d'exemples concrets que d'analyses de portée générale. En abordant en parallèle le parcours politique et les amitiés personnelles de quelques acteurs importants de la Résistance française et de la guerre d'Algérie, cet article expose le rôle complexe de l'amitié dans la construction et le fonctionnement d'un réseau politique, les conflits déchirants entre devoirs d'amitié et engagement, la portée et les limites des moyens d'action, d'influence et de recours que l'amitié offre en situation de crise politique, sa capacité, enfin, à susciter des choix politiques.

Pouvoirs

[\(157\) 2016](#)

Gregoire Kauffmann

Les origines du Front national

pp. 5-15

Créé en octobre 1972, le Front national puise ses origines dans le terreau du «nationalisme révolutionnaire», idéologie portée par les jeunes néofascistes du mouvement Ordre nouveau. Au sein des extrêmes droites françaises, Jean-Marie Le Pen représente alors une tendance plus «modérée». Il est pourtant l'homme que les militants d'Ordre nouveau vont choisir pour présider le Front national. Le chemin parcouru en commun sera de courte durée, Le Pen restant à l'arrivée seul maître à bord. Inscrit dans les gènes du FN, l'échec de cette tentative de rassemblement éclaire les contradictions d'un parti tiraillé entre dénonciation du «système» et velléités d'intégration au jeu politique, exaltation de la violence et conservatisme.

[\(159\) 2016](#)

Karen Fiorentino

Histoire intellectuelle d'un débat éternel

pp. 15-26

La question de la pertinence d'une seconde chambre dans le paysage institutionnel français est déjà ancienne, puisqu'elle remonte aux débats constitutants de 1789. Dès cette époque, on relève certains traits contre le bicamérisme qui ne sont pas sans évoquer l'expression, devenue courante, d'«anomalie démocratique» que serait la chambre haute. Pourtant, force est de constater que ce sont d'autres arguments qui vont s'imposer, expliquant l'enracinement républicain de cette assemblée.

Virginie Dutoya, Samuel Hayat

Prétendre représenter. La construction sociale de la représentation politique

pp. 7-25

La notion de prétention à la représentation (representative claim), proposée notamment par Michael Saward, marque-t-elle un tournant constructiviste dans l'étude de la représentation politique ? L'idée selon laquelle le représentant impose une identité au représenté existait déjà chez Hobbes ou Pierre Bourdieu. Mais la théorie politique anglo-américaine, particulièrement depuis l'ouvrage de Hanna Pitkin, s'appuyait plutôt sur une conception de la représentation comme composition, le représenté préexistant à sa représentation. L'intérêt de l'approche de Saward est d'envisager les prétentions à la représentation comme des propositions qui peuvent être acceptées, refusées ou reformulées par les représentés. Les articles réunis dans ce dossier prennent cette approche au sérieux et la mettent à l'épreuve de terrains divers, faisant ressortir la performativité des prétentions à la représentation, leur caractère instituant et leur inscription dans des rapports de pouvoir.

John Pitseys

Publicité et transparence. Le statut de la représentation et de la visibilité politique chez Kelsen et Schmitt

pp. 117-135

Le débat juridique et philosophique opposant Carl Schmitt à Hans Kelsen ne met pas seulement en scène deux conceptions du droit et de la représentation. Le thème de la visibilité politique y joue aussi un rôle primordial. Quelle différence tracer entre publicité politique et transparence, et quelles conséquences en tirer en termes de justification d'un régime politique ? Afin d'approfondir cette question, l'article retrace la critique schmittienne de la conception kelsénienne du droit et du principe de publicité. Il expose ensuite les traits principaux de la conception de la transparence que Schmitt entend substituer au principe de publicité. Il montre enfin que la réponse de Kelsen à Schmitt permet de dépasser les limites du texte schmittien et les difficultés rencontrées par l'État législateur parlementaire.

Marie-Pierre Wynands

(Re)christianiser les masses populaires. L'institution catholique saisie par l'enjeu de la formation (1921-1939)

pp. 251-270

À partir de l'analyse du fonds de la nonciature apostolique de Paris (Archives secrètes du Vatican), cet article interroge les fondements de la politique de rechristianisation de la société française impulsée sous le pontificat de Pie XI. Alors que la spécialisation de l'action catholique suggère une transformation du rapport de l'institution aux classes populaires, l'encadrement et la formation ne sont pourtant pas envisagés comme vecteurs d'émancipation sociale ou d'engagement politique dans l'entre-deux-guerres. D'un point de vue organisationnel en revanche, la mise en place d'une méthode d'apostolat « par le milieu » concurrence la structuration diocésaine et déstabilise du même coup l'ordre hiérarchique existant.

[66 \(5\) 2016](#)

Jean-Louis Briquet

Le vote au village des Corses de l'extérieur. Dispositifs de contrôle et expressions des sentiments (19^e-20^e siècles)

pp. 751-771

Le nombre élevé d'électeurs votant en Corse sans y résider est une constante de l'histoire politique de l'île, depuis les vagues migratoires à la charnière des 19^e et 20^e siècles jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine où continue à exister une importante diaspora conservant des liens avec le village familial. Ce phénomène s'accompagne de dispositifs particuliers de contrôle et de mobilisation politiques des électeurs non-résidents ainsi que de formes d'attachement au territoire d'origine chez ces derniers. L'article porte sur ces deux aspects du vote des Corses de l'extérieur, en insistant sur leur histoire depuis les débuts de la Troisième République, sur leurs modes de fonctionnement, ainsi que sur les critiques et controverses auxquelles le phénomène a régulièrement donné lieu.

Mathieu Fulla

L'« économiste » en politique. Les experts socialistes français des années 1970

pp. 773-800

Si la problématique de l'expertise mobilise aujourd'hui de nombreux chercheurs, la figure de l'expert engagé dans un parti politique reste mal connue. Fondé sur l'analyse quantitative et qualitative d'un corpus de 196 « économistes », cet article étudie la sociologie et le rôle de ces acteurs construisant le discours et les programmes économiques du PS dans la décennie 1970, où l'organisation désormais dirigée par François Mitterrand se donne la conquête du pouvoir pour objectif. Il nuance l'idée d'une confiscation progressive de l'expertise par les grands commis du ministère des Finances ; il montre également qu'en dernier ressort, ce sont les aléas de la conjoncture politique qui ouvrent ou ferment des possibles aux écrits des « économistes » engagés en socialisme.

Revue Historique

677 (1) 2016

F. Attal, M. Leymarie

Historiographie politique: les historiens italiens et la France (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)

pp. 113-118

Les différences d'approche entre l'historiographie française et l'historiographie italienne, en raison d'une conception parfois dissemblable de l'histoire politique, ne sauraient cacher des centres d'intérêt communs – notamment les acteurs et les cultures politiques – voire des jeux de miroir qui concernent aussi bien la question centrale du fascisme et de l'extrême droite que celle des deux Républiques sœurs nées de façon contemporaine en 1946. Les articles qui suivent témoignent de ces divergences et convergences et contribuent à enrichir encore l'histoire politique elle-même.

Si tratta dell'introduzione a una rassegna dedicata ai rapporti tra storia politica francese e italiana, nella quale sono contenuti i seguenti contributi:

- C. Cassina, *Les historiens italiens devant le court XIX^e siècle français*, pp. 119-128.
- M. Nacci, *La psychologie collective*, pp. 129-138.
- V. Galimi, *Le regard des historiens italiens sur la France de la fin du XIX^e siècle à Vichy*, pp. 139-146.
- M. Gervasoni, *Les années noires dans l'historiographie italienne*, pp. 147-158.
- S. Guerrieri, *La Quatrième République : un miroir pour la République italienne ?*, pp. 159-168.
- L. Bonfreschi, *La France de la V^e République dans les Études italiennes*, pp. 169-178.

678 (2) 2016

Emmanuel Destenay

La captivité des combattants irlandais de la Première Guerre mondiale : propagande de guerre, transferts de loyauté et résistances

pp. 59-80

Irish prisoners during the First World War : war propaganda, transfers of loyalty and resistances. During the First World War, Irish prisoners of war enjoyed special treatment. A few months after the outbreak of war, the German government separated Irish captives from other British soldiers and housed them together in a single camp. They were given plenty to eat, enviable living conditions, reading material and tobacco in striking contrast to the usual treatment of prisoners of war. When the men had a visit from Sir Casement, former British diplomat, sympathetic to the nationalist cause and an ardent supporter of an independent Ireland, the POWs understood that the Germans expected them to reject their British uniform. In their quest to excite historic tensions between Ireland and Great Britain, the Germans imagined a way to raise an Irish force to overcome the British army in Ireland. The ill treatment to which the prisoners were afterwards subjected can be put down to the desire to force them to betray Great Britain. While aggression towards prisoners of war usually aimed to break down individual resistance or put pressure on enemy governments, the punishments and deprivation endured by the Irish captives were exacted in order to incite them

to support the German cause. After the failure of the German government's strategy which succeeded in mobilising a mere fifty men, the events that took place in Ireland on the eve of this First World War conflict shaped the way that the enemy looked on Irish troops.

[679 \(3\) 2016](#)

Violette Pouillard

Conservation et captures animales au Congo belge (1908-1960). Vers une histoire de la matérialité des politiques de gestion de la faune
pp. 577-604

Capture and conservation of wild animals in the Belgian Congo (1908-1960). Towards a history of the materiality of wildlife management policies.

This contribution examines the history of captures of protected species in the Belgian Congo (1908-1960) in order to supply zoos as a case study to unveil the tensions between appropriation and protection of fauna. It begins with an analysis of the development of colonial laws establishing lists of protected species, though with exceptions for scientific institutions, including zoological gardens. A second part examines colonial policies and practices from the issuing of capture licences to representatives of scientific institutions and a few chosen settlers to the official monopolization of captures. Thereby, this research supports John MacKenzie's thesis following which wildlife appropriation was growingly codified and restricted to the Western elites. But the study, by shifting to the materiality and practical aspects of policies and investigating their incidences on animals, shows that those official captures reused former patterns, failed to rationalize the appropriation and implemented new forms of exploitation. This process is related in conclusion to the utilitarian grounds of colonial environmental policies in the Belgian Congo.

[680 \(4\) 2016](#)

Jean LeBihan, Florian Mazel

La périodisation canonique de l'histoire : une exception française?
pp. 785-812

The traditional periodization of history: a French specificity?

This study is based upon a survey conducted with French historians currently teaching in universities and university-based research centers and whose research papers (doctoral thesis and habilitations) cover at least one of the important breaks which define the different periods on which historians usually work upon (476, 1492, 1789-1815). This academic article is trying to assess the importance and the role of traditional periodization over research methodologies and teaching, and to evaluate how it is received and perceived by teachers-researchers. We also tried to explain the strength and the origins of traditional periodization before briefly providing an international perspective. It appears that historical periodization has had a great influence due to an institutionalization which took place early, in a national context, with a consensus approach. This can explain its durability compared to the other ways of organizations that could exist among historical studies, even the most modern ones that are put forward, such as the notion of "cultural

areas". This influence does not prevent a certain flexibility which gives the possibility to different accommodation at individual scale. This real institution of historical periodization, in the sociological sense of the term, is not specific to France; though it is a national context particularly adapted to its development.

Germania

Comparativ

1 (2016)

Stefan Troebst / Michael Wildt

Vorwort

pp. 7-10

Since the so-called “spatial turn”, historians have been intensively dealing with concepts of space and macro-regions. While Eastern Europe has received considerable attention, fewer studies have examined Western Europe and its heterogeneities during the Cold War era, especially beyond the examples of Great Britain, France, or Germany. The current issue analyses the internal differences in Western Europe from the 1940s until the end of the 1970s. It explores in particular the contrast between the geopolitical discourse of a homogeneous “Western bloc” and competing concepts that stressed the internal differences between the countries and regions considered to belong to the geopolitical “West”, such as the idea of industrialized “Northern” and agrarian “Southern” countries and regions. By focusing on the role of experts in national and transnational spheres, their discourses, as well as approaches to economic, political, and cultural differences, it demonstrates, via implicit and explicit concepts of a “North” and a “South”, how the idea of the “West” was negotiated and discussed.

Norman Naimark

Zwangsmigration im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts: Probleme und Verlaufsmuster

pp.11-27

This article reviews the various terminology used for “forced migration” and suggests that scholars and publicists employ language that reflects the level of violence frequently inherent in the process. Therefore terms like “forced deportation” and “ethnic cleansing” would be preferable. The piece also reviews the history of “forced migration” since the end of the 19th Century and suggests that the role of international factors, while clearly a part of the process, are frequently over-emphasized and that historians should focus on the motives, intentions, and actions of the states, political elites, and local actors that carry out the actions.

Michael Schwartz

Ethnische „Säuberungen“ in der Moderne: Globale Wechselwirkungen einer Politik der Gewalt

pp.28-48

Ethnic ‘Cleansing’ is a significant element of European and Global History. This contribution at first discusses problems of terminology and proceeds with integrating the phenomenon in contexts of ideological and structural patterns of Modernity. Central is the discussion of different models to define and explain modern Ethnic ‘Cleansings’, implying temporal or geographical limitations or emphases. Finally the question is focused if there are ‘rational’ goals and purposes of Ethnic ‘Cleansings’, and if permanent effects and intended “successes” could be assessed. The

entanglement of ethnic and social conflicts in many examples of Ethnic “Cleansing” seems to contribute to possible answers, and also offers a key to explain some origins of implementing such violent policies.

Stefan Troebst

Ethnonationale Homogenisierungspolitik zwischen Vertreibung und Zwangsassimilierung. Schweden und Bulgarien als europäische Prototypen
pp. 49-62

In their inherent strive for ethnic purification, nation-state actors have two means at their disposal: On the one hand the expulsion of citizens not belonging to the titular nation and on the other assimilation either by incentive or, more frequently, by force. Also territorial losses can contribute to ethnic homogenization—a side effect not intended, of course, by nation-state actors. The modern history of the Principality (later Kingdom, People’s Republic and Republic) of Bulgaria, founded in 1878 is shaped by all three phenomena: expulsion, forced assimilation of non-Bulgarian(speaker)s and territorial changes. 19th and 20th century Sweden on the other hand did not turn to expulsions, since the losses of Finland and Norway homogenized the population considerably. Still, until the 1970s the Swedish state pursued a policy to assimilate minor ethnic and social groups applying even forced sterilization.

Michael Wildt

„Völkische Flurbereinigung“ – Vertreibungen im Nationalsozialismus
pp. 63-76

This essay focuses on the Nazi ethnic and racist policy in Eastern and Western Europe. From the beginning on the Nazi plans for the war against Poland intended to transform huge parts of Polish territory into areas of German settlement – the realization of the Nazi project of Lebensraum in Eastern Europe. Germanization of these areas meant racist differentiation of the local people and different practices of inclusion and exclusion, whether they were classified as German or of German origin, as friendly or hostile Poles or as Jewish. These racist measures had been practiced in Western Europe, too. The context of Nazi ethnic politics was a conceptual shift from nation to Volk, from demos to ethnos since the end of nineteenth century. The coincidence of the definition of people not only an ensemble of citizens but as a cultural, ethnic unit and the rise of biology as a dominant pattern of interpreting human nature made ‘biopolicy’ (Foucault) a common political practice not only in Nazi Germany but all over Europe. What made Nazi ethnic politics unique was the unalterable, exclusionary Anti-Semitism which lead to systematic mass murder and the violent eagerness of the Nazi regime to realize its vision of an ethnically structured ‘New Europe’ in which Germans should rule as a superior race.

Raphael Gross

Novemberpogrom 1938 – Vertreibung, Attentat, Terror. Die Geschichte und Nachgeschichte von Herschel Grynszpan
pp.77-94

On November 7, 1938 Herschel Grynszpan, a young Jewish refugee, shot and killed Ernst vom Rath, a German diplomat in Paris. The Nazi regime took this assassination as a pretext for unleashing extreme violence against hundreds of thousands of German Jews, their dwellings, shops, and synagogues, a process that culminated in the so-called 'Reichskristallnacht' of November 9, 1938. Grynszpan belonged to a Jewish family from Hanover that had been deported to Poland by the Nazi authorities days before - together with some 15,000 to 17,000 other German Jews. The article offers a detailed account of the situation stateless Jews faced at the end of the 1930s, in the context of a growing refugee crisis caused by Nazi racial policies. The article also describes Herschel Grynszpan's ordeal in French and German custody and the postwar European aftermath of his case.

Marina Cattaruzza / Egidio Ivetić

Der „Exodus“ der Italiener aus Istrien: Kollektive Entscheidung oder Zwangsmigration?
pp. 95-108

The subject of the article is the mass exodus of the Italian speaking or Italian oriented population of Istria, a peninsula on the north-eastern Adria occupied by the Yugoslav Army of Marshall Tito at the end of WW2 and attributed to Yugoslavia with the peace treaty between Italy and the United Nations in 1947. The 'exodus' involved some 270.000-300.000 people, corresponding to 85-100% of those who understood themselves as 'Italians'. Therefore, although no official measures were taken to carry out an 'ethnic simplification' of the territory, the result was the disappearance of a substantial ethnic component, leading to an unchallenged Croatian predominance in 'socialist Istria'. The authors assert that a crucial factor for the ethnic-national struggle in Istria and the subsequent abandonment of the peninsula by the 'Italians' was the uncertain attribution of the territory after WW2. The area was deeply fragmented; some sectors were occupied by the Yugoslavs and others by British-American troops. Both Italy and Yugoslavia claimed the territory for themselves. People rallied to the Italian or the Yugoslav cause and waged relentless battles. Of course the Yugoslavs were in a stronger position thanks to the Army, the secret police, the Communist administration and Communist networks. Therefore, the struggle between Communists and anti-Communists which also affected the rest of Yugoslavia, did on the Italo-Yugoslav border take on the character of an ethnic-national clash between 'Italians' and 'Slavs'.

Piotr Madajczyk

Nationale Homogenisierung durch ethnische Säuberung? Zur Formierung der polnischen Nationalstaatsidee im Ersten Weltkrieg
pp. 109-124

How did the idea of the Polish nation-state and the idea of a homogeneous Polish nation develop in the era of the World War I? And is there a connection with what today is known as ethnic cleansing? The importance of the Great War on both on politics, economy and society can hardly be overestimated. What influence did it have on the population in the areas which after 1918 formed the Polish state? Was there an impact of conflicts of national interests during the Great War on the post-war situation? And to what extent was the idea of a Polish nation-state connected with the

concept of ethnic 'purity'? The author claims that there are continuities which under specific historical circumstances resulted in ethnic cleansing.

Krzysztof Ruchniewicz

Zwangsmigration als Instrument deutscher und sowjetischer Besatzungs- und Annexionspolitik in Polen 1939–1941/45

pp. 125-140

From 1939 to 1945, Poles were forced to live under two regimes of occupation which both turned to mass expulsion in exercising political control. Still, however, there were significant differences between Soviet and German rule. Stalin was suspicious of Poles and Jews, but he did not plan to change the ethnonational structure of the newly annexed territories. After the liquidation of unwanted social strata a reeducation of the remaining population, no matter of which ethnic or religious background, into 'class-conscious' Soviet citizens was planned. The German occupation regime on the other hand aimed from the very beginning at radically changing the occupied and annexed part of Poland. Here, ethnicity determined the relationship between occupiers and occupied and, in particular, the latter's living condition and thus their chances for survival.

German History

[34 \(1\) 2016](#)

Jill Stephenson

The Volksgemeinschaft and the Problems of Permeability: The Persistence of Traditional Attitudes in Württemberg Villages

pp. 49-69

Some historians are intent on implicating all Germans in the persecution of Jews and the Holocaust. This has come to be seen within a new definition of what the Volksgemeinschaft was. The Volksgemeinschaft has long been the subject of scholarly debate. More recently, Michael Wildt has argued that antisemitism was what bound members of the Volk together in a racist community. His impressive evidence does not, however, sustain his argument that all members of the Volk were 'self-empowered' by their participation or complicity in antisemitic violence. Evidence from rural Württemberg contradicts his assertions to this effect and presents a more variegated picture of the potentialities for antisemitic violence in smaller communities. The absence of Jews from the overwhelming majority of small communities in Württemberg in the 1930s, and the absence or ineffectiveness of Nazi organizations in these same communities, mean that the two critical conditions for antisemitic violence were missing from most of Württemberg's rural communes. It is possible that the same may be said for rural communities in some other parts of Germany, including southern Bavaria. Sweeping assertions about antisemitic violence characterizing and shaping society in smaller communities are therefore unhelpful. Extrapolation to nationwide dimensions from a number of well-researched local cases does not provide evidence for Wildt's all-encompassing argument.

Sean Andrew Wempe

From Unfit Imperialists to Fellow Civilizers: German Colonial Officials as Imperial Experts in the League of Nations, 1919–1933

pp. 21-48

At the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was publicly excluded from the European 'civilizing mission'. The victorious Allies stripped Germany of its overseas empire. The German colonies were awarded to other imperial powers as mandates under the League of Nations. This action was justified by citing colonial atrocities, such as the German campaign against the Herero, which were used to label Germans as 'exceptionally cruel colonial masters' and 'unfit imperialists'. Yet, during the tenure of the League's mandate system, several former German colonial officials rose to prominence in the League of Nations as 'imperial experts'. The involvement of German colonial officials in League agencies and events suggests that, although no longer part of an imperial power and officially ostracized from the 'work of civilization', Germans remained adaptive contributors to international discourses on empire. In order to determine how individual Germans and lobbying interests were able to make use of the spirit of internationalism to minimize their association with 'unfit imperialists' and re-establish themselves as 'fellow civilizers', this paper focuses on the interwar careers and interactions of two colonial officials: Dr Ludwig Kastl and Dr Julius Ruppel—

former bureaucrats who had served in the African colonies, each of whom became German members on the PMC.

[34 \(2\) 2016](#)

Julie Gibbings

Mestizaje in the Age of Fascism: German and Q'eqchi' Maya Interracial Unions in Alta Verapaz, Guatemala

pp. 214-236

In contemporary Guatemala, Q'eqchi' Mayas of German descent are reclaiming identities as 'the improved race' (la raza mejorada), which allows them claim both tradition and authenticity as well as racial whiteness and modernity. While surprising to contemporary observers, these identities have longer histories, rooted in the interwar period, when Guatemalan urban intellectuals and statesmen looked to German-Maya sexual unions as the racial solution to Guatemala's failure to forge a modern and homogenous nation. Like national racial mixing (mestizaje) projects found in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America, Guatemalan intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s argued that racial mixing with Anglo-Saxons led not to racial degeneration, but—potentially—to new and more vital races. While long ignored by historical scholarship, hybrid Q'eqchi'-Germans, however, unravel a priori assumptions of German diasporic political and social insularity. By examining the potent symbolic and cultural dimensions Guatemala's unique mestizaje project had for the formation of both German and Guatemalan nationalist projects during the rise of German National Socialism and Guatemala's own populist dictatorship under President Jorge Ubico (1931–1944), this article argues for an understanding of German diasporas in Latin America that places them squarely in the transnational space between competing nationalisms and political agendas. By further examining the important material and social dimensions of mixed-race families, this article reveals the crucial ties Germans forged in Latin America and how who counted as German and by what measure was a subject of considerable debate with important political consequences.

Cornelius Torp

The Adenauer Government's Pensions Reform of 1957—a Question of Justice

pp. 237-257

The pensions reform of 1957 marked a turning point in the history of the German welfare state, ushering in a root-and-branch reorganization of the old-age pension system in order to 'secure living standards'. The present article seeks to identify the key values underpinning this reconfiguration and finds that norms of social justice were of central importance. The normative backbone of the Adenauer government's pensions reform was the notion of performance-based justice, in which the principle of equivalence of contributions and pensions benefits converged with the central theme of maintaining citizens' social status in retirement. Closely bound up with this was the principle of equality between the generations, which found expression in the linkage of pensions to income development. We can only adequately explain the key role of the issue of justice, and the vigorous affirmation of the performance principle, in light of the erosion of social hierarchies by two world wars and two periods of severe inflation. These wiped out most of the assets that the middle classes in particular had set aside for old age, assets on which they had built

their hopes of maintaining their social position in retirement. More than anything else, the pensions reform of 1957 was intended to reconstruct a system of social inequality that had perished in the first half of the twentieth century, one intended to ensure that all senior citizens occupied the position attained during their working lives.

