Spoglio delle principali riviste specialistiche estere (annata 2015)

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Christiane Stallaert, Sergio Romanelli
Entrada do Brasil na República mundial das letras. Mediações transatlânticas e diplomacia cultural de Dom Pedro II na elaboração de uma identidade letrada nacional.
18/09/2015

In this paper we discuss transatlantic strategies of developing a Brazilian national identity by Emperor Dom Pedro II through the exchange of letters with his ambassador in Liverpool, Baron of Rio Branco, at the time of the Universal Exhibition of 1889. The transatlantic flows contribute to shape a unique and creative Brazilian national identity as a space where dichotomies are mediated. The correspondence reveals the role of Dom Pedro II as a major agent of this cultural policy.

Macarena Ponce de León Atria
Competencia política y fraude electoral en Chile, 1912-1925
18/09/2015

This article seeks to understand the complexities of electoral competition for political power in Chile in the early institutionalization. Fraud, especially bribery, and the ministerial rotations during the so-called Parliamentary Republic (1891-1925) have been recurrent arguments of the historiography to prove the political crisis of the period. This article changes the focus on parliamentarism and this type of fraud, and attempts to show that, among the various campaign strategies, the manipulation of electoral registrations was the most competitive practice of negotiation between localities and party authorities in Santiago. The preelectoral fraud conducted by local elites organized around municipalities led to a political crisis in 1914, the only way out of which was to depoliticize the electoral power. This first way of doing this was to give responsibility of the preparation of the electoral records to an institution that was independent from both the parties and the other powers of the state. This explains why the Governing Junta of 1924 created the Electoral Registration.

Miranda Lida
Estética, cultura y política en la revista Criterio (Argentina, 1928-1936)
11/06/2015

The magazine *Criterio* has been often studied as a clear manifestation of a catholic and anti-liberal publication, involved on the most important debates of its time. This article returns to this subject to illuminate new angles, as – for example – the refusal for the esthetic avant-gardes, as a clear reflex of its political alignments, as well as other cultural interventions. It can not be underestimated the fact that the review called herself a weekly of culture, according to the words of its director, Gustavo Franceschi. Magazine of rude debates, it was nevertheless recognized and read by prominent figures from the outside of the catholic field, as the socialist Alfredo Palacios, who has

quotated articles by Gustavo Franceschi on his speeches in Congress. Those would allow us to explain why Criterio was an original expression of catholic press in the 1930´s.

Victoria Haidar
La polémica liberal con los desarrollismos: un análisis del pensamiento de Álvaro Alsogaray y de Federico Pinedo entre 1958 y 1973
1/12/2015

In this article we explore the controversy, registered in the plural field of Argentine liberalism, that Federico Pinedo y Alvaro Alsogary held between 1958 and 1973 with developmentalisms, particularly with ECLAC economic structuralism. From the analysis of a corpus of documents published in those years, we seek to show that in Argentine developmentalist ideas were discussed from neoliberal points of view almost simultaneously of its disclosure. We argue, also, that in the formulations of these two authors neoliberalism acquired meanings that were configured both in relation to a series of adversarial discourses circulating in the same situation as in relation to a set of other discourses in which, in the context of the controversy with developmentalisms, neoliberal positions found a foothold. Finally, this article pose the question, and bring some elements for a possible answer, about the importance that assumed the controversy with developmentalisms for the establishment of differentiations, both within the liberal camp and the economics profession.

Martín Ribadero
La Revolución cubana y la "Izquierda Nacional" de Jorge Abelardo Ramos. Ideas y debates en la cultura de izquierdas argentina a principios de la década de 1960
1/12/2015

The "Izquierda Nacional", led by Jorge Abelardo Ramos, was a political-cultural group, the visibility and public intervention of which, grew in the mid-20th century. From the beginning, this group intended to rethink the basis of socialism, through a profound debate, an editorial policy and the spreading of several publications. The triumph of the Cuban Revolution meant a new moment for this family´s alignment in left culture. The support they first gave to the Cuban process, seen as an anti-imperialist event, later became an estrangement in relation to the roads to socialism in Latin America. Ramos and his group developed a thorough critique of "foquismo" and, specially, of Ernesto "Che" Guevara´s thesis, that we analyze in this article, taking into consideration the crisis and transformation of argentinian left towards the early 60's.

Stéphane Boisard
La nueva derecha chilena y la impronta de los años 1960: ¿ruptura o continuidad?
11/06/2015

The birth of a 'new Right' in Chile in the Sixties keeps fuelling a rich historiographical debate on this political movement. This debate is not limited to a taxonomic concern—at its core lays a complex reflexion on a possible link between the rise of a new political generation in this Latin American country in the midst of a 'revolutionary' decade and the great neo-conservative transition

of the 1980s under the aegis of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. This article will not investigate international connexions but try to demonstrate that a new Right did emerge at the Catholic University of Santiago de Chile. Its founding moment was the student revolt of 1967 when the members of the student movement *gremial* and University of Chicago-trained economists met for the first time. This group, which slowly grew under General Pinochet's military dictatorship, reached maturity in 1983 with the creation of the UDI Party (Independent Democratic Union Party). This party deeply renewed the Chilean Rights, especially from an intellectual, cultural and political point of view, thanks to the new synthesis it operated between moral conservatism, political authoritarianism, and neoclassical liberal thinking in the economy.

Magdalena Schelotto
La dictadura cívico-militar uruguaya (1973-1985): la construcción de la noción de víctima y la figura del exiliado en el Uruguay post-dictatorial
10/03/2015

The Uruguayan dictatorship (1973-1985) forced nearly 380, 000 people, almost 14% of the population, into exile. Exile began as something temporary in neighboring countries in order to continue the militancy against the regime. To be a militant presupposes that militancy does not make one become a victim. Torture, imprisonment or death was just a consequence of that struggle. During the toughest years of the dictatorial repression, exile stopped being temporary and became something more long lasting and in further away countries. Soon, the various militant organizations abroad realized that in order to denounce the Uruguayan situation in the face of international organizations they must modify their discourse. This was done by adopting the transnational language of Human Rights. Their d, the diaspora discourse will resonate in the first claims by the Uruguayan society for the restoration of democracy. Through a reconstruction of the evolution of the discourse of different groups, we get closer to the way the in which the Uruguayan society constructs the concept of victim and what are its consequences under a state policy of silence.

