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## Parlement[s]

### n. 18, 2013

#### *Science et révolutions*

Dossier coordonné par Cédric Grimoult

La science, parce qu'elle est fondée sur l'esprit critique, peut constituer une arme de destruction politique massive. Elle peut être utilisée par les pouvoirs en place, qu'ils soient despotiques, colonisateurs, voire totalitaires, mais aussi se retourner contre eux. Le prestige de la science, la rigueur de son organisation, la séduction exercée par ses modèles théoriques ainsi que la mobilisation des réseaux de chercheurs contribuent à enchevêtrer les liens qui unissent les détenteurs du savoir à ceux du pouvoir, tout particulièrement lors des épisodes révolutionnaires. La Révolution française, la Commune de Paris, la Révolution nationale de Vichy, les indépendances des États-Unis et du Mexique, et les Révolutions communistes en Europe de l'Est et en Chine sont autant d'exemples de l'intervention des scientifiques, au nom de la science ou de valeurs dites universelles. Résolument comparatif, à la fois dans l'espace et le temps, ce dossier croise des approches historiographiques diverses qui se rejoignent sur l'essentiel : le rôle méconnu des sciences dans la vie politique en général et le processus révolutionnaire en particulier.

### n. 19, 2013

#### *Femmes outsiders en politique*

Dossier coordonné par Christine Bard et Bibia Pavard

Les femmes sont-elles condamnées à être des outsiders en politique, étrangères au groupe dominant ? Ce dossier donne une historicité au « stigmaté » du genre en politique à travers l'étude de trajectoires individuelles et collectives durant le XXe siècle, en France mais aussi en Allemagne, en Italie ou encore en Belgique. Il en ressort que les outsiders d'hier ne sont plus les outsiders d'aujourd'hui, et que le terme, dans sa polysémie, recouvre une multiplicité de situations. À cet égard, l'accès des femmes aux droits politiques constitue une ligne de partage des eaux. Avant, ne pouvant pas voter ou être élues, elles sont nécessairement des outsiders dans la compétition électorale même si elles font de la politique autrement. Après, les femmes politiques doivent faire l'apprentissage de nouveaux rôles pour passer de la marge au sommet du pouvoir. Elles découvrent la persistance des mécanismes discriminatoires dans les partis. Le féminisme dans et hors des partis contribue à créer, à la fin du siècle, un climat plus favorable. Dans ce nouveau contexte – quotas, parité –, les femmes politiques développent des stratégies de légitimation particulières et leurs identités de genre, de classe, de race ou de sexualité peuvent s'articuler pour freiner leurs carrières ou au contraire les accélérer.

### Hors-série 9, 2013

#### *L'antiparlementarisme en France*

Numéro coordonné par Jean-Claude Caron et Jean Garrigues

Depuis la Révolution française, le régime d'assemblée a toujours été sous le feu de la critique antiparlementaire. Courant protéiforme dont la généalogie est peu étudiée, l'antiparlementarisme est au cœur de ce hors-série. Qui sont les adversaires désignés des « chéquarts », des « ventrus », des « cumulards » ? Veulent-ils abolir le régime parlementaire ou simplement le réformer ? Les auteurs

réunis dans ce numéro interrogent les mots et les images qui donnent corps à l'antiparlementarisme de la Restauration à nos jours. L'une des difficultés de l'analyse réside dans la complexité de ses formes. Qu'il soit d'extrême gauche ou d'extrême droite, voire qu'il provienne des députés eux-mêmes, sa grammaire est tout à la fois plastique et composée d'invariants : démocratie directe, pouvoir de la rue, plébiscite ou recours à un homme providentiel. Ce registre appartient-il à un passé révolu ou résonne-t-il avec le temps présent.

## Pouvoirs

[n. 143, 2012](#)

### *Le futur passé de la séparation des pouvoirs*

Mauro Barberis

pp. 5-15

Applied to Montesquieu's doctrine, the category "separation of powers" means three things : a distinction between constitutional functions and two different rules – balance and separation of powers in the strict meaning of the term – in order to distribute them between the various constitutional organs. Using this analytical framework, this paper notes that, according to Montesquieu, only the judiciary should be separated from the other powers, on the condition its functions be attributed to jurors rather than permanent judges. Moreover, the paper demonstrates that the historical time of the separation of powers – the age of the legislative state, as opposed to the constitutional state – is suspended between a past and a future when not only have the legislative and executive branches always balanced each other, but also when judges have always participated to the production of the law.

### *De l'usage des pouvoirs neutres*

Sandrine Baume

pp. 17-27

The notion of neutral powers has essentially found three institutional expressions in democratic regimes : the presidency, the constitutional jurisdiction and, more recently, the regulatory authorities. These bodies have appropriated the concept of neutrality in a particular fashion and have defined their role with a concern for the restoration of a proper institutional balance. The corrective actions introduced by these neutral powers have determined both their legitimacy and the harsh criticisms they inspire.

### *Printemps et Révolutions arabes : un renouveau pour la séparation des pouvoirs?*

Mathieu Touzeil-Divina

pp. 29-45

The theory of the separation of powers, taken in its original meaning of the dispersion of powers, appears to have acquired a new theoretical and practical usefulness with the unfolding of the Arab Springs. Yet, while a desire for a differentiated democratic organization of power has been palpable, notably in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, the will of the peoples has not been instantaneously translated into a judicial and constitutional system. Rather, one observes systems of blurred and performative separation together with a provisional concentration of powers.

### *La multiplication des pouvoirs*

Olivier Beaud

pp. 47-49

Constitutional law has formally apprehended the separation of powers by considering that it refers to judicial functions that produce the rules of law implemented by the organs of the state. Yet, the material conception of the separation of powers put forward by Hauriou, as well as the taking into

account of new, materially influential power (such as financial power, local powers), and the rediscovery of justice invite us to conceive of the separation of powers in a different manner.

*La majorité contrôlée par l'opposition : pierre philosophale de la nouvelle répartition des pouvoirs ?*

Eric Thiers

pp. 61-72

The classic principle of the separation of powers, which distinguishes between the Executive branch and Parliament, currently seems to be questioned by a more operational principle renewed by the 2008 constitutional reform : the control of the majority by the opposition. To the cost of a notable change in our political tradition, the 23 July 2008 constitutional law has introduced a legal and symbolic recognition of the opposition in Parliament. However essential this concept may be for the revitalization of our institutional life, it does not satisfy all the requirements of the distribution of powers in a democratic regime. Parliament should remain a positive actor of the institutional game, and not just act as a countervailing power.

*Un concept erroné, celui de l'existence d'un pouvoir judiciaire*

Isabelle Boucobza

pp. 73-87

In France, judicial control of the law is traditionally considered as violating the theory of the separation of powers. It should, instead, be understood as an implementation of this theory, since it gives judges an “ability to prevent”, conducive to the balance of powers. Regularly implemented by constitutional judges who define its current meaning, the principle of the separation of powers is reinforced by this judicial interpretation which enhances one of the fundamental dimensions of the concept : the protection of the rights of citizens.

*Un concept moderne : séparation des pouvoirs et contrôle de la loi*

Agnes Roblot-Troizier

pp. 89-103

In France, judicial control of the law is traditionally considered as violating the theory of the separation of powers. It should, instead, be understood as an implementation of this theory, since it gives judges an “ability to prevent”, conducive to the balance of powers. Regularly implemented by constitutional judges who define its current meaning, the principle of the separation of powers is reinforced by this judicial interpretation which enhances one of the fundamental dimensions of the concept : the protection of the rights of citizens.

*Les médias sont-ils un pouvoir ?*

David Kessler

pp. 105-112

The place taken by the media in the political system in the recent period has undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of their dimension as a countervailing power and, taken all media together, has increased their role in the political debate. While the various powers have integrated information in the logical course of their action, it can still make an independent intrusion and disrupt pre-established plans. In the age of the internet and social networks, a fifth power has emerged which threatens the predominance of information. In this context, the media can launch

into a ruthless and useless competition or, instead, establish their particular role in the public space thanks to the meticulousness of their work.

*La séparation des pouvoirs aux Etats-Unis*

Julien Boudon

pp. 113-122

Since the end of the nineteenth century, French judicial doctrine has described the separation of powers in the United States as “rigid”. This view is misguided. Dependent on the political disputes of the Third Republic, it ignores the key features of the American system. This system is characterized by an interdependence of the institutions (subject to the approval of the Members of Congress) and their collaboration in the performance of governmental functions.

*L’articulation des pouvoirs dans les démocraties parlementaires européennes : fusion et migration*

Armel Le Divellec

pp. 123-140

Even though it remains a celebrated myth today, the separation of powers does not exist as a univocal judicial principle operating in liberal and democratic constitutional systems. On the other hand, contemporary political regimes all rest on the constitutional principle of separate organs and functions, whose articulation in various ways is a key feature of the system. All European parliamentary democracies are based on a broadly similar system of coexistence between two logics : one is the organic and functional fusion of governmental powers (cabinet and parliament), the other is mitigation carried out through “countervailing powers” outside of the cabinet-parliament couple.

[n. 146, 2013](#)

*Renforcer le Parlement : qu’est-ce à dire?*

Pierre Avril

pp. 9-19

Given the constitutional and political features of the Fifth Republic that are taken for granted (unless one challenges the “negative parliamentarism” that characterizes it), the strengthening of Parliament can be pursued by combining the two main cleavages of the regime. One is the political distinction between the government/majority and the opposition ; the other is the institutional division between the executive and legislative branches. The legislative function, which creates policies, will always be performed mainly by the majority under the authority of the government. On the other hand, the modern monitoring and evaluation function belongs specifically to Parliament as an institution and not just to the opposition, and it requires innovative solutions. There should, therefore, be a rebalancing toward this function of the activity and operation of the two Chambers

*La lente mais irrépressible renaissance des commissions parlementaires*

Jean-Jacques Urvoas

pp. 21-31

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The relationship between the government and the permanent committees of the two Chambers has evolved. In the past, according to the Constitution, the legislative branch was limited to rubber stamping the will of the executive branch; today, the executive branch is forced to negotiate. yet, while the work of the committees has clearly changed, the government remains in a position of strength during the plenary sessions.

*Les binômes majorité-opposition*

Georges Bergougnous

pp. 43-55

The constitutional recognition of the opposition goes hand in hand with the assertion of the monitoring and evaluation function of the Parliament. They both contribute to the renewal and revalorisation of the legislative branch, which was the main goal of the 2008 constitutional revision. Among the instruments chosen to reach this goal was the setting up of teams with equal political rights, in order to empower the opposition and normalize its relationship with the majority. But this method calls for reflection regarding its limitation to monitoring tasks and the way it enshrines – and, therefore, legitimizes – a bi-partisan political reality.

*Le temps parlementaire*

Hugues Portelli

pp. 71-82

The 1958 Constitution placed Parliament under the authority of the government, not just concerning its jurisdiction and decision-making procedures, but also the control of its working time, whether it regards the length of the sessions, the setting of the agenda or the speaking arrangements. It took until the 2008 constitutional revision for a rebalancing to be introduced, much to the advantage of the Parliamentary majority though. The Parliamentary majority now deals on an equal footing with the Government – with the exception of financial issues that remain the prerogative of the latter – regarding the setting of its agenda or the sharing of speaking time.

*La déontologie, condition du renouveau du Parlement*

Alain Anziani

pp. 93-105

Parliamentary deontology is a triangle with three vertices: the respect of the law, subject to criminal prosecution, the spirit of the law, which should avoid conflicts of interests, and ethics, with new questions regarding absenteeism and behaviour. In order to avoid further loss of confidence in public action, all this requires greater transparency, unquestionable control and sanctions. While France sets the example for public financing of politics, it is still looking for a model of parliamentary deontology, despite recent progress in that field.

*Le renouveau de l'opposition*

Ariane Vidal-Naquet

pp. 133-147

Despite the constitutional recognition of the opposition and its obtaining specific rights, the renewal of the opposition has not occurred. It exercises with difficulties the new power it has been granted and it is limited to a function of blockage. A genuine renewal of the opposition calls for both the emancipation of the majority and the adaptation of a real parliamentary culture.

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*De la confusion des intérêts au conflit d'intérêts*

Yves Mény

pp. 5-15

France has often ignored not just the reality but the very concept of conflict of interests. In the name of the so-called virtues of “synthesis”, it has legitimized and justified the accumulation of positions of power 191 both in private and public spheres. Such an approach is one of the many manifestations of the lack of interest of French society – and in particular its elites’ – for pluralism. As a result, conflicts of interests, when taken into account, are less considered for prevention and awareness purposes than for the punishment of a few potentially criminal cases. Gradually, under media and public opinion pressure and because of the internationalization of the debates, the French approach, albeit reluctantly, has tended to move closer to the historically more advanced Anglo-Saxon practices.

*Conflits d'intérêts : glaive ou boomerang?*

Michel Pinault

pp. 33-44

In modern democracies, there is no public life without conflicts of interests. Between the blunt sword of penal law and the boomerang of the undesirable collateral effects of an excessively intrusive system, a pragmatic and balanced approach is emerging. Defining, identifying, managing and reporting: these are the mandatory steps for a policy aiming at the elimination of conflicts of interests that would be both efficient and adapted to reality.

*Les conflits d'intérêts chez les élus*

Michel-Pierre Prat et Cyril Janvier

pp. 53-64

Conflicts of interests among elected officials are usually discussed in terms of repression: they are only punishable if perpetrated. A more constructive approach, likely to restore the essential link of trust between the citizens and their representatives, would require a well-organized preventive policy drawing on the work of the Sauvé and Jospin Committees, for instance. The bill regarding a code of conduct and the prevention of conflicts of interests in public life is much more limited than these proposals, and so has been the first parliamentary debate about them. The law is likely to prove insufficient and will not satisfy the expectations of citizens...

*La gestion des conflits d'intérêts du juge : entre statut et vertu*

Veronique Magnier

pp. 101-110

A company represents a community that gathers diverse interests and, in that respect, it is a favourable environment to study conflicts of interests. For a long time, the law has punished company executives who have favoured their personal interest to the detriment of the company’s interest. The multiplication of conflict situations, which are often difficult to diagnose, has recently led to a useful addition to positive law with recommendations that favour prevention and

transparency, in particular through declarations of interests. Questions remain, though, about the efficiency of such declarations.

*Indépendance et expertise : santé publique et prévention des conflits d'intérêts*

Didier Houssin

pp. 111-121

Scientific expertise plays an important role in supporting public health decisions that have a heavy human and economic impact. The competence and impartiality of the experts consulted are critically important for the credibility of the resulting evaluations and the decisions that follow. In order to guarantee unbiased scientific evaluation, the conflicts of interests prevention has become an important area of concern at the national and international levels. It has led to the adoption of legal or regulatory texts and to the definition of good practice.