André Keil

The Preußenrenaissance Revisited: German–German Entanglements, the Media and the Politics of History in the late German Democratic Republic
pp. 258-278

The ‘Renaissance of Prussianism’ (Preußenrenaissance), which began in the late 1970s and continued throughout the 1980s in the German Democratic Republic, has received considerable scholarly attention. Discussions have focused on the involvement of academic historians in the revision of the official conception of history of the socialist East German state. This article offers new perspectives on hitherto neglected aspects of the Preußenrenaissance . It explores the German–German entanglements of this phenomenon by linking it with almost simultaneous events in West Germany. By the mid-1980s each German state had embraced Prussia as a part of its redefined collective identity and had entered into a competition for representing its historical heritage. Yet, this piece also looks at the ways in which the new conception of German national history was transmitted and popularized in the GDR media. From 1978, state television promoted a positive view of Prussian history with opulent productions such as *Sachsens Glanz* and *Preußens Gloria* . An analysis of viewers’ letters offers some insight into the popular perception of the new course. Against this backdrop, this article also highlights that the ideological volte-face regarding Prussia’s history was not unanimously supported within the rank and file of the ruling Socialist Unity Party. In fact, the Preußenrenaissance in the late GDR proved to be a chequered and often contradictory process, shaped by the many self-willed actors. The article concludes with a brief consideration of the interplay between these various actors involved in the Preußenrenaissance and their specific motivations.

[34 \(3\) 2016](#)

Craig Griffiths

Sex, Shame and West German Gay Liberation
pp. 445-467

This article contributes to a reassessment of gay liberation by focusing on how matters of sex and desire featured in the gay press and the gay movement in 1970s West Germany. Gay liberation has often been viewed through an affirmative lens, contrasted favourably with the supposed shame-filled conformism of the postwar homophile movement. I problematize this perspective by analysing ambivalence about homosexual desire and gay (male) sexual practice, both in the pages of the commercial gay press and in gay activist publications. Using case studies of intergenerational desire—or ‘paedophilia’—and sado-masochism, I question the extent to which the 1970s saw a transition towards the ideal of mutual, reciprocal relationships. In so doing, I argue that historians of homosexual politics should not only analyse questions of ideology and strategy but also sex, desire

and ambivalence about self and society. Concluding through a consideration of the interrelationship between ‘pride’ and ‘shame’, this article shows that gay liberation was anything but a mere hedonistic interlude.

[34 \(4\) 2016](#)

Oliver F. R. Haardt

The Kaiser in the Federal State, 1871–1918

pp. 529-554

The historiographical debate on Wilhelm II’s alleged personal rule and on his role in the 1914 decision to go to war generally neglects how the institution of the kaiser (the imperial office) evolved in the context of the federal state. In addressing this lack of research, this essay exposes fundamental developments of the imperial office in the federal legislature and executive between 1871 and 1918. It argues that under the 1871 constitution the power of the Emperor was based on Prussia, which, in turn, made him subject to federal constraints. In the legislature, the evolution of the imperial office was characterized by the emergence of the right to initiate legislation and to veto laws, which turned the Emperor into a material factor in legislation. In the executive, his constitutionally established dominance increased over the years, for example in terms of the expansion of his right to decree ordinances across all fields of government. At the same time, the other federal organs, especially the Reichstag, tried to curtail qualitatively the new appointment powers of the kaiser in order to limit Wilhelm II’s disruptive influence on the political system. The general expansion of the Emperor’s legislative and executive power, however, was due to systemic reasons of federal evolution rather than the persons in office. This evolution should prompt historians to reconsider the role of the kaiser in imperial politics by paying more attention to the federal context and, especially, by measuring his conduct by what the capacity of his office looked like in constitutional reality at the relevant moment.

Paul Moor

‘The Truth about the Concentration Camps’: Werner Schäfer’s Anti-Brown Book and the Transnational Debate on Early Nazi Terror

pp. 579-607

This article examines the international debate on the violence of the first year of the National Socialist regime by focusing on the Anti-Brown Book written by storm troop leader Werner Schäfer in 1934. Schäfer’s text is unique as the only book-long propaganda justification of a concentration camp to be written during the lifetime of the Third Reich by a serving commandant. Analysing this text in depth for the first time, the article presents the book as an example of low-level initiative in the shaping of the official narrative of early Nazi terror and as a riposte to critical publicity on the concentration camps in particular. It argues that the first year of the regime saw a dialogue between the regime and its enemies in which the meaning of Nazi violence was contested and the public face of the camps was shaped by multiple agencies of the nascent Third Reich.

Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht

[67 \(7/8\) 2016](#)

Christoph Cornelißen/Nicole Kramer

Der Europäische Wohlfahrtsstaat: Ursprünge, Modelle, Herausforderungen

pp. 389-407

La storia dello Stato sociale è stata a lungo la storia del successo di un Sonderweg europeo. In realtà, però, i programmi socio-politici e la loro traduzione istituzionale hanno conosciuto in Europa differenze sensibili. A partire da questo contesto sono presentati dei modelli sociologici di Stato a cui si sono collegate discussioni sui “regimi di Welfare” su base regionale. In conclusione si apre una panoramica sull’europeizzazione e sulla transnazionalizzazione della ricerca sullo Stato sociale.

[67 \(9/10\) 2016](#)

Fabian Link

Gegenwarten des Mittelalters vom späten 18. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert Politisierung, Populärkultur und die Kulturwissenschaften

pp. 505-522

Il contributo ricostruisce le diverse ondate di ricezione che il medioevo ha conosciuto nella storiografia tra la fine del XVIII e la seconda metà del XX secolo. Una particolare attenzione è riservata al ruolo della medievistica. In età contemporanea lo studio del medioevo è stato impiegato con diverse finalità; spesso in una prospettiva nazionalistica, ma anche nell’ambito di una simbologia della liberazione e dell’emancipazione. Riflettendo sulle forme di attualizzazione del medioevo, il saggio evidenzia come l’età intermedia è stata letta e interpretata dalle società contemporanee.

[67 \(11/12\) 2016](#)

Julia Obertreis

Von gezähmten Flüssen, grandiosen Staumauern und Neuen Menschen. Wasser und die Transformation von Landschaft und Mensch im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert

pp. 656-674

Trattare il rapporto degli uomini con l’acqua getta luce sulle idee del rapporto uomo-natura e su precisi modelli sociali. La modificazione dei corsi d’acqua ha risposto alle pretese di domare la natura e rendere utilizzabile l’acqua in misura maggiore. La creazione di dighe è stata legittimata non solo dalle possibilità di sfruttamento dell’acqua, ma anche dalla possibilità di modellare un paesaggio moderno e tecnicizzato. Infine sono risultati evidenti, particolarmente nei paesi socialisti, tentativi di costruzione di un uomo nuovo attraverso le opere idrauliche.

[23 \(1\) 2016](#)

Hans-Peter Schwarz

The role of party foundations for the German and European research of contemporary history
pp. 1-15

This contribution traces the historical origins of the Archive for Christian-Democratic Policy and acknowledges the work achieved during the last 40 years. In the present as well as in the future the archives of the political foundations affiliated to a party are assigned for an important role: in the historical and political science discourse as well as – ideally – in current political de-bates.

Richard Overby

The end of World War II and the division of Europe: aspects of a European culture of remembrance
pp. 17-24

In view of the Second World War can a common European culture of remembrance be possible as has been called for frequently in recent times? This essay describes how manifold and diverging the response to the question what, who, how and by whom should be remembered turns out to be – quite often within one and the same nation. In the face of the intricacy of these problems the agreement on central elements of a common European culture of remembrance seems to be exceedingly difficult and requires intensive even controversial public debates.

Horst Friedrich Wünsche

The history of ideas concerning Social Market Economy
pp. 39-76

The article grapples critically with the allegation Social Market Economy is a concept which Ludwig Erhard devised without a substantial personal academic contribution by referring to neoliberal political references. The concepts of important academics who are adherents to neoliberalism will be sketched out and their possible influence on the wording of Erhard's politics will be considered. Finally core points of Erhard's concept of Social Market Economy will be recapitulated which can be paraphrased with the terms liberty, solidarity and full employment as precondition to prosperity and social security.

Oliver Salten

The workgroup "Socialism out of Christian responsibility" and the Academic Working Group of the CDU in the GDR (1948–1954)
pp. 77-114

During the transition of the CDU in Soviet occupation zone/GDR from a Christian influenced democratic to a Marxist-Leninist aligned bloc party with in the SED-state the workgroup "Socialism out of Christian responsibility" and Academic Working Group of the CDU which was to replace it quite soon played an important role. The latter was – in the face of the ongoing Stalinization of the GDR – meant to pool and control the party's intellectual potential and to advance its centralisation. This contribution describes the development, progress, failure and dissolution of both committees during the years 1948 to 1954.

Gerhard Wettig

The zenith of the Berlin crisis 1961

pp. 115-137

Khrushchev's main target in the Berlin crisis he unleashed was ultimately the removal of the Western alliance. He considered ousting the Western powers from Berlin a major step. Nevertheless he hesitated for a long time to close off West Berlin as requested by the SED with an eye to the international public. The Soviet Union's interests were determinative for building the wall and not the prompting of the GDR government. Shortly afterwards Khrushchev deployed for the last time the instrument of war threat which had been used frequently before to force the West to relent. In view of the nuclear pre-eminence of the USA he soon refrained from doing so and strove now to employ the exposed West Berlin as leverage to gain medium-term recognition of the German partition and the conclusion of a peace treaty favourable for the Soviet Union.

Torsten Kathke

"It is madness how we currently administer the world": Herbert Gruhl and The Plundering of a Planet

pp. 139-158

The author brings the book published in 1975 by the former CDU Member of Parliament and co-founder of the Green Party into line with the context of time. In view of the discussion about environment and growth during the 1970s and an evolving sector for popular scientific diagnosis of the times the opus could gain a broad impact and serve the ecological movement and the deploying Greens as a point of reference. Gruhl however did not succeed in developing a personal political influence in accordance with the impact of his book.

Anselm Kipp

The influence of the main idea "Humanization of Work" on agenda and policies of the CDU

pp. 159-183

The article describes how within the context of the CDU's modernisation taking place during the 1970s the then much discussed topic of a "Humanization of Work" found its way into the party's agenda. Questions of worker's participation, restoring full employment, the possibility of self-development at the workplace as well as the improvement of working conditions took centre stage. In the Union's view solving these problems were the priority tasks of co-determination and tariff partnership and less the field for legislative measures.

Hanns Jürgen Küsters

Introduction to the colloquy "Helmut Kohl and Israel" in the context of the series of events "Discussions on the Kohl era"

pp. 209-213

In view of the incidents taking place during the era of National Socialism the initiation and development of relations between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany seemed to present a nearly insoluble task. The central corner points as well as the international parameters of the German-Israeli relations will be outlined.

Andreas Wirsching

Helmut Kohl's perception of Israel – historic legacy, political obligation

pp. 215-227

Helmut Kohl's policy towards Israel was based on a few fundamental principles: empathy for the victims of National Socialism, refusal of collective guilt allegations or sweeping judgements against "the" Germans, acceptance of a special responsibility resulting from the incidents taking place during the Nazi era but not an enduring moral guilt of Germany as well as the necessity to link the German-Israeli friendship with likewise friendly relationships to the Arab states. Kohl's first visit to Israel in 1984 proved to be difficult but the reunification and the Middle East peace process during the 1990s contributed to a marked improvement of the bilateral relationship. Kohl's second visit to Israel in 1995 took place without any dissonances.

Mordechai Lewy

Helmut Kohl's policy towards Israel from an Israeli point of view

pp. 229-240

The composition describes the development of the bilateral relations during the Kohl era as seen by someone involved at least occasionally on the Israeli side. After taking office the chancellor managed despite initial irritations to improve and to intensify the at this point massively burdened relations and to even out the path for today's good political and economic ties.

Johannes Gerster

Germany and Israel before and after reunification. Experiences from the perspective of the German Bundestag

pp. 241-252

The article describes the difficult but in the end positive development of the German-Israeli relations from the perspective of a German observer and participant. They were put to test from time to time amongst other things by Israeli apprehensions and respective statements of high-ranking politicians in the context of the fall of the wall and the reunification or by the immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe to Germany which was seen critically by Israel.

Brigitte Kaff

Richard Kantorowicz (1876–1949). Veterinary and Co-founder of the CDU in Berlin

pp. 253-259

The Jewish veterinary Richard Kantorowicz, one of the most successful Berlin veterinaries in the German Empire and Weimar Republic, escaped deportation during the Nazi era despite numerous harassments most likely because of his marriage to an "Aryan". After the Second World War he who before had no party affiliation was one of the founders of the CDU in Berlin.

Erik Lommatzsch

Wilhelm Hahn (1909–1996). A minister of cultural affairs in the reflection of his memoirs

pp. 261-285

In his day Wilhelm Hahn was one of the most high-profile ministers of cultural affairs in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Protestant theologian and clergyman born in the Baltic area who had been a member of the Confessing Church during the Nazi era initially became a member of the German Bundestag in 1962. In 1964 Kurt Georg Kiesinger appointed him as minister for cultural affairs in Baden-Wuerttemberg. In this role he was significantly involved in the expansion and modernisation of the educational system and was effective across state borders. He advocated a differentiated educational

Sebastian Gehrig

Recht im Kalten Krieg. Das Bundesverfassungsgericht, die deutsche Teilung und die politische Kultur der frühen Bundesrepublik
pp. 64–97

During the 1950s, the Federal Constitutional Court became a site where West German national identity was negotiated. Between 1951 and 1958 in particular, its judges prominently aided the formulation of legal arguments in support of the “provisional” West German state. They helped codify the concept of state continuity between the German Reich and the Federal Republic. They enshrined in law legal concepts of nation, state, and society. In doing so, they helped describe the nature of the West German domestic political system and became actors in prominent public discussions of crucial concepts such as the *freiheitlich-demokratische Grundordnung* and *streitbare Demokratie*. In the legal battle with the German Democratic Republic, the Constitutional Court strengthened notions of a legitimate West German claim to German statehood against an allegedly illegitimate socialist opponent. Controversial landmark verdicts promoted the integration of the Federal Republic into the Western Cold War alliance and served to protect state institutions against enemies of the state. The decisions of the Constitutional Court therefore played a crucial role in shaping the political culture of the young republic. At the same time, through their verdicts the judges increasingly expanded the court's judicial influence, sparking much public debate about what role the court should assume in post-war Germany.

Heinrich A. Hartmann

„In einem gewissen Sinne politisch belastet“. Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik zwischen Entwicklungshilfe und bundesrepublikanischer Sozialpolitik (1960er und 1970er Jahre)
pp. 98–125

After the Second World War, Germany's national socialist past compromised population policy and West German policy makers were reluctant to integrate demography into new approaches towards public welfare. However, this break was not as absolute as it looked. Starting in the early 1950s, demographic expertise started again to play a certain, albeit limited role in West German social policies, above all in the field of family politics. But it was not before the 1960s that the fields underwent a real new boost, which was not primarily the result of social politics in Germany but of new development activities outside Germany, through the global threat of the population explosion. Here, I argue that these questions experienced an ever-growing attention in the 1960s and that the Federal German government used it to reconstruct their approaches towards overseas development. On the one hand, the field allowed demographic experts to find a new career. On the other hand, it pushed for a new political discourse and institution building in the field of demographics. Paradoxically, this strengthened the position of ‘population’ as an element of welfare politics and influenced debates over the legalization of abortion as well as the establishment of a German institute of population studies. In spite of radical opposition to the threats of global overpopulation

and German population decline, both elements had an important share in reintegrating population into the catalogue of West German welfare policy.

[303 \(3\) 2016](#)

Ulrike Kirchberger

„Multiple Sattelzeiten“. *Zeitkulturen in der atlantischen Welt 1760–1830*

pp. 671–704

In recent years, historians of the Atlantic world have covered much new ground with respect to spatial aspects of Atlantic history. They have produced a large number of studies which examine transoceanic coherences, transfers and migrations. As far as the chronological structure of the “New Atlantic History” is concerned, however, most of them follow a conventional pattern. It is usually taken for granted that the time between 1760 and 1830 was a period of transformation from early modern to modern history, characterized by revolutions, which ended the colonial era, and other processes of acceleration and condensation. This article aims to question the paradigm of a European-centered “Sattelzeit” which transformed the Atlantic world between 1760 and 1830. It suggests alternative time frames to structure Atlantic history chronologically. The article concentrates on the cultures of time in non-European societies and examines how the decades between 1760 and 1830 were perceived by the indigenous peoples of the Americas and in the African diasporas. Did they regard these years as a time of change or did continuities prevail in their perceptions? What forms of temporality were relevant to them, and in how far were they influenced by European chronologies? The article investigates different forms of temporality. It deals with various ways to measure time and explores processes of temporalization in slave revolts and indigenous uprisings. Furthermore, the article analyses how European forms of historiography were adapted by non-Europeans in order to defy European interpretations of history and to legitimize indigenous political claims. By looking at different categories of temporality in both European and non-European contexts, the article argues for a plurality of cultures of time (“multitemporality”) in the Atlantic world.

N. Zysman

Los usos de pasado en la escuela: Identidad nacional y enseñanza de la Historia en el sistema educativo argentino, 1880-2010

pp. 125-147

This article analyzes the place of national history in Argentine schools since the beginning of history classes around 1880 through 2009, the year of the curricula's last modification. It thus covers over a century of interaction between governments and other stakeholders, who wrestled over the meaning and the uses of national history in schools, in order to render visible not only representations of the past that floated in the education system, but also the power relations and the interests behind constructions of history in the education of younger generations. Keywords: Teaching of history; Secondary School; National Identity; Argentina; 19th- 20th centuries.

M. Eiroa San Francisco, D. Ferrero Blanco

Rafael L. Trujillo y Francisco Franco: de vínculos históricos a los compromisos coyunturales

pp. 171-187

The article aims to systematize the set of relationships among F. Franco and Rafael L. Trujillo, from Spanish and Dominican archives. Such relationships developed about the theoretical links related to the past, and those which they agreed as a foreign action of both states. It shows that the commitments reached between both dictators had the aim to obtain political legitimating and they are related to their defensive interests and remaining in power in the context of the Cold War. Keywords: Francisco Franco; Rafael L. Trujillo; Cold War; Dictatorships; Relations Spain-Dominican Republic.

G. Wolfoson Reyes

Último round: la revista "Plural" como respuesta sintáctica a "Casa de las Américas"

pp. 189-210

Starting from a positioning about the study of literary journals, points of contact are detected between Octavio Paz and Roberto Fernández Retamar, as well as between their respective journals, *Plural* and *Casa de las Américas*, with the purpose of demonstrating that the first one is configured as a *syntactical response* to the paradigm of a revolutionary intellectual constructed in the Cuban journal. Three main axes are analyzed with that intent: each journal's literary theory, its *boom* canon and its relationship to the academic realm. Keywords: Octavio Paz; Roberto Fernández Retamar; *Plural*; *Calibán*; Intellectual autonomy.

M.L. Wiesebron

Legacies and repercussions of the military dictatorship in the Brazil of today. Introduction
pp. 7-11

This article analyses the use of the theory of populism by the Argentine philosopher Ernesto Laclau in the current European debate about this topic. It starts by showing the origins of Laclau's theory which can be found in the interpretations of Argentine politics, modernization and integration of society and the birth of the so-called national-popular movements. Afterwards some key features of the European discussion about populism are presented in order to show why this theory receives so much attention nowadays, in contrast to other works about the same topic. In this way, we treat the circulation and transnationalization of ideas between Latin America and Europe from a perspective positioned in concrete social affinities and trajectories. Keywords: Populism; Ernesto Laclau; Transnationalization of Ideas; Syriza; Podemos.

T. Power

The Brazilian Military Regime of 1964-1985: Legacies for Contemporary Democracy
pp. 12-26

This article revisits the 21-year military dictatorship in Brazil to examine how it shaped subsequent democratic politics after the transition to civilian rule in 1985. In particular, six legacies are analysed. The paper begins by focusing on the *relative* legitimacy of the Brazilian military regime when compared to other dictatorships in the Southern Cone. The article then examines several variables which impact on the way politics has played out between 1985 and 2014: a high level of continuity of personnel inherited from the military period, an accentuated commitment to civil liberties (as in the Constitution of 1988), a more robust level of political competition compared to the pre-coup years, and a delayed but increasingly meaningful consideration of transitional justice issues. The article concludes by noting how mass mobilization (the street) engendered the collapse of the military regime in 1983-1984, and how this strategy of collective action has been repeated on several occasions under democracy. Keywords: Coup; Dictatorship; Authoritarianism; Legacies; Democratic consolidation; Brazil.

Christoph Kamissek, Jonas Kreienbaum

An Imperial Cloud? Conceptualising Interimperial Connections and Transimperial Knowledge

pp. 164-182

With a view to the recent trends in imperial and colonial history – especially the focus on encounters between empires, and the characterisation of colonisation as a shared project – this introduction discusses the «imperial cloud» as a new concept for explaining similarities between empires. This imperial cloud is to be understood as a shared imperial reservoir of knowledge, notions and narratives that is not located in a particular empire, but is – at least potentially – accessible by imperial actors in the different metropolises and peripheries. In order to clarify the concept, we first engage with possible alternatives – namely the colonial archive, transfer analysis and discourse. Secondly, we lay out three major questions central to this special issue: How could such an imperial cloud have been created and accessed? How could empires have used it and with what consequences? And did non-European empires participate in the cloud? Working with examples from several empires, we try to show systematically the different ways in which the imperial cloud could be filled and accessed, and indicate where its conceptual potentials and pitfalls lie.

Neue Politische Literatur

61 (2) 2016

Wolfgang Schieder

Hitlers „Mein Kampf“. Eine Edition – aber für wen?

pp. 187-198

In Deutschland ist nach 72 Jahren wieder eine Ausgabe von Hitlers „Mein Kampf“ erschienen. Die Herausgeber des zweibändigen Werkes betonen, dass es für dieses Editionsprojekt „im Grunde wenig Vergleichbares“ (S. 66) gebe.¹ Das trifft insofern zu, als es sich um die erste historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe handelt. Es dürfte aber auch kaum eine andere zeitgeschichtliche Edition geben, um die in der Öffentlichkeit schon vor ihrem Erscheinen so viel Aufhebens gemacht wurde wie um diese Edition von „Mein Kampf“. Das hatte weniger wissenschaftliche als politische Ursachen. Der nationalsozialistische Franz Eher Verlag, bei dem die Urheberrechte für „Mein Kampf“ lagen, war 1945 vom Alliierten Kontrollrat als Organisation der NSDAP verboten worden. 1965 war das Urheberrecht nach einem komplizierten juristischen Prozess an den Bayerischen Staat gefallen, der es seitdem durch sein Finanzministerium durchsetzen ließ. Das Ministerium konnte das Urheberrecht nach den gesetzlichen Bestimmungen, angerechnet vom Tod Hitlers, 70 Jahre lang wahrnehmen, womit es bis zum 1. Januar 2016 jeden Nachdruck von „Mein Kampf“ verhindern konnte. Das Urheberrecht diente selbstverständlich nicht dem Schutz des Autors, sondern hatte von Anfang an einen politischen Zweck – mit seiner Hilfe sollte verhindert werden, dass mit „Mein Kampf“ nationalsozialistisches Gedankengut verbreitet wurde.

Stephan Merl

Über Logik und Beweggründe Stalin'schen Handelns. Chlewnjuks überzeugende Biographie

pp. 199-208

Es gibt viele Stalin-Biographien. Vor allem in Russland haben sie in den letzten Jahren Konjunktur. Sie erfreuen sich einer großen Nachfrage, weil sie Stalin als eine Person zeichnen, auf die Russen stolz sein können. Einige präsentieren die Methoden eines ‚modernisierenden‘ Stalinismus als zwar bedauerlich, aber effektiv. In einer ersten Phase nach Öffnung der Archive handelte es sich bei den Biographien – in den Worten von Oleg Chlewnjuk – um einen „archivgestützten Sensationsjournalismus“ (S. 10). Dem ordnet er auch die Stalin-Biographie von Dimitri Wolkogonow zu, die im Westen viel Beachtung fand.¹ Heute ginge es auf dem russischen Markt nicht mehr um eine wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit Stalin. Zumeist handele es sich nur noch um „pseudowissenschaftliche Rechtfertigungsschriften“ (ebd.), die Stalin als großen Führer hinstellen. Ihre Behauptungen hielten einer Nachprüfung nicht stand, vielfach seien sie ohnehin frei erfunden

61 (3) 2016

Katharina Prager

„Die Lektüre von historischen Biographien ist gefährlich“ – Aktuelle Bismarck-Biografik

pp. 377-388

Modes and functions of biography have undergone significant changes. Tendencies emerged to scrutinise the notion of biographies as a bourgeois and male hegemonic project and a means of creating national identity. The implicit bias and ideological implications of writing the lives of 'great' (white) men, however, proved hard to overcome. Biographical forms have been continuously present in historiography, while at the same time historians in Central Europe showed a certain lack of interest to engage closely with theories on biography. This essay explores how four German historians who recently wrote popular biographies on one of Germany's most notorious 'great men' Otto von Bismarck, concerned themselves with the demands, methods and trends of modern academic biography.