Romain Pasquier
Bretagne électorale: le grand basculement

Until the 1970s, the conservative political forces were dominant in Brittany. However, left-wing political forces obtained significant victories in local, regional and national elections from the late 1990s onwards. How to explain this major shift? What political, economical and cultural factors can explain this lasting change in election outcomes?

Christian Bougeard
Les socialistes en Bretagne, étapes et facteurs d'une implantation régionale réussie (1905-2012)

Socialism history in Brittany, since the creation of the Socialist Federation of Brittany in 1900 until its peak in 2012, is a shift from a mission land in a Catholic region which traditionally voted for the right, to a political stronghold built by the Socialist Party (PS) in the seventies. SFIO first relied upon the secular republican culture found in many cities, ports and some rural communities up until the fifties. Then, the United Socialist Party (PSU) expanded the Socialist audience to include new social backgrounds which were in tune with the modernization of the Breton society, thus renewing a political movement which was experiencing a crisis in the sixties and offering a springboard for a new and successful generation of activists in the 1970s-1980s.

Frédéric Le Moigne
Mgr Roques, Éminence MRP

Cardinal Roques, Archbishop of Rennes, has clearly supported MRP, especially during the years 1945-1951. His views are not shared by some bishops (Mgr Cazaux in Vendée, Mgr Le Bellec in Morbihan), who are convinced that private education is better advocated by the conservative groups (PRL, Gaullists) than by centrists. The divergence in strategies is highest during the tax strike in 1950. The voting of Barangé and Marie Laws changes the situation and imposes a logic of unity common to the *Association parlementaire pour la liberté de l'enseignement* and to the catholic hierarchy.

Sara Teinturier
Les métamorphoses du catholicisme breton au XXe siècle. L'exemple de l'enseignement privé à Nantes

The schools issue took place over the Twentieth Century. In Nantes, this matter took a particular importance given the strong roots of Catholicism in this region and the links it has with social and political background. Three main stages can be identified, forming three different configurations. The first one is characterized by a defensive Catholicism, whose composition and action coincide with the monarchist right wing; when the influence of the left grows, a Catholicism protest becomes important inside the Breton Church itself. Finally, in the Breton plural society, the identity character of Catholicism is made stronger.

153 2015
Yann Potin
Les archives et la materialite differee du pouvoir. titres, ecrins ou substituts de la souverainete?
pp. 5-21

During the 19th century, modern States, whether democratic or not democratic, created institutions which, under the more or less generic appellation "National Archives", were destined to receive the material traces of their juridical and/or constitutional power. But what significance should be given to the deposit in the archives of founding acts of sovereignty such as oaths, covenants or acts of law? Looking at the complex relationships between the archives and sovereignty, the article reveals to what extent the material imagination of Western sovereignty is closely linked to three successive figures embodying power through the institution of the archives: the treasury, the repository of laws and the national necropolis.

153 2015
Vincent Duclert
L'Etat et les archives. Question démocratique, réponse institutionnelle
pp. 37-48

The 1990s crisis of the archives led ten years later to ad minima answers, restricted to the single aspect of the delay of communication of public documents redefined in the 2008 law, and to a limited institutional reform. But politicians should not hesitate to provide France with an ambitious archival legislation, taking into account the democratic stakes linked to the rights concerning this sphere of public, scientific, juridical activity. The paper intends to illustrate the current situation regarding the legislation on archives and to present a few elements of reflexion to support a national commitment in favour of the archives.

153 2015
Philippe Artières
L'historien face aux archives
pp. 85-93

What kind of relationship do historians maintain with the archives? While each historian develops singular practices, one may nevertheless write a social history of the relationship between researchers and the objects they use, which are not limited to the sources of their research. The article looks at the contemporary history of this confrontation.

153 2015
Françoise Banat-Berger
De l'écrit à Internet: comment archive-t-on l'immatériel?

pp. 109-124

The ongoing digital revolution is of the same magnitude as the revolution of the mid-12th century (long before the invention of the printing press) which led to the emergence of a book culture through the mastering of alphabetic technologies. It is having a strong impact on the archivist profession which has been founded, since the Middle Ages, on the recording of certified written texts whose reliability and authenticity could be established, and which is now shifting from a stable and durable mode of production to digital traces that are both volatile and constantly refashioned on the internet. The article analyses the answers given to this formidable challenge by illustrating their limits and stressing the main issues at stake.

[154 2015](#)
Julie Benetti
Les primaires et notre monarchie républicaine
pp. 5-13

Until recently, primaries were alien to the French political culture characterized, since 1958, by a direct relationship between the nation and its chief. They are now experiencing a growing and perhaps irreversible success with profound effects on the political system of the Fifth Republic. As they are becoming accepted as the first natural stage of the presidential election, which they anticipate and replicate step by step, they are also a symptom of the weakening of the presidential leadership that they at once reflect and try to contain.

[154 2015](#)
Yves Mény
Primaires: vertus (apparentes) et vices (cachés) d'une greffe américaine
pp. 27-40

Primaries were born in America at the apex of the People's Party's influence at the turn of the 20th century. For a long time, they were considered as a rather curious and exotic peculiarism of American politics and as an anti-party instrument since the two dominant parties were losing their grip on the electoral process. Strangely enough, and without too much in-depth analysis, the left parties in Europe and in particular the French Socialist Party and the Italian Democratic Party have jumped on the primary band-wagon. This can be explained as a desperate attempt to address the twin issues of leadership and representativeness that the traditional party apparatuses were unable to solve in a satisfactory fashion. This transplant might bring short-term solutions but the risk is to further transform and hollow out the traditional parliamentary parties in Europe.