*Margaret Thatcher, un gouvernement fort dans un système souple et adaptable*

Jacques Leruez

pp. 135-144

*Un aspect méconnu du fédéralisme américain : la gestion fédérale des faillites municipales*

Cecile Salcedo

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*Une division internationale du travail diplomatique. Analyse de la politique étrangère française autour du problème du nucléaire iranien*

Florent Pouponneau

pp. 51-73

This article examines the French foreign policy toward the Iranian nuclear program between 2002 and 2006. For French leaders, this action is an opportunity to demonstrate their ability to play a substantial role in the regulation of international affairs. However, our demonstration, paying attention to the evolution of transatlantic relations, underlines that agents learn, in a practical way, the boundaries of their field of actions. The hypothesis of a functional differentiation in the international political system can explain this gap between actors' intentions and their actual outcomes. It also provides us a way to empirically grasp the structural effects of the international system.

[Vol. 63, n. 2, 2013](#)

*La fin de la tripartition? Les recompositions de la droite et la transformation du système partisan*

F. Gougou, S. Labouret

pp. 279-302

The tripolar competition between the left, the moderate right and the far right was one of the keystones of the electoral order that emerged in France in 1984. Sharply challenged by Nicolas Sarkozy in 2007, the electoral divide between the UMP and the FN was not restored in 2012 despite the recovery of the far right and the high score of Marine Le Pen in the presidential election. While the FN remains isolated in the party system, we argue that the radicalization of the UMP on immigration, law and order, and national identity has confirmed dramatic changes in the geographical distribution and the logics of moderate right voting. These two dynamics indicate that the UMP electorate and the FN electorate have become closer together.

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*L'amont et l'aval d'une loi électorale. Les « élections de changement de régime » en Pologne en juin 1989 sous l'angle d'une sociologie politique du droit*

J. Hertaux

pp. 519-544

This article analyzes the process of regime change with the tools of political sociology of law. It examines the “semi-free” elections in Poland in June 1989. The author studies the codification process during the “Round Table” negotiations, which produces an ad hoc and ambiguous electoral rule. The various uses, partly unexpected, of the law by the main actors (the Communist Party, Solidarity and the candidates) are reconstructed. They helped transform an election designed to save the communist regime in a tool for its collapse.

[Vol 63, n. 5, 2013](#)

*La fabrique du consensus politique. Le débat sur la politique agricole commune et ses rapports à l'environnement en Europe*

M. Ansaloni

pp. 917-937

Based on the example of the debate on the relations between the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the environment, this article offers a longitudinal analysis of a public problem definition. Focusing on actor struggles, it shows how, in twenty years, the vision of the relations between the CAP and the environment carried out by some environmentalists has become dominant at the European level, generating a large and tacit consensus. Three complementary elements are identified to explain political consensus production : the use of “science” allows projecting a seemingly depoliticized and universal worldview, promising an inevitable future ; the plasticity of the logic of this vision enables various appropriations, likely to integrate diverse interests ; finally, legal consecration of this vision favors a phenomenon of symbolic impact.

## Germania

### [German History](#)

#### [Vol 31, Issue 1, 2013](#)

*The Limits of Control: The 'Public Discourse' about the Uprising of 17 June 1953 in Novels and Films in the German Democratic Republic*

Richard Millington

pp. 42-60

This article examines the extent to which the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) could plan and control society in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) by comparing official policy with what actually happened on the ground. It analyses this in respect of literary and cinematic portrayals of the uprising of 17 June 1953 that were permitted to appear in the GDR. The SED sought to shape its citizens' perceptions of this uprising against the regime, proclaiming it to be a 'fascist-counterrevolutionary putsch' instigated by the West. The Party also tightly controlled information about the unrest to which its citizens had access. It feared that memories and awareness of the events might inspire further unrest. Yet analysis of the content of these literary and cinematic portrayals of 17 June 1953 finds that it was inconsistent with official policy. Although authors and filmmakers all ultimately portrayed the uprising as a 'fascist putsch', they often did not make explicitly clear that all those involved in the demonstrations were exclusively 'fascists' or Western agents. Several even depicted citizens striking with just cause on 17 June 1953. However, the SED did apparently succeed in shaping citizens' perceptions of what they could publicly say about the uprising, to the extent that citizens perceived that the entire subject (including the Party's version of events) was officially taboo. Thus, though the Party did not enjoy complete control of society, it did succeed in indirectly influencing citizens to 'control' themselves publicly.

*The Ambassadorship of Hans Adolf von Moltke (1943): The Turning Point in German–Spanish Relations during the Second World War*

Emilio Sáenz-Francés

pp. 23-41

This article examines the nature of Spanish–German relations during the brief ambassadorship of Hans Adolf von Moltke in Madrid between January and March 1943. Using previously unknown material, it argues that this period marked a watershed in the relationship between the two dictatorships. Although Hitler had little interest in a Spanish declaration of war, in the aftermath of Operation Torch, Nazified elements within the German Foreign Office and the Madrid embassy sought to force Spain into a more strident pro-Axis policy through a series of plots aimed at destabilizing the Franco regime. The activities of these 'parallel channels', which contributed to the dismissal of Eberhard von Stohrer as German ambassador in December 1942, were brought to an end by von Moltke. The article concludes by stressing that despite his premature death in March 1943, von Moltke laid the basis for a new phase in Spanish–German relations.

#### [Vol 31, Issue 2, 2013](#)

*The Borders of the Rechtsstaat in the Arab Autumn: Deportation and Law in West Germany, 1972/73*

Quinn Slobodian

pp. 204-224

This article examines the deportation of close to two hundred legal Arab residents from West Germany in the wake of the fatal hostage-taking by the Palestinian terrorist group Black September at the 1972 Munich Olympics. It explores the vulnerability of foreigners to acts of administration in the liberal *Rechtsstaat* and explains how and why non-Germans were the first group to face a widespread application of police power in the West German fight against left-wing terrorism in the 1970s. It also reveals a dynamic of action and response as activist groups used left-legalist constitutional principles to come to the defence of foreigners, and received intermittent support from the courts as they did so. The article contends that the deportations marked an early high point in the exercise of police power but also that the activist coalitions and legal rulings that emerged from their challenge resulted in a fortified position for foreigners in the West German *Rechtsstaat*.

[Vol. 31, Issue 3, 2013](#)

*A Sonderweg through Eastern Europe? The Varieties of German Rule in Poland during the Two World Wars*

Winson Chu, Jesse Kauffman, Michael Meng

pp. 318-344

The article challenges recent arguments about German relations with eastern Europe that stress pathological continuities, implying a new *Sonderweg* centered on German violence and expansionism in the region. It examines German policies towards Polish-speaking populations in the Imperial Government-General of Warsaw during the First World War and Nazi debates about whether to include the Polish city of Łódź in the Reich at the beginning of the Second World War. The article suggests that a key similarity existed in German imaginations of the region as an imperial space to be dominated, but that these imaginations competed with ideology, agency and contingency in both world wars. In uncovering key continuities and discontinuities between the two occupation regimes in Poland, it complicates arguments about the singularity and causality of a particular German mission in eastern Europe.

*City Policy and Guest Workers in Stuttgart, 1955–1973*

Mark E. Spicka

pp. 345-365

This article examines the development of city policy towards guest workers in the city of Stuttgart between 1955 and 1973. It argues that local-level institutional leaders almost immediately recognized the social impact of labour migration into the city. Initially Stuttgart officials emphasized the construction of guest-worker cultural centres that would take the guest workers out of public spaces and minimize their potential to create social disruption. However, by the mid-1960s, officials from the city administration and relief organizations realized that the foreign workers were not temporary and therefore began to pursue policies to integrate them into West German society—particularly in terms of providing proper family housing and schooling for guest-worker children. By the late 1960s and early 1970s the city administration began instituting various

programmes to encourage more active civic engagement by the guest workers, now termed ‘foreign co-citizens’, through the creation of a Foreigner Advisory Committee and a model integration programme in a city quarter with a high density of foreigners. However, their efforts were significantly hampered because of the larger framework of federal and state policies that continued to treat the guest-worker presence as temporary, left guest workers uncertain about the duration of their residency in West Germany, and offered no long-term path to citizenship for guest workers.

*Karl Marx the German*

Jonathan Sperber

pp. 383-402

Karl Marx has been increasingly understood as a globalized figure, distant from his central European origins, intellectual orientation and political career. Reversing the usual approach, this article places Marx in the context of the intellectual and political world of nineteenth-century Germany. Arguing that the development of Marx’s social and philosophical theories rather paralleled that of the other Young Hegelians, the essay suggests that his endorsement of classical English political economy set him apart from most of his central European contemporaries. Characteristic of Marx’s political activity was his advocacy of a double recurrence of the French Revolution: a literal rerun in central Europe of the events of 1789–1794, but also a recurrence by analogy, a Communist workers’ uprising against capitalism, following the lines of the bourgeois capitalist revolt against the old regime society of orders. The essay follows Marx’s efforts to combine, both theoretically and practically, these two versions of a recurring French Revolution, from the 1840s through to the 1870s, and demonstrates the place these efforts had in the broader context of German politics during the *Vormärz*, the 1848 revolution and the *Reichsgründungszeit*. The article considers Marx’s attitudes towards German nationality and German nationalism, arguing that while Marx condemned nationalism and presented himself as an internationalist, certain aspects of both his private life and his political stances suggest the influence of nationality and nationalism. The piece concludes with a brief consideration of its implications for a globalized approach to the study of nineteenth-century German history.

[Vol. 31, Issue 4, 2013](#)

*Härte gegen Punk: Popular Music, Western Media, and State Response in the German Democratic Republic*

Jeff Hayton

pp. 523-549

In the summer of 1983, the Stasi moved violently against the small but flourishing East German punk scene. Within a year, the MfS had halved the scene’s numbers, arrested numerous East German youths, drafted countless others into the army, and forcibly shipped yet more out of the country. This article explores why the state decided to move ‘Hard against Punk’ (*Härte gegen Punk*) after several years of uneasy tolerance. The SED interpreted punk as a form of Western cultural imperialism sent eastwards to corrupt socialist youths. Creating ‘punk biographies’ to explain the genre, Eastern authorities claimed that individual moral weakness rather than systematic socialist failure accounted for punk in the GDR. But in 1982/83, Western reporters began running articles on Eastern punk in the Western media and used the genre to document the failings of East

German socialism, embarrassing the SED. At the same time, Eastern punks began publishing articles and releasing records in the West, and started appearing on Evangelical Church stages in the East. Criticizing the SED regime in word and deed, the punk threat materialized dangerously in SED eyes. Cracking down on the subculture hard, the Stasi succeeded in breaking the first generation of East German punk. Studying punk in the GDR enables a detailed exploration into how popular music became caught up in larger debates over dissent and the influence of the West on the East. This article suggests that cultural politics is a critical means of examining contests over power in East Germany during the 1980s.



## Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht

Vol. 64, n. 3/4, 2013

*Der Kalte Kriege der deutsch-deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft 1949–1989*

Martin Sabrow

pp. 174 – 186

Il contributo riflette sulla doppia vita delle scienze storiche nella Germania divisa. Muovendo da una considerazione di metodo sul miglior modello analitico per ripercorrere nel modo più accurato questa storia tedesca in parallelo, l'articolo ricostruisce la concorrenza trentennale tra il tedesco-occidentale *Verband der Historiker Deutschlands* e la tedesco-orientale *Deutsche Historiker-Gesellschaft*. Al centro c'è la domanda principale legata all'evoluzione, tra preclusioni e avvicinamenti, dei modi e delle pratiche di auto-comprensione professionale di entrambe le associazioni, una questione che può servire come base per una tipizzazione delle differenti fasi.

Vol. 64, n. 9/10, 2013

*Vom Protest zur Protestkultur? Träger, Formen und Ziele gesellschaftlichen Aufbegehrens*

Sabine Mecking

pp. 517– 529

La modernità è caratterizzata da proteste e disordini politici. Lo confermano date periodizzanti come il 1789, il 1848/49, il 1918/19, il 1933, il 1968 oppure il 1989/90, che mostrano quanto diverse possono essere il contesto politico e la rappresentanza sociale della protesta. Attualmente si è diffuso il concetto di “cultura della protesta”, ma cosa si intenda esattamente con l'espressione, resta vago. Se nell'impiego generale del termine il concetto di protesta suggerisce non di rado, accanto a critica e inquietudine, aggressività e violenza, il concetto di cultura indica un processo di raffinamento di pratiche e processi. Con la standardizzazione dei comportamenti la cultura si definisce riguardo a norme, riti, costumi. Viene illustrato in particolare come si colloca il fenomeno della protesta tra XVIII e XXI secolo, quali sono gli attori, le cause e le azioni all'origine di una “cultura della protesta”. Si riflette inoltre su come la protesta si lasci coltivare e, in questo senso, estetizzare.

## Geschichte und Gesellschaft

[a. 39, n. 1, 2013](#)

*Ökonomischer Strukturwandel Zur Wiederbelebung einer wirtschaftshistorischen Leitsemantik*

Jan-Otmar Hesse

pp. 86-115

The article suggests that the concepts of economic structure and structural change were historically strongly committed to Jean Fourasti's idea of economic sectors. The obsession with Fourasti's ideas fuelled many lasting errors in our understanding of long-term change in economic structures, and was largely at the expense of other concepts. The article aims to uncover the misleading interpretation of the Fourasti\_-approach and to survey alternative uses of the concept of economic structure. Finally, it will suggest that the concept of commodity-chains may serve to revitalise our understanding of economic structures and at the same time to break up the predominantly national use of the structural approach.

[a. 39, n. 2, 2103](#)

Numero monografico sulle cause e le conseguenze disintegrative delle crisi economiche

*Einführung: Ursachen und Folgen ökonomischer Desintegration im 20. Jahrhundert*

Jens Beckert, Carsten Burhop

pp. 143-152

[a. 39, n. 3, 2013](#)

*Literaturbericht Intellektuelle Zeitgeschichte im „Age of Fracture“. Zum vorläufigen Abschluss der „Kleinen Politischen Schriften“ von Jürgen Habermas*

Paul Nolte

pp. 391-408

Rassegna della raccolta degli scritti politici di J. Habermas, apparsa dal 1981 al 2013 presso l'editore Suhrkamp. Il saggio contestualizza il lavoro di Habermas, la sua figura di intellettuale pubblico e il suo lavoro critico per la "normalizzazione" della cultura tedesca, nel contesto della "svolta intellettuale" di una società "postsecolare". L'A. sottolinea che la riflessione di Habermas e l'Historikerstreit avevano al centro non tanto una questione storiografica quanto l'identità democratica della Germania dopo Auschwitz. Il saggio insiste sulla rilevanza della posizione di Habermas nel dibattito sul rapporto tra modernità e postmodernità, ovvero sull'ambizione di Habermas a proseguire il progetto di razionalità della modernità.