Christoph Gusy

Der Hüter der Verfassung als Hüter der Demokratie

pp. 389-402

Es gibt Bücher, die für den interessierten Leser nahezu keine wirklich neuen Informationen enthalten, die man aber trotzdem gerne und mit Gewinn liest. Zu dieser Kategorie zählt das hier besprochene Werk „Democracy's Guardians. A History of the German Federal Constitutional Court, 1951–2001“ von Justin Collings.¹ Der Autor lehrt Rechtswissenschaft an der Brigham Young University, ist also kein Politikwissenschaftler. Und sein Buch will auch kein politikwissenschaftliches sein; es fehlt jeglicher Hinweis auf institutions- oder organisationsbezogene Theoriebildungen. Im Gegenteil: Sein Zugang ist eher anti-institutionalistisch und stark personenbezogen. Für das Bundesverfassungsgericht (BVerfG) heißt dies: richterbezogen. Vielleicht muss dies bei kleinen Organen mit wenigen Mitgliedern so sein. So heißt es zur Wahl des ersten Präsidenten: Wäre sie anders ausgegangen, „müssten wir hier eine ganz andere Geschichte erzählen“ (S. 30). Sein Buch ist aber auch kein im engeren Sinne historisches ², denn das BVerfG ist hinsichtlich des Zugangs zu seinen Archiven auch in Zeiten der Informationszugangsfreiheit ganz ungewöhnlich zugeknöpft. So rekurriert Collings auf öffentlich zugängliches Material. Der Autor schreibt nicht aus der Binnenperspektive.³ Er schreibt auch kein juristisches Werk. Hier wird keine Rechtsfrage behandelt, geschweige denn beantwortet. Zentrale Teile der (deutschen wie auch der amerikanischen) rechtswissenschaftlichen Diskussion um das BVerfG sind ausgeblendet und werden nicht einmal literarisch nachgewiesen.

Felix Heidenreich

Krise, Erosion, Niedergang der Demokratie – oder doch ein ganz normales Unbehagen?

pp. 403-412

There is disagreement in Political Theory about whether democracy is actually in crisis or if expectations concerning democracy have reached an unrealistic level and populist movements actually feed democracy by demanding responsiveness from elites. A closer look at contemporary research on the crisis of democracy shows that the core of the debate can be distilled within the following metaphors and concepts: Whereas a crisis (like in a medical case) is a moment of decision, an erosion can be a long and imperceptible process. A decline (just as in the decline of a company) can be turned around by hard decisions; a Malaise however seems to imply (just as in Freud's "Civilization and its Discontents") a mature way of coping with inevitable dissatisfaction.

Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

95 (1) 2016

Chiara Lucrezio Monticelli

Vorstellungsbilder und Regierungshandeln in der „zweiten Stadt des Kaiserreichs“ Neue Forschungslinien zum napoleonischen Rom

pp. 325–345

This article aims to reinterpret the Napoleonic conquest of Rome in 1809 in closer connection with the processes of definition of imperial spaces and national identities in Europe (particularly in the Mediterranean and Italy) at the beginning of the long 19th century. Rome became a symbol of Napoleonic empire building - starting with its proclamation as „the second city of the Empire“ - and a test-bed for the imperialism generated by the French „civilizing mission“. The contrast between the „colonial“ practices of city government and the political use of the imperial idea of ancient Rome had a significant impact on the administration and representation of the city. By analysing sources from Roman institutions and the French administration, alongside the political speeches of Italian patriots, this article will highlight the multiplicity of implications - political, spatial, cultural - of the myth and reality of Rome at a crucial point in the Italian Risorgimento.

Elena Mazzini

Konversionen und Konvertiten im faschistischen Italien zum Zeitpunkt der Rassenkampagne Die Reaktion des Heiligen Stuhles und der katholischen Kirche in Italien

pp. 346–370

The paper aims to describe and discuss the principal contents of the files kept in the Secret Vatican Archives - both in the Vatican Secretariat of State and the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs - concerning Catholic Jews and the „would be“ converted immediately after the promulgation of the Fascist racial laws (1938). The study is based on previously unpublished documents and research on this topic is still ongoing. My research is based on two main types of sources. First, the „subjective documentation“: letters and pleas written during the „year of the Race“ and sent to the Holy See. The authors of these documents were referred to as „Jews by race, Catholic by faith“ or „Christian Jews“ or „converted Jews“ or „baptized Jews“ or - more frequently - „Catholic Jews“. Second, the contrasting nature of the documentation produced by the Church body in response to these letters. The Holy See's Secretary, Eugenio Pacelli, and the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, Domenico Tardini, answered these pleas in an official and diplomatic way, seeking a way to protect Catholic Jews without provoking a clash with the Fascist regime and its laws. These documents give us a more in-depth understanding of both the political and religious procedures adopted by the Church authorities regarding the Jewish persecution and in particular this specific aspect of the anti-Jewish laws.

[18 \(2016\)](#)

Bert Altena

Anarchism as a Social Movement, 1870–1914

pp. 15-62

The history of anarchism displays an alternation of activity and dis-appearance. This article argues that actually there are two different patterns, one short-lived and the other having a much slower pace. Both patterns differ as to causes of disappearance and reasons for revival. According to modern social movement theory, anarchism with its weak organizational structure should have disappeared long ago. Therefore, this article tries to explain the staying power of anarchism. It highlights the importance of the individual anarchists, their networks and the flexibility of the anarchist groups. Anarchist culture plays a key role by nurturing an anarchist lifestyle and keeping the movement attractive to new adherents. Social movement theory is of limited value when analyzing anarchism. Identity theories fail to capture it as a social movement and other social movement theories stay too much within existing political structures and or focus on single-issue movements.

[19 \(2016\)](#)

Christoph Gollasch

„Menschen, laßt die Toten ruhn“ – Das KZ Sonnenburg als Prisma der Frühphase des Nationalsozialismus

pp. 11-61

The history of the former concentration camp in Sonnenburg has not yet been sufficiently explored. However, the camp played a major role in the process of establishing and consolidating the Nazi regime. As it was subject to Prussian police authorities from April 1933 on, the transition from the constitutional state to German fascism crystallizes in the concentration camp's history. Apart from looking at the institutionalization of the camp, its character is explored by assessing former inmates' testimonies. A sociographic analysis of the camps' prisoners adds to a better understanding of the societal dimension of the transition. By rediscovering the particular history of the Sonnenburg concentration camp and approaching its role for the establishment of the Nazi "dual state" (Ernst Fraenkel), this article contributes to the field of research of the so-called early concentration camps. It concludes with a discussion on the politics of memory which have recently unfolded alongside the establishment of a museum at the site of the former concentration camp.

Totalitarismus und Demokratie

13 (1) 2016

Othmar Plöckinger

Zur internationalen Rezeption von „Mein Kampf“ vor 1945

pp. 11–44

This contribution is dedicated to the international distribution and reception of Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" prior to 1945. Apart from the Allied states of World War II, also the Arab countries are dealt with, as well as India, Italy, Japan, China and the Vatican. Apart from the publication history of the book, also the question of its interpretation in the various states is pursued. The idea that the book was a result of the radical atmosphere of the early 1920s and was no longer to be taken seriously in the 1930s was contradicted by solemn warnings that the Reich's Chancellor, Adolf Hitler, would unswervingly keep to the goals formulated in "Mein Kampf".

Hermann Glaser

Zur Genealogie von Hitlers Hetzschrift „Mein Kampf“

pp. 71–84

Being the incarnation of bourgeois ordinariness, Hitler was not an ingenious seducer but most of all the abysmal German philistine. What made his book "Mein Kampf" so successful was the fact that there was no need to read it. The attitude towards life and ideology of wide parts of the German people were congruent with that what was presented and propagated in "Mein Kampf". The book offered all that what thrills the philistine: abysmal vulgarities, resentments expressed by inappropriate metaphors, endless rants, rhetorically prettied up platitudes. This way Hitler's mediocrity became the fate of a nation which allowed him to step by step dissuade it from humanity and culture. The rise of National Socialism did not require any kind of skilful seduction, no ingenious demonism or mendacity. All Hitler had to do was being himself: mediocre, primitive, without any virtues or merits.

Barbara Zehnpfennig

Die Bedeutung des Kampfes in Hitlers Denken

pp. 85–106

Hitler's "Mein Kampf" makes obvious that the idea of fighting is crucial for his ideology: Fighting secures the continued existence and progress of mankind. Ideologies such as Marxism on the other hand, which try to abandon fighting, are the cause of the decline and fall of mankind. Hitler's own fight was directed against Marxism and its – alleged – Jewish originators. This requires the melting of the people into a fighting community – this provided the basis for Hitler's programme of Gleichschaltung" and the inner homogenisation of the German nation.

Manfred Zeidler

Adolf Hitlers „Mein Kampf“ als Blaupause nationalsozialistischer Politik? Einige Betrachtungen zur Außenpolitik
pp. 107-122

In November, 1938, during a conversation with a South-African politician, which was mostly about the German-British relations in those days, Hitler confessed that meanwhile he had “reluctantly [...] started to liquidate the work of his youth”. Against the background of this statement it must be analysed in how far Hitler’s original foreign-political ideas and goals of the mid-1920s had changed until the beginning of the war in 1939. This holds in particular for the prospects of his alliance policy as well as, quite particularly, the intended schedule of the realisation of his power-political intentions.

[13 \(2\) 2016](#)

Christopher Nehring

Informationskrieg im Kalten Krieg: „Aktive Maßnahmen“ der sozialistischen Aufklärungen gegen den Westen
pp. 157-172

The manipulative use of information by secret services was a spread phenomenon during the Cold War. By the 1950’s the Soviet secret police had developed a department for this field of work: Service “A” of the First Chief Department of the KGB, in charge of “active measures”. During the following decades the KGB encouraged his “fraternal organs” to carry out similar operations. Nonetheless, up until today little is known about this aspect of Socialist intelligence work.

Thomas Wegener Friis / Astrid Carlsen / Przemyslaw Gasztold-Sen / Helmut Müller-Enbergs
Sozialistische Nachrichtendienste im Norden
pp. 189-222

The intelligence activities in the Nordic countries of Norway, Denmark and Sweden have for a number of years evaded the attention of scholars. The Nordic Area offers an interesting case since the countries, despite their relative small size, did play a role for the intelligence services of the socialist countries. The operative challenges for the foreign intelligence agencies of these countries were immense; not only did they have to spend considerable resources building professional intelligence organizations at home, they also needed to acquire linguistic and cultural knowledge enabling them to establish networks in Scandinavia.

Aron Buzogány / Rolf Frankenberger / Patricia Graf

Policy-Making und Legitimation in Autokratien: Das Beispiel der Innovationspolitik
pp. 257-280

In addition to repression and co-optation, authoritarian regimes use redistributive and legitimizing strategies in order to secure their survival. In this article we conceptualize and discuss different opportunities of legitimation through policy-making that can be seen in autocracies. We exemplify

this concept by outlining autocratic legitimization strategies in innovation policy. Legitimation through policy-making is a double-edged sword, as it includes both potentials and risks for legitimization.

Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte

64 (1) 2016

Axel Schildt

Im Visier. Die NS-Vergangenheit Westdeutscher Intellektueller. Die Enthüllungskampagne von Kurt Ziesel in der Ära Adenauer

pp. 37-68

In late 1957, a book by the conservative right wing publicist Kurt Ziesel (1911-2001) caused a sensation. It was called: *Das verlorene Gewissen. Hinter den Kulissen der Presse, Literatur und ihrer Machttträger von heute*. Ziesel scandalized the career of those intellectuals of the Third Reich, who in the meantime had made their peace with the Federal Republic of Germany and were even holding liberal views, but had concealed their former political positions and publications. The article retraces his strategy as well as how he dealt with the reactions of the accused, such as Rudolf Pechel and Karl Korn, and the argumentative support for those he attacked from prominent intellectuals, such as the publisher of Frankfurter Hefte Walter Dirks, the philosopher Theodor W. Adorno, Hans Werner Richter, Heinrich Böll and other members of Gruppe 47. The campaign abated in the middle of the 1960s, but its means became part of the arsenal of methods for political fights.

64 (2) 2016

Thomas Wolf

Die Anfänge des BND. Gehlens Organisation – Prozess, Legende und Hypothek

pp. 191-226

The prevalent founding myth of the Bundesnachrichtendienst (the West German Federal Intelligence Service, abbreviated BND) about its beginnings as “Organisation Gehlen” has nothing in common with its actual historical development. A few months after the end of the Second World War, a heterogeneous intelligence service of soon hundreds of operatives developed under the leadership of Abwehr officer Hermann Baun. It was financed lavishly by the US Army, but did not generate many successes. At first, Reinhard Gehlen hardly had any influence, but soon succeeded in his leadership struggle with Baun due to his absolute conformity with the USA. The highly unstructured organisation with its dysfunctional operations was continued under his willy-nilly leadership. Through targeted myth formation and under political pressure, Gehlen succeeded in making uncontrolled growth the structural principle of the nascent BND. The Federal Government, parliamentarians and the general public eagerly took up his ideas. In this way, the BND was able to mostly avoid the usual administrative control measures. This also explains, why Gehlen’s organisation took on persons with a sometimes highly incriminating Nazi past.

64 (3) 2016

Hans Goldenbaum

Nationalsozialismus als Antikolonialismus. Die deutsche Rundfunkpropaganda für die arabische Welt

pp. 449-490

Contrary to what one would expect after recent debates, we still know very little about National Socialist impact and propaganda in the Near East. Based on hitherto unconsidered German and Israeli archival records, the article will attempt to give, for the first time, an overview of the origin, institutional background, structure and, particularly, content of Arabic propaganda broadcasts from Nazi Germany. News programs focused on the strength of the Reich and the weakness of its adversaries in the political, economic and military arena. At the same time, the broadcasts linked National Socialist policies with the situation in the Near and Middle East: The “long-suffering” and “oppressed” German nation, now embroiled in a struggle for sovereignty against the colonialist Western powers, addressed the colonized. On the whole, the propaganda discourse can be conceptualized as a specifically National Socialist “anti-colonialism” or “anti-imperialism” founded in antisemitism. Furthermore, the article expounds how the transmissions were received. The German broadcasts undoubtedly had a certain influence, but the information and explanations they offered had to compete with those issued by other international and regional broadcasts and print media. The reception process can be characterized as committed and active; diverse actors received, interpreted and appropriated the content within their own “horizon of expectations”, relating it to their issues. The key question remains how far the propaganda offered explanations for conflicts and experiences of crisis and promoted a semantic shift which contributed to antisemitic ideologisation and practice.

Zeithistorische Forschungen

2/2016

C. Marx

Zukunft durch Apartheid? Verwoerds Rassenideologie, Südafrikas Außenpolitik und der Westen

The policy of apartheid as conceptualised and implemented by Prime Minister Verwoerd (1958–1966) was a policy of authoritarian modernisation. The protagonists of this policy did not regard it as reactionary or conservative, but their central goal was to cement white rule. When in 1959 they gave the ›homelands‹ the option of political independence, their intention was to create a white nation state. International criticism of apartheid was perceived within the ideological context of the Cold War and also as part of a worldwide race conflict between Asia and Europe. Verwoerd's successor Vorster (1966–1978/9) wanted to lead South Africa out of its isolation through a policy of détente with the African neighbours. When he foundered, Botha (Prime Minister from 1978, State President from 1984) built a regional military hegemony. Mounting costs of repression and an economic downturn helped to make a negotiated solution possible and bring about an end to apartheid in 1994.

3/2016

A. Karla

Westeuropas Wiederaufbau – Made in Germany? Baumaterial aus Deutschland im Versailler Vertrag

To date, the historiography of reparations after World War I has a predominant focus on cash. The article proposes considering non-cash contributions a constitutive part of the Treaty of Versailles and investigating their impact on the post-World War I order. Contemporary debates on the supply of building materials to northern France illustrate the expectations on the German side that were raised by the promise of such deliveries in kind: Policymakers hoped that deliveries in kind would reduce the overall sum of reparations; smart entrepreneurs hoped for lucrative business, for instance from the sale of prefabricated houses; and trade unions saw new prospects for German workers and German building materials. Though deliveries in kind to the areas undergoing reconstruction in northern France were in practice small, the related debates disclose new perspectives on the post-war history. This example serves as a case in point for the potential of applying theoretical considerations about the social dimension of materiality to the context of the Treaty of Versailles and its consequences.

Peter Hoffmann

Friedrich II. von Preußen und Russland

pp. 1025-1044

I cambiamenti del sistema europeo di alleanze della seconda metà del Settecento sono stati una conseguenza logica dei precedenti processi politici e diplomatici. L'analisi delle relazioni politiche tra la Russia e la Prussia durante i primi quindici anni del regno di Federico II mostra come la Russia abbia sempre giocato un ruolo notevole nelle considerazioni del re prussiano. Al contrario quindi di una diffusa convinzione invalsa nella letteratura per la quale la Russia era stato un fattore secondario nei piani geopolitici di Federico II all'inizio del suo regno.

Per Federico II tuttavia diversi aspetti degli sviluppi politici ed economici in atto in Russia rimasero incompresi durante tutto il suo regno. La rottura del dialogo con la zarina Elisabetta spianò la strada, quindi, alla Guerra dei Sette Anni. Federico II non si era reso conto che non solo la Prussia, ma allo stesso tempo anche la Russia iniziava a entrare nelle dinamiche della politica europea aspirando a diventare una grande potenza. Per tornare alla domanda iniziale: Federico II aveva iniziato a studiare la Russia già quando era ancora principe ereditario, ma ciò che non riuscì a comprendere, perché effettivamente inedito rispetto alla storia precedente, era l'ascesa della Russia nella rete delle relazioni europee, l'incomprensione di tale importante aspetto costituì forse uno dei più grandi limiti dell'azione di Federico II in politica estera.

Gran Bretagna

Contemporary European History

25 (1) 2016

A. Muñoz

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Spanish Socialists during the Transition to Democracy, 1975–1982

pp. 143-162

This article explores the activities of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Spain during the transition to democracy. It describes the financial, logistical and training support with which this German Foundation contributed to the unexpected rebirth of the Spanish Socialist Party after Franco and its meteoric emergence as the leading left-wing party. It also assesses its cooperation with the Socialist trade union, which moved from irrelevance to a position of importance greater than the powerful Communist union. Finally, the article examines how the Foundation diversified its activities in order to meet the growing needs of and challenges faced by the Spanish Socialists in their path towards power.

25 (3) 2016

E. De Angelis, E. Karamouzi

Enlargement and the Historical Origins of the European Community's Democratic Identity, 1961–1978

pp. 439-458

This article examines how and when democracy entered the discursive politics of the European Community to become one of the fundamental tenets of European political identity – and in the process influenced how decision-makers approached the question of enlargement. Building on multiple archival sources, the article traces how all three Community institutions (Commission, Council and European Parliament) legitimised the expansion and continuation of the process of European integration through the discursive construction of democracy. It focuses on the debates elicited by the attempts of southern European countries to accede to the EEC in the 1960s and 1970s.

25 (4) 2016

H García

Transnational History: A New Paradigm for Anti-Fascist Studies?

pp. 563-572

Anti-fascism – a hallmark of the left since the 1930s, and a vague term for active opposition to Italian fascism, German Nazism and similar movements in the interwar period – used to be studied as a brief episode in the history of European nation states. The available syntheses read like collections of national studies with a clear European or Western focus. However, methodological nationalism may soon become a thing of the past – the last few years have brought a transnational turn in anti-fascist studies, which this special issue tries both to illustrate and to discuss.

Shane Nagle

Peripheries and Contested Regions in Nationalist Imaginations: Irish–German Comparisons, 1850–1930

pp. 27–47

This article is a comparative study of the delineation of national territory by nationalist historians in Germany and Ireland from the mid-nineteenth century to the inter-war period of the twentieth century. The essay examines how the problem of historically contested territories and non-national allegiances was dealt with by these historians, focusing in particular on the Ulster region in the Irish context, and the idea of ‘the German East’, and in particular on the origins of Prussia as an integral part of the ‘German East’. The article, building on recent work that aims at providing a comprehensive ‘mapping’ of nationalist historical traditions throughout Europe, attempts to provide a comparative analysis through a study of two relatively unconnected contexts. This is in order to establish common patterns that cannot be attributed to cause and effect resulting from direct interaction of ‘case A’ and ‘case B’. This comparison argues for the presence of a common pattern of nationalist argument with respect to European contested regions and territory more generally which was underpinned by a particular form of historical narrative.

Claudio Hernández Burgos

The Triumph of ‘Normality’, Social Attitudes, Popular Opinion and the Construction of the Franco Regime in Post-War Rural Spain (1936–1952)

pp. 291–310

As with other non-democratic regimes, the study of social attitudes has become one of the main themes used to explain the birth, consolidation and durability of the Franco dictatorship. The aim of this article is to demonstrate how the outlook adopted by ordinary Spaniards favoured the consolidation of the Franco regime during the post-war period. It does this by highlighting the importance of examining popular opinion at the local level, where state agents and members of society came into daily contact. By analysing social attitudes towards hunger and poverty, guerrilla activities and Spain’s diplomatic isolation, the article reveals a measure of tepid support for the regime. Together with the punishment of the defeated and the collaboration of regime supporters, the unenthusiastic but accepting opinions held by the majority of Spanish people were crucial to underpinning the regime ‘from below’. To these groups, the survival of dictatorship seemed to be the only solution that would avoid political confrontation and would allow people to live a ‘peaceful’ existence.

Ezequiel Mercau

War of the British Worlds: The Anglo-Argentines and the Falklands

pp. 145-168

The 1982 Falklands War was shrouded in symbolism, bringing to the fore divergent conceptions of Britishness, kinship, and belonging. This article casts light on the persistent purchase of the idea of Greater Britain long after the end of empire, addressing a case that would normally be deemed outside its spatial and temporal boundaries. By highlighting the inherent contradictions of this transnational bond, the South Atlantic conflict had a profound effect on an underexposed British community with a lingering attachment to a “British world”: the Anglo-Argentines. As they found themselves wedged between two irreconcilable identities, divisions threatened to derail this already enfeebled grouping. Yet leaders of the community, presuming a common Britishness with the Falkland Islanders and Britons in the United Kingdom, sought to intervene in the conflict by reaching out to both. That their efforts were met with indifference, and sometimes scorn, only underlines how contingent and frail the idea of Greater Britain was by 1982. Yet this article also reveals how wide ranging the consequences of the crisis of Greater Britain were, and how its global reach was acutely put to the test by pitting different “British worlds” against each other.

Gavin Schaffer

Fighting Thatcher with Comedy: What to Do When There Is No Alternative

pp. 374-397

This article offers a history of British alternative comedy as a case study of political challenge and opposition in the 1980s and considers the role of humor in political campaigning more broadly. It explores left-wing thinking on culture as a potential political weapon, and questions how this informed the development and impact of alternative comedy as a genre. The article observes that pioneering alternative comedians went some way to change British comedy values and inform political discussions. However, it also argues that the complex operation of jokes and the tendency of comedians to become “incorporated” within the political and cultural mainstream ensured that the impacts of radical alternative material were limited and ambiguous. It contends that the practice of alternative comedy was undermined by business and political values that were often influenced by Thatcherism, and that alternative comedians mostly failed to capture the imaginations of working-class Britons. These communities retained instead an affection for more traditional, differently rebellious, comedic voices. Ultimately, this article frames alternative comedy within a longer history of radical humor, drawing out broader lessons concerning the revolutionary potential of jokes and the relationship between comedians, their audiences, and politics.