[154 2015](#)
Gérard Grunberg
Les primaires présidentielles ouvertes: mort ou renaissance des partis?
pp. 55-65

The adoption by the two major French parties of the primary procedure in order to designate their candidate for the presidential election is in line with the personalization of power typical of the presidency within the framework of the Fifth Republic. This popular procedure gives the parties that adopt it a particular status which enhances their chance to win. On the other hand, it weakens the model of the activist party and the parliamentary party which favors collective discussion over individual political ambitions and careers.

154 2015
Pierre Avril
Les primaires: un affaiblissement de la démocratie?
pp. 133-142
In theory, primaries are a democratic procedure but, in the framework of the Fifth Republic, the experience has so far revealed some of their pernicious effects. They promote communication over political debate and, in the case of the designation of presidential candidates, they contribute to weakening the policy-making role of parties while increasing the personalization and concentration of power under the guise of democratization.

Revue Française de Science Politique

Guy Michelat, Claude Dargent
Système symbolique catholique et comportements électoraux
pp. 27-60

Consistently over the last century the social sciences have established a close connection between Catholicism and right-wing voting in France. Despite the profound changes which have affected the religious and political spheres, this relationship was once again confirmed in the presidential election of 2012. The propensity of Catholics to cast their votes for the right, which increases with church attendance, turns out to be independent of their other socio-demographic characteristics. In addition, economic liberalism and ethno-authoritarianism, which accompanypolitically conservative attitudes and behaviour, also go hand in hand with increased integration to Catholicism. However, even after controlling for these two attitude scales, the effect of Catholic church attendance on the right-wing vote persists.

Florence Faucher, Colin Hay
Les rituels de vote en France et au Royaume-Uni
pp. 213-236

Voting is a symbolic practice. Yet, political scientists tend to focus either on the outcomes of elections or on citizens' motivations to vote in the first place – typically by building models of the former on assumptions made about the latter. By doing so, they forget the symbolic significance of the practice itself and the meaning it has for the participants. In this paper, we seek to restore a focus on this symbolic dimension, through an analysis of voting rituals in France and Britain. We explore what citizens do when they vote. In particular we pay attention to how the voter's choice is constructed as either something that can be performed and hence displayed publicly or as irredeemably secret and private. We consider how such typically taken-for-granted practices help us understand the extent to which these actions reflect divergent assumptions about the boundaries of the public and the private and contribute to construct particular visions of the polity and the place of citizens in the democratic process.

Miroslav Novák
Systèmes partisans compétitifs. Quelle divergence entre Duverger et Sartori?
pp. 451-471

This text refutes the conventional wisdom that Duverger's classification of pluralistic party systems is simplistic because it recognizes only bipartism and multipartism as categories. It indicates that: 1. By 1951, Duverger had already introduced a more sophisticated typology of pluralistic party systems, one which resembled the later one by Sartori ; 2. Duverger authored the concept of the

"paradox of the centre", that is no less "counter-intuitive" compared to Sartori's concept; 3. Like Sartori, Duverger puts emphasis on the "functioning" of party systems ; Sartori, however, dissociated himself from Duverger and tried to propagate the belief that his approach is fundamentally different from Duverger's; 4. It is necessary to revise the simplistic understanding of the development of political science and to recognize Duverger's contribution to the theory of party systems as fundamental.

Anne Muxel
La politisation par l'intime. Parler politique avec ses proches
pp. 541-562

Political science and electoral studies in France have not focused much on the different ways in which political topics and electoral choices are debated at home. Who talks about politics and with whom? Are individuals happy to say who they vote for? What topics are most likely to cause conflict? Exploring family ties, couple relationships and friendship, the empirical results from quantitative and specific surveys conducted in France at the Cevipof show how much individuals are related to politics also affectively. They underline the importance of what might be called "an intimate politicization". This "intimate politicization" plays a role alongside political and social factors, explaining how people interact with politics and can be just as decisive and perhaps even more so.

Carlo Invernizzi Accetti
Vers un modèle de democratié chrétienne? Politique et religion dans le traité de Lisbonne
pp. 563-582

This article seeks to demonstrate the heuristic utility of an ideal-type of "Christian Democracy" to understand how the relations between politics and religion are structured within the framework of the treaty that founds the European Union. The first part is dedicated to a theoretical reconstruction of this ideal-type of "Christian Democracy", empahsizing its specificity with respect to the notions of "secularism" and "laicité". The second part proposes a reading of the treaty of Lisbon through the theoretical prism offered by these three notions, highlighting the elements that resonate with the first and therefore challenge the idea that the European Union can be adequately described as secular or laique.

673 (1) 2015
Claudine Guiard
Être féministe en contexte colonial dans l'Algérie des années 1930. Les militantes de l'Union française pour le suffrage des femmes
pp. 125-148

Feminists in Colonial Context: Activists of UFSF in Algeria during the 1930s.

The establishment of women's associations in colonial Algeria was late and lasted for a short period of time. Through the study of the creation, rise and decline, in Algeria, of a branch of the major feminist moderate organizations, the "French Union for Women's Suffrage", this article seeks to question the concept of feminism in a colonial society established in the land of Arab-Muslim. Was it possible for feminist activists to claim more rights for French women without trying to liberate the Algerian women from the Muslim status? What did it mean to be a feminist in Algeria, during the 1930s? Drawing from the analysis of the newspaper *La Française* and the correspondence between Mrs Brunschvicg, President of the UFS, Sara Kimble and Jennifer Boittin highlighted the differences between Paris and Algeria concerning the emancipation of Muslim women. The study of Algiers feminist newspaper, *Femmes de Demain*, completes and qualifies some of their findings. Like the metropolitan ones, activists of Algeria were ready to demand improvement in the situation of Muslim women. However, because of colonial mentality, they measured the difficulties and the limits of an emancipation of the "western type" in the Algerian context. They knew that the removal of the Muslim personal status, and even education, would not be sufficient to really improve the lives of Algerian women, because of the extreme poverty of most colonized populations. Indeed, Gender was an intrinsic part of the colonial racial hierarchy. It was embedded in the colonial order. Being pro or against feminism in Algeria, from the colonisers or the colonized perspective, was a much more complex commitment in comparison to metropolitan France. Thus, Feminism can only be analyzed through the prism of colonialism.