[a. 39, n. 4, 2013](#)

Fascicolo monografico sulla storia dell'antisemitismo, in cui si incrociano storia culturale e storia psicologica (storia delle emozioni)

*Einführung: Gefühle gegen Juden. Die Emotionsgeschichte des modernen Antisemitismus*

Uffa Jensen, Stefanie Schüler-Springorum

pp. 413-442

Historians and social scientists have rarely investigated modern anti-Semitism as an emotional phenomenon. The authors argue that the current conceptual weaknesses of research on anti-Semitism can be overcome by reflecting on its affective dimensions. They offer a detailed critique of the most influential approaches within the historical literature, especially the social psychology of prejudice. By proposing a strictly historical understanding of emotions and by exposing its bodily dimension, they hope to avoid the existing problems of decontextualizing anti-Semitism. Finally, they also highlight the emotional insecurities (other than from hatred, fear, anger et cetera) of anti-Semites, created by the increasing difficulty of identifying the object of their hatred: the acculturated Jews.

*Was macht eigentlich der Wohlfahrtsstaat? Internationale Perspektiven auf das 20. und 21. Jahrhundert*

pp. 555-592

The recent discussions about the role and the transformation of the state in modern European and North American societies help to reanalyze the “prehistory of the present” of welfare states. This essay sketches six dimensions of welfare-state functions in the 20th century : the transitions from warfare to welfare, the management of life chances, the construction of work and non-work, redistributions, inclusion and exclusion, and knowledge production. With a series of historical, not normative, observations, the article tries to show that certain welfare-state functions are indispensable even if one allows for a neo-liberal point of view. But, it also argues that such a pragmatic view needs to recognize the darker as well as the brighter sides of 20th-century governmentality in social policy.

## Historische Zeitschrift

### Vol. 296, Issue 1, 2013

#### *Diplomatie der Generationen? Kollektivbiographische Perspektiven auf die internationalen Beziehungen 1871–1914*

Sönke Neitzel

pp. 84-113

Die Diplomaten des 19. Jahrhunderts werden vielfach als rückwärtsgewandte Traditionalisten beschrieben, die den Traditionen des Ancien Regime verhaftet waren und in ihren Residenzen wie auf Inseln in einer sich verändernden Welt lebten. Der Aufsatz will anhand neuer Quellenfunde diese Einschätzung überprüfen und dabei zugleich die Reichweite des Generationenbegriffs für die Erforschung der Diplomaten im 19. Jahrhundert ausmessen. Es ist danach zu fragen, ob sie an den Diskursen ihrer Zeitgenossen teilnahmen und es gar eine „Diplomatie der Generationen“ gab. Ein Blick auf ausgewählte Diplomaten zeigt, dass sie sich in ihrer Sicht auf die Welt kaum von anderen Eliten unterschieden – und dass es sehr wohl altersspezifische Deutungen der Außenpolitik gab. Allerdings waren diese in der Zeit von 1871 bis 1914 eher die Ausnahme und zumeist auch nicht an politische Generationen gebunden, so wie sie Karl Mannheim einst definiert hatte. Häufiger stößt man auf transgenerationelle Wahrnehmungsmuster. Das Potential des Generationenbegriffes für eine kollektivbiographische Perspektive auf die internationalen Beziehungen ist somit begrenzt. Es erscheint daher ertragreicher, mit der Kategorie der Alterskohorte zu arbeiten, um so auch die langfristige Genese kollektiver Deutungsmuster herauszuarbeiten, etwa die in der Diplomatie stetig wirkungsmächtiger werdende Überzeugung, dass nur ein Krieg einen Ausweg aus der politischen Sackgasse weisen könne.

### Vol. 297, Issue 1, 2013

#### *Religiöse Restauration und technische Rationalisierung. Die „preußische Normalkirche“ als staatliche Einheitskirche*

Anselm Schubert

pp. 64-83

Praktisch alle Darstellungen zur preußischen Geschichte gehen davon aus, das Preußen der Restauration sei gesellschaftlich, politisch und religiös zwar höchst reaktionär, technisch, wirtschaftlich und verwaltungstechnisch aber äußerst fortschrittlich gewesen. Anschaulich wird dies in der sogenannten „Preußischen Normalkirche“, einer staatlichen Normkirche, die 1827 von Friedrich Wilhelm III. eingeführt wurde: Sie war sowohl Ausdruck moderner Technik- und Verwaltungskultur als auch einer hochrestaurativen Religionspolitik (1822–1840), die im Anschluss an altkirchliche Tradition einen überkonfessionellen Staatskult zu etablieren versuchte. Sowohl die preußische Agenda von 1822 als auch die Normalkirche von 1827 lassen sich als Teil eines umfassenden Prozesses der Normierung beschreiben, der Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts nicht nur Felder technischer Entwicklung, sondern ebenso auch das Gebiet der Religionspolitik betraf.

### Vol. 297, Issue 2, 2013

*Vom Besonderen zum Allgemeinen? Die Fallstudie als geschichtstheoretisches Problem*

Matthias Pohlig

pp. 297-319

Historiker sind traditionell damit beschäftigt, Partikulares zu erforschen. Ihnen geht es nicht, oder zumindest nicht nur, um Allgemeines. Systematische Perspektiven haben deshalb einen etwas unklaren Stand in der Geschichtswissenschaft. Historiker erforschen in der Regel Einzelfälle – sie tun dies aber implizit oder explizit oft, um in irgendeinem Sinne allgemeine Erkenntnisse zu gewinnen. Welche allgemeinen Erkenntnisse dies sein könnten und wie es möglich ist, von der Erforschung des Einzelnen zur Erkenntnis des Allgemeinen zu gelangen, ist ein klassisches Thema geschichtstheoretischer Reflexion. Der Aufsatz geht dem Problem nach, wie diese Operation methodisch vor sich geht, vor allem aber, welchen Status die zu selten reflektierte Vorgehensweise der „Fallstudie“ eigentlich für die Arbeit des Historikers besitzt. Die Fallstudie ist ja nicht Selbstzweck, sondern dient dazu, Erkenntnisse von größerer Reichweite zu gewinnen. Doch wie kann vom Einzelnen aus legitim überhaupt ein allgemeineres Wissen gewonnen werden? Dieser Frage wird im Rekurs auf einige geschichtstheoretische, literaturwissenschaftliche, soziologische und philosophische Positionen nachgegangen. Der Aufsatz schlägt dabei weniger eine programmatische Methodik vor, sondern versucht transparent zu machen, was Historiker normalerweise tun, wenn sie eine Fallstudie konzipieren. Dabei wird in drei Schritten vorgegangen: Zuerst werden einige Überlegungen zum Zusammenhang von Besonderem und Allgemeinem angestellt; zweitens wird die Fallstudie vom Bei spiel abgegrenzt; im dritten Schritt wird das Problem der „Repräsentativität“ von Fällen diskutiert

*Treue schwören. Der Konflikt um den Verfassungseid in der Weimarer Republik*

Vanessa Conze

pp. 354-389

Der Aufsatz behandelt den Konflikt um den Verfassungseid für die Beamtenschaft der Weimarer Republik: Die im August 1919 erlassene Eidesformel „Ich schwöre Treue der Verfassung“ war ein eklatanter Bruch mit der Tradition. Erstmals wurde nicht mehr einer Person, dem Monarchen, sondern den Rechtsnormen der Verfassung Treue geschworen. Damit waren vor dem Hintergrund des Systemwechsels 1918/19 Konflikte um das Verständnis des Begriffs „Treue“ vorprogrammiert. Die Beamtenschaft hielt in weiten Teilen am althergebrachten Verständnis von Treue als einer personalen Beziehung zwischen zwei Menschen fest; dementsprechend betrachteten es viele Beamte als unmöglich, der Reichsverfassung – und damit auch der Republik – „Treue“ zu schwören. Zahlreiche Eidesverweigerungen waren die Folge. Die konservative, monarchistische, vor allem aber antirepublikanische und antidemokratische Opposition wusste den Konflikt um den Verfassungseid politisch auszunutzen. Die Reichsregierung beharrte zwar auf einer Vereidigung jedes Beamten und verfolgte die Eidesverweigerer konsequent disziplinarrechtlich; es gelang ihr jedoch nicht, den „Treue“-Begriff mit einem positiven Verständnis im Sinne der Republik aufzuladen. Der Kampf um den Eid auf die Weimarer Reichsverfassung wurde zu einem Lehrstück über den Versuch, politische Loyalität neu zu stiften und Regierungsmacht zu festigen – und zeigt zugleich die Bedeutung „weicher“ Faktoren wie Ordnungs- und Moralvorstellungen für die Akzeptanz und Stabilisierung von Herrschaft. Die Analyse der Auseinandersetzung um den Eid bietet eine Möglichkeit, politische, verfassungsgeschichtliche, staatsrechtliche, rechtsphilosophische und kulturelle Fragestellungen zu verknüpfen und den Wert einer kulturgeschichtlichen Annäherung an das Politische zu demonstrieren.

*„Le plus germanophile des chefs d’Etat français“? François Mitterrand und Deutschland 1916–1996*

Ulrich Lappenküper

pp. 390-417

Von den französischen Staatsmännern des 20. Jahrhunderts ist die Biographie François Mitterrands zweifellos eine der schillerndsten. Seine Metamorphosen vom Anhänger des autoritären Vichy-Regimes zum Chef der französischen Sozialisten und Staatspräsidenten einer Republik, deren Verfassung er 1958 abgelehnt hat, werfen noch heute zahlreiche Fragen auf. Kaum weniger rätselhaft wirkt sein Verhältnis zu Deutschland. Fast sein Leben lang verstand Mitterrand es, sich als großen Europäer und als Protagonisten der deutsch-französischen Freundschaft in Szene zu setzen. War er aber wirklich „le plus germanophile des chefs d’Etat français“, zu dem ihn sein Biograph Jean Lacouture stilisierte? Auf der Basis des umfangreichen Schrifttums und zahlreicher unveröffentlichter Akten in deutschen und französischen Archiven untersucht die Studie die zentralen Stationen der Mitterrand’schen Biographie von 1916 bis 1996 speziell in Bezug auf sein Deutschlandbild und seine Deutschlandpolitik und trägt so dazu bei, die „Sphinx“ in ihrem Verhältnis zu Deutschland zu enträtseln.

[Journal of modern European History](#)

[Vol. 11, n. 1, 2013](#)

*Corruption and the Rise of Modern Politics in Europe in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Comparison between France, the Netherlands, Germany and England. Introduction*

Toon Kerkhoff, Ronald Kroeze, Pieter Wagenaar

pp. 19-30

[Vol. 11, n. 2, 2013](#)

*Über Revolutionen*

Jörn Leonhard

pp. 170-186

Against the background of an inflationary use of «revolution» in modern media the article tries to analyse the reasons behind this continuous interest in the phenomenon. It starts by looking at the relation between revolutionary experiences and the politics of history and its meaning for national self images. The main focus is to identify five epistemological perspectives and conceptions of historical interpretation: cyclical and linear models of time, universalism and particularism, contemporaneity and non-contemporaneity (Ungleichzeitigkeit), causality and contingency, revolution and evolution. Avoiding any normative approach, the idea is to test possible elements for a historical theory of revolution.

[Vol. 11, n. 4, 2013](#)

*Forgotten Gentleman Leaders: Local Elites, Conservative Constitutionalism and the Development of the Public Sphere in England (c. 1820–1860)*

Jörg Neuheiser

pp. 474-494

The longevity of the English aristocracy in the nineteenth century is generally explained with reference to their economic positions as proprietors of land and the deference to their leadership by the middle and lower classes. Analysing the local political struggles of an urban Tory-Anglican elite with at least aristocratic connections, this article discusses the role of conservative gentleman leaders in defending the power of English noble elites. Like their much better known radical and liberal counterparts, conservative gentleman leaders used participatory election rituals, local party organisations and a patriotic language to present themselves as the true voice of the people. Thus, they created a public political sphere, in which noble elites could use popular conservatism to cast themselves as an aristocratic type of democratic politician and maintain political leadership despite the transition towards democracy.

## Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte

### Volume 61, Issue 1, 2013

*Von Sihanouk bis Pol Pot Diplomatie und Menschenrechte in den Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik zu Kambodscha (1967–1979)*

Tim Szatkowski

pp. 1-34

Hat die sozial-liberale Bundesregierung 1979 ihre Menschenrechtspolitik kompromittiert, indem sie in den Vereinten Nationen die Regierung der Roten Khmer als legitim anerkannte und nicht diejenige des von Vietnam installierten Heng Samrin? Für den Vertreter der Bundesrepublik in Phnom Penh von 1969 bis 1975 war das ganz eindeutig der Fall. Tim Szatkowski, wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter der Aktenedition zur Auswärtigen Politik der Bundesrepublik, untersucht, worauf dieser schwere Vorwurf beruhte und wie sich die bundesdeutschen Beziehungen zu Kambodscha in der für das Land so dramatischen Epoche von 1967 bis 1979 im Spannungsfeld von Kaltem Krieg und Neuer Ostpolitik entwickelten.

*Antisemitismus und Krankenmord. Zum Umgang mit jüdischen Anstaltspatienten im Nationalsozialismus*

Annette Hinz-Wessels

pp. 65-92

Die Ermordung von über 70.000 Psychiatriepatienten und behinderten Menschen in der „Aktion T4“ seit Anfang 1940 war die erste systematische Massenmordaktion des NS-Regimes. Eine Gruppe von Patienten war dabei besonders gefährdet: die Juden. Sie unterlagen einer doppelten Stigmatisierung, der eugenischen und der antisemitischen. Annette Hinz-Wessels vom Institut für Geschichte der Medizin an der Charité hat eingehend die mörderischen Konsequenzen dieser zweifachen Diskriminierung untersucht und belegt, wie in den allermeisten Fällen allein die jüdische Herkunft für die „Verlegung nach unbekannt“ ausschlaggebend war. Die Forschungen von Henry Friedlander fortführend, vertieft und präzisiert sie damit unsere Kenntnis vom Zusammenhang zwischen „Euthanasie“ und „Holocaust“.

*Von der „Tendenzwende“ zur „geistig-moralischen Wende“ Konstruktion und Kritik konservativer Signaturen in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren*

Peter Hoeres

pp. 93-120

Am 1. Oktober 2012 jährten sich die Ablösung der sozialliberalen Koalition und der Amtsantritt von Helmut Kohl zum 30. Mal. Untrennbar mit diesem Regierungswechsel verbunden war die Rede von der „geistig-moralischen Wende“, die die politische Auseinandersetzung in den ersten Jahren der Ära Kohl prägte. Peter Hoeres, Historiker aus Gießen, zeichnet die Entstehung des Diskurses über die „Wende“ und ihre Volten in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren nach. Er zeigt auf, welche Hoffnungen und welche Ängste damit verbunden waren – und er klärt, was Helmut Kohl tatsächlich zur „Wende“ gesagt hat und was nicht.