David Roth Singerman

Keynesian Eugenics and the Goodness of the World

pp. 538-565

This article shows how John Maynard Keynes's lifelong commitment to eugenics was deeply embedded in his political, economic, and philosophical work. At the turn of the century, eugenics seemed poised to grant industrial nations unprecedented control over their own future, but that potential depended on contested understandings of the biological mechanisms of inheritance. Early in his career, Keynes helped William Bateson, Britain's chief proponent of Mendelian genetics, analyze problems in human heredity. Simultaneously, Keynes publicly opposed the efforts by Francis Galton and Karl Pearson to study inheritance through statistical biometry. For Keynes, this conflict was morally laden: Mendelism incorporated the only ethical theory of uncertainty, while biometry rested on false and dangerous concepts. This early study of heredity shaped Keynes's visions of industrial democracy after 1918. Liberals looked for a system of societal and economic management to engineer an escape from the postwar Malthusian trap. Britain's economic plight, Keynes argued, was rooted in the hereditary weaknesses of its leadership. Successful technocratic liberalism would depend on control over the quality as well as quantity of human beings. Ultimately, in his essay "Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren," Keynes predicted that effective eugenic management would bring about capitalism's end.

T. Chettiar

"More than a Contract": The Emergence of a State-Supported Marriage Welfare Service and the Politics of Emotional Life in Post-1945 Britain

pp. 566-591

This article examines the seminal contributions of Britain's marriage counseling and therapy services toward cultivating a new emotional purpose for marriage in the decades following World War II. It presents two related narrative threads. First, it argues that psychologically oriented relationship services attracted government support because they supported the postwar ideal of a classless democratic society. Pioneering practitioners promoted a universalized view of citizens' emotional relationships—rather than their socio-economic circumstances—as the determining fact of their lives. Second, it argues that these services provided a compelling language and set of concepts for articulating transforming understandings and expectations of marriage in the decades after 1945. To this end, the article reveals how the language and concepts of marriage therapists were mobilized by divorce reformers in the 1960s, and helped replace the offense model for divorce petitions with a less punitive psychological model of relationship "breakdown" in 1969. Britain's postwar marriage welfare services endowed stable harmonious families with crucial social and political importance as the bedrock for postwar social reconstruction and the most fitting

environment for children and adults alike to develop into fully mature and self-realized democratic citizens.

Kit Kowol

An Experiment in Conservative Modernity: Interwar Conservatism and Henry Ford's English Farms

pp. 781-805

Between 1931 and 1947, the American industrialist Henry Ford financed a British agricultural experiment at the Fordson Estate in the Essex countryside. This article analyses the Fordson experiment as it developed from a limited attempt to test the merits of American farming methods into a wider model for remaking British industry and society. Focusing closely on Sir Percival Perry, a Conservative Party activist and Ford's partner in the venture, it explores the extent to which the experiment sought to harmonize modern technology with traditional patterns of life. In doing so, the article places the history of the Fordson Estate within the paradigm of interwar conservative modernity. By tracing Perry's participation within a network of industrial paternalist organizations and delineating his connection to the interwar conservative movement, the article demonstrates that conservative modernity stood largely outside formal party politics but was central to the praxis of interwar conservatism. It highlights an experimental, radical, and utopian form of conservative politics that aimed to foster conservative rural citizens.

Charles L. Leavitt

'An entirely new land'? Italy's post-war culture and its Fascist past

pp. 4-18

Scholarship has for decades emphasized the significant continuities in Italian culture and society after Fascism, calling into question the rhetoric of post-war renewal. This article proposes a reassessment of that rhetoric through the analysis of five key metaphors with which Italian intellectuals represented national recovery after 1945: parenthesis, disease, flood, childhood and discovery. While the current critical consensus would lead us to expect a cultural conversation characterized by repression and evasion, an analysis of these five post-war metaphors instead reveals both a penetrating reassessment of Italian culture after Fascism and an earnest adherence to the cause of national revitalization. Foregrounding the inter-relation of Italy's prospects for change and its continuities with Fascism, these metaphors suggest that post-war Italian intellectuals conceived of their country's hopes for renewal, as well as its connections to the recent past, in terms that transcend the binary division favoured in many historical accounts.

Agustín Coletes Blanco

War stories: British and American writers in/on the Italian front (1915–18)

pp. 206-219

In 1919 the British historian G. M. Trevelyan complained about the 'not very large stock of English literature on Italy's part in the war' that had just ended, a phenomenon he attributed to 'the mutual ignorance of the English-speaking and Italian peoples'. Nearly a hundred years later the situation seems to be no better. Secondary sources as there are devote only passing mention (if any) to the war stories that were put together by British and American writers who visited, served or worked as volunteers in the Italian front between 1915 and 1918. This article intends to give some details about the Italian front writing of these committed individuals, whose praiseworthy contribution to the war effort was, indeed, fighting the above-mentioned ignorance.

Adrian Lyttelton, Ernest Ialongo

Multi/Interdisciplinary investigations into Italy and World War I: An introduction

pp. 300-305

This introductory article details some of the main points that characterized Italian politics and culture in the period leading up to World War I and during the war itself, and then surveys the

contributions of each article in this series that further investigates the period. The authors note the febrile nature of Italian domestic politics before the war which challenged traditional liberal parliamentarism. This political challenge was accompanied by a challenge to traditional art, and no movement epitomized these twin challenges to the old order like Futurism. Yet, though the Futurists and other nationalist groups glorified war and helped push Italy into the conflict, the country was hardly united. In fact, the hope was that war would finally unify the nation and erase the shame of Italy's lackluster military performances since unification. As such, Italy's cultural experience of the war was somewhat unique, in that the desire to prove its martial valor did not lead to the level of denunciations that other nations' artists and writers produced – though there were some critics. Ialongo's article traces the Futurist contribution to this pro-war ethic. Reich shows how the popularity of the Maciste alpino film during the war built upon this desire to unify the nation behind the war. And Palanti's analysis of the post-war film *Umanità* notes that there were critics in Italy willing to challenge the cult of war.

[21 \(4\) 2016](#)

Erminio Fonzo

A path towards Fascism: nationalism and large-scale industry in Italy (1910–1923)

pp. 545-564

In the decade before World War I, close connections developed in Italy between the nationalists and major elements of large-scale industry. As the Italian Nationalist Association, founded in 1910, became the main political reference for industrialists, the ties between nationalism and the business community helped to undermine the liberal state and end the political system established by Giovanni Giolitti. During World War I, the Nationalist Association developed close links with the Ansaldo company and supported it in the 'parallel wars' of Italian capitalism. Ansaldo went bankrupt in 1921, but the nationalists were able to establish relations with other entrepreneurs. Their connection with large-scale industry lay behind Mussolini's decision in 1923 to accept the Nationalist Association into the National Fascist Party. Nationalism not only ensured that important economic forces would support the Fascist regime but its ideology significantly contributed to the building of Mussolini's dictatorship.

Ángel Alcalde

War veterans and the transnational origins of Italian Fascism (1917–1919)

pp. 565-583

This article explores the origins of the historical relationship between war veterans and Fascism. Transcending the predominant paradigm of the controversial 'brutalization' thesis (George L. Mosse), the article relies on a transnational perspective that focuses on the interconnections between historical events and on processes of political communication and symbolic appropriation. Examining historical processes taking place in different European countries, as well as their effects

on Mussolini and the Italian interventionists, the article argues that a transnational process of symbolic appropriation of the notion of the 'veteran', taking place between 1917 and 1919, is crucial to understand how the Fascist ideology and movement were born.

Daniele Pipitone

Imported memories: the Italian audience and the reception of American movies about the Second World War

pp. 627-648

Memories of the Second World War played a central role in shaping the European imaginary and in founding the European political order after 1945. Nevertheless, while the Second World War was a global event, its memories have been mainly studied from a national point of view, thus underestimating the conspicuous phenomena of transmission of narratives and representations of the conflict from one country to another. This article analyzes the Italian reception of American movies about the Second World War, as a way to overcome the preponderance of a nation-centered perspective and to open up to a transnational analysis mainly based on the concepts of communication, diffusion and exportation of cultural products. After a theoretical introduction, the article analyzes an original source of great use for the study of the reception of American movies: the evaluation forms produced by the audience of an Italian cineforum about five American war movies in the 1960s. The importance of the source lies in its rarity: direct testimonies of the opinion of a non-specialist public about a movie are very rare, and thus extremely precious for a bottom-up approach to such issues.

[21 \(5\) 2016](#)

Luigi Musella

The notabile as actor and model of Italian politics

pp. 707-722

This article examines the flexibility of the notabile model in different circumstances and time periods. The idea of a notabile cannot be restricted to only a few cases as there are many examples of notabili who, despite not having social and family origins of the classical notabile type, tend to assume the same behavioural and cultural patterns in managing power. The patterns usually considered typical of a notabile are often linked to landed property and the professions, but there are many other cases that suggest that the qualities of the notabili change in different historical and political moments, and are easily adapted to changing social and environmental circumstances. Even when they do not seem to fit directly into the classical model, over time those original features are still evident.

Marco Soresina

Italian emigration policy during the Great Migration Age, 1888–1919: the interaction of emigration and foreign policy

pp. 723-746

This article illustrates the development of Italian politics on emigration up to the end of the First World War (and even later), focusing on the operation and activity of the Commissariato generale dell'emigrazione (Commissioner-General of Emigration, 1901–27), a government agency that enjoyed considerable autonomy. The research is based on archival materials and the study of publications of the time, and proposes an unconventional view on the phenomenon of migration, as seen through the relationship between the evolution of the regulatory system and the political orientations of the ruling classes. Indeed, Italy progressively increased the freedom of expatriation, to the point of creating social legislation for the protection of emigrants, with the ambition of extending Italy's influence over the countries of destination. This policy of migration interfered with foreign policy, and was at times influenced by the nationalism emerging in Italy at the time, even to the extent of provoking diplomatic disputes. For these reasons, the activity of the Commissariato generale dell'emigrazione created friction with the traditional consular network; these conflicts and the insufficient margin of autonomy given to the Commission in practice prevented the concrete completion of its more advanced projects.

Journal of Political Ideologies

21 (1) 2016

M. Freeden

The resurgence of ideology studies: Twenty years of the JPI

pp. 1-8

21 (2) 2016

B. Thomassen, R. Forlenza

Christianity and political thought: Augusto Del Noce and the ideology of Christian Democracy in post-war Italy

pp. 181-199

This article engages with the thought of Augusto Del Noce (1910–1989), the most important Italian Catholic philosopher and political thinker of the 20th century. The focus is on how Del Noce came to elaborate a Catholic ‘modernity,’ bridging a positive encounter between Catholicism, democracy and freedom. This philosophical project had a considerable impact on modern Italian culture and politics. At the theoretical level, the argument is embedded within the larger aim of recognizing attempts within Catholic philosophy to articulate an Italian political trajectory that does not simply accept the tale of a singular path to modernity based on the Enlightenment model but instead tries to articulate an alternative vision of the modern, grounded within a transcendental perspective.

21 (3) 2016

A. Taylor

Barry Goldwater: insurgent conservatism as constitutive rhetoric

pp. 242-260

Conservatives are generally held to be biased towards the present state of affairs, but some conservatives see the present state of affairs as so great a threat, they advocate its overthrow. They are insurgent conservatives. Scholars portray a Republican Party in the 1950s and 1960s dominated by a north-east liberal establishment confronting an emerging opposition based on anti-communism, economic liberalism and limited government. Barry Goldwater, deploying ideas developed as a long-standing opponent of the New Deal, from his experiences as a businessman, and his philosophic commitment to individualism, engaged extensively with conservatives from the mid- to late 1950s, becoming the spokesman for the developing conservative movement. Goldwater articulated an alternative, radical interpretation of conservatism. Using constitutive rhetoric, an under-used tool in the study of conservatism, this paper explores the content and message of Goldwater’s insurgent conservatism. Rather than focussing on persuasion, constitutive rhetoric focuses on the relationship between the speaker and the audience in the forging of an identity. Goldwater’s audience was already persuaded; what was needed was a common conservative identity to inspire a political movement. Goldwater did not ‘call conservatism into being,’ but his rhetoric fuelled an insurgency and constituted conservatism in a new configuration.

[Journal of World History](#)

[XXVII \(1\) 2016](#)

R. Burke

“Real problems to discuss”: the congress for cultural freedom’s Asian and African expeditions, 1951–1959
pp. 53-85

This article argues for a more careful appraisal of what constituted the “Third World” political and ideological orientation in the early phases of the Cold War, and for greater emphasis on the often neglected liberal democratic strands within early postcolonialism. Its focus is the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF) and its conferences and affiliated associations in Asia and Africa in the 1950s. The largely neglected story of the CCF’s engagement with the nascent Third World, which began with the earliest years of the organization, revealed an alternative set of voices within the newly independent states: anticolonial, antiracist, but also antitotalitarian, and wary of the perils of state-dominated modernization. By recovering these aspects of the early postcolonial period, it seeks both to moderate the dominant narrative, which privileges nonalignment, and to extend the history of the CCF’s intellectual project, which has generally been approached within an Atlantic and European frame.

[XXVII \(2\) 2016](#)

S.M. Harris

The global construction of international law in the Nineteenth century: the case of arbitration
pp. 303-325

The history of international law has been Eurocentric, and properly so. That particular concatenation of state practice, political theory, religious and philosophical influences, diplomatic practices and events and imperial engagements that has led to the dominance of our current global states system has been driven primarily from Europe, by Europe, and for Europe. At the same time, the reconsideration of the history of international law over the past few decades has begun to integrate perspectives not only from outside of Europe—from individuals, cultures, and governments who were subjects of this aspect of European modernity over the past five hundred years—but also from ideas and practices of pre-contact cultures.

[XXVII \(4\) 2016](#)

J. Mcquade

The new Asia of rash behari bose: india, japan, and the limits of the international, 1912–1945
pp. 641-667

Despite attracting little attention within the historiography of Indian independence, Rash Behari Bose was the most wanted man in India during the First World War, and he remained an implacable opponent of British imperial rule until his death in 1945. By examining the challenge that Bose's exile in Japan posed to British attempts to police the borders of colonial India against the circulation of unwanted arms, ideas, and students, this article points toward the emergence of imperial anxieties regarding the dangers posed by new forms of political violence. Furthermore, I argue that Bose's life and political thought provide an opportunity for an alternative reading of the relationship between territory and nation, by demonstrating the ways in which Bose sought to subvert imperial and international geographies of power by imagining layered forms of an Indian nation, which interacted and intersected with broader global communities through ideas of history, religion, civilization, and race.

Past & Present

230 (1) 2016

Holger Hoock

Mangled Bodies: Atrocity in the American Revolutionary War

pp. 123-159

In spring 1777 John Adams started a letter to his wife, Abigail, by quoting his barber, whom he liked to cite ‘as often as ever I did any Authority’. Adams’s barber had ‘read Histories of Cruelty; and he has read Romances of Cruelty: But the Cruelty of the British exceeds all that he ever read’. Americans, Adams argued, should use history, poetry and the visual arts as means of ‘publishing to the World, and perpetuating to Posterity, the horrid deeds of our Enemies’. Spreading the ‘facts’ about British inhumanity would ‘strike every pious, and humane Bosom, in Great Britain with Horror’ and ‘interest the Sympathy, and Compassion of all Europe in our Favour’. Moreover, ‘it would convince every American that a Nation, so great a Part of which is thus deeply depraved, can never be again trusted with Power over Us’.

231 (1) 2016

Vanessa Heggie

Bodies, Sport and Science in the Nineteenth Century

pp. 169-200

In 1876 the renowned American long-distance pedestrian Edward Payson Weston travelled to Britain to challenge local sportsmen and to raise his transatlantic sporting profile. In February, wearing his distinctive athletic outfit of knickerbockers, leather leggings and walking boots that ‘reach[ed] above the ankle’, he attempted a walk of 115 miles in twenty-four hours around a track in the Royal Agricultural Hall in Islington, London. This race is relatively well known in the history of sport, used to demonstrate increasing internationalism, or perhaps increasing professionalization, in sport, both taken as symptoms of modernity. My argument is that Weston’s walk should be allowed to intrude on other histories too: he was part of an international debate about science, and a national debate about the relationship between the state and its citizens, which embroiled chemists, physiologists, physicists, doctors and social reformers for years. This iteration of the debate had been sparked in earnest a little over a decade earlier, in 1865, when two German researchers climbed the Faulhorn, one of a ring of mountains in the Bernese Alps, eating only fried starch paste, drinking only sugary tea and meticulously collecting their urine. Following the path from the Faulhorn to the Royal Agricultural Hall leads us through the first encounters between modern sports and modern, largely biomedical, sciences. Current historical writing portrays this connection as either non-existent or essentially antagonistic. This article takes a contrary position, demonstrating instead how nineteenth-century science and sport came together in mutually beneficial interactions. This process helped to define notions of health, vigour and national identity, as well as solving some crucial scientific puzzles. Here I argue that paying closer attention to actors like Weston shifts our perspective on events like the Royal Agricultural Hall race, and will reveal other important stories: in Weston’s case, the earliest documented doping controversy in modern sport, an event so far entirely overlooked by historians.

What does paid work mean to women and how have those meanings changed over time? Between the mid 1940s and early 1970s, social science, particularly the emerging discipline of sociology, placed this question at the centre of public debates about change and continuity in British women's lives. These decades witnessed important developments affecting women across social classes: marriage became more or less universal and took place earlier, while families shrank in size and were completed in a shorter space of time. Free universal secondary education and healthcare did not eliminate social inequalities, but it did improve educational opportunities for girls and the health and longevity of older women. Perhaps most striking of all, and integrally linked to these wider trends, was the growth in the proportion of married women in paid work. Between the wars, only 10 per cent of wives were formally employed outside the home; this had more than doubled by 1951, rose to 35 per cent in 1961 and stood at 49 per cent a decade later. As a proportion of the female workforce, married women's share grew from 16 per cent in 1931 to nearly 45 per cent at the beginning of the 1950s, and in 1957 passed the 50 per cent mark. The tendency for young wives to work until the birth of their first child rather than resigning upon marriage accounted for some of this growth, but more significant were the older mothers re-entering the workforce after a period of full-time housewifery.

How British women's lives were changing as a consequence of these new demographic facts and socio-economic trends became a regular theme in popular post-war discourses of gender. Social science, as this article seeks to demonstrate, had a major hand in framing the public meanings of the shifting female life-course, and particularly in making sense of the phenomenon of married women's work. Researchers such as Viola Klein, Pearl Jephcott, Judith Hubback, Ferdynand Zweig, Nancy Seear and Hannah Gavron produced a body of sociological writings on this subject in the 1950s and 1960s that had purchase beyond the confines of professional social science. They helped to entrench new understandings of married women's employment as a fundamental feature of advanced industrial societies, and one that solved the dilemmas of 'modern' woman across social classes. Central to their vision was the 'dual role' in which women, having worked before becoming mothers, re-entered the workforce, often on a part-time basis, once their children were of school age or older. This model, they argued, met women's new social and psychic needs for interests outside the home as well as their material aspirations for a higher standard of living. This 'in-out' model, as Viola Klein described it, balanced the needs of mothers against those of children and husbands, and released an untapped and much needed source of labour for the economy. These researchers and their ideas have not been wholly neglected, but the significance of their collective contribution has been inadequately understood.

[The Historical Journal](#)

[59 \(1\) 2016](#)

Pepijn Corduwener

Democracy as a Contested Concept in Post-War Western Europe: a Comparative Study of Political Debates in France, West Germany, and Italy
pp. 197-220

This article explores how political parties in France, West Germany, and Italy conceptualized democracy and challenged the conceptions of democracy of their political adversaries between the end of the 1940s and the early 1960s. It studies from a comparative perspective the different conceptions of democracy held by Christian democrat, Left-wing, and Gaullist political actors and shows how these diverged on key issues such as the economic system, foreign policy, the separation of powers, electoral systems, and the use of state institutions in the defence of democracy against anti-democratic forces. In this way, the article reveals how in the first fifteen years after the Second World War, government and opposition parties disputed each other's democratic credentials and political legitimacy, and it thereby reconsiders the claim that there existed a broad consensus on the meaning of democracy among political elites in post-war Western Europe. It is argued that these different conceptions of democracy only started to converge after they had clashed during political crises at the turn of the 1960s in all three states. This study thereby contributes to an enhanced understanding the formation of the post-war democratic order in Western Europe.

Barnaby Crowcroft

Egypt's Other Nationalists and the Suez Crisis of 1956
pp. 253-285

The Egyptian experience of the Suez crisis and subsequent conflict of 1956 has received significantly less treatment than those of the other major players, Great Britain, France, Israel, and the United States. The consensus over Egypt's role in the crisis has, moreover, has advanced very little from the narrative put forward by official participants at the time, portraying the event as a landmark in a nationalist struggle to restore Egypt's independence and national dignity. This article takes a fresh look at the Suez crisis from the perspective of the figures of an emergent Egyptian political opposition in 1955-6, whose responses differed substantially from this received view. By bringing domestic Egyptian political struggles to the foreground of this international crisis, the article will offer a more nuanced view of the origins of Suez in British planning, and of its significance for contemporary Egyptians. The conclusion will seek to explain how a collection of sometimes extreme nationalists could take such a counter-intuitive position in the Suez crisis through exploring the diversity of nationalist thought in the Egypt of the 1950s.

[59 \(2\) 2016](#)

Luke Blaxill, Taym Saleh

The Electoral Dynamics of Conservatism, 1885-1910: 'Negative Unionism' Reconsidered

pp. 417-445

This article takes a fresh look at the long-running debate on whether the Unionist party owed its electoral success between the Third Reform Act and the Great War predominantly to 'negative' factors: principally, low turnout; poor Liberal organization; and a reliable and consistent middle-class vote. Taking advantage of recently digitized election datasets, it conducts the most extensive statistical study thus far attempted, to argue that recent revisionist historians have dismissed too readily the traditional 'negative Unionism' thesis associated with J. P. Cornford. It conducts an extensive analysis of the relationship between turnout and Unionist support on national, constituency, and regional levels, and finds that the much-disputed traditional interpretation that Conservatives benefited from low polls in the late Victorian period is broadly borne out in England. Additionally, this article also investigates the wider impact of uncontested constituencies in this period, arguing that the large number of seats left unfought by the Liberals was even more electorally grievous than the raw numbers imply. Both these findings suggest that the Unionists benefited from a still more substantial structural advantage in the late Victorian period than historians have previously assumed. While important aspects of Unionist language and strategy were undoubtedly positive, they were nonetheless underpinned by negative electoral foundations.

[59 \(4\) 2016](#)

Matthew Grant

Historicizing Citizenship in Post-War Britain

pp. 1187-1206

Citizenship has been widely debated in post-war British history, yet historians discuss the concept in very different, and potentially contradictory, ways. In doing so, historians are largely following in the footsteps of post-war politicians, thinkers, and ordinary people, who showed that citizenship could - and did - mean very different things. The alternative ways of framing the concept can be usefully described as the three registers of citizenship. First, there are the political and legal definitions of what makes any individual a citizen. Secondly, there is the notion of belonging to a national community, an understanding of citizenship which highlights that legal status alone cannot guarantee an individual's ability to practise citizenship rights. Thirdly, there is the idea of citizenship as divided between 'good' or 'active' citizens, and 'bad' or 'passive' ones, a differential understanding of citizenship which has proved very influential in debates about British society. This article reviews these registers, and concludes by arguing that all three must be taken into account if we are to comprehend properly the nature and citizenship as both status and practice in post-war Britain.

Julia Nicholls

Empire and Internationalism in French Revolutionary Socialist Thought, 1871-1885

pp. 1051-1074

This article explores the role of empire and internationalism in French revolutionary socialist thought at the beginning of the Third Republic. Whilst French revolutionary socialists frequently

employed colonial examples and operated within wider traditions of either imperialism or anti-colonialism, the concept of 'empire' itself remained vague and undefined in their thought. Previous literature on the subject has focused overwhelmingly on the writings of Communards deported to New Caledonia in the 1870s; however, this article argues that the deportees in fact remained theoretically unconcerned with imperial and international questions. Rather, it was those who remained in Europe that produced more clearly elaborated theories on empire and international engagement. Such ideas subsequently served to demarcate the limits and possibilities of universal equality and solidarity, which were central to revolutionary socialist thought during this period. Consequently, it will be suggested that despite their recent rise in popularity, empire, and colonialism are not the best categories of analysis for approaching such themes, for they cannot be isolated from broader concerns with international and transnational thought.

Nick Witham

Popular History, Post-War Liberalism, and the role of the Public Intellectual in Richard Hofstadter's The American Political Tradition (1948)

pp. 1133-1155

This article examines the status of Richard Hofstadter's classic work *The American political tradition* (1948) as a 'popular history'. It uses documents drawn from Hofstadter's personal papers, those of his publisher Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., as well as several of his contemporaries, to pursue a detailed reconstruction of the manner in which the book was written, edited, and reviewed, and to demonstrate how it circulated within, and was defined by, the literary culture of the 1940s and 1950s. The article explores Hofstadter's early career conception of himself as a scholar writing for audiences outside of the academy, reframes the significance of so-called 'middlebrow' literature, and, in doing so, offers a fresh appraisal of the links between popular historical writing, liberal politics, and the role of public intellectuals in the post-war United States.