674 (2) 2015
Agnès Graceffa
De l'entraide universitaire sous l'Occupation: la correspondance de Marc Bloch avec André Mazon (décembre 1940 - juillet 1941)
pp. 383-412

Academic Solidarity under Occupation: Letters of Marc Bloch to André Mazon (December 1940-July 1941).

The edition of Marc Bloch's letters to the slavist André Mazon (professor at the Collège de France) presented here, is interesting for two points: on the one hand, this correspondence allows to specify the reasons of the failure of Marc Bloch's departure for the United States in 1941, and demonstrates in particular the share of responsibility of the American Consulate of Lyon; on the other hand, it illustrates the reality of the mutual aid between academics during the period of the Occupation, and the dynamism of networks of sociability which quickly re-configure. The presentation of further

cases of mutual aid and/or mobilization of staffs of academics in the direction of colleagues, – either Jewish, foreign or Resistant –, acknowledges the same fact.

Stéphanie Sauget
Enterrer les morts pendant le double siège de Paris (1870-1871)
pp. 557-586

Burying the Dead during the Double Siege of Paris (1870-1871)

Between September 1870 and the end of May 1871, Paris is under a double siege, laid at first by the German armies, then by the army from Versailles. During that period, the city has to deal with a major crisis of over mortality rate. It forced the municipal administration of the cemeteries and the funeral director of Paris to break up with the hygiene and public health standards and to hurt the Parisians' sensibility and their "cult of the dead". This article is based on the archives of Parisian ceme- teries and on the papers published by Léon Vafflard, the funeral director of Paris. These data shed light on the new attitudes of the French contemporaries towards mass graves and burial system, in urban context. They also help to re-evaluate the importance of the years 1870-1871, increasingly being seen as a major crossroads of the contemporary French history.

Mathieu Dubois
68 et l'autonomie des organisations de jeunesse: une parenthèse dans l'histoire des partis français
pp. 647-666

Principal mouvement de jeunesse politique français, les Jeunesses communistes ont longtemps été oubliées par l'historiographie des années 1968 en dehors de la crise de leur branche étudiante (UEC). Ce silence historiographique reflète la vision d'un déclin du PCF dans la jeunesse, que contredit l'afflux de jeunes militants dans le parti et ses organisations dans les années 1970. Au contraire, Mai 68 constitua un moment d'accélération de l'aggiornamento communiste et de relance pour les Jeunesses communistes, dont l'identité fut profondément redéfinie pour s'adapter aux nouvelles attentes et revendications de la jeunesse. L'autonomie croissante accordée par le parti au mouvement fut l'une des clés de cette transformation, tandis que l'évolution sociologique n'entraînait pas seulement la fin d'une tradition d'encadrement de la jeunesse ouvrière héritée du premier xxe siècle, mais également un véritable renouveau militant avec l'arrivée massive d'étudiants et de lycéens fortement politisés.

David Gallo
La politique de formation idéologique de la SS (1933-1945). Une étude sur la transmission de la normativité nazie

The Policy of Ideological Training within the SS (1933-1945). An Study of the Transmission of Nazi Normativity.

The following article traces the history of the policy of «ideological training» (weltanschauliche Schulung or weltanschauliche Erziehung) developed between 1933 and 1945 by the SS (Schutzstaffel), the organization that considered itself the elite of Nazism. Its radicalism and its scope make the SS's efforts in the field of political indoctrination a paradigmatic example of the Nazi regime's attempts at transmitting its new system of values to its rank and file. An empirical case study of such a policy can thus allow the historian to shed new light on the problem of nazi normativity and help bring a new perspective to the understanding of the mentalities of the men who committed to the cause of the «Third Reich» and fought and murdered in its name – two issues that are central to the recent historiography of National-Socialism. The first two parts of the article analyse the two main chronological phases of the history of the «educational organization» and its changing priorities, as the program of ideological training, that initially aimed at forging the civil elite of the nazi regime through a process of long-term reeducation (1933-1939), increasingly transformed into an instrument of morale-boosting for the SS's fighting troops (1939-1945). The third and last part of the article tries to assess the results of ideological training and the extend to which Nazi norms penetrated the SS's various units. It reaches the conclusion that, although ideological penetration should not be underestimated, it varied greatly and remained generally far below the utopian expectations of SS ideologists.

Marie-Bénédicte Vincent
De la dénazification à la sanction des communistes: le devoir de fidélité des fonctionnaires ouest-allemands à l'épreuve

From Denazification to the Punishment of Communists: the Loyalty of West-German Civil Servants Put to the Test

This paper focuses on the study of the internal purges against communists in the West German Civil Service during the 1950s and 1960s. Based on the exploration of several disciplinary procedures, it analyses the way in which the institution understands the "duty of loyalty" of its civil servants since the establishment of the democratic order. The article considers first the long duration of the "professional civil service" since the 19th century and the way in which this "duty of loyalty" has been elaborated and formulated in different regimes, including the Prussian Monarchy, the Weimar Republic and the Nazi Regime, in order to understand the changes at work after the Second World War. The thesis defended here is that the normative change observed in the Constitution of 1949 and the federal Law of the civil service of July 1953 has been used to purge a population different from former Nazis: namely the communists. Our hypothesis is that this internal purge of the civil service in the 1950s and the 1960s took place not only because of the Cold War, but also because the former Nazi civil servants had been reintegrated in the public administrations thanks to the generous policy of amnesty and rehabilitation implemented in West Germany, so that they wanted

to defend their positions and their professional interests against the antifascists who had joined the civil service after the 8 May 1945. The disciplinary sanction against communist activism and KPD or SED membership in the civil service offers an interesting mirror of the now well known penal lawsuits against communists in West Germany. It allows us to reflect on the social background of anticommunist practices at the individual level.