### Vol. 61, Issue 2, 2013



*Im Fadenkreuz der Stasi: Westliche Spionage in der DDR. Die Akten der Hauptabteilung IX*

Paul Maddrell

pp. 141-172

Im geteilten Deutschland tobte bis 1989/90 ein verdeckter kalter Krieg der Spione und Agenten. Was dabei auf dem westlichen „Kriegs“-Schauplatz geschah, ist partiell bekannt, während die Spionagetätigkeit westlicher Dienste im Osten noch immer einem Buch mit sieben Siegeln gleicht. Der renommierte britische Historiker Paul Maddrell greift diese brisante Materie auf, wobei er sich auf neue Stasi-Quellen stützen kann. Das Ergebnis ist frappant: In der DDR wimmelte es vor Spionen, die zwar nur selten so große Scoops landeten wie die Stasispione im Westen, im Großen und Ganzen aber ähnlich erfolgreich arbeiteten.

*Wehrmacht, Partisanenkrieg und Rückzugsverbrechen an der nördlichen Ostfront im Herbst und Winter 1943*

Jürgen Kilian

pp. 173-201

Die Forschung zur Rolle der Wehrmacht im Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion hat sich bisher stark auf dessen frühe Phase konzentriert. Jürgen Kilians Aufsatz verlagert den Fokus dagegen auf die Zeit nach 1943. Am Beispiel der vor Leningrad operierenden 18. Armee zeichnet er ein differenziertes Bild von Handlungsoptionen und Verhaltensweisen der Besatzungstreitkräfte. Trotz aller Schattierungen dominierten letztlich weiterhin die Charakteristika des nationalsozialistischen Vernichtungskriegs. Insbesondere bei der Partisanenbekämpfung und der Politik der „verbrannten Erde“ wurde auf das Kriegsvölkerrecht und die Zivilbevölkerung keine Rücksicht genommen.

*Die Leipziger Journalistenausbildung in der Ära Ulbricht*

Christian Schemmert, Daniel Siemens

pp. 201-238

Die Universität Leipzig war das Zentrum der akademischen Journalistenausbildung in der DDR. Die Fakultät für Journalistik, umgangssprachlich auch „Rotes Kloster“ genannt, sollte die ostdeutschen Massenmedien mit ebenso gut ausgebildeten wie linientreuen Fachleuten versorgen, die geeignet waren, gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Konsens zu stiften oder zu stärken. Die Autoren können zeigen, wie groß der Konformitätsdruck war, der auf den – nicht selten idealistischen – Studenten lastete, wie wichtig SED und Staatssicherheit das Thema Journalistenausbildung nahmen und wie komplex sich die politisch-sozialen Beziehungen gestalteten, in deren Zentrum die Fakultät für Journalistik stand.

*Keine „Atempause“ Das Krisenmanagement der Bundesregierung und die Flugzeugentführung von Entebbe 1976*

Markus Eikel

pp. 239-263

Bonn erhielt keine Atempause. Kaum hatte die Bundesregierung die schweren Herausforderungen der frühen 1970er Jahre hinter sich, wartete im Sommer 1976 die nächste: Ein westdeutsch-palästinensisches Kommandounternehmen hatte ein Flugzeug entführt und verlangte die Freilassung seiner Gesinnungsgenossen, die in israelischen und deutschen Gefängnissen einsaßen. Was tun? Die Bundesregierung hatte sich zuvor prinzipiell auf eine unnachgiebige Linie festgelegt, musste diesen Kurs nun aber überdenken. Vor allem Rücksichten auf Israel geboten dies, wo man

zeitweise geneigt schien, den Forderungen der Terroristen nachzukommen. Markus Eikel, Mitarbeiter des Internationalen Strafgerichtshofes in Den Haag, analysiert diesen dramatischen Konsultationsprozess, der mit der israelischen Befreiungsaktion im ugandischen Entebbe ein abruptes Ende fand. Die Bundesregierung war damit aus dem Schneider, sie brauchte keine Entscheidung zu treffen und konnte an ihrer Position der Unnachgiebigkeit festhalten

[Vol. 61, issue 3, 2013](#)

*Jenseits des Westens? Überlegungen zu einer Zeitgeschichte der Demokratie*

Paul Nolte

pp. 275-301

Tutti parlano di democrazia, tranne gli storici. Proprio per questo la necessità di un inquadramento storico risulta enorme. Che cosa significa la così spesso invocata crisi della democrazia in Germania? Gli Stati Uniti rappresentano ancora un modello o piuttosto da molto tempo essi seguono un percorso (Pfad) diverso dal nostro e dagli altri paesi europei - un percorso (Pfad) addirittura di devianza dalla democrazia (Demokratiedevianz)? Che cosa succede nel mondo arabo, in India e in Africa? Lì non si riscontrano le classiche democrazie, e il loro sviluppo, inoltre, non corrisponde a quello delle democrazie classiche. Ma su cosa quindi? Paul Nolte, uno degli storici più influenti del paese, ha fatto ricorso agli strumenti del mestiere di storico, per affrontare tali questioni scottanti e quindi per tracciare la storia contemporanea della democrazia come una storia globale (der Demokratie als Globalgeschichte).

*Erwin Rommel Widerstandskämpfer oder Nationalsozialist?*

Peter Lieb

pp. 303-344

Wer war Erwin Rommel? Hitlers Lieblingsgeneral und überzeugter Nationalsozialist oder ein ritterlich kämpfender Offizier alter Schule, der letztlich sogar den Weg in den Widerstand gefunden hat und dafür 1944 mit seinem Leben bezahlen musste? Diese Fragen sind immer wieder gestellt, kontrovers diskutiert, aber bis heute nicht abschließend beantwortet worden. Peter Lieb setzt sich kritisch mit der biographischen Literatur auseinander, nimmt die wichtigsten Stationen von Rommels militärischer Karriere im Lichte der einschlägigen Quellen in den Blick und kommt schließlich zu einem ebenso differenzierten wie überraschenden Urteil.

*Zur Stellung des Antisemitismus im Denken Carl Schmitts*

David Egner

pp. 345-362

Die Zeiten, in denen Bewunderer Carl Schmitts dessen antisemitische Äußerungen und Handlungen unter dem NS-Regime als Opportunismus oder gar als überlebensnotwendige Anpassung verharmlosen konnten, sind längst vorbei, enthalten doch seine mittlerweile veröffentlichten Tagebücher aus der Zeit vor der NS-Diktatur ebenso wie seine Nachkriegsaufzeichnungen zahlreiche antijüdische Statements. Doch welche Bedeutung hat der Antisemitismus für Schmitts wissenschaftliches Werk? In die anhaltende Debatte darüber greift David Egner mit seinem

folgenden Beitrag ein, bei dem es ihm besonders um die Präzisierung der Analyse Schmitt'scher Denkfiguren geht.

*Der „Marsch für Gleichheit und gegen Rassismus“ von 1983. Sein Stellenwert im Handlungsrepertoire von Jugendlichen aus den französischen Vorstädten*

Marie-Carmen Garcia, Abdellali Hajjat, Patricia Mercader, Michelle Zancarini-Fournel

pp. 391-410

Der „Marsch für die Gleichheit und gegen den Rassismus“ von 1983 ist in die französische Geschichte eingegangen. Er begann in Marseille und endete sechs Wochen später in Paris – und bildete den Höhepunkt der antirassistischen Mobilisierung jenseits des Rheins. Nie zuvor waren nordafrikanische, aus den ehemaligen Kolonien stammende Immigranten in der Öffentlichkeit so präsent gewesen. Mittlerweile ranken sich zahlreiche Legenden um dieses historische Ereignis, das zum Gründungsmythos anderer antirassistischer Organisationen und zum Fluchtpunkt des Jugendprotests geworden ist. Vier französische Gelehrte erinnern an den historischen Marsch und analysieren seinen umkämpften Stellenwert im kollektiven Gedächtnis.

[Vol. 61, Issue 4, 2013](#)

*Helmut Kohl und die Währungsunion*

Wilfried Loth

pp. 455-480

Seitdem die Finanzkrise voll auf den Euro-Raum durchgeschlagen ist, vergeht fast kein Tag, an dem nicht über die Zukunft der europäischen Währung spekuliert wird. Dabei geraten zumeist die Anfänge des Euro aus dem Blick, die bis in die 1980er Jahre zurückreichen. Die langwierige Debatte über die Vertiefung der europäischen Integration überschneidet sich 1989/90 mit dem Prozess der Vereinigung der deutschen Staaten, und es war diese Koinzidenz, die wiederholt zu Spekulationen Anlass gab, der Verzicht auf die D-Mark und die Zustimmung der Bundesregierung zur Einführung des Euro sei der Preis für die deutsche Einheit gewesen. Wilfried Loth stellt diese Spekulationen auf den Prüfstand und leistet so einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der Gegenwart.

*Autobiografie als geschichtspolitische Waffe. Die Memoiren des letzten kaiserlichen Kanzlers Max von Baden*

Lothar Machtan

pp. 481-512

Bücher haben ihre Geschichte. Wie spannend und lehrreich sie sein kann, zeigt der Historiker Lothar Machtan in einem äußerst lesenswerten Aufsatz über das Memoirenwerk des letzten kaiserlichen Kanzlers. Max von Baden und sein engster Berater Kurt Hahn scheiterten zweimal mit ihrem Versuch, das Image des Prinzen als Totengräber der Monarchie durch aufwändige Selbstmythografie zu korrigieren – zum ersten Mal in der Weimarer Republik, als die Erinnerungen gewogen und als zu leicht befunden wurden, und zum zweiten Mal Ende der 1960er Jahre, obwohl kein geringerer als Golo Mann die Neuauflage besorgte. Als seriöse Geschichtsschreibung getarnte Geschichtspolitik hatte nun erst recht keine Chance mehr. Das Vetorecht der Quellen wog ebenso

schwer wie das kritische Urteil der Historiker, die ihrem Ruf als unbestechliche Instanz alle Ehre machten.

*Der „Fall Theodor Eschenburg“ und das Institut für Zeitgeschichte. Offene Fragen und neue Perspektiven*

Hans Woller, Jürgen Zarusky

pp. 551-566

Theodor Eschenburg ist nicht der erste IfZ-Repräsentant, der wegen seiner Vergangenheit in die Kritik geriet; vor ihm standen bereits Martin Broszat und Hans Rothfels im Zentrum leidenschaftlicher Debatten. Das Institut für Zeitgeschichte bemüht sich seit langem um einen offenen Umgang mit solchen „Fällen“. Hans Woller und Jürgen Zarusky, die beiden hauptverantwortlichen Redakteure der Vierteljahrshefte, nehmen deshalb den jüngst publizierten Beitrag von Udo Wengst über Eschenburg genau unter die Lupe. Ihr Appell für eine kritische Revision der alten Eschenburg-Bilder ist zugleich ein Plädoyer für ein umfassendes Forschungsprojekt zur Geschichte des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte.

## Zeithistorische Forschungen

Vol. 10, n. 3, 2013

*Vorsorge als Ordnung des Sozialen: Impfen in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR*

Malte Thießen

pp. 409-432

Vaccinations count among the great dreams of modernity. They promise the protection of entire societies. In both German states, this protection was pushed with different methods – mobilizing fears, appealing to concerns about the common good or enforcing compulsory vaccination were supposed to secure individual as well as public health. The article investigates the history of vaccination in both German states between the 1950s and 1989/90. It focuses on negotiations of risk and safety, attempts at ‘emotion management’ to promote prevention and debates about the relationship between state intervention and civic ‘maturity’. With reference to broader conflicts between the GDR and the FRG, it is also shown that the race for better immunisation was a competition between East and West for the better social state. On the other hand, vaccination politics had increasingly become a field of inner-German and international cooperation by the 1980s.

Vol. 10, n. 1, 2013

*Die Vermessung des Schlafs und die Optimierung des Menschen. Eine deutsch-amerikanische Geschichte, 1930–1960*

Hannah Ahlheim

pp. 13-37

At first glance sleep seems to be a timeless and ahistorical ‘anthropological constant’. However, a historical analysis of sleeping rules and sleeping practices reveals that ideas of how to sleep ‘the right way’ have been strongly connected to the power relations of any given society as a whole. This article shows how employers, social scientists, physicians and psychologists tried to gain control over the sleep of individuals and thereby over their bodies, their working power and time budgets. Based on scientific texts and discussions as well as on popular advice books, in a first step the article scrutinizes how and why the rhythms of sleep became a topic of interest beginning in the late 1920s. In a second step, it discusses how the Second World War affected and changed both the knowledge of sleep and the handling of the sleeping individual. The decisive caesura in ‘sleep history’ in the middle of the 1950s is discussed in a third step: the sleeping and working individual was now discovered as an important object of a modern form of sleep research, and ‘sleep experts’ formulated new rules regarding how to sleep ‘right’.

[Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft](#)

[n. 9, 2013](#)

*Konsens als Grundlage und Grenze von Macht. Politische Entscheidungsprozesse in der Kanzlerdemokratie der Ära Adenauer*

Daniel Kück

pp. 733–753

Il concetto di democrazia del Cancelliere indica lo sviluppo di una posizione di potere dominante per il Cancelliere che diventa un luogo decisionale centrale all'interno della politica federale. Tale interpretazione si basa su di un concetto di potere di tipo intenzionale, il potere inteso come causa e conseguenza delle intenzioni e delle motivazioni di un attore dominante si identifica con l'ufficio della Cancelleria federale. Un concetto di potere che apre ad ulteriori conoscenze, il potere inteso come una relazione reciproca descrive gli attori in interazioni comunicative attraverso la negoziazione dei consensi. Dalla potenza dei vincoli di comunicazione e di coordinamento ne consegue che i processi decisionali politici di Konrad Adenauer in linea di principio non potevano dominare su tutto e in ogni caso e quindi lo studio del potere nell'era Adenauer non può essere limitato né alle strutture politiche, né alle intenzioni soggettive. Il punto di partenza costitutivo e la base per l'azione politica era un principio integrativo. Adenauer era quindi impegnato ad interagire con una varietà di attori politici e sociali, che riuscivano a rappresentare le loro opinioni nel processo decisionale politico: dipendente quindi da coalizioni e frazioni parlamentari, da variabili politico-sociali che rendevano possibile ma allo stesso tempo limitavano le sue possibilità di azione. Questa complessità del processo decisionale non è abbracciata dal concetto di democrazia del Cancelliere.