[XLIV \(1\) 2016](#)

M. Stubbings

The partisan nature of race and imperialism: dadabhai naoroji, M.M. Bhownaggee and the late Nineteenth-century British politics of Indian nationalism
pp. 48-69

This article examines Dadabhai Naoroji's and Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownaggee's contribution to politically partisan ideologies on Indian empire as London MPs and reform advocates late in the nineteenth century. Exploring politically nuanced, cultural definitions of racial difference, this article reveals how their participation in British parliamentary and press debate on Indian nationalism adhered to distinct liberal and conservative imperial political conceptions of race and governance during this period. Beyond an analysis of Naoroji and the Indian National Congress's relationship with British liberalism, this essay explores Bhownaggee's contribution to a sustained conservative imperial tradition. This article postulates that Edmund Burke's separation from a liberal imperial rationality and a British Tory critique of liberalism informed a nineteenth-century conservative governing justification in India predicated on conciliating organic national racial difference. As Naoroji's devotion, as a Liberal MP for Central Finsbury (1892–95), to a liberal civilising mission informed an advocacy of political self-governance in Britain and India, Bhownaggee's pursuit of female and technical education reform while Conservative MP for Bethnal Green N.E. (1895–1905) represented a conservative espousal of racial difference.

C. Newbury

The semantics of corruption: political science perspectives on imperial and post-imperial methods of state-building
pp. 163-194

Although imperial historians concentrate on regions and periods with abundant documentation, it is worth considering how another discipline copes with the political fate of post-colonial societies whose records are not so easily accessible. The nine works reviewed below cover problems of misgovernment in new states in several regions. This article concentrates on their methods and conclusions for states in sub-Saharan Africa and more especially West Africa. Authors and editors have made considerable use of patron-client (or clientelistic) explanations in their interpretations of the aims and performance of African leaders under post-independence constitutions. Techniques of patronage have a long history; colonial rulers applied them to find useful intermediaries between administrators and African ethnic groups; and there is ample evidence for their existence in the politics of new states under the label of 'corruption'. Despite accepted definitions of patronage, the terminology of clientelism contains ambiguities when employed to denote historical cases in a large number of cultural contexts with poor economic management and dictatorial governance. The collective conclusion of the books reviewed charges African civil and military leaders with corruption in appropriation of public resources for private gains. All the authors comment on that

generic term; one of them supplies a detailed analysis of its ramifications. Most have drawn, too, on imperial works and records as background to their explanation for the policies of civil and military leaders in independent states in coping with debt management, risk of territorial fragmentation, use of parastatals and misuse of resources. It is concluded here, however, that input from the late colonial period has been misunderstood; second, that anthropologists' knowledge of the institution of chieftainship, its survival or disappearance, throws light on the 'indeterminacy' of leadership succession in Africa, unless overcome by the mechanisms of constitutional elections; and, third, that political science has not investigated the reasons for the lack of competent judicial and civil service institutions to safeguard the working of Africa's constitutions.

XLIV (2) 2016

S.C. Smith

Britain's decision to withdraw from the persian gulf: a pattern not a puzzle
pp. 328-351

The reasons for the British decision to withdraw from the Gulf are highly contentious. While some scholars have focused on short-term considerations, especially the devaluation of sterling towards the end of 1967, in the British determination to quit the Gulf, others have concentrated on longer-term trends in British policy-making for the region. This article sides with the latter. Britain's Gulf role came under increasing scrutiny following the 1956 Suez crisis as part of an ongoing debate about the costs and benefits of Britain's Gulf presence. In this sense, British withdrawal fitted into a wider pattern of British decolonisation. By the 1960s, the Treasury, in particular, strongly questioned the necessity and cost-effectiveness of the maintenance of empire in the Gulf to safeguard British economic interests there. Recent interpretations which seek to disaggregate the British decision to leave Southeast Asia from the decision to depart from the Gulf are also questionable. By mid-1967, it had already been determined that Britain would leave both regions by the mid-1970s, the only difference being that this decision was formally announced with respect to Southeast Asia, but not with regard to the Gulf. The devaluation of sterling in November 1967, therefore, merely hastened and facilitated decisions which had already been taken. Despite the end of formal empire in the Gulf, Britain did seek, not always successfully, to preserve its interests into the 1970s and beyond.

M. Powell

The clanking of medieval chains: extra-judicial banishment in the British empire
pp. 352-371

Banishment in English law was circumscribed by the Magna Carta and habeas corpus and prohibited except by legal procedure. The Transportation Act of 1718 legalised exile and enshrined convictism in law. The case of *Bancoult (No.2)*, 2008, which considered the banishment of the Ilois of Chagos Island in the 1960s, brought consideration of banishment into the twentieth century and opened the royal prerogative to modern scrutiny. What becomes clear from this case is that banishment relied on royal prerogative without resort to legal process and was surprisingly routine

throughout the British Empire. This article considers the implications of this case and some of the wider history of banishment in the empire.

[XLIV \(3\) 2016](#)

D.K. Coffey

The commonwealth and the oath of allegiance crisis: a study in inter-war Commonwealth relations
pp. 492-512

Recent historical treatment of Anglo-Irish relations in the 1930s has overlooked the complex nature of the legal disagreements between the two countries during that period. This article provides an account of some of the fundamental points of legal disagreement between the countries. It explains how differences of opinion as to the structure of intra-commonwealth constitutional relations led to conflict between the British government and that of the Irish Free State, with particular reference to the oath of allegiance crisis. It considers how other commonwealth countries saw these points of conflict. It concludes with a re-appraisal of the roles of Lord Hailsham and de Valera in Anglo-Irish relations, as examples of differing attitudes towards the commonwealth relationship.

[XLIV \(4\) 2016](#)

J. Chappell

The limits of the Shanghai bridgehead: understanding british intervention in the taiping rebellion 1860–62
pp. 533-550

This article discusses the rationale behind British intervention in the Taiping civil war in China and the episode's wider significance for understanding nineteenth-century British imperial expansion. I argue that the most productive way to understand the shape of the limited British intervention in the war is through analysing the relative strength of distinct bridgeheads of British interest in China. British interests in Shanghai grew rapidly in the Taiping period and helped to draw in intervention against the Taiping armies when they attacked the port in 1860 and 1862. The strict limitation of this intervention, which did not result in any imperial expansion in China, was a result of the consistent underperformance of the wider British trade with China. Without a growth in this trade, the expense of an extensive intervention and its potential consequences could not be justified. The episode suggests that analyses of local conditions and the strength of local ties to metropolitan resources are important for understanding the wider pattern of British imperial expansion.

George Walker

“So much to do”: oxford and the wills of Cecil Rhodes
pp. 697-716

Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) safeguarded his imperial vision with a series of wills. Sensing that his life would be relatively short, he left to his trustees the task of carrying out his wishes after his

death. He also left a substantial fortune to make it possible. This article uses those wills to follow the development of Rhodes' 'big idea', the creation of a secret society to promote imperial expansion, from its birth in Oxford to the final compromise of the Rhodes Scholarships. The article questions the existence of a much-quoted teenage will, examines the influences on Rhodes at Oxford that led to the famous 'Confession of Faith' will and identifies a link between the 1892 will and the Mandela Rhodes scholarships founded in 2003.

[The Journal of Modern History](#)

[88 \(1\) 2016](#)

Ben Mercer

Specters of Fascism: The Rhetoric of Historical Analogy in 1968

pp. 96–129

[88 \(2\) 2016](#)

Mark Edele

Take (No) Prisoners! The Red Army and German POWs, 1941–1943

pp. 342–379

Leonard V. Smith

France, the Great War, and the “Return to Experience”

pp. 380–415

[88 \(3\) 2016](#)

Christian Goeschel

A Parallel History? Rethinking the Relationship between Italy and Germany, ca. 1860–1945

pp. 610–632

[88 \(4\) 2016](#)

Ana Siljak

Nikolai Berdiaev and the Origin of Russian Messianism

pp. 737–763

Roger Chickering

Imperial Germany’s Peculiar War, 1914–1918

pp. 856–894

Twentieth Century British History

[27 \(1\) 2016](#)

Paul O’Leary

States of Union: Modern Scotland and British History

pp. 124-143

This review article focuses on the impact of current political debates and developments on key themes in a number of recent publications on Scottish history and politics. These include the nature of the United Kingdom as a state, the changing character of unionism as politics and ideology, the impact of the end of empire on Scottish identity and politics, the significance of the Thatcher governments, and the rise of nationalism. Recent research on Scottish history provides a platform for asking new questions about the nature of territorial politics in the UK and demonstrates how familiar themes can be re-appraised by taking into account the different national communities of the British Isles. It argues that the ‘where’ of phenomena such as the end of empire and Thatcherism are key aspects of their nature and suggests that comparative history is a way of undermining centralist narratives of the history of the British Isles. In so doing, it makes the case for a four-nations approach to that history.

[27 \(3\) 2016](#)

Julie V. Gottlieb

Neville Chamberlain’s Umbrella: ‘Object’ Lessons in the History of Appeasement

pp. 357-388

Neville Chamberlain’s umbrella was ubiquitous during the Munich Crisis and in its aftermath, as material object, as commodity, and as political emblem that came to represent the temperament and character of the ‘Man of Peace’ who had brought relief to the world by striking a ‘gentleman’s peace’ with Hitler on 30 September 1938. This culminated in the damning portrayal of the Prime Minister as the ‘Umbrella Man’ in ‘Cato’s’ *Guilty Men* (1940). Throwing the spotlight on the material object of the umbrella can illuminate the popular dimension of these highly charged diplomatic events, and offer some insight into how foreign policy was lived across the social spectrum and across borders. We can chart dramatic fluctuations in both mediated and visceral public opinion in the changing symbolic uses of the umbrella, by politicians, by journalists, by cartoonists, and by consumers themselves. The study of appeasement has been stuck in certain methodological ruts, and has not hitherto taken the cultural turn, nor paid much attention to popular responses to the prelude to the People’s War. By blowing the dust off Chamberlain’s old umbrella, this article suggests an alternative perspective on the politics and culture of appeasement, evoking the sights, sounds, textures, feelings and tastes of a crisis that was played out at the level of diplomacy but also very much as a ‘People’s Crisis’.

Laura King

Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Conceptions of Children in Britain, 1930s-1950s

This article explores how children were positioned within political debates before, during and after the Second World War. It does thorough analysis of the ways in which children were conceptualized as future citizens, future workers, future leaders and future adults in mid-twentieth-century Britain, through research into newspapers and parliamentary debates. It argues that this thinking was important in debates about the state's role and the construction of the welfare state. By focusing on children as the future, and conceptualizing them as an economic investment for a future return, greater spending on their welfare could be justified. This language was used by politicians from a variety of political parties and backgrounds, and this article charts the effects such a way of thinking about children had in policy debates about children's physical health, education, the birth rate and family allowances. Overall, it argues that during this period, this language of children as the future helped provide political space for spending on measures to improve children's welfare, and focusing on the future rather than the present facilitated consensus on this issue across political boundaries. Yet, behind this apparent consensus were clear ideological faultlines; understanding how children were positioned as the future helps us better understand the divisions and inequalities present from the welfare state's formation.

Luke Blaxill, Kaspar Beelen

A Feminized Language of Democracy? The Representation of Women at Westminster since 1945
pp. 412-449

In 1919, Nancy Astor took her seat in the House of Commons as Britain's first ever female MP. In the 1945 election, the number of women in the house nearly trebled to twenty-four, and remained around this level for the next four decades. In Tony Blair's landslide victory in 1997, 120 female MPs were returned, and women have since comprised around 20 per cent of the Commons. The 2015 election saw 191 elected: the most ever. But to what extent has the increasing presence of women in Parliament made more than a symbolic difference? For example, have female MPs represented a hitherto marginalized 'women's interest', placed 'women's issues' on the agenda, or added a feminine perspective to existing discussion? Using 677 million words of digitized parliamentary speech, and drawing upon the outputs of the Digging into Linked Parliamentary Data ('Dilipad') project, we perform a wide-ranging empirical analysis of the role of gender in Commons debates from 1945 using computerized text mining. We make three major discoveries. The first is that there is strong evidence to support the central feminist claim that women's contributions to debates over these eight decades have been substantively different to those of male colleagues in ways that stretch beyond a greater attentiveness to gender itself. The second is that this effect has been weakening as the number of women in Parliament increased, most notably from the landmark 1997 election. Finally, we question the oft-made claim by scholars and politicians that, since the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979, the Labour party has more consistently focussed on representing women in Parliament than the Conservatives.

Ross McKibbin

A Brief Supremacy: The Fragmentation of the Two-Party System in British Politics, c. 1950-2015

In this lecture I have attempted to explain why the proportion of the electorate that supports the two major parties, Labour and Conservative, has steadily declined since the 1950s. I have suggested that historically Britain has had more of a multi-party system than we allow, and that to some extent the supremacy of the Labour and Conservative parties was historically unusual and depended upon a social and economic system that began to decay in the early 1960s. The decline in the total Labour and Conservative vote, which began then, was partly due thus to the enormous change in the country's social structure – a result of steady deindustrialisation – by which Britain became a predominantly 'middle-class' society; though it was a class difficult to define and with little in common. I have also argued that the policies often adopted by Conservative and Labour governments in order to prop up their declining electorates paradoxically hastened that decline by increasing the country's economic and social instability. In this, the enthronement of the financial sector and the political manipulation of private housing for party-political purposes, together with the inflation of the 1970s and 1980s, was particularly important. Furthermore, the Labour and Conservative electorates have decayed in all parts of the United Kingdom, often to the benefit of nationalist parties (most spectacularly in Scotland), and I have suggested reasons why that happened.

[27 \(4\) 2016](#)

Evan Smith, Daryl Leeworthy

Before Pride: The Struggle for the Recognition of Gay Rights in the British Communist Movement, 1973–85

pp. 621-642

This article examines the role of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and its youth wing, the Young Communist League (YCL), in the advancement of gay rights in the 1970s and 1980s. Although the CPGB was the first major organization of the British labour movement—and the British left—to advance a policy of gay rights, its participation in the gay liberation movement has tended to be neglected by scholars. In contrast to the general perception of the CPGB in the last decade (or so) of its existence as a party of declining influence and cohesion, easily ignored by the mainstream of the labour movement, we argue that the embrace of gay rights provided communists with a means of pushing for a diversification of labour politics. This coalesced in the mid-1980s with the co-founding of Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners (LGSM) by the communist activist Mark Ashton. With the recent scholarly and public interest in the LGSM and its impact upon the Labour Party's attitude to gay rights, this article aims to reveal that the 'pre-history' of the group is firmly rooted in the CPGB/YCL and the Eurocommunist section of the British communist movement.

Spagna

[Ayer](#)

[101 \(1\) 2016](#)

Fernando Vicente Albarrán

La modernidad deformada. El imaginario de bajos fondos en el proceso de modernización de Madrid (1860-1930)

pp. 213-240

Resumen: El surgimiento de un nuevo imaginario de bajos fondos fue uno de los elementos consustanciales del proceso de modernización experimentado por Madrid desde la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Se trataba de una construcción cultural que respondía a la necesidad de definir las realidades de la marginalidad que habían aparecido con la industrialización y la sociedad liberal. El trabajo sobre la base de diferentes fuentes documentales, analiza los diversos elementos que moldean ese imaginario.

Abstract: The appearance of a new imaginary of underworld was one of the inherent elements of the modern urban society, experienced by Madrid since the second part of nineteenth century. As cultural construction, responded to the urge to define the marginal realities that appeared with industrialization and liberal society. The research of different documentary sources allows an analysis of the different elements of incrimination that shaped to that imaginary.

José Carlos Rueda Laffond

El PCE y el uso público de la historia (1956-1978)

pp. 241-265

Resumen: El artículo estudia diversos aspectos de la memoria oficial del Partido Comunista de España (PCE) entre el tardofranquismo y el inicio de la Transición democrática. Se analiza esta modalidad de relato atendiendo a sus reacomodos tácticos o a sus continuidades y fracturas. Como argumento esencial se destaca la implicación de los usos selectivos del pasado en la estrategia política del partido, sus componentes, adaptabilidad y su naturaleza pragmática.

Abstract: The article examines different aspects of the official memory of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) between late Francoism and the beginning of the democratic transition. The text emphasizes the official communist memory from various dimensions, tactical rearrangements or continuities and fractures. As main thesis, it highlights the involvement of selective uses of the past in the political strategy of PCE, and its components, adaptability or pragmatic nature.

[102 \(2\) 2016](#)

Lucía Prieto Borrego

Los comités frentepopulistas: otra visión de la retaguardia republicana

pp. 171-195

Resumen: Este artículo analiza los órganos de poder municipales que, surgidos del colapso del Estado republicano tras el fracaso del golpe militar, gestionaron un espacio de retaguardia en la provincia de Málaga. La investigación se basa en una serie de procedimientos judiciales contra líderes revolucionarios durante los primeros meses de la Guerra Civil. Nuestra exploración revela que los comités locales no improvisaron su gobierno y el análisis de sus políticas nos permite construir una visión alternativa a la defendida por quienes ganaron la guerra, en relación con los poderes revolucionarios creados en 1936.

Abstract: The aim of this article is to analyse the role of the new local authorities established after the State collapse in the Republican side in 1936, once the military coup failed, in the organisation of the rearguard in the province of Málaga. The research is founded upon a series of judiciary proceedings against revolutionary leaders during the first months of the Civil War. Our exploration reveals that the local committees did not improvise their rule and the analysis of their policies allow us to construct an alternative view to the one defended by those who won the war, in relation to the revolutionary powers created in 1936.

Gregorio Sabater Navarro

La corriente de retorno a las transiciones ibéricas: la influencia de la Transición española en Portugal (1977-1982)
pp. 215-237

Resumen: A pesar del creciente número de estudios que han conceptualizado los diferentes procesos de democratización en la Península Ibérica durante los años 70 como un proceso único, la influencia del cambio político español en el Portugal posrevolucionario no ha sido objeto de una investigación exhaustiva. Este artículo pretende identificar cómo la transición española ejerció su influencia en Portugal, donde diferentes fuerzas intentaban transformar la nueva democracia en la línea de las democracias de la CEE y cómo esta influencia se materializó en las esferas política, económica y social.

Abstract: Despite the increasing number of studies that have conceptualised the different processes of democratisation in the Iberian Peninsula during the 1970s as a single process, the influence of the Spanish political change in the post-revolutionary Portugal has not been subject to a thorough research. This article aims to identify how the Spanish Transition exercised its influence in Portugal, where different forces were trying to transform the new democracy along the lines of the EEC democracies and how this influence was materialised in the political, economic and social spheres.

[103 \(3\) 2016](#)

Javier Muñoz Soro

El final de la utopía. Los intelectuales y el referéndum de la OTAN en 1986
pp. 19-49

Resumen: La convocatoria de un referéndum en marzo de 1986 para determinar la permanencia de España en la OTAN provocó un intenso debate político en la prensa y una

amplia movilización social en la calle, que se caracterizó por el protagonismo de los intelectuales. Este hecho puede explicarse por la división causada entre los millones de votantes del Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) que, una vez en el poder, había cambiado su promesa de abandonar la OTAN. Por lo tanto, el partido socialista y el gobierno socialista lanzaron una agresiva campaña de opinión pública, especialmente cuando la oposición conservadora anunció que llamaría a sus votantes a abstenerse. Los términos del debate marcaron una ruptura definitiva con la memoria antifranquista y una división dentro de los intelectuales de izquierda que tendría consecuencias duraderas, sobre todo para el liderazgo de los partidos políticos dentro de la sociedad civil.

Abstract: The call for a referendum in March 1986, to determine if Spain should remain as a member of NATO, triggered off intense political debate in the press and a broad social mobilization on the street, characterised by the prominence of intellectuals. This fact can be explained by the division caused among the millions of voters of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), which, once in power, had changed its promise to leave NATO. Hence, the socialist party and the socialist government launched an aggressive public opinion campaign, especially when the conservative opposition announced that it would call its voters to abstain. The terms of the debate marked a definitive break with the anti-francoist memory and a split within the left-wing intelligentsia that would have lasting consequences, above all for the leadership of political parties within civil society.

Tomás Pérez Vejo

Naciones y nacionalismo en las independencias hispanoamericanas: una revisión historiográfica
pp. 199-210

Resumen: En este artículo se analizan las recientes aportaciones historiográficas sobre el tema de la nación en las independencias hispanoamericanas. Más allá de realizar una revisión bibliográfica de las publicaciones aparecidas con motivo de las conmemoraciones de los bicentenarios, prácticamente inabarcable, este texto se propone analizar los elementos más innovadores sobre el papel de las naciones y el nacionalismo en el nacimiento y desarrollo de las guerras de Independencia en Latinoamérica.

Abstract: This paper analyses the recent historiographical contributions about the issue of nation during the Spanish American independences. More than a revision of the bibliography published as a by-product of the Bicentennial Commemorations, almost unmanageable given its quantity, this text aims at discussing the most innovative elements regarding the role of nations and nationalism in the birth and development of the wars of Independence in Latin America.

[104 \(4\) 2016](#)

Alfonso Botti

La «Segunda República» en Italia: crónica política de una transición sin fin
pp. 17-42

Resumen: El artículo reconstruye los principales acontecimientos de la historia política italiana desde la crisis del sistema político de 1992-1994 hasta el ascenso a la Presidencia

del Consejo de Matteo Renzi en 2014. Se trata de dos decenios en los que desaparecieron los partidos políticos que habían caracterizado el primer medio siglo de historia republicana (DC, PCI y PSI) y se produjo el nacimiento de nuevas, y bastante inestables agrupaciones, desprovistas de cultura política. También han visto el éxito y la decadencia del liderazgo fuerte de Silvio Berlusconi, la introducción de una débil alternancia entre un polo moderado y un polo progresista y el nacimiento de movimientos que son fuertemente críticos con la política en nombre de los valores de la sociedad civil. Estos veinte años se definen comúnmente como «Segunda República», aunque la primera historiografía del período está lejos de tal interpretación y a pesar de que no hay, en el horizonte, una salida visible hacia un nuevo sistema político estable y compartido, ni una dirección clara para la transición.

Abstract: The article retraces the main events of Italian political history between the crisis of the political system in 1992-94 and the rise of the current Prime Minister, Matteo Renzi, in 2014. These twenty years have seen the disappearance of those parties that had characterised the first fifty years of republican history (DC, PCI, and PSI), and the birth of new and quite instable political groupings, devoid of political culture. They have also seen the success and decline of Silvio Berlusconi's strong leadership, the introduction of a weak alternation between a moderate and a progressive pole, and the birth of movements that are strongly critical towards politics in the name of the values of civil society. These twenty years are, commonly defined, as «Second Republic », even though the first historiography on the period is far from such an interpretation and despite the fact that there is not a visible way out into a new stable and shared political system on the horizon, nor a clear direction for the transition.

Pablo Sapag Muñoz de la Peña

El Chile de Allende y la España de Franco. Una alianza Inesperada favorecida por la tensión entre Washington y Santiago

pp. 203-228

Resumen: A primera vista, las diferencias ideológicas entre los gobiernos chileno y español entre 1970 y 1973 parecen haber impedido relaciones diplomáticas fluidas. La expectativa sería que fueron menos fructíferas cuando Chile fue gobernado por el Partido Demócrata Cristiano, o cuando el golpe de estado de 1973 inició una dictadura. Sin embargo, documentos españoles, chilenos y estadounidenses revelan que a pesar de la aparición de conflictos menores, la España de Franco y el Chile de Allende establecieron vínculos pragmáticos y trabajaron para transformarlos en una alianza estratégica. Un gobierno de Estados Unidos, enfrentado con Chile, ayudó a facilitar esta cooperación. Como en otros períodos de las relaciones hispano-chilenas, el contacto bilateral fue posible gracias a la intervención y mediación de un tercera parte.

Abstract: At first glance, the ideological differences between the Chilean and Spanish governments between 1970 and 1973 would seem to have impeded smooth diplomatic relations. The expectation would be that they were less fruitful than when Chile was ruled by the Christian Democratic Party, or than when the 1973 coup d'état ushered in a dictatorship. However, Spanish, Chilean and US documents reveal that despite the occurrence of minor conflicts, Franco's Spain and Allende's Chile established pragmatic links and were working towards transforming them into a strategic alliance. A

United States government, confronted with Chile, helped facilitate this cooperation. As in other periods of Spanish-Chilean relations, bilateral contact was dependent on third-party intervention and mediation.

Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea

38 (2016)

Karl D. Qualls

pp. 77-101

De 'Niños de la Guerra' a jóvenes soviéticos: Educación, Aculturación y Paternalismo, 1939-1945

En este artículo se aborda la huida de la guerra civil protagonizada por casi tres mil niños entre 1937 y 1938, analizando cómo se emanciparon de las escuelas fundadas para ellos en la Unión Soviética y se incorporaron a la educación superior o a la mano de obra. Los estudios españoles previamente publicados recogen numerosos testimonios orales, pero no explotan los cuantiosos archivos de Moscú. Este trabajo, en cambio, emplea tanto fuentes rusas como testimonios orales españoles para mostrar de qué manera estas escuelas soviéticas fracasaron en la preparación de los estudiantes de cara a la vida adulta e independiente. Los niños no alcanzaron un buen nivel de ruso y las esmeradas atenciones de los internados no consiguieron inculcarles independencia ni hacerles ver la vida privilegiada que estaban viviendo en comparación con el ciudadano soviético medio, con quien los niños trabajarían en un futuro.

Marcos Marina Carranza

El pulso por los ayuntamientos. La convocatoria de las elecciones municipales de 1979 y el cambio político en España

pp. 235-256

Este artículo analiza la convocatoria de las primeras elecciones municipales en España después de la muerte de Franco, las cuales se celebraron el 3 de abril de 1979. Para ello se realiza un recorrido por las diferentes demandas que solicitaron los comicios y la posición de los actores que intervinieron en este proceso: el gobierno, los partidos de la oposición, los miembros de los ayuntamientos y la sociedad civil. Los objetivos que se persiguen son relacionar la democratización del poder local con el cambio político que se desarrollaba en España, introducir nuevos elementos en el debate y, finalmente, enriquecer las interpretaciones elaboradas por los historiadores sobre aquel.

Pablo Montes Gómez

El contenido, la forma y la palabra. El debate obrerista en torno a la democracia y el parlamentarismo en el período de entreguerras

pp. 257-278

El presente artículo busca explorar las conexiones entre el proceso de democratización y las clases populares en la disolución de la Restauración hasta la República. Contrariamente a lo habitualmente considerado, aquí defenderemos que dicho proceso conducente al 14 de abril partió desde abajo hacia arriba, lo fue de tiempo largo –madurando durante la dictadura– y su agente hegemónico (al menos en Barcelona) fue el obrerismo. Para ello, analizaremos la lectura de la democracia en los estudios y repasaremos algunos de los consensos historiográficos del período, al tiempo que

observaremos la concepción democrática presente en el movimiento obrero.

Hispania

76 (252) 2016

Angel Herrerín López

La CNT en el movimiento de octubre de 1934 entre el boicot y la participación

pp. 217-244

La historiografía española ha prestado una especial atención a la actuación de los socialistas en el levantamiento de octubre de 1934, no en vano fueron los principales responsables de su organización. Sin embargo, el éxito necesitaba la participación de la otra gran organización de masas: la CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo). Circunstancia que, salvo en el caso de Asturias, no se produjo. El presente trabajo trata de analizar las causas que llevaron al sindicato confederal a inhibirse e incluso oponerse a este movimiento. Para responder a esta cuestión es fundamental aproximarse a la visión que del levantamiento y de sus organizadores tenían los responsables libertarios. Para ello, ha sido imprescindible la consulta de forma exhaustiva de los documentos emanados por la propia organización y la documentación oficial de las Comandancias de la Guardia civil y del Ejército.

76 (254) 2016

Miguel Angel Giménez Martínez

El dilema unicameralismo-bicameralismo en la Segunda República española

pp. 751-788

Una de las características esenciales del constitucionalismo español ha sido la dualidad de Asambleas, ininterrumpida desde la promulgación del Estatuto Real de 1834. La Constitución de 1931, sin embargo, vino a romper con esta tradición y se convirtió, junto con la de 1812, en la única de nuestra historia que ha creado un Parlamento unicameral. El objeto del presente trabajo es analizar las causas que llevaron a establecer una sola Cámara, lo que constituyó una de las más importantes novedades ofrecidas por la Segunda República en cuanto a la estructuración orgánica del Estado. Partimos para ello de un enfoque multidisciplinar que combina la exégesis de textos legales, el análisis de fuentes parlamentarias (los Diarios de Sesiones) y el contraste con las aportaciones doctrinales. El estudio se centra primero en el proceso de elaboración constitucional; repasa a continuación la pugna dialéctica entablada entre los partidarios del unicameralismo y los que se inclinaban por mantener la estructura bicameral de las Cortes, y concluye con una valoración final en torno a las consecuencias que el modelo elegido tuvo para la consolidación del régimen republicano y los potenciales beneficios que la conservación del Senado habría proporcionado.

Enrique Moradiellos García

La doctrina del caudillaje en España: legitimidad política y poder carismático durante el franquismo

pp. 789-817

El artículo examina las fuentes de fundamentación doctrinal carismática del poder del general Francisco Franco como Caudillo de España durante casi cuarenta años. Sobre la base de las variadas culturas políticas de la derecha española, se presenta la guerra civil de 1936-1939 como contexto generatriz de la nueva autoridad suprema y soberana asumida por Franco durante la contienda y mantenida con posteridad como legado de su victoria militar. El consecuente culto personal al Caudillo y las elaboraciones teóricas del caudillaje se adaptaron a las cambiantes circunstancias

internacionales sin mengua de la justificación permanente de la autoridad indiscutida de Franco.

Esther María Sánchez

Francia y la España del tardofranquismo y la transición. Sinergias económicas en un marco de cambio político, 1970-1986

pp. 847-882

La doble crisis, política y económica, de los años setenta se dejó sentir en las relaciones franco-españolas, que desde finales de los años cincuenta habían avanzado por la vía del entendimiento. El proceso de cambio de régimen en España provocó sonados enfrentamientos entre ambos países, sobre todo en torno a la lucha contra la organización terrorista ETA y el futuro ingreso de España en el Mercado Común. Las relaciones económicas bilaterales evolucionaron, no obstante, de forma satisfactoria pese a la crisis política española y la crisis energética mundial, arrojando valores al alza en materia de comercio, planes de inversión y cooperación científico-técnica. El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar tales desencuentros políticos y encuentros económicos, a partir de un conjunto de fuentes impresas y fondos de archivo, en su mayoría franceses, recientemente abiertos a los investigadores.

Claudio Grasso

El caso de la Mano Negra en la reciente historiografía española

pp. 66-86

El presente artículo quiere ser un status quaestionis, un estado de la cuestión, sobre los estudios historiográficos que han abordado el tema de la historia de la Mano Negra, una supuesta sociedad secreta andaluza del final del siglo XIX. Los diferentes planteamientos de los historiadores que se han ocupado de este tema serán analizados y cuestionados según los diferentes problemas y cuestiones que el “extraño caso” de la Mano Negra ha puesto y sigue poniendo hoy en día.

Francisco Pelayo

El impacto del darwinismo en la sociedad española del siglo XIX

pp. 310-329

El impacto científico, cultural y social de las ideas de Charles Darwin en el mundo intelectual europeo es un ejemplo de cómo una teoría científica, sobrepasando el campo reducido de una comunidad de especialistas, se proyectó a ámbitos culturales muy diversos: Teología, Filosofía, Sociología, Antropología, Economía, Lingüística, Literatura, Psicología, Arquitectura y creación artística. El debate sobre las repercusiones científicas y culturales que las ideas evolucionistas de Darwin tuvieron en España durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX, es analizado a través de los textos publicados en libros científicos, medios de comunicación y revistas académicas, culturales y de divulgación.

Historia Contemporánea

53 (2016)

Carlos González Martínez

Instituciones históricas y cambio político: el restablecimiento de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1977)
pp. 657-691

El restablecimiento de la Generalitat ha sido considerado como uno de los episodios claves del relato político de la Transición. Las negociaciones entre Josep Tarradellas y Sánchez-Terán, unidas a los contactos anteriores entre Gobierno y president, así como el acuerdo de Perpiñán con los partidos catalanes, han sido interpretados por la historiografía como respuestas a un anhelo de la sociedad catalana en el tiempo político que se abrió tras la muerte del general Franco. Ahora bien, hasta la fecha se ha hecho poco hincapié en una visión histórica más amplia que supere el ámbito temporal de la Transición. El propio Real Decreto-ley 41/1977 hace referencia al decreto de 1938 por el que se derogaba la Generalitat. Nos encontramos, por tanto, con el único texto que reconoce una institución republicana, una cuestión poco abordada por la historiografía. De igual manera, tampoco se han aportado explicaciones convincentes de por qué, a diferencia de lo acaecido con la Generalitat, no se restablecieron otras instituciones republicanas existentes al comienzo de la Transición. Trataremos de dar respuesta a estas cuestiones a partir de testimonios de prensa, el archivo personal de Sánchez-Terán, las memorias de los principales políticos catalanes y entrevistas con algunos de los protagonistas.

José Carlos Rueda Laffond

El candado del 78: Podemos ante la memoria y la historiografía sobre la ruptura democrática
pp. 725-751

Este trabajo se aproxima al uso público de la historia en el discurso político y a las pugnas de memoria sobre la Transición española. Centra su estudio en el partido político Podemos. Como hipótesis fundamental plantea que su estrategia discursiva se caracterizó durante su proceso de creación y maduración durante 2014 por una apropiación y actualización populista de la categoría histórica de «ruptura democrática». Dicho término proviene del vocabulario de la oposición antifranquista de mediados de los años setenta. Esta progresiva recuperación y actualización fue fruto de una multiplicidad de factores donde incidieron la reflexión historiográfica, las revisiones del relato político o ciertas dinámicas de transmisión generacional donde participó la memoria militante. Desde ese supuesto, el artículo aborda diversas narrativas formuladas desde Podemos interpretándolas como prácticas de contra-memoria, en relación con el diseño de sus señas de identidad y su diagnóstico político.

Misael Arturo Lopez Zapico, Antonio Cesar Moreno

Imágenes de odio y miedo: ¡Así eran los rojos! Una exposición anticomunista en la España franquista (1943)

pp.19-33

Resumen: Durante el siglo XX, el uso de la imagen y la propaganda como arma política alcanzaron niveles nunca antes vistos. Aunque mucho menos espectacular que el esfuerzo propagandístico de la Alemania nazi y, sin duda, con una movilización de medios radicalmente limitada, el caso español resulta de gran interés. La dictadura de Franco siguió también este tipo de procedimientos que tenían por objeto «enseñar» a las masas a centrar sus miedos y sospechas contra un enemigo común. En este caso, identificar a los enemigos del país con la ideología comunista fue una poderosa metáfora que quedó después del final del conflicto. Con este telón de fondo se diseñó una campaña de propaganda completa que tuvo su ejemplo último en la exposición celebrada en Madrid en 1943 para hacer públicos los horrores y atrocidades cometidos por los enemigos de la Nueva España.

Abstract: During the Twentieth Century the use of image and propaganda as a political weapon reached levels never seen before. Franco's dictatorship followed, as well, this kind of procedures to «teach» the masses to focus their fears and suspicions against a common enemy. In this case, to identify the enemies of the country with the Communist ideology was a powerful metaphor that remained after the end of the conflict. Against this backdrop was designed a complete propaganda campaign that had its ultimate example in the exhibition held at Madrid in 1943 to make public the horrors and atrocities committed by the enemies of the New Spain.

Guy Setton, Raanan Rein

La diplomacia franquista y los judíos, 1956-1975: la preferencia por el judaísmo diaspórico

pp. 49-60

Resumen: La España de Franco hizo todo lo posible para evitar el establecimiento de relaciones diplomáticas con Israel. De hecho, Madrid persiguió el avance de una relación separada con las comunidades judías en otros países, particularmente con los judíos sefardíes y con los que viven en los Estados Unidos. Por su parte, los diplomáticos israelíes estaban irritados por el cortejo español de la judería mundial, ya que deseaban mantener un frente judío-israelí unificado hacia Franco mientras Madrid no reconociera al gobierno en Jerusalén. Este artículo analiza los motivos que impulsan la diplomacia paralela de España hacia los judíos de todo el mundo y evalúa el impacto que esta política tuvo en el desarrollo de las relaciones hispano-israelí de 1956 a 1975.

Abstract: Franco's Spain did everything possible to avoid the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel. In fact, Madrid pursued the advance of a separate relationship with Jewish communities in other countries, particularly with Sephardic Jews and with those living in the United States. For their part, Israeli diplomats were irritated by Spain's courting of World Jewry since they wished to uphold a unified Jewish-Israeli front toward Franco as long as Madrid did not recognize the government in Jerusalem. This article analyzes the motives driving Spain's parallel diplomacy

toward Jews worldwide and evaluates the impact this policy had on the development of Spanish-Israel relations from 1956 to 1975.

[28 \(2\) 2016](#)

Miguel Cardina

Pasados problemáticos: guerra y memoria en el Portugal contemporáneo

pp. 63-74

Resumen: Más de cuarenta años después del final de la guerra colonial, el acontecimiento sigue siendo un lugar para recuerdos fragmentados y amnesias persistentes en Portugal. Este complejo proceso de recordación revela lo que fue el conflicto y nos invita a pensar por qué y cómo las sociedades metropolitanas han permanecido sensibles o no difunden el eco del pasado colonial. El artículo pretende esclarecer los mecanismos de registro y silenciamiento de la guerra en el período del Nuevo Estado y posteriormente en el Portugal democrático y post-imperial.

Abstract: More than forty years after the end of the colonial war, the event still remains a place for fragmented memories and persistent amnesias in Portugal. This complex remembering process reveals both what the conflict was and invite us to think why and how metropolitan societies have remained sensitive or not to diffuse echo of the colonial past. The article aims to elucidate the mechanisms of registration and silencing of the war in the period of the New State and later in democratic and post-imperial Portugal.

Rafael Quirosa, Chevrouze Muñoz

El resurgir de Adolfo Suárez. Las elecciones de 1986 y el Centro Democrático y Social

pp. 114-130

Resumen: Las elecciones generales celebradas en junio de 1986 supusieron el fin del denominado "cruce desértico" del partido político Centro Democrático y Social después de su creación hace cuatro años. Este artículo describe el desarrollo de la campaña electoral, con un seguimiento especial de los argumentos utilizados por su líder, Adolfo Suárez, en manifestaciones y conferencias de prensa. En sus manifestaciones pronto podemos reconocer el doble propósito de recuperar el voto centrista, en disputa con la Operación Roca, encabezada por la Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya y el Partido Reformista de Antonio Garrigues, y obtener el apoyo de quienes se habían desencantado con las actuaciones del gobierno del PSOE. Los resultados de las elecciones supusieron un gran triunfo para el CDS, logrando más del nueve por ciento de los votos y 19 diputados, y el inicio de un breve período en el que se postulaba como una alternativa al sistema bipartito existente en España.

Abstract: The general elections held in June 1986 meant the end of the so-called «desert crossing» of the politic party Centro Democrático y Social after its creation four years ago. This article describes the development of the electoral campaign, with special monitoring of the arguments used by its leader, Adolfo Suarez, in rallies and press conferences. In its demonstrations we can soon recognise the dual purpose of recovering the centrist vote, in dispute with the «Operación Roca» led by the Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya and the Partido Reformista of Antonio Garrigues,

and get the support of those who had become disenchanted with government decisions of PSOE. The election results meant a great triumph for CDS, achieving more than nine percent of the vote and 19 deputies, and the start of a brief period in which it was postulated as an alternative to the existing two-party system in Spain.

Marcela Alejandra García Sebastiani

América y el nacionalismo español: las fiestas del 12 de octubre, del franquismo a la democracia
pp. 71-94

Resumen: La dimensión americana de la identidad española estuvo al servicio de la política y de la regeneración nacional a lo largo del siglo XX. Con respaldo institucional, se consagró en el festejo de la propia existencia de España: el 12 de octubre. La conmemoración sobrevivió en el calendario festivo de diferentes regímenes políticos y se transformó a lo largo del siglo. Fue Fiesta de la Raza, Día de la Hispanidad y el día acabó como fiesta nacional de los españoles desde 1987. Los festejos se avivaron de diferentes significados y en torno a ellos se desplegaron actores, instituciones y recursos para afirmar identidades nacionales, regionales y locales. El artículo se detiene, casi etnográficamente y a partir de una base empírica, en los festejos del 12 de octubre de 1960 y 1977 durante el tardo franquismo y los inicios de la democracia. El objetivo es mostrar cómo la fiesta se acomodó a distintos contextos y territorios de la nación, desplegó intenciones políticas y actualizó imaginarios sociales para la conformación de la identidad nacional española y su proyección internacional.

Abstract: American dimension of Spanish identity was in the service of political and national regeneration throughout the twentieth century. With institutional support, it was consecrated in the celebration of the very existence of Spain: on 12th of October. The commemoration survived in the official party calendar of different political regimes and transformed throughout the century. It was «Fiesta de la Raza», «Día de la Hispanidad» and the day ended as the Spanish national day since 1987. The celebrations were sparked different meanings and around them, actors, institutions and resources appeared to affirm national, regional and local identities. The article stops, almost ethnographic and from empirical basis, in the celebrations of October 12th 1960 and 1977 during the Francoism regime and the beginning of democracy. The aim is to show how the celebration was adapted to different contexts and territories of the nation, deployed political intentions and updated social imaginary to the formation of the Spanish national identity and its international expansion

Enrique Moradiellos

Franco, el caudillo: origen y perfil de una magistratura política carismática
pp. 261-287

Resumen: El artículo examina el concepto de «caudillo» como suprema institución política del régimen franquista, atendiendo a su etimología y usos públicos antes de la Guerra Civil de 1936-1939. El contexto bélico sirvió de plataforma idónea para su aplicación, primero popular y luego legal, al nuevo tipo de autoridad carismática asumida por Franco sobre la base de tres fuentes de poder diferentes pero convergentes: el poder militar, la sacralización religiosa y la jefatura partidista civil. Las consecuentes doctrinas teóricas sobre «el caudillaje» sirvieron para dar cobertura formal a una realidad autocrática y dictatorial que se mantuvo inalterada durante casi cuarenta años de existencia del régimen franquista.

Abstract: The article aims to analyse the concept of «caudillo» as supreme political institution of the Francoist regime, considering its etymology and public uses prior to the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. The conflict was a useful platform for its application, in the media prior to legal quarters, to the new type of charismatic political authority assumed by Franco as a result of three different but convergent sources: military power, religious sacralization and civilian party leadership. The consequent theories on «caudillaje» were a sort of formal coverage for an autocratic dictatorship which remain untouchable during the forty years of existence of Francoism.

[36 \(2\) 2016](#)

Juan Pro

El Estado grande de los moderados en la España del siglo XIX

pp. 19-48

Resumen: El análisis de la obra de un grupo de autores españoles del reinado de Isabel II que se movieron en el entorno del partido moderado y tuvieron en común su atención a la administración muestra que compartían una cultura de Estado característica. Estos autores (Javier de Burgos, Ortiz de Zúñiga, Oliván, Colmeiro...) concibieron un modelo de Estado nuevo, que rompía con la tradición de la monarquía jurisdiccional anterior, tanto la del Antiguo Régimen como la que diseñaba la Constitución de 1812. La clave de aquel nuevo Estado era su identificación con la Administración, una Administración pública numerosa, centralizada e intervencionista que llevara la acción del Gobierno hasta todos los rincones del territorio. Tal visión ideal, que no vieron realizada plenamente en su tiempo, sí orientó a grandes rasgos la construcción del Estado español contemporáneo; y conllevó implicaciones como la marginación de las Cortes y la sumisión de la Justicia a un Gobierno que encarnaba al Estado mismo.

Abstract: An analysis of the work of a group of Spanish authors who moved in Moderate Party circles in the reign of Isabel II and had a common interest in public administration shows that they shared a particular State culture. These authors (Javier de Burgos, Ortiz de Zúñiga, Oliván, Colmeiro) conceived of a new State model that would break with the tradition of the previous jurisdictional monarchy, both that of the Ancien Regime and the one designed by the 1812 Constitution. The key to that new State was that it was identified with the Administration, a public Administration that was centralized and interventionist who would take the Government's action to every corner of the territory. This ideal vision, which they did not see fully realized in their lifetimes, served, broadly speaking, as a guide to the construction of the contemporary Spanish State; it also carried implications, such as the marginalization of the Cortes and Justice becoming subservient to a Government that was the very embodiment of the State.

Miguel Artola Blanco

Los años sin rey. Imaginarios aristocráticos durante la Segunda República y el primer franquismo (1931-1950)

pp. 103-127

Resumen: Desde la caída de la monarquía en 1931 y hasta finales de la década de 1940, la aristocracia española participó de manera activa en los círculos monárquicos que aspiraban a restaurar a los Borbones en el trono. Como parte de esta acción política, la nobleza articuló un programa coherente con sus esencias como grupo de estatus que aspiraba a preservar el viejo orden liberal, salvaguardar a las élites ante el advenimiento de la sociedad de masas y hacer frente al doble envite de la democracia y la «demagogia social». Sin embargo, el proyecto aristocrático fue más allá de una simple fórmula contrarrevolucionaria, por cuanto buscó en el corporativismo la solución perfecta para poner en armonía a los actores en conflicto.

Abstract: Since the fall of the monarchy in 1931 and until the late 1940s, the Spanish aristocracy actively participated in monarchist circles that sought to restore the Bourbon dynasty on the throne. As part of this policy, the nobility articulated a coherent program with their nature as a status group, which sought to preserve the old liberal order, safeguard elites versus mass society and eliminate the double menace of democracy and «social demagogy». However, aristocratic politics went beyond a simple counter revolutionary formula and saw in corporatism a perfect solution to bring harmony among social actors.

Miren Llona

La imagen viril de Pasionaria. Los significados simbólicos de Dolores Ibárruri en la II República y la Guerra Civil

pp. 263-287

Resumen: A partir del análisis de la figura de Pasionaria, este artículo muestra el significado cambiante de la feminidad durante el primer tercio del siglo xx y, especialmente, en el contexto abierto por la II República y la Guerra Civil. Su condición de mujer del pueblo y posteriormente su posición excepcional como mujer dirigente del Partido Comunista favorecieron la identificación de Dolores Ibárruri con valores atribuidos genéricamente a la virilidad. Sin embargo, y conforme la Guerra Civil avanzó, en el bando republicano se produjo una reorganización del orden de género en torno a la figura de la madre que colmó de legitimidad los significados de la feminidad. La propia imagen de Dolores Ibárruri cambió siendo presentada entonces como una madre sacrificada. Esto contribuyó a reforzar el activismo de las mujeres en la retaguardia republicana dentro del papel de madres pero, a la vez, consolidó el papel heroico de los hombres republicanos reafirmando su hombría como combatientes. Asimismo, la representación de Pasionaria como una madre heroica contribuiría a consolidar la II República como la más auténtica de las expresiones nacionales españolas.

Abstract: This article analyzes the changing meaning of femininity in the first quarter of the 20th Century in Spain, by looking at the political role of the communist leader Pasionaria. Focusing on the image of Dolores Ibárruri as a woman of the people first and then as the unique woman leader of the Communist Party, this article draws attention to how close her image was to masculine values. However, as the Civil War progressed, her symbolic meaning changed. Republicans put the stress on the figure of the mother as the core of femininity in an attempt to preserve gender order. Dolores Ibárruri then became a caring and self-sacrificing mother. All this reinforced the activism

of republican women as mothers in the rearguard and, at the same time, this process reinforced the heroic role of republican men as combatants. The representation of Pasionaria as a heroic mother also contributed to consolidate the II Republic as the most authentic of the Spanish national expressions.

Pasado y Memoria

15 2016

Ángel Alcalde

La tesis de la brutalización (George L. Mosse) y sus críticos: un debate historiográfico
pp. 17-42

Resumen: Este artículo explora el amplio debate internacional mantenido por historiadores contemporaneístas en torno a la tesis de la “brutalización”, popularizada por George L. Mosse a partir de su libro *Soldados caídos* (1990), y según la cual la experiencia de guerra de los soldados del frente en la Primera Guerra Mundial habría sido la causa de los altos niveles de violencia política de la República de Weimar y, por ende, el origen del nacionalsocialismo y el genocidio. El artículo clarifica las raíces de la interpretación mosseana, analiza las críticas, reformulaciones y usos de la “brutalización” y concluye que el fuerte debate mantenido, a pesar de no alcanzar consenso, terminó por consagrar una noción sugerente, aunque oscura y de cuestionable capacidad analítica, en el lenguaje profesional de los historiadores.