Germania

Kiran Klaus Patel
The Making of Homo Europaeus: Problems, Approaches and Perspective
pp. 15-31

Erst seit relativ kurzer Zeit, so die These dieses Beitrags, sprechen Menschen über sich und andere als „Europäer". Bis in die Frühe Neuzeit hinein blieb dieser Begriff zur Selbst- und Fremdbeschreibung weitgehend unbedeutend, was angesichts seiner heutigen Allgegenwärtigkeit verwundern mag. Der Artikel geht zunächst den Schlüsselmomenten nach, in denen der Begriff an Bedeutung gewann, und er schlüsselt seine Kerndimensionen auf. Danach diskutiert er verschiedene Konzepte, um der Geschichte des „Europäers" und der „Europäerin" angemessen nachgehen zu können. Schließlich werden mit Schwerpunkt auf das 20. Jahrhundert einige Arbeitshypothesen zur Geschichte des „Homo Europaeus" vorgestellt.

Debora Gerstenberger
Europe in the Tropics? The Transfer of the Portuguese Royal Court to Brazil (1807/08) and the Adaptation of European Ideals in the New Imperial Capital
pp. 32-46

Als napoleonische Truppen 1807 in Lissabon einmarschierten, segelte der portugiesische Monarch Joao (VI) samt 15.000 Personen im Gefolge gen Brasilien. Rio de Janeiro wurde zum Zentrum des portugiesischen Reiches, es kam zu einer „Umkehrung" des Verhältnisses von Mutterland und Kolonie. Dieser Aufsatz beleuchtet zunächst die geopolitischen und kulturellen Voraussetzungen dafür, dass die portugiesische politische Elite mit relativer Leichtigkeit ihren Sitz in Europa zugunsten einer neuen Hauptstadt in den Tropen verlassen konnte. Danach werden auf der Basis von Polizeidokumenten jene Herrschaftspraktiken analysiert, die aus der Kolonialstadt eine imperiale Hauptstadt machen sollten. Hierbei fungierten europäische Verhältnisse als Vorbild. Deutlich wird aber auch, dass die in Europa geltenden Standards – je nach politischer Lage und ökonomischen Interessen – stark an die Begebenheiten in Brasilien angepasst werden konnten.

Michael Mann
Invented Superiority: British Self-Perception and Indian Responses in Colonial South Asia
pp. 47-67

Mit Beginn ihrer kolonialen Expansion nach Irland, Nordamerika und schließlich nach Südasien ab dem 16. Jahrhundert entwickelten die herrschenden politischen und wirtschaftlichen Klassen Englands ein dezidiertes Verständnis von der eigenen kulturellen und zivilisatorischen Überlegenheit. Im Wesentlichen bestand die Erzeugung dieses Überlegenheitsgefühls im sogenannten „Othering", also der dezidierten Definition anderer Gesellschaften und Kulturen als

rückständig, degeneriert und daher unterlegen. In Britisch-Indien sollte sich dieses Gefühl, und letztlich die Überzeugung einer europäischen Superiorität, an drei Punkten zeigen. Zum einen über die Konstruktion des „zeitlosen indischen Dorfes", das pars pro toto für die Statik des Orients stand. Zum zweiten über der Hierarchisierung der „indischen Gesellschaft" aufgrund der brahmanisch-britischen Erfindung des „Kastensystems", das ebenfalls für die Unveränderlichkeit, aber auch Rückständigkeit der homogenisierten und essentialisierten indischen Gesellschaften stand. Und zum dritten mittels der behaupteten Überlegenheit europäischen Medizinwissens, das nur durch administrative Regulierung durchgesetzt werden konnte. Im kolonialen Kontext Britisch-Indiens ist der homo europaeus geradezu erfunden und letztlich erfolgreich konstruiert worden – mit nachhaltiger Wirkung.

Jochen Hung
The Modernized Gretchen: Transformations of the 'New Woman' in the Late Weimar Republic
pp 52-79

The 'New Woman' was an important part of the culture and society of Weimar Germany, both as a discursive figure and as social reality. However, the interdependencies between these two aspects—the 'New Woman' as a media phenomenon and as a lived reality—have not yet been investigated in depth. Using the example of the tabloid newspaper Tempo (1928–1933) and its interaction with its readership, this article sheds light on the ways in which Germans reconciled the 'New Woman' ideal with their own experiences at the end of the Weimar Republic. Most importantly, it shows the struggle of many readers to accommodate new ideas about 'modern' relationships between men and women at a time when traditional morals persisted in a rapidly deteriorating economic climate. A number of scholars have pointed to a change in the media-driven construction of images of femininity in the late 1920s, with the modern, independent 'New Woman' making way for a more conservative ideal of motherhood and devotion. This article argues that this shift in the discourse on femininity did not reflect a change in the self-definition of German women. Rather, the interaction of Tempo's female and male readers with the paper suggests that they tried to accommodate new concepts of modern femininity with persisting traditional ideas about women's role in society, arriving at a hybrid type of 'moderately modern' womanhood. Thus, only the image of the 'New Woman' constructed in the media changed at the end of the 1920s, while the self-definition of German women remained relatively stable—even beyond 1933.