## Gran Bretagna

### Contemporary European History

#### Vol. 22, n. 1, 2013

##### *Italian Fascism and the Political Mobilisation of Working-Class Women 1937-43*

Perry Willson

pp. 65-86

The Sezione Operaie e Lavoranti a Domicilio dei Fasci Femminili (Section of the Fascist Women's Groups for Female Workers and Outworkers) is the only one of the three Italian Fascist Party organisations for adult women that has never been studied. Founded in 1937 and recruiting factory workers, outworkers and domestic servants, it achieved a membership of almost a million by the fall of the regime in 1943. A top-down organisation, run by the largely middle-class Fasci Femminili, it offered its membership a mix of social, educational and professional opportunities. This article explores its activities, its organisational structure, the messages it attempted to convey to its membership and the reasons why such large numbers of women joined.

#### Vol. 22, n. 4, 2013

##### *On New Land a New Society: Internal Colonisation in the Netherlands, 1918–1940*

Liesbeth Van De Grift

pp. 609-626

State projects aimed at technological innovation and social renewal were a widespread phenomenon in inter-war Europe. This is exemplified by the practice of internal colonisation – the construction of new settlements within state territories – in the Netherlands. This article examines one such case, the reclamation and colonisation of the Wieringermeer in the 1930s, in detail. In doing so, it reveals that the principle of state abstention, which prevailed throughout the inter-war period, was abandoned on reclaimed land. Politicians and experts perceived these territories as a clean slate on which they could experiment with new forms of government intervention. This article focuses on state policies of social planning and the technocratic governance of reclaimed land, and examines whether these could be reconciled with democratic notions of sovereignty and citizenship in the minds of the planners, the politicians and, last but not least, the pioneers themselves.

##### *Provincialising European union: Co-operation and Integration in Europe in a Historical Perspective*

Kiran Klaus Patel

pp. 649-673

This article argues for a less EU-centric form of writing European integration history. More specifically, it scrutinises the ways in which the interconnections with other international organisations have energised, complemented or rivalled the efforts of the European Communities/EU. This approach also allows for a reassessment of the alleged sui generis character of European integration. It demonstrates that it was not the precise competences, its effects or its

institutional uniqueness that made the EC stand out, but rather the way in which it self-fashioned and surrounded itself with a great sense of expectancy.



[English Historical Review](#)

[128 \(530\), 2013](#)

*Political Sociology in the Guise of Economics: J.M. Keynes and the Rentier*

Ross McKibbin

pp. 78-106

The article argues that economist John Maynard Keynes' concept of a "rentier" is a political-sociological construct, focusing on the role of Keynes' experience in Europe following World War I in his development of the concept. The author describes Keynes' discussion of a rentier as a non-producing member of a middle class who derived income from interest on savings and investments, and special attention is paid both to the impact of World War I on the value of rentiers' investments and to Keynes subsequent criticism of rentiers. Other topics include a capital levy proposed by Keynes, rentiers' relationship to national debt and deflation, and the social aspects of Great Britain's economic policy.

*Sir Robert Peel and the 'Moral Authority' of the House of Commons, 1832–41*

Matthew Cragoe

pp. 55-77

[128 \(531\), 2013](#)

*Gladstonian Liberalism and Environment Protection, 1865–76*

M.J.D. Roberts

pp. 292-322

Historians have, in recent times, produced a considerable literature attempting to interpret the motives of Victorian pioneers of concern for the preservation of 'natural' environments and to evaluate the cultural implications of the attitudes, which they aimed to promote. Yet no systematic study so far exists of the earliest and most politically effective Victorian movement for environmental protection—the campaign for the protection from commercial development of common lands around London (and ultimately across England) begun in 1865. This article aims to provide that study by investigating the origins, patterns of recruitment, strategy, tactics, rhetoric and public impact of the key mobilising organisation of campaigners—the Commons Preservation Society. Particular attention is paid to the period in office of the first Gladstone administration (1868–74), as it was during this period that open-space campaigners achieved the rare success of transforming the issue into a subject requiring sustained 'high political' attention. By uncovering the carefully co-ordinated and tactically sophisticated campaign plan of the Liberal MPs who performed the core tasks of parliamentary and public persuasion, the conclusion is reached that the campaign was primarily triggered and driven as a response to 'the coming of democracy' in 1867, its ideological and electoral credentials as a genuinely 'Liberal' cause generated major tensions with a retrenchment-focused party leadership over the course of the first Gladstone government and its manner of resolution gives unequivocal evidence of attempted adaptation to urban modernity rather than of a longing to restore a traditional or idealised past.

*The Decline of Violence in the West: From Cultural to Post-Cultural History*

Gregory Hanlon

pp. 367-400

[128 \(533\), 2013](#)*The Conservative Party and Welsh Politics in the Inter-War Years*

Geraint Thomas

pp. 877-913

Following the 1931 general election, the Conservative party dominated the electoral landscape in England and reached a twentieth-century high in Scotland. Conservatives in Wales, by contrast, failed to ride the wave of ‘National’ politics in the 1930s, with their best performances at the ballot box confined to the immediate aftermath of the First World War. The following article explores the reasons for Conservative failure in Wales and explains the pattern with reference to two types of constituency, namely the industrial seats of South Wales and the rural seats of Welsh-speaking West Wales, both of which were crucial to any party hoping to advance in the principality. The article highlights the essential durability of pre-1914 political cultures, along with the Conservatives’ failure both to neutralise the anti-English flavour of the Victorian Celtic revival and, unlike Labour in South Wales, to capitalise on the mutable nature of the dissenting tradition. The obstacles to Conservative success were further shaped by social and economic conditions, linguistic peculiarities and denominational identities, compounded by the ability of the Liberal party in West Wales, and increasingly the Labour party in South Wales, to (re)construct imagined ‘national’ political identities that served as counter-hegemonic discourses against British Conservatism. Amid the recent transnational turn, this article alerts us to the continuing scope of the national idiom in discussions of modern British political culture.

[128 \(534\), 2013](#)*The Making of the Military Entente, 1904–14: France, the British Army, and the Prospect of War*

William J. Philpott

pp. 1155-1185

[128 \(535\), 2013](#)*The Protestant Influence on the Origins of Irish Home Rule, 1861–1871*

J.J. Golden

pp. 1483-1516

The campaigns for Irish Home Rule—self-government within the British Empire—shaped late Victorian British politics and dominated Irish nationalism for successive generations. However, the origins of the idea of Home Rule have not been sufficiently explored. Although Irish politics are often resolved into a Catholic/Nationalist and Protestant/Unionist dichotomy, this article examines

the influence of Irish Anglicanism on the emergence of Home Rule. It argues that Irish Protestants viewed the establishment of the Church of Ireland as integral to the Act of Union, and that, consequently, nationalistic language conditioned the Church's response to threats towards disestablishment. When the first Gladstone government did disestablish the Church in 1869, the experience of organising a lay-clerical synodical structure ironically provided a model of local Irish governance. The early Home Rulers, launching the Home Government Association in 1870, both built on the language of Protestant nationality developed in the opposition to Home Rule and used the Church's synod as a framework for self-government within the British Empire. Culturally, this first Home Rule organisation had more similarities with a discussion society than with nationalist agitation. It argued for federalism as a way of securing a more workable version of the Union. In this iteration, Home Rule was highly Protestant in ethos and conservative in range.

## Gender & History

Vol. 25, Issue 3, November 2013

Special Issue: Sex, Gender and the Sacred: Reconfiguring Religion in Gender History

*'Fatherland, Religion, Family': Exploring the History of a Slogan in Greece, 1880–1930*

Effi Gazi

pp. 700–710

*'Patris, Thriskeia, Oikogeneia'* (Πατρίς, Θρησκεία, Οικογένεια Fatherland, Religion, Family) is one of the most familiar and influential slogans in modern and contemporary Greece. Regularly associated with the politics and propaganda of authoritarian regimes, starting from Ioannis Metaxas' dictatorship (1936–41) up until the Colonels' regime (1967–74), its prior history has escaped our attention. Despite its 'familiarity' or perhaps because of it, there has been no scholarly research on the particularities of its formation and circulation. Hence, it links to major ideological, social and political developments in modern Greek history. The main aim of this article is to focus on particular moments of importance for the formation, articulation, consolidation and circulation of this slogan. The analysis does not refer to *concepts as such*, that is to the various functions of 'fatherland', 'religion' or 'family' in Greece's long twentieth century. Rather, it focuses on the slogan *itself*; that is it traces ideological currents, cultural practices and biopolitical discourses, as well as technologies and means of communication, which have contributed to the linkage of these concepts and to their mutual function. The multiple uses of the slogan throughout the twentieth century and its centrality for the development of conservative politics invite further investigation. Indeed, *'Patris, Thriskeia, Oikogeneia'* provided the most important ideological platform for the development of the rhetoric and propaganda of authoritarian regimes in Greece in the second half of the twentieth century while it coloured all forms of social conservatism in the country during the same period.

**Journal of Modern History**

Vol. 85, n. 1, 2013

*Celebrating the “Nation” in a Colonial Context: “Bastille Day” and the Contested Public Space in Algeria, 1880-1939*

Jan C. Jansen

pp. 36-68

Vol. 85, n. 4, 2013

*Race and Empire: The Legitimation of Italian Colonialism in Juridical Thought*

Olindo De Napoli

pp. 801-832

[Journal of Modern Italian Studies](#)

[Vol. 18, Issue 1, 2013](#)

*Reconstructing the army of a collapsed nation: the Kingdom of the South of Italy (September 1943–March 1944)*

Mario De Prospo

pp. 1-16

In the wake of Italy's surrender to the Allies on 8 September 1943, the Italian high command made efforts to reorganize the Italian armed forces located in the regions not yet occupied by the Germans and their Italian Fascist allies. But the state of co-belligerence declared lulled the king, the government and generals into a false sense of security that led them to assume that they would now be free to re-deploy their units on the battlefield alongside the Allies. In reality, the authorities of the Kingdom of the South found themselves caught between the contending pressures exerted by the Allies, who were deeply hostile to all Italians, whom they treated as a defeated nation, by the local population suffering from famine and mistrustful of all public institutions, and by the tens of thousands of disbanded soldiers who showed very little desire to fight again. The difficulties facing the First Motorized Unit (*1° Raggruppamento Motorizzato*) were emblematic; the calls on the first co-belligerent Italian unit to fight against the Germans and make further sacrifices on the battlefield were complicated by the social and political situation of liberated Italy.

*Extreme right parties in Western Europe: the case of the Italian Northern League*

Gianluca Passarelli

pp. 53-71

This article argues that voters of the Italian Lega Nord have been radicalized in recent years, shifting from an intermediate 'centrist' position to the extreme right. Data from both national and European mass surveys (e.g. Italian National Election Studies and European Electoral Studies) provide additional support for this shift from left to right and the accompanying changes in criteria (i.e. immigration, democracy, civil rights, European integration, and politics), indicating that Lega Nord voters have evolved into a body that fits the new extreme-right concept well.

*Postwar development in the Italian Mezzogiorno. Analyses and policies*

Michele Alacevich

pp. 90-112

As Manlio Rossi-Doria wrote, in the early postwar years, the Southern Question was primarily an agrarian one. The debate and policies that addressed the Southern Question, however, did not remain confined solely to the agrarian dimension. The transformation of Southern agriculture was inextricably connected to two additional features of the Italian Mezzogiorno: first, the huge demographic expansion, and second, the lack of an industrial sector able to absorb the excessive agrarian population and to lead a process of economic diversification and internationalization. Above all, the solution to the Southern Question was interpreted as a truly national task. The development of the Mezzogiorno was at the basis of the collaboration between Italy and the World Bank throughout the 1950s. That experience became the subject of an intense debate over development policies that went beyond the Italian borders and embraced the question of postwar development worldwide. The Italian experience turned eventually out to be a failure. One feature of

that experience remained vital, though, and has been underscored by contemporary scholars: the solution to the Southern Question is to be found at the national level, not just regionally.

[Vol. 18, Issue 3, 2013](#)

*An Italian public sphere?*

Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, Richard Kaplan

pp. 277-282

This special issue of the *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* takes Jürgen Habermas's landmark analysis of the modern public sphere as its point of departure for exploring the Italians' historical relation to democracy. The introduction first sketches the innovative dimensions of Habermas's effort to ground the legitimacy of modern democracy in the open, reasoned dialogue of an independent public opinion. It then raises questions about the status of the public sphere in contemporary Italy, especially in light of the prolonged prominence of former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi at the summit of governmental power. In this context, the emergence, development and historical specificity of Italy's democratic public arena and its institutions need to be interrogated. The introduction provides an overview of the perspectives and insights offered by this issue's participants on the different aspects of the Italian public sphere. It also begins to assess the limitations as well as potential of the Italians' commitment to democracy.

*Civil society in contemporary Italy: theory, history and practice*

Paul Ginsborg

pp. 283-295

Over the last twenty years significant changes have taken place in the nature and role of Italian civil society. In this article, I first offer a definition of modern civil society and then trace its historical development in Italy, especially during the republican period. I then move on to discuss why civil society has flourished so markedly over the past two decades. I concentrate in particular on the structural transformations of the middle classes, outlining their dominant position in Italian society and their increased cultural capital. I suggest that a new reflexive middle class has provided the backbone for civil-society protests, especially those in defence of the Constitution and against Silvio Berlusconi's manipulations of the media and of the law. These protests have been impressively large, but should not be allowed to mask the many shortcomings of contemporary civil society, which render it more vulnerable than at first appears. I end the article with an appeal for new forms of politics which combine both civil and political society, representative and participatory democracy.

*A fragile political sphere*

Marco Revelli

pp. 296-308

The Italian political sphere is characterized by an endemic fragility whose origins can be traced back to the post-unification practice of *trasformismo* and the ensuing system originally summarized by Paolo Farneti as 'monopolist coalition'. Here, through shifts in alliances and personal agreements, a powerful centre coalition permanently holds power and blocks the opposition from becoming a possible alternative government. The ruling class fails to function as a party and uses

parliament and the government as organizational tools of its hegemony. As a consequence, the functioning of the democratic system is distorted and the role of the public sphere inhibited. From the Risorgimento, through fascism, to the First and Second Republics and Berlusconiism, this article assesses the fragility of Italy's political sphere as a recurrent constant in the history of the nation and the result of *'tare storiche'* that remain unhealed.

*A queen without a sceptre: public opinion and the political-constitutional debate in Italy in the first fifty years of national unification*

Danilo Breschi

pp. 309-321

Italy's intellectual debate over the concept of 'public opinion' in the first fifty years after unification can be better understood if one starts from an analysis of the constitutional framework. The definition of the rights and duties of rulers and ruled was the most pressing concern for the liberal ruling class. It should be noted that a strong paternalistic element was always present in the Italian intellectual debate. This paternalistic approach emerges clearly in the official Catholic culture. The main difference between Catholic intellectuals and liberals was over the 'public sphere'. Liberalism mistrusted the masses because they were prone to insubordination and easily manipulated by demagogy, but it also believed the masses could elevate themselves. The ruling class's culture was essentially a synthesis between *'moderatismo'* and that section of Catholicism that was less closed to modernity. Public opinion was considered by many as 'queen of the world', but according to the Albertine constitutional statute, the king was more politically influent.