Abstract: his article explores the widespread international debate in modern historiography maintained around the “brutalization” thesis, which was popularized in George L. Mosse’s book *Fallen Soldiers* (1990). According to Mosse, the war experience of the front soldiers during World War I was the cause of the heightened levels of political violence during the Weimar Republic. Such brutalization allegedly provided the basis for Nazism and the Genocide. In an attempt to clarify the origins of Mosse’s interpretation this work analyses criticism, reformulations and uses of “brutalization”. In spite of the fact that the heated debate reached no consensus, it eventually managed to establish a revealing though vague and scarcely open to analytical potential notion in the professional language of historians.

Alfonso Iglesias Amorín

La cultura africanista en el Ejército español (1909-1975)
pp.99-122

Resumen: La mentalidad militar española del siglo XX no puede entenderse sin el componente del “africanismo”. Los intereses económicos, estratégicos y de otra índole en el norte de África propiciaron desde el siglo XIX un interés cada vez mayor por la colonización de Marruecos que se materializó en 1912 con el establecimiento del Protectorado español. Este territorio se iba a convertir en la práctica casi en un “feudo” de los militares, un territorio en el que podían ejercer su poder sin apenas intromisión de los políticos. Este entorno fue muy favorable para que se generasen mentalidades diferenciadas en buena parte de los hombres que allí servían. Así, el término africanismo, que se había usado para referirse a los individuos que defendían los intereses españoles en el norte de África, pasó a emplearse sobre todo para lo relacionado con esta mentalidad militar. Habitualmente se ha asimilado el concepto “africanismo” a una ideología ultraconservadora y a ideas políticas antidemocráticas, compartidas por oficiales que ansiaban hacer una rápida carrera militar basada en “méritos de guerra”, y que compartían prácticas y discursos violentos enraizados en la experiencia bélica. Tras clarificar conceptualmente el concepto de “africanismo”, este artículo explora el impacto a largo plazo de esa mentalidad militar en la historia de España.

Abstract: The Spanish military mentality in the twentieth century cannot be understood without the component of “Africanism”. Since the nineteenth century, economic, strategic and other interests in Northern Africa led to a growing interest in the colonization of Morocco, which materialized in 1912 with the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate. This territory became in fact a “stronghold” of the military, a territory where they could exercise their power with little interference from politicians. It favored the emergence of a distinctive mentality among a good number of men serving in this environment. Thus, the term “Africanism”, which had been, so far, used to refer to individuals who defended Spanish interests in North Africa, turned out to be used mainly to refer to this military mentality. Usually, the term “Africanism” has been traditionally used to refer to ultraconservative ideology and antidemocratic political ideas, then shared by officers eager to achieve military promotion on the basis of war merit. They also shared violent practices and ideals rooted in their war experience. After clarifying the concept of “Africanism”, this article explores the long-term impact of this military mentality in Spanish history.

Francisco Carantoña Álvarez

Ni tan recientes ni tan prescindibles: la Constitución de 1812, las diputaciones y el (re)nacimiento de las provincias

pp. 151-179

Resumen: En 2013 se conmemoró el segundo centenario de la constitución de las primeras diputaciones provinciales, paralelamente, los debates sobre la reforma constitucional y la mayor federalización del Estado y la crisis económica han puesto en cuestión la existencia de las provincias. Una revisión de su nacimiento como entidades político-administrativas quizá resulte conveniente. El término “provincia” se utilizaba desde la época medieval tanto para denominar a los viejos reinos o grandes unidades territoriales que integraban la monarquía como a las circunscripciones en que algunas de estas se dividían en la corona de Castilla. Las Cortes de Cádiz procederán a una labor de uniformización y racionalización, que se traducirá en la creación de órganos de gobierno electivos en los niveles municipal y provincial, aunque fuertemente dependientes de la administración central. Era un sistema centralista, pero que incluía, por primera

vez en la historia de España, instituciones representativas locales y provinciales para toda la monarquía y, paradójicamente, supuso una descentralización del Estado. En 1822 se completó el mandato constitucional con una división provincial que respetaba las fronteras de los viejos reinos y será casi íntegramente copiada por Javier de Burgos en 1833. Con las diputaciones las provincias alcanzaron una clara personalidad política.

Abstract: 2013 celebrated the bicentennial of the constitution of the first provincial governments in Spain. Conversely, constitutional reform issues, including an increasing state federalization, and economic crisis put to question the very existence of the provinces themselves. It may be convenient to revise the emergence of those provincial governments as political and administrative bodies. The term ‘province’ has been used since medieval times to refer both to the old kingdoms, or large territorial units belonging to the Crown, and to territorial subdivisions on the latter. The Cadiz Cortes undertook the task of making territorial divisions more uniform and rational, which brought about the creation of elective government bodies at both the municipal and the provincial level, although strongly dependent on the central administration. It was a centralised system which nonetheless envisaged, for the first time in the history of Spain, local and provincial representative bodies all over the country and, paradoxically, it involved a decentralisation of the State. In 1822 the constitutional mandate was completed with provincial divisions which maintained the old kingdoms’ boundaries and which would be almost fully maintained in 1833 by Javier de Burgos. With those provincial governments the provinces became distinctive political entities.

Stati Uniti

American Historical Review

121 (4) 2016

Sawyer Stephen W.

A Fiscal Revolution: Statecraft in France's Early Third Republic

This article argues that before the transformative impact of the income tax in the second decade of the twentieth century, a hitherto undocumented fiscal revolution occurred in the 1860s and 1870s as well. While this fiscal revolution actually increased economic inequalities, it also prepared the foundation for a new state-society relation, which was essential for the creation of the income tax, by deploying these extraordinary new revenues toward state spending and debt financing far beyond the military—especially toward new services like mass public education and transportation, among other areas. By uncovering this earlier fiscal revolution, the article points toward a revisionism of some of our central historiographical assumptions on state-building. To explain why this earlier fiscal revolution has remained largely hidden from view, it argues that while it was highly inegalitarian, its invisibility was largely intentional, especially for those who paid these new taxes. Similarly, an intellectual history of taxation during this period reveals that the development of a professional economic science in France and beyond in the latter part of the nineteenth century was, in many cases, deeply committed to the income tax and therefore insistent upon the system's frailty and insufficiency.

Sasson Tehila

Milking the Third World? Humanitarianism, Capitalism, and the Moral Economy of the Nestlé Boycott

This article traces the history of the Nestlé boycott, one of the most well-known and successful boycotts of the 1970s. As part of the campaign to end bottle-feeding in Third World societies, it called for the global regulation of controversial marketing strategies implemented by Western formula companies. The story adds a crucial yet understudied aspect of rights discourse in the 1970s, when humanitarian activists strove to reform the global market and create ethical forms of capitalism. The history of the boycott may seem like a marginal tale within this history, but it is illuminating both for what it teaches us about the role of multinational companies, ethics, and the market in the period, and for what it reveals about the global history of human rights and humanitarianism. The history of the campaign allows us to uncover how in the 1970s not only diplomats and non-governmental organizations, but also ordinary people, business experts, and even multinational corporations became part of the project of feeding the world's hungry. By politicizing breastfeeding, the Nestlé boycott played an important role in changing how those in the Third World were conceived by aid programs, transforming them from producers to consumers in the global market. While international attempts to limit the power of these corporations have failed, the Nestlé boycott became a somewhat minimal solution that emphasized the moral responsibilities of

corporations. It offered a “weak” form of utopianism that emerged after the end of empire and attempted to reform global inequalities through the market.

Diplomatic History

40 (1) 2016

Rhodri Jeffrey-Jones

Antecedents and Memory as Factors in the Creation of CIA

With its projection of the United States as a superpower, World War II was a watershed in diplomatic history. At the same time, historians acknowledge that memories of prewar phenomena— isolationism, Wilsonianism, anti-imperialism, Munich, etc.—helped to shape the postwar thoughts and actions of foreign policy makers. It would seem perverse to assert that post-1945 policy owed little or nothing to what passed before the United States entered the war.

Such, however, has been the prevailing assumption about one branch of diplomatic history, foreign intelligence. This article addresses the assumption, then points up antecedents and memories that linked pre-1941 U.S. intelligence history to its post-1945 incarnation. Its argument is that, while Pearl Harbor, wartime intelligence reorganization, and the rise of Soviet power were essential causes of the creation of the CIA and of its sibling agencies, pre-war history also needs to be taken into consideration.

40 (2) 2016

Kotlowski Dean J.

The Possibilities and Limitations of First-Lady Diplomacy: Imelda Marcos and the Nixon Administration

Imelda Romualdez Marcos is commonly remembered as a profligate spender and power-hungry consort to Ferdinand E. Marcos. But Imelda Marcos performed a variety of first-lady roles, and her political ambition at home was matched, even reinforced, by her diplomatic work abroad. Imelda's overseas journeys, and dealings with Nixon, exemplified a blend of opportunism, possibility, and limitation reflective of the elastic duties of a first lady, and they marked an important part of her transformation into a political force within the Philippine government. Although Nixon and his staff tried to hold Imelda at arms' length, she forced the White House to receive her during visits to Washington in 1970 and 1971. These Nixon-era diplomatic forays lifted Imelda's standing in the Philippines and paved the way for her to make official visits to other nations, gain government positions during the Marcos dictatorship, and grow arrogant as she pursued a "Jet Set" lifestyle.

40 (3) 2016

Dietrich Christopher R.W.

Oil Power and Economic Theologies: The United States and the Third World in the Wake of the Energy Crisis

This article holds that Henry Kissinger conducted a free market diplomacy in result to the 1973-1974 energy crisis. That is, he and other decision-makers in the Department of the Treasury, the National Security Council, and the State Department demonized the Organization of Petroleum

Exporting Countries as an illiberal bogeyman and made the parallel argument that the free market was the only rational system capable of meeting global economic challenges. The culmination of this policy was the decision in the Ford Administration to subvert the egalitarian and redistributionist arguments of the United Nations' 1974 Declaration of a New International Economic Order. Kissinger and other policymakers did so through a diplomacy of accommodation, a policy towards Third World demands for a more just international economy that continued into the Carter Administration.

[40 \(4\) 2016](#)

Tuffnell Stephen

Expatriate Foreign Relations: Britain's American Community and Transnational Approaches to the U.S. Civil War

This article proposes that U.S. foreign relations in the nineteenth century were structured around the transnational interconnections of American communities overseas. The diplomacy of Britain's American community during the Civil War refocuses historian's attention on the offshore institutions and civic life that conditioned American public diplomacy throughout the nineteenth century.

[40 \(5\) 2016](#)

Drogan Mara

The Nuclear Imperative: Atoms for Peace and the Development of U.S. Policy on Exporting Nuclear Power, 1953-1955

In December 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower gave speech, soon known as "Atoms for Peace," before the United Nations in which he promised to share non-military nuclear technology with the nations of the world. Very few members of his administration were aware of the proposal before it was made and in the months after the speech was given, they debated its intention and its implications for policy. This article examines the process by which members of the National Security Council, the State Department, and the Atomic Energy Commission devised a policy to put Eisenhower's promises into practice. Intelligence reports, NSC debates, and policy drafts reveal that although members of the Eisenhower Administration believed that nuclear power was neither economical nor ready for export and represented a serious proliferation risk, they were convinced that the international political landscape left them no choice but to proceed with the sharing of technology worldwide.

Gender & History

[28 \(1\) 2016](#)

Henk de Smaele

Achilles or Adonis: Controversies Surrounding the Male Body as National Symbol in Georgian England

pp. 77–101

This paper analyses the controversy that arose when a monumental bronze nude statue of Achilles was unveiled at Hyde Park Corner (London) in 1822 as a monument to the Duke of Wellington and his army. The neoclassical statue (made by Richard Westmacott) perfectly embodied the ‘modern male stereotype’. According to historian George Mosse, this masculine image was a powerful and stable symbol of nineteenth- and twentieth-century bourgeois societies. Intended by the commanders and artist as just such a symbol, the statue in practice was unable to express these high ideals. Ever since its unveiling, the statue has elicited laughter and ridicule. The uneasiness created by male public nudity is an aspect that Mosse missed in his history of masculine imaginary, in which he focused on certain moments of ‘spectacular’ masculinity in modern Western history. Ultimately, the failure of Westmacott's Achilles can best be understood from the well-known feminist framework on the gendered ‘economy of the gaze’, a framework that is all too often absent in the historiography on masculinities.

Jessica Wilkerson

The Company Owns the Mine but They Don't Own Us: Feminist Critiques of Capitalism in the Coalfields of Kentucky in the 1970s

pp. 199–220

This article examines women's involvement in the Brookside Mine strike of 1974, which captivated US audiences and provided women with an unprecedented public platform to challenge the class and gender system undergirding coalfield capitalism. During the strike, female kin of miners in Harlan County, Kentucky, started a club to support striking miners and their families and to organise picket lines; they were joined by women from across the region and country. With the strike as their foundation these women generated a women's movement that revealed the specific ways class and gender inequality shaped their lives, defined by the heavy-duty care work characteristic of the coalfields. This article argues that the Brookside women's support of striking miners was fundamentally about gendered class inequality: the denigration of working-class, female caregivers alongside the devaluing of men's labour. Using collective memory and individual experience as their interpretive devices, the Brookside women forged a class-conscious feminism. In it they exposed the traumas of coalfield capitalism, shone a light on women's unpaid care work (one of the foundations of corporate capitalism) and destabilised the gender and class hierarchies that defined coalfield communities.

[28 \(2\) 2016](#)

Linda Gordon

'Intersectionality', Socialist Feminism and Contemporary Activism: Musings by a Second-Wave Socialist Feminist
pp. 340–357

1970s socialist feminist theory in the USA, like older socialist feminisms, anticipated much of today's 'intersectionality' by recognising multiple forms of domination and refusing to rank them in importance. Today's intersectionality has gone further in incorporating LGBTQ values and in the term's use by many activist groups. That activist appropriation of an originally academic term, arising from critical legal feminism, illustrates a striking example of a feminist label moving outward, no doubt partly through women's studies programmes. At the same time, the concept, in both academic and activist usage, has drifted toward emphasising some aspects of domination while occluding others, especially economic inequality, and occasionally emphasising a pluralist, empiricist understanding of diversity that omits matters of power. This article proceeds by tracing the precursors to intersectionality in second-wave feminism, notably its socialist feminist stream; then considering its development in academic women's/gender studies scholarship; and finally, surveying its use by activists in recent years.

Takkara Brunson

'Writing' Black Womanhood in the Early Cuban Republic, 1904–16
pp. 480–500

This article explores the intersection of race, class and womanhood during the early years of the Cuban Republic. It focuses on the writings of elite women who published in the black press between 1904 and 1916. While legal reforms and the expansion of the educational system facilitated new gender expectations, racial ideologies positioned upper-class white women as the standard of ideal womanhood. I argue that elite women of African descent employed modernising gender norms in order to counter anti-black racism and to affirm their identification with upper-class whites. In particular, they published articles that promoted the dominant values regarding marriage, education and public comportment. They disparaged unmarried unions and the practice of African cultural traditions among the labouring poor. Elite black women's writings drew from the model of the enlightened caretaker also to engage broader debates regarding feminism and black civic unity. Yet their emphasis on ideals that promoted white superiority helped reinforce the anti-black tenets of Cuban citizenship they hoped to undermine. By analysing elite black women's articles, poetry and letters, the article demonstrates the importance of understanding how women of African descent forged an intellectual trajectory, and thus contributes to the historiography of gendered racial ideologies in Latin America and the Caribbean.

[28 \(3\) 2016](#)

Louise Edwards, Martha Hanna, Patricia M. E. Lorcin
The Legacy of the 'War to End All Wars'
pp. 567–586

The image of the mourning figure at Vimy Ridge Memorial on the cover of this special issue represents some of the ways which we remember the events of the 1914-18 war. The monument was originally erected in France to commemorate Canadian loss of lives, in particular those for whom there were no known graves. As such, the monument looked beyond Europe to represent the global engagement in the war. As the twentieth century progressed, the bowed head of the weeping figure with the drooping laurels in her hand became a sign of mourning all victims of wars. On which heroes was woman, as the symbol of the nation, to bestow her laurels when so many were dead or suffering from the consequences of war? The choice of a woman – a ubiquitous symbol in the commemoration of the First World War – is not just a representation of mourning and loss, it also signifies the importance of gender, as it emerged during the war. As the articles in this issue demonstrate, gender continued to shape different aspects of subsequent wars. Taken as a whole, they reveal how gender plays a vital role in the prosecution, aftermath and commemoration of war. They reveal that despite differences in cultures and eras, the promotion of violence as a social act requires states and their military forces to tap into fundamental organising principles of society around gender and sexuality.

Mona L. Siegel

Feminism, Pacifism and Political Violence in Europe and China in the Era of the World Wars
pp. 641–659

This article examines international collaboration between Western and Chinese feminists in the interwar decades. Focusing on the 1927–28 ‘mission to Asia’ sponsored by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the article shows that, contrary to what existing historiography would lead us to suspect, neither feminist Orientalism nor colonial nationalism stood as a serious impediment to the formation of a truly international feminist alliance. Instead, European and Chinese women's varying experiences and memories of international conflict, and their varying understandings of the relationship between feminism, pacifism, militarism and political violence, defined the limits of global feminist collaboration in the late 1920s. The WILPF delegates, like many European women in the 1920s, were living in the shadow of the First World War, a conflict they condemned as futile and barbaric; their Chinese ‘sisters’ were living in the midst of a battle to determine the political future of their nation. For both sets of women, the question of women's emancipation was fundamentally entwined with broader national and international struggles. This article incorporates reports, personal letters and diaries of WILPF delegates as well as articles, speeches and letters by Chinese women to offer new insights into one of the earliest efforts to build a truly international women's movement and draw our attention to the centrality of warfare in defining the limits of global feminist collaboration in the twentieth century.

Journal of Cold War Studies

18 (1) 2016

Pietrobon Allen

The Role of Norman Cousins and Track II Diplomacy in the Breakthrough to the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty

Recent scholarship has begun to shift our understanding of Cold War diplomacy, highlighting unofficial tracks and the role of public pressure groups. This article reinterprets the existing evidence and brings new documents and secret White House recordings to bear in order to explore the important but previously overlooked role that Norman Cousins, long-time editor of *The Saturday Review of Literature*, played in helping to move the 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty forward. In 1962–1963, Cousins twice served as John F. Kennedy’s emissary to Nikita Khrushchev in the hopes of unblocking the stalled process. Although Cousins played only a small part in the larger effort, he intervened at a pivotal crossroads. His direct access to both Khrushchev and Kennedy allowed him to assuage Khrushchev’s intransigence and inject fresh thinking into Kennedy’s approach, ultimately cumulating in the U.S. president’s now famous American University speech, which is regarded as the catalyst leading to the treaty’s success.

18 (2) 2016

Rider Toby C.

A campaign of Truth: The State Departement, Propaganda, and the Olympic Games, 1950-1952

Scholars who have examined the role of the Olympic Games in U.S. Cold War strategy have dealt mostly with the post-Stalin era, when the Olympic Games were a stage for “symbolic combat” between athletes from the East and West and a cultural force with a powerful and compelling message that could be used for political gain. The Games were overseen by the International Olympic Committee, which both influenced and was influenced by the actions of world leaders and states. Although U.S. officials generally refused to approve federal funds for the national Olympic team, they took steps to manipulate the Games for propaganda purposes. The Cold War origins of such activities have not yet been clearly delineated. This article shows that Harry Truman’s administration in the late 1940s and early 1950s was the first to address and to take advantage of the propaganda potential of the Olympics in the Cold War era, and this transformative period coincided with, and was driven by, the government’s much expanded information offensive, the “Campaign of Truth.”

18 (3) 2016

Bange Oliver

Onto the Slippery Slope: East Germany and the East-West Détente under Ulbricht and Honecker, 1965-1975

This article identifies and explains the fundamental shift of political and ideological paradigms that drew the Soviet Union's close ally, East Germany, into the détente process. Although economic and political influences and pressures, including from the Soviet Union itself, pushed the East German Communist regime to participate in this era of "peaceful coexistence," officials in East Berlin were well aware of the dangers this posed to the Communist society in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the long term. Even at this early stage of East-West interaction, détente left the GDR with the unenviable task of squaring ideology with realpolitik—a task that East German leaders found increasingly hard to cope with.

[18 \(4\) 2016](#)

Luthi Lorenz M.

The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War, 1961-1973

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) tried to transcend the Cold War, but the NAM ended up as one of the Cold War's chief victims. During the movement's first dozen years (1961–1973), four Cold War developments shaped its agenda and political orientation. East Germany's attempt to manipulate it started with the so-called construction of the Berlin Wall less than a month before the first NAM conference in Belgrade. Nuclear disarmament issues imposed themselves the day before that conference, with Nikita Khrushchev's sudden announcement that the USSR would resume nuclear testing. The war in the Middle East in June 1967 brought the NAM close to an association with the Soviet bloc—at least until the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia the following year. Finally, the overthrow of Cambodia's Prince Sihanouk in 1970 split the movement over the question of that country's standing. The NAM again moved closer to the Soviet camp once the movement decided in 1972 to award representation both to the exiled Sihanouk, who lived in Communist China and was allied to Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, and to the Communist insurgents in South Vietnam.

This special issue addresses one of the great, persistent challenges of American democracy: how to maintain both a safe, stable homeland and a healthy, free society. Over the last fifteen years, since the 9/11 attacks, the war on terrorism has raised difficult questions about the trade-offs between national security and civil liberties. Do coercive interrogation methods yield valuable intelligence, or do they simply lead to human-rights abuses? Has expanded government surveillance helped authorities identify and capture terrorists, or has it led primarily to fishing expeditions and unwarranted investigations of Americans? Should websites frequented by extremist groups be shut down, or would such actions suppress legitimate political dissent? Policymakers have struggled to determine what sacrifices in due process, privacy, and speech rights are necessary for the country's defense against international terrorism. They have struggled even to consider what sacrifices of convenience or effectiveness for security and law-enforcement operations may be warranted for the sake of individual rights.

All the essays draw the lesson that an unchecked executive may at times abandon its national-security mission and, as a consequence, undermine both the democratic and defense interests of the country: The reforms of policymakers have not dramatically alter the current conflict over security and liberty. This is because it remains an open question whether the increased level of oversight needed to prevent government abuses would hinder authorities from adequately protecting the homeland. So the essays left the readers with an intractable problem: The Constitution is not a suicide pact, but neither is the Bill of Rights merely a wish list.

Journal of Women's History

28 (1) 2016

Jenna Healey

REJECTING REPRODUCTION: The National Organization for Non-Parents and Childfree Activism in 1970s America

pp. 131-156, 182

In 1972, childfree activists Ellen Peck and Shirley Radl founded the National Organization for Non-Parents (NON), the first organization dedicated to defending the rights of the "childless by choice." Emerging at the nexus of identity politics and environmental activism, NON promoted childfree living as both a socially respectable and politically responsible reproductive choice. This article traces NON's evolution from a grassroots movement to a professionalized activist organization. Beyond arguments about the urgency of population control, NON offered a sophisticated critique of the marginalization of childless citizens in an intensely pronatalist society. Childfree activists faced fierce opposition from those who believed that reproduction and parenthood were defining features of the American family. By embracing the language of reproductive choice, NON was able to ameliorate some of the controversy that surrounded its childfree crusade and bring voluntary childlessness into the mainstream of American thought.

28 (3) 2016

van Os, Nicole A N M.

"THEY CAN BREATHE FREELY NOW": The International Council of Women and Ottoman Muslim Women (1893-1920s)

pp. 17-40, 188-189

This article explores the interactions between Ottoman (Muslim) women and the extending international women's movement of the "first wave." While historians of the three large international women's organizations-the International Council of Women, International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom-date the first contacts between the international women's movement and women in the Middle East in the 1920s, this article shows that they actually started well before the turn of the century.

Kanner, Efi

TRANSCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS: Discourses on Women's Rights and Feminist Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and Turkey from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Interwar Period

pp. 66-92, 187-188

In this article, I attempt to examine the discourses on women's rights and feminist interventions that appear amongst various ethno-religious groups in the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and later Turkey from the mid-nineteenth century to the interwar period. These discourses and initiatives are approached as effects of communication between ethno-religiously disparate people across the entire Balkans. This interaction created a common canvas of challenges and imperatives with significant differentiations. The latter are linked to the different political agendas prevailing in each

community. Such an approach enables us to revisit such dominant historiographical concepts as nationality or the millet and their role in people's everyday lives during this period. This article also attempts to correlate feminism to nationalism, namely to the stance vis-à-vis the empire.