Thomas Brodie
The German Catholic Diaspora in the Second World War
pp 80-99

This article analyses the impact exerted by the evacuation of civilians on the pastoral structures of Catholic dioceses in the Rhineland and Westphalia during the later years of the Second World War. It examines the religious lives of Catholic evacuees from these regions in other parts of Germany, such as Saxony and Thuringia, and also assesses how effectively their clergy were able to minister to them in these new surroundings. In so doing, this article contributes to historiographical debates concerning the role of religion in German society during the Second World War. Many excellent works claim that the later phases of the conflict witnessed a widespread return to religious faith on the home front. This article aims to challenge this historiographical assumption, by revealing the manifold ways in which Catholic life was profoundly disrupted by the evacuation of civilians during the last years of the war. Large numbers of evacuees from the Rhineland and Westphalia went for extensive periods without supervision by their clergy, and frequently displayed indifference towards religious matters. Rather than viewing the Catholic Church's prominence in western Germany after 1945 as grounded in social developments under way during the war years,

this article contends that it must be seen as the product of changed political circumstances in the later 1940s.

Andrea Orzoff
Writing across the Wall: The German PEN Clubs and East–West Dialogue, 1964–1968
pp. 232-254

Between 1964 and 1968, the writer-members of the East and West German chapters of PEN International tried to set up cross-border literary initiatives, relying on the Contact Committee (Ständiger Verbindungsausschuss). The chapters had different visions of the Committee from the outset; neither group had many resources to devote to it. In the end, after a few successful literary evenings on both sides of the relatively new Wall, political pressures forced the East German PEN leaders to abandon the enterprise. The West Germans protested, but acquiesced. Yet the Contact Committee's short, problematic, surprisingly successful existence offers a way of reassessing European and German–German cultural politics at the midpoint of the Cold War. A study of the Contact Committee complicates our understanding of cultural diplomacy; of the divisions and distinctions between East and West, national and international, the cultural and the political. It requires reassessment of the efforts of intellectuals to claim political legitimacy on both sides of the Wall. Additionally, the Contact Committee provides a vantage point for examining the ways the Iron Curtain was 'made'—or, as this episode demonstrates, made, unmade, remade, then reached across—at a level distinct from the 'Wall in the head', high politics, or belles-lettres.

The Contours of the Political
pp. 255-273

The advent of the 'new political history' has witnessed a significant attempt to absorb and to respond to the opportunities and challenges afforded by the emergence of a range of sub-disciplines and the pluralization of the discipline, its methods and its objects of study. Clearly, politics is no longer 'high politics' alone. Nor is it confined to a recognizable set of institutions, practices and processes that are located within a limited domain, a domain in which a reified type of 'Politics' is 'done' solely and self-consciously by actors labelled as politicians—be they local, national or something between or beyond the two. A moment's consideration of the impulses generated by feminism reminds us that conversations concerning the definition of the political have a very long archaeology. Yet, as more recent debates concerning the 'new political history' have shown, definitions of the political remain as contested as ever. Moreover, as the geographical metaphor which we are using to entitle this forum reminds us, discussing morphologies of the political is not simply a question of assessing the historical evolution of power's presentation, contestation and effects from the vantage point of a stable present: it demands that we acknowledge the contingency of our own positions and perspectives too. Thinking in terms of contours affords an opportunity to describe equally terrains whose features modulate gently and those that shift abruptly; in terms of temporal change it serves to describe those that evolve very slowly and those that are dramatically

reconfigured during moments of profound impact. Yet invoking the vocabularies of mapping also demands that we acknowledge, crucially, that landscapes are not objective terrains but rather reflections of what one chooses, is able or is trained to see. Considering the contours of the political therefore requires us to interrogate our own positionality and subjectivities, as well …

Helen Roche
Surviving 'Stunde Null': Narrating the Fate of Nazi Elite-School Pupils during the Collapse of the Third Reich
pp 570-587

This paper considers the experiences of one particular, rarely discussed group of 'war children': former pupils of the most prominent type of Nazi elite school, the Nationalpolitische Erziehungsanstalten or 'Napolas'. Drawing upon a variety of original testimonies, the paper explores the hardships and dilemmas that Napola pupils (often as young as 12 or 13) faced as the Second World War drew to a close, and the ways in which ex-pupils have attempted to present this aspect of their past in autobiographical memoir literature and personal recollections. Public attitudes have certainly influenced these former pupils' self-presentation, and their personal narratives of victimhood. However, their narrations also seem to contain recurring themes that are specific to their status as former elite-school pupils, and that have interesting implications for the ways in which we might approach such testimonies, both historically and methodologically.

Andrew I. Port , *Courting China, Condemning China: East and West German Cold War Diplomacy in the Shadow of the Cambodian Genocide*
pp. 588-608

After the overthrow of Pol Pot and the genocidal Khmer Rouge in early 1979, a major international dispute erupted over who had the right to represent Cambodia in the international arena. Whereas the GDR immediately recognized the new regime installed by Vietnam (a close ally of the Soviet bloc and an arch-foe of China), West Germany gave staunch diplomatic support to the internationally reviled Khmer Rouge. This provoked a storm of public protest in the media and on the part of bewildered West German citizens, who took their leaders to task for supposedly compromising the country's most basic human rights principles. This article looks at the geopolitical and economic reasons for the East and West German positions on the representation issue, 'Holocaust' discourse in the two postwar German states, and the role that each state's relationship with China played in terms of its policies towards Cambodia and its understanding of what had transpired in there. It is based on unpublished archival sources, contemporary media reports, interviews with key actors, and a series of highly politicized documentaries about Cambodia made in the early 1980s by the internationally renowned East German filmmakers Walter Heynowski and Gerhard Scheumann. The article demonstrates how Cold War geopolitics and economic considerations were paramount in determining official German policies towards Cambodia and China on both sides of the iron curtain.

Jan-Friedrich Missfelder
Der Klang der Geschichte. Begriffe, Traditionen und Methoden der Sound history
pp. 633-649

L'articolo fornisce una panoramica dei concetti, delle tradizioni disciplinari e dei metodi della Sound History. Dopo la discussione di termini centrali come *sound* e *soundscape* vengono identificati i punti di collegamento interdisciplinare tra scienze storiche, scienze musicali e Sound Studies. Vengono quindi presentate le sfide metodologiche e il potenziale di una scienza del suono dal punto di vista della ricerca storica.