*Empty piazzze. The waning of urban civism in Italian politics*

Guido Martinotti

pp. 322-334

This paper examines the success of Berlusconi's political formula in the context of urban changes and their effects on political participation. It argues that the suburban sprawl, or the urbanized countryside, needs to be looked at as a phenomenon that describes more than changes in human settlements; it both reflects and causes transformations in social practices with hefty consequences for political engagement. In Italy, the combination of suburban sprawl with mobility technologies, especially those related to individual and information mobility, has contributed to drag the agora into the den and to create a massive atomized audience. With a diminished public dialogue now negatively affecting the natural competition of ideas, as well as the liveliness and fairness of the democratic process, the retreat into the home has provided the breeding ground for demagoguery of the kind delivered by Berlusconi's formula of authoritarian manipulation.

*The Italian public sphere: a case of dramatized polarization*

Paolo Mancini

pp. 335-347

This contribution is organized along two main interpretive lines. First: the Italian public sphere is very polarized because of well-established historical attitudes, a crowded media market and new technologies that push towards segmentation of the audience. The arrival of Berlusconi has only reinforced the already existing polarization that goes well beyond the borders of partisanship involving the content of news, the structure and professionalism of news outlets and also the recipients that divide themselves along the lines of political attitudes. The second characteristic



feature of the Italian public sphere involves the tendency towards dramatization, which is also produced by the sudden commercialization of the entire mass media system that started in 1980. This article's thesis is supported by examples of dramatization and extreme political discourse. The consequences that derive from this situation are discussed in the conclusion.

*Looking for Italy's public sphere*

David Forgacs

pp. 348-361

Starting out from Jürgen Habermas's definition of the public sphere, and from the criticisms subsequently made of it by various scholars, this article considers whether the concept may be appropriately applied to Italy in the modern era. Is it correct to limit the public sphere to its 'classic' liberal form or to understand it in a normative sense rather than a more neutral, descriptive one? Can one, for example, speak of a fascist public sphere? Is the public sphere always fatally undermined by the mass media or can it harness some of the media to its own ends? If there is still a critical public sphere in Italy today, where is it to be found and what forms does it take?

[Volume 18, Issue 5, 2013](#)

*Geographical imaginations, public education and the everyday worlds of Fascist Italy*

David Atkinson

pp. 561-579

This article explores the phenomena of geographical imaginations and their seldom-noted promotion within various corners of Fascist Italy. Imagined geographies are socially constructed understandings of other places and regions and, as such, they are malleable, contingent, shifting and unquantifiable. Nevertheless, these imaginaries help us to navigate our imaginative worlds and our relative place in the material world. In 1930s Italy, various interest groups associated with the colonial and expansionist projects of Fascism promoted the development of wider geographical imaginaries among Italians. Academic geographers were often key figures in these initiatives: some prompted these projects, while others did so at the behest of the regime and its desire to expand Italians' *coscienza geografica* (the geographical imagination) to an 'imperial level'. This article explores how academic geographers from Trieste sought to contribute to this project and to embed their geographical knowledge into the ordinary, everyday circuits of public life. The article therefore outlines the notion of the geographical imagination and demonstrates via case studies how Triestine geographers tried to nurture these phenomena. Finally, it suggests that, although elusive and amorphous, geographical imaginations were a feature of everyday life in some corners of Fascist Italy and, as such, they deserve academic attention

*Making Italians: colonial history and the graduate education system from the liberal era to Fascism*

Valeria Deplano

pp. 580-590

This article explores the role of colonialism in the education of the Italian elites from the Liberal era to Fascism through a study of the teaching of colonial history in the universities. The rebirth of Italy's colonial ambitions at the end of the nineteenth century and their expansion during the two

decades of Fascism resulted in the creation of new courses in ‘Colonial Sciences’ in the higher education curriculum. The development of these studies was also part of a longer-term series of changes in the Italian university system that started in the early twentieth century. Colonial History was taught in only a small number of institutions in the Liberal eras, but gained greater importance and autonomy under Fascism. An analysis of the courses, of the careers of those responsible for them and of the text books they used offers a measure of their differing impact on the education of Italian students in the Liberal and Fascist periods and reveals the models of ‘*italianità*’ they set out for the future ruling class.

*Becoming imperialist: Italian colonies in Fascist textbooks for primary schools*

Alessandro Pes

pp. 599-614

The essay explores the way in which primary school textbooks in Fascist Italy played an important part in disseminating the colonial discourse. Starting from a brief overview of the education system and textbooks in Liberal Italy, the essay reviews the changes made by the Fascists after 1922: Gentile's reform; the national commission for primary school textbooks; the introduction of the *testo unico di Stato* (single state-approved texts). These changes reveal the increasing emphasis on colonial topics and the development of the ‘new Italian man’. The impact of 1936 as a turning point in Fascist colonial policy following the conquest of Ethiopia and the proclamation of the empire of Italian East Africa is highlighted by the ways in which primary school textbooks reflected Fascist ambitions to imbue pupils with a new imperial consciousness.

*Duelling after the Duce: postwar conflicts of honour in Italy*

Steven C. Hughes

pp. 615-626

Unlike other western European countries, Italy did not see the waning of the duel of honour after the First World War. On the contrary, there was an increase in the practice during the 1920s as the Fascists used mechanisms of honour to facilitate and legitimize their rise to power. However, Mussolini's regime found the individualism of the chivalric tradition inconsistent with its totalitarian notions of discipline and duty and worked in a variety of subtle ways to try to eliminate the ritual from Italian life. For the most part, the Second World War finished the process and, in the wake of defeat, destruction and partisan conflict, duelling virtually disappeared as a means of settling disputes of honour among elites. Nevertheless, one can point to a handful of formal duels, which adhered to traditional regulations, that occurred in the decade after the war. This article investigates these encounters in order to understand why these particular participants decided to opt for a ritual that was both out of fashion and had lost much of its legal immunity. It also argues that their actions actually demonstrate just how alienated the duel had become from Italy's social mainstream after the war.

*A Round Table discussion of “The Risorgimento Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth Century Italy”*

Silvana Patriarca, Riall (eds.)

pp. 644-658

Based on the Round Table discussion held at the Remarque Institute, New York University, in November 2012, this paper consists of comments on the volume of essays *The Risorgimento*

*Revisited. Nationalism and Culture in Nineteenth Century Italy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), edited by Silvana Patriarca and Lucy Riall, followed by the editors' responses.

## [Modern Italy](#)

[vol. 18, 1-2013](#)

*Popular Italian cinema, the media, and the economic miracle: rethinking commedia all'italiana*

Natalie Fulwood

pp. 19-39

This article seeks to reposition the popular cinematic genre commedia all'italiana within the context of the rapid expansion of the media industries which accompanied Italy's postwar economic miracle. The article looks at three distinct aspects of the relationship between commedia all'italiana and other media. First, it outlines the important role played by the media during the boom in disseminating images of consumer lifestyles, and highlights the way in which commedia all'italiana participated in this process. Second, through a discussion of media appearances by Vittorio Gassman and Nino Manfredi, the article emphasises the extent to which their commedia all'italiana star personas were constructed and circulated in a multimedia context. Finally, it examines how the genre represented other media, focusing in particular on the representation of gender in advertising scenes. Through close readings of commedia all'italiana advertising scenes, the article notes points of continuity with and difference from advertising imagery that was circulating at the time. The article argues that in order to further our understanding of commedia all'italiana and its relationship to Italian society, it is essential to understand the genre's relationship to other media production of the period, which both influenced the comedies' representations and was influenced by them in turn.

[vol. 18, 2-2013](#)

*Playing the dictator: re-enactments of Mussolini in film and television*

Stephen Gundle,

pp. 177-195

This article explores the portrayal of Mussolini in film and television drama. It considers the contexts in which films and mini-series were made from the 1970s and the problems faced in bringing the Duce to the screen, mostly in dramas that stressed the final phase of his rule. Despite efforts to ensure authenticity in the reconstruction of locations, events and people, there was a notable emphasis on the private and personal dimensions of the dictator's life, a sphere in which screenplays had to indulge in invention in keeping with the practices of all 'biopics'. The resulting 'screen Mussolini' is more human and potentially more sympathetic than the Mussolini of historiography. In a situation in which the legacies of Fascism and anti-fascism are still debated, this media construction has been controversial. The article assesses, using textual analysis, the meanings of the different representational solutions deployed in the films and considers some of the issues involved in playing Mussolini.

## [Twentieth Century British History](#)

### [Locking out the Communists: The Labour party and the Communist party, 1939–46](#)

Andrew Thorpe

First published online: August 2013

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

### [Enemies, Allies and Transnational Histories: Germans, Irish, and Italians in Second World War Britain](#)

Wendy Webster

First published online: July 2013

In mid-1940, Austrians, Germans, and Italians in Britain were labelled 'enemies' by the government and subject to mass internment. In an anti-alienist climate they were targets of particular popular hostility. Neutral Irish also attracted hostility and suspicion as Fifth Columnists and spies. But after mid-1940 the British government moved to an increasingly complex view of nationality with Churchill taking a close personal interest in the recruitment of enemy nationals and neutral Irish to the British forces. Those who served came to be regarded as loyal allies. They faced charges of treachery from their fellow-nationals, demonstrating the assumption—common to Britain as well as Germany, Ireland, and Italy—that patriotism should be singular and exclusive. There is some recent literature exploring mass internment and the histories of Germans, Irish, and Italians in Britain after 1940. The literature treats national groups separately, but offers an opportunity for comparative analysis. This article puts Germans, Irish, and Italians in the same frame, focusing on those who contributed to the British war effort as soldiers, war-workers, and propagandists and tracing common transnational themes in their histories. Transnational allegiances are neglected in literature on transnational history, but were common to many Germans, Irish, and Italians in wartime Britain. Falling outside national memories, their histories have been largely forgotten. Those who gave their lives are rarely commemorated.

## Spagna

### Ayer

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*La educaciòn del gentleman español. La influencia britànica sobre la elite social española (1898-1936)*

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## Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea

Vol. 35, 2013

*Forjando nación desde abajo: violencia e identidades en el País Vasco y el Ulster*

Raúl López Romo, Barbara Van der Leeuw

pp. 15-39

Nell'Irlanda del Nord la principale linea divisoria nella società è costituita dall'appartenenza o meno a una categoria molto netta: la comunità politico-religiosa. In svariati momenti la situazione dell'Ulster è stata paragonata a quella dei Paesi Baschi. Nel seguente articolo analizzeremo con occhio critico questa ipotesi, cercando di comprendere se la società basca possa davvero essere considerata comparabile a quella nordirlandese. L'obiettivo è dare risposta alla seguente domanda: in che misura i nazionalismi popolari nordirlandese e basco possano essere giudicati assimilabili rispetto alla costruzione delle loro comunità politico-religiose? Ci concentreremo, dunque, sullo studio dell'evoluzione dei settori radicali dei nazionalismi basco, spagnolo, britannico e irlandese, durante la seconda metà del XX secolo.

*Historia (y memoria) del antifranquismo en el País Vasco*

José Antonio Pérez Pérez

pp. 41-62

Tra le forze d'opposizione al franchismo nei Paesi Baschi la più rilevante fu quella della sinistra non nazionalista. Ciò nonostante, col passare degli anni, a livello di memoria collettiva, il ricordo della lotta della sinistra non nazionalista è stato progressivamente sostituito da una narrazione di stampo nazionalista. La scomparsa del terrorismo dell'ETA ha fatto sì che questa chiave interpretativa venisse ribadita dagli artefici o promotori del terrorismo, nel tentativo di legittimare a posteriori l'attività dell'ETA come conseguenza inevitabile della lotta al franchismo.

*España ante la invasión alemana y soviética de Polonia en septiembre de 1939*

Bartosz Kaczorowski

pp. 177-192

Questo articolo analizza le reazioni politiche spagnole all'invasione della Polonia da parte della Germania nazista, nel primo settembre del 1939, e dell'Unione Sovietica, sedici giorni dopo. La prima parte si occupa di analizzare le reazioni del regime di Franco al patto Molotov-Ribbentrop, che propiziò l'invasione e, successivamente, la ripartizione del territorio polacco tra il Reich e l'Unione Sovietica. Prosegue, poi, con l'osservazione delle reazioni spagnole all'invasione tedesca, e quindi a quelle successive all'attacco sovietico. Il tutto sulla base di documenti rinvenuti in archivi spagnoli, tedeschi, portoghesi, statunitensi e polacchi, di memorie di politici e testimoni e della pubblicistica dell'epoca.

## Hispania

vol. 73, n. 244, 2013

*Alfonso “el Regenerador”. Monarquía escénica e imaginario nacionalista español, en perspectiva comparada (1902-1913)*

Javier Moreno Luzón

pp. 319-348

Questo articolo analizza le relazioni tra monarchia e nazionalismo spagnolo nella prima decade del regno di Alfonso XIII. E lo fa seguendo una prospettiva comparata all'interno della cornice delle monarchie “sceniche” instauratesi in Europa tra il 1870 e il 1914. L'analisi si sviluppa su tre ambiti: le grandi cerimonie monarchiche, in particolare il giuramento alla Costituzione; i viaggi dei regnanti, che all'epoca ebbero uno sviluppo straordinario; e le funzioni militari, tra le quali spiccava il giuramento annuale alla bandiera. Attraverso queste cerimonie la corona divenne parte integrante dell'immaginario *regeneracionista*, che vedeva nel re il fattore imprescindibile della ricostituzione della Spagna dopo il disastro coloniale del 1898. Seppur con minore pomposità rispetto ad altre monarchie dell'epoca, Alfonso XII, detto *el Regenerador*, divenne un simbolo nazionale capace di attrarre a sé le proiezioni e le aspettative di svariati gruppi sociali. Si trattò, in particolare, delle élite locali, delle associazioni e di tutto quel pubblico eterogeneo che assisteva agli spettacoli di massa ripresi dai mezzi di comunicazione. Attraverso queste rappresentazioni potè rafforzarsi il ruolo politico del monarca che, come la maggioranza dei re del suo tempo, godeva di poteri costituzionali tanto efficaci quanto polemici.