[28 \(4\) 2016](#)

Barton, Nimisha

"FRENCH OR FOREIGN, SO LONG AS THEY BE MOTHERS": Immigrant Women, Welfare, and the Politics of Pronatalism in Interwar Paris
pp. 65-88, 200

This article examines two private welfare organizations in interwar Paris, the Foyer Français, an early immigrant aid society, and the League for the Protection of Abandoned Mothers, a maternalist welfare agency. It analyzes interactions between middle-class French social workers and their working-class foreign clients to demonstrate that the politics of populationism pervasive in interwar France mitigated those class, cultural, and racial barriers that so often beset interactions between welfare agents and their clients in Europe and the United States. On the contrary, I show that the strength of pronatalist sentiment allowed for the formation of cross-class, cross-national alliances between French welfare agents and their foreign female charges, even during the depressed 1930s. This article thus reveals how the world of welfare functioned as a site of inclusion for immigrants in France and suggests how further research can complicate our understanding of gendered dynamics of social inclusion and exclusion.

Clancy-Smith, Julia

HISTORIANS AND EMPIRES: A Personal Odyssey
pp. 144-153, 200

While historians rarely need prodding to engage the past, the Journal of Women's History and Elisa Camiscioli have encouraged the author to reflect temporally beyond the critical question of how scholarly literature on women, gender, and modern imperialism has evolved during the past decade or so. In order to do so, she began unpacking the years preceding the publication of *Domesticating the Empire*, the volume on women, gender, and family life in the French and Dutch colonial enterprises that she coedited with Frances Gouda in 1998. If the book represented a scholarly curiosity at the time, it was not because it was interdisciplinary and foregrounded women and gender, but because it compared imperial lands not fully on the historians' compass and juxtaposed historiographical traditions not yet conversant with one another. The intent of this essay is to share a journey that is not merely personal or individual, but one that demonstrates how convergences in disciplines and fields came about so that today research and teaching about women, gender, and global empires has a recognized place at the table.

Paik, Shailaja

FORGING A NEW DALIT WOMANHOOD IN COLONIAL WESTERN INDIA: Discourse on Modernity, Rights, Education, and Emancipation
pp. 14-40, 202

Dalit women in colonial Western India shaped and were in turn transformed by the "interlocking technologies" of education, caste, community, gender, sexuality, and family. Two radical men-Jotirao Phule and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar-and Dalit women engaged with the "woman question,"

produced arguments for the empowerment of women, and emphasized their indispensable role in the political organization of the community. In so doing, Phule, Ambedkar, and Dalit women reimagined the "generative" power of gender and the political realm and practiced "feminist technologies," which sought to not only restructure women's roles and establish an egalitarian relationship between women and men, but also explicate how political projects of constructing the nation and community were entangled with Dalit's sense of self, rights, self-respect, affect, anxiety, desire, and everyday life. Yet there were complications because these male-centered efforts were also contradictory and ambiguous. On the whole, these historically contingent discourses nevertheless enabled Dalit women's individual and collective agency.

Modern Intellectual History

XIII (1) 2016

M.D. Rogers

The development of carl schmitt's political thought during the first world war
pp. 123-149

Two legal publications that Carl Schmitt produced during the First World War contain the first expressions of his maximally authoritarian interpretation of the state of emergency. Yet, when read in conjunction with his wartime journals, we find that his production of these texts is contextualized by a profound, private struggle over whether to accept or reject the political values they articulate. What is most surprising about Schmitt's self-presentation in these journals is the degree to which, during the early war period, he expresses a visceral anti-authoritarianism and concern for decidedly liberal ideals such as the rights of the individual and the separation of powers. But it is also in these journals that we observe the process—culminating in a moment of existential decision during the winter of 1915–16—through which he came to see such liberal commitments as untenable on both personal and political-theoretical levels simultaneously.

B. Etherington

An answer to the question: what is decolonization? Frantz Fanon's the wretched of the earth and Jean-Paul Sartre's critique of dialectical reason
pp. 151-178

This essay argues that Jean-Paul Sartre's notion of “dialectical reason”, as elaborated in his *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (1960), had a decisive impact on the composition of Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). The relationship between the two works has not before received a thorough textual exposition. Such an exposition, it is suggested, also entails revising the view of the nature of Fanon's work that has become entrenched in anglophone scholarship. Instead of a self-grounding theorist who more resembles the postcolonialists who would succeed him, this essay presents a view of Fanon as a situated theorist, drawing on those resources that could best help him to articulate the task at hand. The notion of “dialectical reason” allowed him to break from his previous understanding of decolonization as the attainment of reason through struggle, and see the “praxis” of revolution as, itself, self-realizing reason. To perceive this allows us better to seize on the thinking that guides his discussions of objectification under colonialism, anticolonial violence, and the role of the national bourgeoisie, and, thus, to clear up a number of controversies.

XIII (2) 2016

W. Selinger

The politics of arendtian historiography: european federation and the origins of totalitarianism
pp. 417-446

Hannah Arendt's *The Origins of Totalitarianism* is a distinctively international history. It traces Nazism to a “collapse of the nation-state” across Europe, brought on by European anti-Semitism and European imperialism, rather than to specifically German developments. This essay recovers the political meaning of that methodological choice on Arendt's part, by documenting the surprising intersection between Arendt's involvement in political debates over postwar European reconstruction, where she made an intellectual alliance with Resistance groups across Europe and strongly argued for European federation, and her involvement in historiographical debates over the sources of Nazism. I show the explicit connection that Arendt drew between an internationalist historiography of Nazism and the need for an internationalist European politics, in a series of essays she wrote in the mid-1940s. I then argue that this connection continues to play a prominent role in *Origins* itself, sharply differentiating Arendt from other prominent theorists of Nazism.

M.C. Behrent

Liberal dispositions: recent scholarship on french liberalism

pp. 447-477

The story of French liberalism is, we are often told, one of exceptions, eccentricities, and enigmas. Compared to their British counterparts, French liberals seem more reluctant to embrace individualism. Whereas liberals in the English-speaking world typically espouse what Isaiah Berlin called “negative liberty”—a sphere of private autonomy from which the state is legally excluded—French liberals have often proved highly accommodating towards “positive liberty”—that is, liberty insofar as it is tethered to collectively defined ends. Most crucially, rather than seeking to shield individuals and civil society from an intrusive state, French liberals—consistent with a broader trend in French political culture—are inclined to see the state as an essential and even emancipatory political tool. In this vein, Jean-Fabien Spitz writes in a recent collection entitled *French Liberalism from Montesquieu to the Present Day*, Contemporary historians, political scientists, and philosophers all seem to share a simple idea: French political culture, marked as it is by legalism and statism, constitutes an exception to the main trend in modern political thought, which has been to discover and assert the principles of modern liberty. In addition to departing from some of Anglo-American liberalism's main tenets, French liberalism exhibits other oddities: as Larry Siedentop argued in an important essay, its idiom has tended to be historical (rather than theoretical), institutional (as opposed to ethical) and sociological (not legal or political). This somewhat idiosyncratic variation on “normal” liberalism has led some scholars to characterize liberalism's French iteration as a “chaotic mixture.” Others have questioned the extent to which liberalism is really a significant French political tradition at all. France's Revolutionary culture has been described as ultimately “illiberal,” leading some historians to speak of a French *Sonderweg*, in which France's “special path” consists in the fact that it entered the modern age without having developed genuinely liberal institutions.

N. Gilman

The cold war as intellectual force field

pp. 507-523

One of the most vibrant subfields of American intellectual history over the last fifteen years has been the history of the social sciences during the late twentieth century, a period when the size and quality of American social-scientific output grew explosively. Given that the major historiographic push to historicize this period of social science began in the 1990s, in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the declaration by some Americans of Cold War victory, it was perhaps inevitable that the geopolitics of the Cold War emerged as a major tool for accounting for what was distinct about the social science and broader culture of the postwar period. After all, wasn't it obvious that what made the 1990s different from the decades that came before it was the fact that the Cold War was over? And wasn't it further obvious that the bipolar geopolitics and nuclear night terrors of the Cold War had deformed everything they touched, not least the work of American social scientists? One marker of this obviousness was the transformation of the term "Cold War" from a noun describing (perhaps already too vaguely) a particular sort of geopolitical struggle into an adjective that could explain all sorts of extra-geopolitical activity. By the turn of the century this adjectivalization of the Cold War had become something of a historiographic cliché, a blunt (if not lazy) way to historicize our immediate forebears. When John Lewis Gaddis chose to title his "rethink" of Cold War history *Now We Know*, he didn't even need to add *Better*.

[XIII \(3\) 2016](#)

T. Baji

Zionist internationalism? Alfred Zimmern's post-racial Commonwealth
pp. 623-651

This essay analyses Alfred Zimmern's scheme for a global British Commonwealth. A prominent British liberal internationalist and leading early scholar of International Relations, Zimmern developed an anti-racial account of empire and international order. In conceptualizing a British Commonwealth, he sought to replace "race" with "nation" as the basic ontological category of world ordering. The idea of cultural Zionism, formulated by Ahad Ha'am, played a key role in Zimmern's attempt. Ahad Ha'am's account of non-statist Jewish nationalism served as a useful ideological device for Zimmern to theorize a multinational Commonwealth without acknowledging colonial demands for self-determination. The essay also shows that Horace Kallen's notion of American cultural pluralism helped Zimmern to consolidate his project for the post-racial empire.

J. Cotton

An Australian internationalist parts company with the League of Nations: H. Duncan Hall and the freudian response to global irrationalism
pp. 653-680.

The most senior Australian in the League of Nations secretariat, H. Duncan Hall became an established advocate of institutional internationalism as a mitigator of conflict. From 1933, however, the advent of totalitarian movements and his exposure to Freudianism through his association with Dr Robert Waelder led him to the conviction that psychoanalysis provided the key to the irrationality of the times. He endeavoured to use his League position, including his influence

in Australia, to convince opinion leaders of the profound dangers of national mass psychosis to the survival of the international order. Frustrated in the League, he then sought to convey the same message in the United States. Although largely unsuccessful in his efforts, and unable to establish an academic vehicle for the study of the issue in America, he was able to help bring to Australia the first practitioners of Freudian psychoanalysis trained in Europe.

Perspectives on Politics

14 (1) 2016

Loubna El Amine

Beyond East and West: Reorienting Political Theory through the Prism of Modernity

pp. 102-120

While critiquing the dominance of the Western tradition in the discipline of political theory, recent methodological discussions in Comparative Political Theory (CPT) fail to move beyond the East-West dichotomy. More specifically, CPT does not offer the resources to deal with global convergence as embodied in the phenomenon of modernity. I focus on the emergence of the sovereign state in the modern period and argue that the universal acceptance of the state form creates a globally-shared institutional condition. This condition, in turn, necessitates a shared normative and conceptual apparatus centered on ideals like constitutionalism, rights, and democracy. Two implications follow from my argument. First, we should reconceptualize the history of political thought such that we move from an East/West division to a modern/pre-modern division. Second, alternatives to the dominant (“Western”) model are not real alternatives unless they transcend the sovereign state itself, charting a new course of multilayered local, regional, and global political arrangements.

14 (3) 2016

Jennifer J. Jones

Talk “Like a Man”: The Linguistic Styles of Hillary Clinton, 1992–2013

pp. 625-642

Hillary Clinton is arguably the most prominent woman in American politics today. Past research suggests female politicians conform to masculine communication styles in an attempt to evade the “double bind.” Clinton’s long and varied career thus provides an important and useful case study for investigating how female politicians present themselves strategically. Drawing on research in political psychology, political communication, social psychology, and linguistics I examine whether Clinton talked “like a man” as she navigated a path toward political leadership by conducting a quantitative textual analysis of 567 interview transcripts and candidate debates between 1992–2013. Results on Clinton’s linguistic style suggest her language grew increasingly masculine over time, as her involvement and power in politics expanded. I also consider Clinton’s language in the context of her 2007–2008 presidential campaign. In 2007, Clinton’s linguistic style was consistently masculine, supporting widespread accounts of Clinton’s campaign strategy. Beginning in late 2007, however, Clinton’s language became more feminine, reflecting a shift in the self-presentational strategies advised by her campaign staff. Throughout the 2008 campaign period, Clinton’s language fluctuated dramatically from one interview to the next, reflecting a candidate—and campaign—in crisis. This study reveals hidden insight into the strategies Clinton used as she navigated through the labyrinth toward leadership. Changes in Clinton’s linguistic style reflect the performance of gendered roles, expectations of political leaders, and the masculine norms of behavior that permeate political institutions.

[14 \(3\) 2016](#)

Daniel Carpenter

Recruitment by Petition: American Antislavery, French Protestantism, English Suppression
pp. 700-723

Why do petitions flourish when they are often denied if not ignored by the sovereigns who receive them? When activists seek to build political organizations in network-rich but information-poor environments, petitioning as institutional technology facilitates recruitment. A petition's signatory list identifies and locates individuals sympathetic to its prayer and expresses to other citizens who and how many agree with the prayer. Three historical moments—the explosion of antislavery petitioning in the antebellum United States, the emergence of Protestantism in sixteenth-century France, and England's suppression of petitioning after the Restoration Settlement of 1660—provide vivid demonstrations of the theory. A recruitment-based theory implies that petition drives mobilize as much as they express, that well-established groups and parties petition less frequently, and that the most important readers of a petition are those asked to sign it. The petition's recruitment function complements, but also transforms, its function of messaging the sovereign. Contemporary digital petitioning both routinizes and takes its force from the petition's embedded recruitment technology.

Studies in American Political Development

30 (1) 2016

Hertel-Fernandez, A.

Explaining Durable Business Coalitions in U.S. Politics: Conservatives and Corporate Interests across America's Statehouses

pp. 1-18

Scholars of business mobilization emphasize that national, cross-sector employer associations are difficult to create and maintain in decentralized pluralist polities like the United States. This article considers an unusual case of a U.S. business group—the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC)—that has succeeded in creating a durable coalition of diverse firms and conservative political activists. This group has emerged since the 1970s as an important infrastructure for facilitating corporate involvement in the policymaking process across states. Assessing variation within this group over time through both its successes and missteps, I show the importance of organizational strategies for cementing political coalitions between otherwise fractious political activists and corporate executives from diverse industries. A shadow comparison between ALEC and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce further serves to reinforce the importance of organizational structure for business association management. My findings engage with literatures in both American business history and comparative political economy, underscoring the difficulties of forming business coalitions in liberal political economies while also showing how savvy political entrepreneurs can still successfully unite otherwise fragmented corporate interests. These conclusions, in turn, have implications for our understanding of business mobilization and corporate influence in politics.

White, S.

Civil Rights, World War II, and U.S. Public Opinion

pp. 38-61

Scholars of American politics often assume World War II liberalized white racial attitudes. This conjecture is generally premised on the existence of an ideological tension between a war against Nazism and the maintenance of white supremacy at home, particularly the Southern system of Jim Crow. A possible relationship between the war and civil rights was also suggested by a range of contemporaneous voices, including academics like Gunnar Myrdal and activists like Walter White and A. Philip Randolph. However, while intuitively plausible, this relationship is generally not well verified empirically. A common flaw is the lack of attention to public opinion polls from the 1940s. Using the best available survey evidence, I argue the war's impact on white racial attitudes is more limited than is often claimed. First, I demonstrate that for whites in the mass public, while there is some evidence of liberalization on issues of racial prejudice, this generally does not extend to policies addressing racial inequities. White opposition to federal anti-lynching legislation actually seems to have increased during the war. Second, there is some evidence of racial moderation among white veterans, relative to their counterparts who did not serve. White veterans were more supportive of anti-lynching legislation in the immediate postwar period, and they offered stronger

support for black voting rights in the early 1960s. However, they were not distinguishable on many other issues, including measures of racial prejudice and attitudes toward segregation.

[30 \(2\) 2016](#)

Everson, P., Valelly, R., Vishwanath, A. and Wiseman, J.

NOMINATE and American Political Development: A Primer

pp. 97-115

Steady political polarization since the late 1970s ranks among the most consequential transformations of American politics—one with far-reaching consequences for governance, congressional performance, the legitimacy of the Supreme Court, and citizen perceptions of the stakes of party conflict and elections. Our understanding of this polarization critically depends on measuring it. Its measurement in turn began with the invention of the NOMINATE algorithm and the widespread adoption of its estimates of the ideal points of members of Congress. Although the NOMINATE project has not been immune from technical and conceptual critique, its impact on how we think about contemporary politics and its discontents has been extraordinary and has helped to stimulate the creation of several similar scores. In order to deepen appreciation of this broadly important intellectual phenomenon, we offer an intuitively accessible treatment of the mathematics and conceptual assumptions of NOMINATE. We also stress that NOMINATE scores are a major resource for understanding other eras in American political development (APD) besides the current great polarization. To illustrate this point, we introduce readers to Voteview, which provides two-dimensional snapshots of congressional roll calls, among other data that it generates. We conclude by sketching how APD scholarship might contribute to the contemporary polarization discussion. Placing polarization and depolarization in historical perspective may powerfully illuminate whether, how, and why our current polarization might recede.

Bensel, R.

Lost in Translation: An Epistemological Exploration of the Relation between Historical Analysis and the NOMINATE Algorithm

pp. 185-201

The NOMINATE algorithm has become the most important analytical tool used in the study of the United States Congress. As such, congressional scholars have developed a great many social conventions, practices, and assumptions that enable interpretation of the statistical artifacts the algorithm produces. However, as many of these scholars recognize, serious problems emerge whenever we try to translate these statistical artifacts into language and thus attempt to assign them meaning in historical analysis. These problems are irresolvable because they reside in the very construction of the algorithm itself.

[The Journal of American History](#)

[102 \(4\) 2016](#)

Cybelle Fox

Unauthorized Welfare: The Origins of Immigrant Status Restrictions in American Social Policy
pp. 719-745

When the modern welfare state was established in 1935, no federal laws barred noncitizens, even unauthorized immigrants, from social assistance. During the 1970s, however, the federal government abruptly changed course, barring unauthorized immigrants from nearly all federal welfare programs. Cybelle Fox examines the origins and consequences of this little-known policy shift. Federal restriction exacerbated the consequences of illegality for unauthorized immigrants and threatened the rights of their U.S.-born children and those suspected of entering the country illegally. It also ushered in years of struggle between local, state, and federal officials over who was responsible for the social costs of unauthorized immigration.

Frank Costigliola

I React Intensely to Everything": Russia and the Frustrated Emotions of George F. Kennan, 1933–1958
pp. 746-771

Drawing on the emerging “emotional turn” in history, Frank Costigliola presents a fresh view of the origins and development of the Cold War by showing how emotion can be used to decode policy recommendations that have traditionally been explained in almost wholly rational terms. While remaining cognizant of the integral nature of thinking, he seeks to trace the particular pathways by which George F. Kennan's feelings permeated his thoughts and actions relating to Russia and the United States. Scholars in a variety of fields can use a similar approach to delve deeper into the thoughts, motivations, and behavior of historical actors.

[102 \(5\) 2016](#)

Nina Silber

Reunion and Reconciliation, Reviewed and Reconsidered
pp. 59-84

How does a nation heal after a bloody and divisive civil war? This question is of paramount concern and the source of considerable debate for historians grappling with the aftermath of the Civil War. Where some find evidence of a "road to reunion" built on a foundation of white supremacy, others see prolonged, even ongoing, sectional division. Nina Silber not only explores the literature dealing with "reunion and reconciliation," including the scholarship on the Civil War in memory, but she also suggests new ways to pursue the Civil War's continued impact on U.S. culture.

[102 \(6\) 2016](#)

Brian D. Goldstein

"The Search for New Forms": Black Power and the Making of the Postmodern City

pp. 375-399

Cities were fundamental to the rise of the black power movement in the late 1960s, but, as Brian D. Goldstein uncovers, the built environment also served as a crucial medium through which black power proponents imagined the future that would follow from racial self-determination. As the case of Harlem shows, activist architects and planners and their community partners crafted an urban vision that valued existing African American residents and preserved their vibrant neighborhoods. In doing so, they not only offered a rebuke to modernist city building, with its emphasis on clearance and redevelopment, but they also played a thus-far-overlooked role in crafting a new, postmodern urbanism in its place.

Altro

Desarrollo Económico

56 (219) 2016

J. Buonuome

El partido de los consumidores. Publicidad, consumo y cultura de clase en la prensa socialista argentina, entre el Centenario y la Gran Depresión

pp. 245-276

This article explores the changes of Socialist printed propaganda in the context of the emergence of a mass consumer society in Argentina in the early twentieth century. For this, I study the insertion of commercial advertising in the pages of *La Vanguardia*, the most important newspaper of this political force. Seeking to modernize its journalistic style and to compete with the “big press” on their own ground, the editors increasingly used resources provided by the thriving local advertising industry. The opening to commercial advertising separated *La Vanguardia* from the militant style of the rest of the left-wing periodical press. Moreover, by analyzing the pattern of consumption and the kind of stereotypes disseminated in the advertisement published in *La Vanguardia* I find significant differences from the commercial sections of major newspapers of European social democracy. In a singular context marked by economic growth, social mobility and increased popular consumption, announcements by Argentine socialist organ collaborated in disseminating behavior models matched with the culture of the emerging urban middle classes. Even without moving the classic figure of “conscious worker”, the omnipresence of commercial speech redefined the contours of class appeal of Argentine socialism.

57 (217) 2016

J. Caravaca, X. Espeche

América Latina como problema y como solución: Robert Triffin, Daniel Cosío Villegas, Víctor Urquidí y Raúl Prebisch antes del Manifiesto Latinoamericano (1944-1946)

pp. 411-435

Very little has been said about what Robert Triffin (1911-1993), Daniel Cosío Villegas (1898-1976), Víctor Urquidí (1919-2004) and Raúl Prebisch (1901-1986) have been part of: a “remote team”. This approach give us a more comprehensive picture about a problem: the construction of a debate belonging to a region based in common features: Latin American and Latin American economy. Triffin, Cosío Villegas, Urquidí and Prebisch have shared some meetings organized by the Bank of Mexico (in 1944 and 1946), and each one of them came from very different professional, institutional and national realities, although each of them agreed in some questions and reflections about the Latin American “periphery” and “development”. We focus on this kind of remote team of discussion of political economy management and of intellectual debate related to a region, Latin America. This region was at the same time an issue of political economy theory and an issue of domestic and foreign policy of México, Argentina and United States.

J.L. Machinea, G. León

El impacto del tratado Roca-Runciman sobre las importaciones argentinas: ¿Mito o realidad?
pp. 437-449

There is consensus that the controversial Roca-Runciman pact signed in 1933 was aimed, among other issues, at benefitting imports of British origin, especially to the detriment of US origin. At first glance, the data show a consistent behavior for this purpose since between 1929 and 1935 the former increased their share in the total imported by Argentina and the incidence of the latter was reduced. However, when analyzing the time sequence, we can see that the change in favor of the UK took place before –and not after– signing the agreement. As argued in this piece, this seemingly paradoxical behavior is explained by the different composition of purchases. Imports of those products on which purchases of US origin were concentrated were more affected than those from the United Kingdom for two relevant factors in the 1930s: import substitution and demand volatility, especially that of production equipment. These phenomena explain the sharp drop in US participation between 1929 and 1932 and the stagnation of British participation in later years. Only if they are taken into account can we find evidence that the treaty had the expected effect regarding the origin of Argentine imports.

L.G. Silva

El impacto de la revolución de Saint-Domingue y los afrodescendientes libres de Brasil. Esclavitud, libertad, con guración social y perspectiva atlántica (1780-1825)
pp. 209-233

In this article, I analyze the impact of the Saint-Domingue Revolution in Brazil. My main proposal is that the revolutionary message, especially the idea of political equality, affected the social group made up of free and freed men of African descent more so than it did slaves. I have used concepts essential to Norbert Elias's sociology (gurational sociology and the old, oligarchic-type society, as well as the democratic and representative type) and the general theory of slavery (slavery as a process and change in status, as well as the freedom-slavery continuum). Finally, I suggest that my conclusions with regard to Brazil can be generalized to the social guration that encompassed the Atlantic world once the social position of free and freed men of African descent was marked by the recurrence, connection and structural regularities common to all American-slavery social figurations.

Keywords: Saint-Domingue, Brazil, Free and freed men of African descent, social figuration.