Dirk van Laak
Erzählen, Erklären oder Erbsenzählen? Über das Verhältnis von Literatur und Geschichtsschreibung
pp. 365-383

Nella cultura storiografica contemporanea "raccontare" e "spiegare" sembrano attività sempre più legate tra loro. Di fatto la letteratura e la storiografia guardano fin dall'antichità a una storia che, pur carica di tensioni, sia intrecciata. La storia è stata segnata da tentativi di demarcazione metodologica e da differenti modelli di interpretazione della realtà. Ciò ha interessato anche e soprattutto le modalità linguistiche della rappresentazione. Nel presente "neo-storicista", segnato da un'ampia offerta di generi narrativi, i confini sono sempre più difficili da definire. Ciò che più conta è stabilire quali sinergie si possono dispiegare tra la letteratura funzionale e la storiografia analitica, nel comune interesse di gettare luce sulla condizione umana.

Geschichte und Gesellschaft

XLI (1) 2015
Astrid Mignon Kirchhof e Nina Leonhard (a cura di)
Gegenwelten

Il monografico tratta della costruzione culturale di "mondi alternativi", definiti come visioni del mondo che mirano a costruire spazi sottratti alle strutture sociali e politiche egemoni, a cavallo tra i "mondi sociali" di Strauss e le subculture (Williams). Le curatrici non fanno riferimento a Gramsci, ma ad una letteratura americana e tedesca sulla costruzione di subculture e spazi contro-culturali. Il fascicolo esamina quattro casi di studio, i funerali a Cracovia nel sec. XIX, la protezione della natura nella Repubblica democratica tedesca come base per la formazione di un movimento politico riformatore; Le Chiese protestanti nella Germania occidentale degli anni Ottanta. Il fascicolo contiene anche una rassegna di Stefanie Middendorf, sul Ministero delle Finanze tedesco dal 1914 al 1945, in cui si affronta la questione della continuità dell'apparato statale e del suo ruolo sociale tra Weimar e Nazionalsocialismo, sulla base di categorie di Foucault e Luhmann.

XLI (2) 2015
H. Glenn Penn e Stefan Rinke (a cura di)
Rethinking Germans Abroad

Il monografico presenta quattro saggi sui tedeschi in Brasile 1870-1945 (F. Schulze), I tedeschi africani e il loro immaginario (L. Kriel), la campagna culturale per l'infanzia in Transilvania, 1917-1924 (N. Sveholm), il rapporto tra elites tedesche in Giappone e la cultura tedesca delle élites giapponesi (Hoi-eun Kim), il rapporto tra i tedeschi all'estero e i tedeschi naturalizzati stranieri dal XVI al XX secolo (D. Blackbourn). Il tema è la dispersione della nazione tedesca, la sua identità plurale all'estero, e la germanofilia straniera, nel periodo 1880-1933 circa. La prima guerra mondiale risulta una cesura per una forzata rivisitazione dell'intreccio tra germanità e identità sociali, in Brasile, nel Nord-America, Sudafrica e in altre aree dove i tedeschi vennero considerati nemici e spesso internati. Alcuni accenni alle differenze culturali tra l'immigrazione italiana e quella tedesca emergono attorno al ruolo delle lingue e delle chiese confessionali (Introduzione, pp. 187-188).

XLI (3) 2015
Julia Laura Rischbieter e Hans-Peter Ullmann (a cura di)
Staatsverschuldung

Il fascicolo affronta un tema al centro della ricerca recente, ossia il rapporto tra debito pubblico, teoria della modernizzazione e crescita economica, dagli anni Venti alla fine del sec. XX, con saggi di Matthias Schmelzer, "Cresci o muori" sulla politica di crescita dell'OCSE; Hans-Peter Ullmann, sulle strategie espansive della finanza pubblica tedesca degli anni Settanta del sec. XX; Friederike Sattler, sulle strategie finanziarie di ri-assicurazione del debito bancario e statale dopo la crisi petrolifera del 1973/74; Alexander Nützenadel, sul caso italiano: la gestione del debito pubblico, e

la formazione dei patrimoni privati dopo il 1945 in Italia; Julia Laura Rischbieter, sulla finanza internazionale nella crisi del debito degli anni Ottanta.

XLI (4) 2015

Hubertus Büschel e Daniel Speich Chassé (a cura di)
Cooperazione allo sviluppo e competenza tecnica nella modernizzazione globale

Il fascicolo presenta i saggi di Corinna R. Unger, *Tecnici agrari e strategie di modernizzazione agricola nella cooperazione internazionale dagli anni Venti agli anni Ottanta del sec. XX*; Daniel Speich Chassé, *Il terzo mondo come effetto teorico*; Christiane Berth und Corinne A. Pernet, *Trasferimento di conoscenza ed esperti nel caso dell'Istituto de Nutrición de Centro América y Panamá (INCAP), 1961–1982*; Cyrus Schayegh, *The Interwar Germination of Development and Modernization Theory and Practice. Politics, Institution Building, and Knowledge Production Between the Rockefeller Foundation and the American University of Beirut*; Hubertus Büschel, *Modernità psichiatria globale nel XX secolo*. Chiude il fascicolo una rassegna di Ulrike von Hirschhausen, *A New Imperial History? Programm, Potenzial, Perspektiven*.

Gerhard A. Ritter

Die Volksrepublik China und die beiden deutschen Staaten 1989/90

pp. 94–120

The People's Republic of China was traditionally in accordance with its policy of „one China" for a reunification of the two German States. It vacillated in this policy, when the Federal Republic, after the brutal massacre of the movement for democracy on the Tian'anmen on June 4, 1989, joined in the economic sanctions of the West while the leadership of the GDR – partly as a warning against its own opposition movement – supported the actions of the Communist Party of China. The Foreign Office of the Federal Republic tried to maintain the links with China by talks on the level of ambassadors and carrying on some projects of German help for development. By such and other political signals it hoped to prevent an isolation of China and a renunciation of China's policy of economic reform and opening to the outside world, pursued since the end of the Nineteen-Seventies. The Foreign Office was also decisively motivated by its wish to prevent an unwanted interference of the world power China into the process of German unification. The policy of the Foreign Office was helped by the fact that after the collapse of the rule of the SED the movement for citizen's rights in the DDR strongly supported the opponents of the Chinese regime in and outside of China and thus was not considered a possible partner in a Chinese policy against German unification.