*América como vector de regeneración y cohesión para una España plural: “La Raza” y el 12 de octubre, cimientos de una identidad compuesta*

David Marçilhacy

pp. 501-524

Questo articolo analizza il modo attraverso il quale il mito americano contribuì a costruire l'immaginario nazionale spagnolo durante la Restaurazione borbonica. Mentre la Spagna perdeva il suo status di impero e attraversava una crisi d'identità che ne minava il cemento del patto *restauracionista*, il nascente movimento *hispanoamericanista* di fine secolo ricorse al mito della “Razza ispanica” per definire una comunità nazionale coesiva. Sostenuta dalla crescita dell'associazionismo americanista nella periferia della penisola, il ritorno del sogno imperialista si tradusse in tutta una serie di iniziative, tra cui le più rilevanti furono le politiche della memoria. Celebrato per la prima volta nel 1892, l'anniversario della Scoperta dell'America divenne nel corso degli anni Dieci del Novecento il “Giorno della Raza” e, allo stesso tempo, simbolo nazionale. Così come altre commemorazioni proamericane sorte in quegli anni, le celebrazioni del 12 ottobre funsero da stimolo per una nazione ossessionata dal timore della frammentazione. Allo stesso tempo, contribuirono a ridefinire i contorni dell'identità collettiva. In questo modo, l'America venne utilizzata in Spagna come fattore di rinascimento e di coesione nazionale. L'attecchimento progressivo del “Giorno della Raza”, reso possibile dal ruolo pioniero di determinati collettivi catalani, andalusi e iberoamericani, dimostra che i promotori di quelle iniziative ebbero l'ambizione di offrire un'idea comunitaria, plurale e positiva della storia della Spagna. Questo mito, così come le cerimonie organizzate in tutta la penisola, cercò di agglutinare i molteplici riferimenti locali,



regionali, nazionali e anche panispanici in ciò che più avanti sarebbe stato considerato l'immaginario spagnolo.

## Hispania Nova

n. 11, 2013

*“Centrar la República”: ¿una posibilidad o un espejismo?*

Nigel Townson

I partiti di centro cercarono di consolidare la Seconda Repubblica come democrazia parlamentare, includendo in essa sia la sinistra che la destra spagnola, nel rispetto dei valori liberali d’inclusione e consenso. Si trattò di un obiettivo difficile da realizzare, non solo per il contesto internazionale di crisi economica mondiale e decadenza della democrazia europea, ma anche per l’atteggiamento ambivalente delle forze maggioritarie di sinistra e di destra nei confronti della Repubblica. Oltre che per il rifiuto del nuovo regime all’inclusione delle istanze politiche dell’estrema sinistra e dell’estrema destra. Nel loro intento di “centrare” la Repubblica i repubblicani moderati avevano uno stretto bisogno della collaborazione della sinistra parlamentare e della destra non repubblicana, che, però, non si mostrarono all’altezza della situazione.

*La historiografía sobre la violencia política en la Segunda República española: una reconsideración*

Eduardo González Calleja

La violenza politica è un concetto che è stato incorporato al dibattito storiografico spagnolo agli inizi degli anni Ottanta. Benché all’epoca non godesse di una concettualizzazione chiara e rigorosa sulla quale fondare l’analisi storica, oltre che di costruttive relazioni con le altre scienze sociali, nell’arco del tempo ha trovato in Spagna un terreno fecondo d’analisi attraverso approcci teorici e metodologie innovatrici. Il seguente articolo vuole spiegare l’evoluzione dell’utilizzo di questo concetto, da risorsa legittimatrice del regime di Franco fino ai dibattiti scientifici degli ultimi trent’anni relativi alle manifestazioni violente prodottesi durante la Seconda Repubblica.

## Historia Contemporánea

[n. 46, 2013](#)

*Geografía eclesial y construcción de la identidad nacionalista. La reivindicación de la provincia eclesiástica vasca durante el tardofranquismo y la transición.*

Juan Manuel González Sáez

pp. 307-332

La religione cattolica è stata un elemento fondamentale nella costruzione dell'identità basco-nazionalista. Ciò nonostante, l'organizzazione ecclesiastica non ha storicamente favorito questo processo. Non è cioè esistita una struttura ecclesiastica comune per le province di Avala, Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa e Navarra. La ristrutturazione delle diocesi basche fu una rivendicazione del primo nazionalismo e, sin dagli inizi degli anni Sessanta del secolo scorso e con maggior forza, dei sacerdoti opposti al regime franchista. I vescovi dei territori basco-navarri fecero propria la rivendicazione di una provincia ecclesiastica comune per le loro diocesi, utilizzando a tal fine ragioni pastorali, ma si scontrarono con le resistenze clericali e politiche presenti soprattutto nella società navarra.

[n. 47, 2013](#)

*La Constitución de Cádiz y el proceso revolucionario en las dos Sicilias (1820-1821)*

Carlos María Rodríguez López-Brea

pp. 561-594

Nel luglio del 1820 una rivoluzione nelle province limitrofe di Napoli causò la caduta della monarchia assoluta e l'instaurazione di una monarchia costituzionale. I rivoluzionari imporranno al re come testo giuridico fondamentale il modello della Costituzione di Cadice del 1812. Non si trattò di un fatto casuale. Negli ultimi anni, in un contesto di crisi e ricomposizione del territorio, vari gruppi liberali dell'Italia meridionale chiesero una costituzione che accogliesse una serie di riforme non accettate dai re della Restaurazione: libertà di stampa, autonomia degli organi municipali, parlamentarismo, ampio suffragio, un freno al dispotismo ministeriale, uguaglianza di fronte alla legge. La Costituzione di Cadice dava risposte accettabili a tutte queste rivendicazioni, anche se sarebbe sbagliato pensare che la Costituzione successiva alla rivoluzione delle Due Sicilie del gennaio del 1821 fu una copia di quella gaditana. A tal riguardo abbiamo studiato gli atti parlamentari del Regno delle due sicilie (1820-1821), assieme ai pamphlet e alla stampa locale diffusa negli "otto mesi costituzionali". La questione di quegli anni fu la seguente: come addattare la Costituzione spagnola del 1812, che era pensata per un altro regno, alle peculiarità del Mezzogiorno? Nel testo vengono classificate e ordinate le varie risposte a questo quesito, che vanno dalle più dottrinarie fino a quelle favorevoli ad una democrazia decentralizzata dei municipi e delle province. Un ulteriore quesito riguarda la possibilità di un'influenza del liberalismo dell'Italia del sud in Spagna. Pensiamo sia ragionevole affermare questa ipotesi, dal momento che molti esiliati italiani si insediarono in Spagna nel 1821, dopo la caduta del regime costituzionale, e lì furono d'appoggio alle correnti più democratiche così come allo sviluppo del dibattito parlamentare sul "Progetto del governo economico-politico delle province" del 1822.

*Eugenio Morreale, el último fascista en España (1943-1945)*

Rubén Domínguez Méndez

pp. 693-720

Da come si può osservare in questo studio, Eugenio Morreale non fu un diplomatico di carriera del tipo convenzionale, ma un rappresentante del fascismo e, addirittura, un fascista convinto. Non sappiamo molto sulla sua vita fino al suo soggiorno a Vienna, quando lavorava come corrispondente del quotidiano “Il Popolo d’Italia”. Ma possediamo dati interessanti sul suo lavoro di presidente del consolato italiano in Andalusia. Con l’armistizio italiano del 1943, e la diserazione dalla causa mussoliniana dell’ambasciatore italiano in Spagna, Morreale divenne l’ultimo bastione del dittatore italiano nel paese iberico. Nel testo vengono analizzate le vicissitudini dell’ultimo difensore del totalitarismo politico italiano, fino all’ultima fase della Repubblica Sociale Italiana.

## Historia del Presente

N. 21, 2013

*Las relaciones culturales y políticas de dos regímenes contrapuestos : España e Italia entre 1945 y 1975*

Laura Branciforte

El título elegido para la introducción de este número de la revista: *Las relaciones culturales y políticas de dos regímenes contrapuestos: España e Italia entre 1945 y 1975*, expresa, en síntesis, el argumento que pretende desglosar este dossier. La narración de las relaciones diplomático-culturales y de las relaciones políticas que se van entretejiendo entre los gobiernos de Roma y de Madrid, entre 1945 y 1975, es el objeto historiográfico común a las cuatro investigaciones que componen el dossier.

## Historia y Política

n. 29, 2013

*Violencia en democracia : las elecciones republicanas en perspectiva comparada*

Roberto Villa Garcìa

This paper aims to contribute to the study of political violence during the Spanish Second Republic by analyzing one of its lesser-known aspects, electoral violence. This is an important factor to understand how it was articulated in interparty competition during those years. The article deals with electoral violence during the two elections that repond to a pattern of movement typical of interwar democracy: the general elections of 1933 and 1936. It does this by providing new data on the type, frequency and impact of this kind of violence and comparing it to other countries.

## Pasado y Memoria

N. 12, 2013

*“Una izquierda del régimen”: Adolfo Rincón de Arellano y el franquismo*

Juan Carlos Colomer Rubio

En los últimos años estamos asistiendo a un estudio, cada vez más pormenorizado, de las figuras locales que han marcado la propia evolución de la dictadura a escala local –caso del alcalde Porcioles para Barcelona–. Ello ha permitido profundizar en los apoyos, evolución ideológica y rupturas dentro del propio régimen franquista. Para el caso de la ciudad de Valencia, aparte de las biografías conocidas de miembros de la oposición al régimen, nos falta un estudio en profundidad de determinados perfiles políticos que ayudaron en la instauración del franquismo y lo apoyaron prácticamente hasta el final. Uno de ellos fue Adolfo Rincón de Arellano, presidente de la Diputación, alcalde de Valencia y Consejero Nacional del Movimiento años después. Un estudio en profundidad de su vida y evolución ideológica permite comprender las características propias de la dictadura en territorio valenciano.

pp. 179-204

## Stati Uniti

### Diplomatic History

#### Vol 37, Issue 4, 2013

*Kissinger and the Diplomacy of Coercive Linkage in the “Special Relationship” between the United States and Great Britain, 1969-1977*

R.Gerald Hughes, Thomas Robb

pp. 861-905

The majority of scholarly accounts suggest that Anglo-Americans throughout the era of détente, 1969–1977, were often fraught with difficulties. In particular, the relationship between the Nixon administration and the British government of Edward Heath is often seen as the nadir for the Anglo-American relationship during the Cold War. Nonetheless, elements of the Anglo-American “special relationship,” particularly those related to intelligence and nuclear co-operation, are often seen by scholars to have operated outside of these wider political difficulties. By utilising recently declassified documentation from both U.S. and UK archives, it is shown that both intelligence and nuclear co-operation were continually used by the United States as a means of convincing London to follow more amenable policy lines. With Henry Kissinger very much to the fore, it is illustrated how this coercive diplomacy had mixed results in achieving what Washington desired. Ultimately, this policy line would not accomplish what its main adherent, Henry Kissinger, sought.

#### Vol. 37, Issue 5, 2013

*“Absolutes” and “Stages” in the Making and Application of Nixon’s SALT Policy*

David Tal

pp. 1090-1116

President Richard Nixon and his National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger took great pride in their success to achieve agreements on the limitation of Anti Ballistic Missiles and the Interim Agreement on Strategic Missiles with the Soviet Union. For Nixon, this agreement was not only an achievement that had been denied to his predecessor, it also seemingly represented the success of his own approach over that of his predecessors. Nixon—in tandem with Kissinger—intended to link arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union to the resolution of other political problems such as Vietnam, the Mideast, and Berlin. Through the employment of linkage, they hoped to make U.S. arms control policy part of Détente. However, Nixon was able to sign the “historic agreements” because his policy of linkage had in fact failed. It failed mainly because it was based on flawed assumptions and false premises. Thus, the historic success was possible precisely because Nixon had not actually made his arms control policy “distinct” from that of the Johnson Administration and its predecessors in his approach to strategic arms talks with the Soviet Union.



[The Journal of American History](#)

[Vol. 99, N. 4, march 2013](#)

*American Enlightenments: Continuity and Renewal*

Nathalie Caron, Naomi Wulf

pp. 1072–1091

Who is interested in the Enlightenment, let alone the American Enlightenment, today? This is the question raised by Nathalie Caron and the late Naomi Wulf in this in–depth historiographical essay, which won the 2012 David Thelen Award. They review the literature on how the Enlightenment has been addressed in the United States over the past twelve years and on how historians in general have been dealing—or not dealing—with an American Enlightenment. From an outsider’s perspective, the essay provides fresh insight into what turns out to be an ideologically fraught paradigm that has been co-opted across the political spectrum. Their essay does so by incorporating Enlightenment historiography into public debates about American national identity, political culture, and religiosity, as well as secularization and modernity.

*The Moment of Transition: State Officials, the Federal Government, and the Formation of American Immigration Policy*

Hidetaka Hirota

pp. 1092–1108

The Immigration Act of 1882 was the first general immigration legislation at the national level with exclusion and deportation clauses. By analyzing the act’s enduring reliance on state officials for its implementation, Hidetaka Hirota, in the essay that won the 2012 Louis Pelzer Memorial Award, demonstrates that the federalization of immigration control was a more gradual and contingent process than historians have assumed. He also argues that the roots of the almost–unlimited official power in determining the excludability and deportability of aliens, which characterized federal immigration control from the late nineteenth century onward, lay in the administration of the 1882 act by state officials in New York and Massachusetts.

[Vol. 100, N. 1, June 2013](#)

*The World with Us: The State of American Environmental History*

Paul S. Sutter

pp. 94–120

Since the Journal of American History last published a round table on the subject in 1990, American environmental history has seen explosive growth. Paul S. Sutter takes us on a selective tour of this expansive field, paying particular attention to questions of environmental causation and the ways environmental historians have replaced the once-firm categories of nature and culture with various approaches to environmental hybridity. That hybrid turn, Sutter suggests, has been analytically essential, yet it has also left the field at a moral crossroads. Following Sutter’s essay David Igler, Christof Mauch, Gregg Mitman, Linda Nash, Helen M. Rozwadowski, and Bron Taylor offer critical responses.

*Mobilizing for the Market: Organized Business, Wage-Price Controls, and the Politics of Inflation, 1971—1974*

Benjamin C. Waterhouse

pp. 454–78

Conservatism in the United States blossomed in the 1970s, particularly as the energy crisis and “stagflationary” economy seemed to discredit the sacred tenets of New Deal liberalism for many Americans. But how did economic conservatives turn that crisis into opportunity? By exploring how the country’s top business leadership mobilized against Richard M. Nixon’s mandatory program of wage and price controls, Benjamin C. Waterhouse argues that conservative business leaders and their political allies learned—slowly and with a great deal of difficulty—how to turn public opinion against labor unions and big-government liberalism, using the wedge of inflation to promote the free market.

[Journal of Cold War Studies](#)

[Vol. 15, n. 1, 2013](#)

*Revising NSC 68*

Ken Young

pp. 3-33

This article revisits the creation of NSC 68, a landmark in Cold War history, in the light of continuing historical debates and with the assistance of archival material recently made available. The article reviews the historiography of NSC 68, including controversies over the language adopted, together with recent writings that stress a broader political economy analysis of U.S. foreign policy. The article revisits the contested issue of whether NSC 68 represented continuity with past policy or a sharp departure from it. In addressing this issue, the article looks closely at the style and tone of the document as well as its impact on the U.S. defense budget and finally its convergence with the other transformative decision of the time, the commitment of resources to the development of the hydrogen bomb.

[Vol. 15, n. 3, 2013](#)

*The Real Years of Europe?: U.S.-West European Relations during the Ford Administration*

Piers Ludlow

pp. 136-161

Little has been written about transatlantic relations during the presidency of Gerald R. Ford. This article shows that, contrary to what most of the recent historiography suggests, the brief period under Ford did make an important difference in U.S.–West European relations. During the Ford administration, the whole architecture of transatlantic relations was rearranged, creating structures and features that endured well after Ford and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, had left office. In particular, the Ford years witnessed the emergence of a pattern of quadripartite consultation between the United States, Britain, France, and West Germany on foreign policy issues; and the advent of multilateral economic summitry. Each of these innovations transformed the pattern of U.S.–West European dialogue.

## [Journal of Policy History](#)

[Vol. 25, Issue 4, October 2013](#)

*Government Boundary Mapping Policy and the Knowledge Apparatus of the British State, 1841-1889*

David Fletcher

pp. 498-511

Since territory is a defining component of the state, how can a state know its territory and its internal delimitation: a vital prerequisite for the precise application of policy? This article examines a particular instance of the extension of state power through control of information in the form of cartographic knowledge. The specific focus is the Ordnance Survey's of administrative boundaries in England and Wales, undertaken between 1841 and 1889 alongside its large-scale mapping survey. This was an era of great change in Britain; industrialization and urbanization continued apace and changes in forms of local administration were seen as necessary to cope with it. Thus the article explores the context in which central government was able to initiate its policy objectives with regard to gaining knowledge of and reshaping the internal boundaries of the local state, and the significance of such a policy.

[Vol. 25, Issue 3, July 2013](#)

*Tax Resistance: a Global History?*

Nicolas Delalande and Romain Huret

pp. 301-307

Tax resistance was part of a larger and global movement of protests against Keynesian policies in the world after World War II. Tax protests were both a political and social movement, which aimed at redefining postwar social contracts. If tax resisters were depicted as eccentric mavericks or crazy conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic, they displayed tactics and strategies of mobilization to reinvent the links between citizens and their institutions. Moreover, such resistance revealed the social and economic transformation of national and international spaces with diverse consequences in United States, Great Britain, Argentina and France. Following essays of E. Attila Aytakin, Christophe Farquet, Elsbeth Heaman, Laurent Manière, Isaac William Martin, José Antonio Sánchez Román, Alexis Spire, offer critical responses.

[Journal of Women's History](#)

[Volume 24, Number 4, Winter 2012](#)

*Guest Editorial Note: Human Rights, Global Conferences, and the Making of Postwar Transnational Feminisms*

Jean H. Quataert, Benita Roth,

pp. 11-23

This note introduces our special issue on "Human Rights, Global Conferences, and the Making of Postwar Transnational Feminisms." In it we try to capture part of the contentious histories of feminist activism unfolding in the period after World War II. We focus specifically on the meanings for feminist thought and action worldwide of the UN sponsored world conferences on women and related international gatherings

*Rethinking State Socialist Mass Women's Organizations: The Committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement and the United Nations Decade for Women, 1975-1985*

Kristen Ghodsee

pp. 49-73

During the UN Decade for Women, representatives of the world's governments came together for the first time to discuss the issues of equality, development, and peace in official intergovernmental forums, opening up an unexpected new front in the ongoing Cold War. While western women were concerned with legal and economic equality, socialist women in the Eastern Bloc argued that women's equality with men was useless in a world full of racism, violence, underdevelopment, colonialism, and war. Over the course of the decade, women from the developing world came to embrace the idea that feminist struggles could not be separated from the underlying political and economic conditions in which women lived, aligning themselves more closely with the socialist world. Through a case study of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, this article presents the UN Decade from the socialist women's point of view, and argues that their contributions to the early international women's movement should no longer be ignored.

*Global Gender Policy in the 1990s: Incorporating the "Vital Voices" of Women*

Karen Garner

pp. 121-148

This article examines the politics of state feminism during the Clinton Administration as practiced by foreign service officers at the State Department Office of International Women's Issues (OIWI), the First Lady and her White House staff, and the Ambassador to Vienna and her Embassy staff, who collaborated to organize the "Vital Voices: Women in Democracy Conference" in July 1997. Tracing the origins of the conference and the formation of the new women's policy agency, the OIWI, to the end of the Cold War transformations in U.S. foreign policy making and new attention to women's human rights and their role in civil society building globally, this article addresses theoretical and practical issues of employing insider-outsider strategies when organizing for global feminist change.

[Volume 25, Number 3, Fall 2013](#)

*Gender and Modernity in Japan's "Long Twentieth Century"*

Vera Mackie

pp. 62-91

This article surveys English-language writings on gender and modernity in Japanese history in the "long twentieth century." The discussion is organized around the themes of gendering the public sphere, feminism and the gendered state, gender and labor, and gender, sexuality, and cultural politics, with some closing reflections on emerging research themes which place the study of Japan's modernity in a transnational frame.

[Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History](#)

[Vol. 14, n. 2, 2013](#)

*Late Soviet Politics as Patron-Client Relations*

From the Editors

pp. 237-242

It is hardly a secret that in the last ten years historians have increasingly turned their attention from Stalinism toward the post-1953 era. Now they are concentrating more and more on the Brezhnev period (1964–82), and in the present issue of *Kritika* we offer a snapshot of one part of this field. It is one that is still in the process of definition. Whereas the Stalin years have their well-established research questions and explanatory paradigms—for example, Stalin’s personality and power politics, the mechanisms of terror, the nature of Soviet nationality politics, the making of the “new man”—the guiding questions for the post-Stalin period are in a stage of formation and testing. Even basic periodization is still in flux. On the one hand, when we survey long-term developments like cadre politics, de-Stalinization and ideology, the provision of housing and consumer goods, the continued deployment and reinvention of party practices and rituals, there seems to be good reason to study this period as a whole without a caesura in 1964. On the other hand, 1964 can be seen as a decisive break dividing the 20th century into an era of extremism and insecurity under Stalin and Khrushchev and one of normalization and trust thereafter.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, historians remain uncertain about what is distinct to this period. How should it be narrated? As a period of stability or stagnation, as the “golden age” claimed by post-Soviet nostalgics, or as an inevitable and permanent decline?<sup>2</sup> As a time of flourishing corruption or as a period of mature, well-functioning patron–client networks?<sup>3</sup> How can we reconcile the general slogan of “trust in cadres” with the enormous turnover of party personnel in 1964–65 or with the prominent victims of Brezhnev’s cadre politics?<sup>4</sup> Finally, how can we overcome these various dichotomies and produce a satisfying general account of the late Soviet period?

## [Perspectives on Politics](#)

[Vol 10, n. 4, 2012](#)

*The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?*

Kurt Weyland

pp 917-934

Prominent scholars have highlighted important similarities between the Arab Spring of 2011 and the “revolutions” of 1848: Both waves of contention swept with dramatic speed across whole regions, but ended up yielding rather limited advances toward political liberalism and democracy. I seek to uncover the causal mechanisms that help account for these striking parallels. Drawing on my recent analysis of 1848, I argue that contention spread so quickly because many people in a wide range of countries drew rash inferences from the downfall of Tunisia's dictator. Applying cognitive heuristics that psychologists have documented, they overrated the significance of the Tunisian success, overestimated the similarities with the political situation in their own country, and jumped to the conclusion that they could successfully challenge their own autocrats. This precipitation prompted protests in many settings that actually were much less propitious; therefore problems abounded. Cognitive shortcuts held such sway because Arab societies were weakly organized and repressed and thus lacked leaders from whom common people could take authoritative cues. The decision whether to engage in emulative contention fell to ordinary citizens, who—due to limited information access and scarce experience—were especially susceptible to the simple inferences suggested by cognitive heuristics.

[Vol. 11, n. 1, 2013](#)

*New Deal Liberalism and Racial Liberalism in the Mass Public, 1937–1968*

E. Schickler

pp. 75-98

Few transformations have been as important in American politics as the incorporation of African Americans into the Democratic Party over the course of the 1930s–60s and the Republican Party's growing association with more conservative positions on race-related policies. This paper traces the relationship between New Deal economic liberalism and racial liberalism in the mass public. A key finding is that by about 1940, economically-liberal northern white Democratic voters were substantially more pro-civil rights than were economically-conservative northern Republican voters. While partisanship and civil rights views were unrelated among southern whites, economic conservatives were more racially conservative than their economically liberal counterparts, even in the south. These findings suggest that there was a connection between attitudes towards the economic programs of the New Deal and racial liberalism early on, well before national party elites took distinct positions on civil rights. Along with grassroots pressure from African American voters who increasingly voted Democratic in the 1930s–40s, this change among white voters likely contributed to northern Democratic politicians' gradual embrace of civil rights liberalism and Republican politicians' interest in forging a coalition with conservative white southerners. In attempting to explain these linkages, I argue that the ideological meaning of New Deal liberalism



sharpened in the late 1930s due to changes in the groups identified with Roosevelt's program and due to the controversies embroiling New Dealers in 1937–38.

[Vol. 11, n. 3, 2013](#)

*Historical Set Points and the Development of U.S. Presidential Emergency Power*

D. Tichenor

pp. 769-88.

The recent outpouring of work on executive power during emergencies, inspired by the post-9/11 era, has significantly enhanced our legal and theoretical understanding of this crucial subject. A key flaw in this literature, however, is that it is historically un-rooted, either dismissing or ignoring important analytical and empirical insights from presidential research and from APD and historical-institutionalist perspectives. In this article, I argue that we can better explain patterns and variations in the use of presidential emergency power by paying careful attention to shifting historical set points for executive choice and action during security crises. In particular, the findings here underscore the episodic growth of new precedents, resources, and expectations for the White House in perilous contexts. The development of presidential emergency power reflects the potential for early executive choices to be repeated and legitimated over time, laying dormant as a “loaded weapon” to be used by future executives in similarly urgent circumstances.

## Studies in American Political Development

Vol. 27, Issue 1, March 2013

### *Monetary Politics: Origins of the Federal Reserve*

Sarah Bindera and Mark Spindela

pp. 1-13

Nearly unique amongst the world's monetary bodies, the Federal Reserve defies description as a central bank. A century after its creation, the Fed retains a hybrid structure of a president-appointed, Senate-confirmed Washington board and twelve largely privately directed regional reserve banks—each of which remains moored in the cities originally selected in 1914. In this article we investigate the origins of the Federal Reserve System, focusing on the selection of the twelve reserve bank cities. In contrast to accounts that suggest politics played no role in the selection of the cities, we suggest that a range of political interests shaped Democrats' choices in designing the reserve system. The result was a decentralized institution that initially proved unable to coordinate monetary policy—a key contributor to the onset of the Great Depression less than two decades later.

### *Developing Freedom: Thomas Jefferson, the State, and Human Capability*

Johann N. Neem

pp. 36-50

Thomas Jefferson is often invoked as an advocate of limited government and a defender of individual rights. This article argues that rights were Jefferson's starting place. Jefferson also believed that American citizens should have opportunities to develop the capabilities necessary to enjoy the full use of their rights. Rather than thinking about Jefferson as progovernment or antigovernment, this article concludes that we must understand the particular kind of government Jefferson desired, the ends he had in mind, and why and how those ends differed from his Federalist predecessors. A better understanding of Jefferson's statecraft not only offers a new perspective on the relationship between government and rights in Jefferson's thought but also how and why Jeffersonians in power used the state to promote individual freedom.

### *The Politics of Party Renewal: The “Service Party” and the Origins of the Post-Goldwater Republican Right*

Brian M. Conley

pp. 51-67

The rise of the Republican Right in the 1960s reshaped not only the politics of the Republican Party, but ultimately that of the country as well. What had started as an improbable movement to draft Goldwater for president in 1964 emerged, amid the political and social turmoil of the decade, as the dominant force within the Republican Party. But what has not received as much attention is the significant role that the national Republican Party leadership and the emphasis it placed on party renewal, rather than reform, played in the Right's rapid post-Goldwater ascent. This article examines how the process of party renewal, specifically the emergence of a national “service party” structure, helped not only to unify the GOP after the 1964 Goldwater loss, but also led to the development of a more conservative Republican Party during the second half of the 1960s.

[Vol. 27, Issue 2, October 2013](#)

*Calling upon the Genius of Private Enterprise: The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 and the Liberal Turn to Public-Private Partnerships*

Alexander von Hoffman

pp. 165-194

President Lyndon Johnson declared the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 to be “the most farsighted, the most comprehensive, the most massive housing program in all American history.” To replace every slum dwelling in the country within ten years, the act turned from public housing, the government-run program started in the 1930s, toward private-sector programs using both nonprofit and for-profit companies. As a result, since its passage, for-profit businesses have developed the great majority of low-income residences in the United States. The law also helped popularize the idea of “public-private partnerships,” collaborations of government agencies and non-government entities—including for-profit companies—for social and urban improvements. Remarkably, political liberals supported the idea that private enterprise carry out social-welfare programs. This article examines the reasons that Democratic officials, liberals, and housing industry leaders united to create a decentralized, ideologically pluralistic, and redundant system for low-income housing. It shows that frustrations with the public housing program, the response to widespread violence in the nation's cities, and the popularity of corporate America pushed the turn toward the private sector. The changes in housing and urban policy made in the late 1960s, the article concludes, helped further distinguish the American welfare state and encourage the rise of neoliberalism in the United States.

*First to the Party: The Group Origins of the Partisan Transformation on Civil Rights, 1940–1960*

Christopher A. Baylor

pp. 111-141

One of the most momentous shifts in twentieth-century party politics was the Democratic Party's embrace of civil rights. Recent scholarship finds that this realignment began as early as the 1940s and traces it to pressure groups, especially organized labor. But such scholarship does not explain why labor, which was traditionally hostile to African Americans, began to work with them. Nor does it ascribe agency to the efforts of African American pressure groups. Focusing on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), this article attempts to fill these gaps in the literature. It explains why civil rights and labor leaders reassessed their traditional animosities and began to work as allies in the Democratic Party. It further shows how pressure from the new black-blue alliance forced the national Democratic Party to stop straddling civil rights issues and to become instead the vehicle for promoting civil rights. NAACP and CIO leaders consciously sought to remake the Democratic Party by marginalizing conservative Southerners, and eventually succeeded.