Iberoamericana

Hanno Ehrlicher
Enrique Gómez Carillo en la red cosmopolita del modernismo
pp. 41-60

Enrique Gómez Carrillo is an author considered 'minor' within the literary canon of latin-american and spanish *modernismo*. His importance as a writer, journalist and advertising promoter of this aesthetic movement was, however, extremely important. The article analyzes his changing position within the cosmopolitan network of *modernismo*, especially highlighting the journals in which he collaborated (*Mercure de France*) or that he directed (*El Nuevo Mercurio*, *Cosmópolis*). Although a serious sociological study of the network of modernist printing culture in Latin America and Spain can't still be realized due to the lack of sufficient data, the following article wants to take a first step in this direction and focus in this perspective the work of Gómez Carrillo.

Silvia Kurlat Ares
Los futuros posindustriales de la historieta en la era del populismo. El caso argentine
pp. 131-144

Argentina has a large corpus of science fiction comics with a strong ideological content. In this paper, I discuss two recent comics within this tradition: *La burbuja de Bertold* (2005) and *Planeta Extra* (2009) by Diego Agrimbau (1975) and Gabriel Ippóliti (1964). These comics are remarkable for their refined narrative and visual universes, built as dystopian spaces, which can be recognized as a future Argentina, where institutions have collapsed and where technology is unable to provide a semblance of civility. This comics are marked by a huge pessimism and their ideological readings provide a reading of the experience of political anomie.

María Valeria Galvan
La mirada del nacionalismo argentino sober los años sesenta: las trasformaciones esteticas y culturales en las paginas del seminar argnetino Azul y Blanco
pp. 87-100

The time during the military government of Juan Carlos Onganía (1966-1970) in Argentina was described in the nationalist weekly Azul y Blanco (AyB). This page stands as a valuable document for showing the political opposition of the Nationalists against Onganía but also for depicting the aesthetic and stylistic renovation that characterized the Sixties. Even though this decade was rich in socio-cultural and aesthetic innovations, different local actors such as the Nationalists represented by AyB resisted many of them. However, the subtext of this weekly's discourse contradicted itself with the explicit negative opinions on these changes. For these reasons, AyB depicted the tensions that characterized the local process of cultural and artistic transformation of the Sixties and also how these influenced the intellectual nationalist milieu.

Journal of Modern European History

13 (2) 2015
Robert Gerwarth
Transnational Approaches to the «Crisis of Empire» after 1918 - Introduction
pp. 173-182

13 (3) 2015
Elke Seefried
Reconfiguring the Future? Politics and Time from the 1960s to the 1980s – Introduction
pp. 306–316

13 (4) 2015
Stella Ghervas
The Long Shadow of the Congress of Vienna: From International Peace to Domestic Disorders
pp. 458-463

60 (1) 2015
Stig Förster
Hundert Jahre danach. Neue Literatur zum Ersten Weltkrieg
pp. 5- 26

The following essay reviews some of the most important books that were published at the centenary of the First World War. Among them are monumental books as well as smaller publications. The essay discusses trends and new developments in recent historiography on the Great War. Transnational history has certainly become more prominent. But large monographs on singles countries have not lost their value. Violence in war has developed into an important topic. The impact of the First World War on non-European countries receives more attention. And the international debate on the causes and origins of this war continues with renewed vigour. These new publications demonstrate the high level of research that has been reached in recent years.

60 (3) 2015
Dorothee Wierling
Was vom Kriege übrig bleibt. Jörn Leonhards Geschichte des Ersten Weltkrieges: Die Büchse der Pandora
pp. 385-401

60 (3) 2015
Benjamin Ziemann
German Pacifism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
pp. 415-438

The article discusses recent work on German pacifist movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. While many books and articles offer a biographical perspective on key pacifists, other studies are interested in the contributions of functionally differentiated fields of society such as education or the legal system to the advancement of non-violent policies and practices. A focus of much recent work are the West German protest movements against the Dual Track Solution in the early 1980s. These protests sought to reconceptualise the space of the political and to promote a 'politics of scales' that translated the potentially global scope of nuclear destruction into the immediate context of a town, village or neighbourhood.

95 (1) 2016

Chiara Lucrezio Monticelli

Vorstellungsbilder und Regierungshandeln in der „zweiten Stadt des Kaiserreichs". Neue Forschungslinien zum napoleonischen Rom
pp 325–345

L'articolo intende rileggere la conquista napoleonica di Roma nel 1809 in più stretto rapporto con il coevo processo di definizione di spazialità imperiali e identità nazionali in Europa (in particolare nel versante mediterraneo e italiano) all'inizio del lungo XIX secolo. Roma fu al tempo stesso simbolo dell'Empire-building napoleonico - a partire dalla proclamazione di „seconda città dell'Impero" - e terreno di sperimentazione delle forme di imperialismo generate dalla „missione civilizzatrice" francese. Il contrasto tra le pratiche „coloniali" di governo urbano e l'uso politico dell'idea imperiale di Roma antica produsse effetti significativi nel campo dell'amministrazione e della rappresentazione della città. Attraverso le fonti delle istituzioni romane e dell'amministrazione francese, nonché sulla base dei discorsi politici dei patrioti italiani si mostrerà la molteplicità delle implicazioni - politiche, spaziali, culturali - del mito e della realtà di Roma in questa cruciale fase di transizione del Risorgimento italiano.

95 (1) 2016

Elena Mazzini

Konversionen und Konvertiten im faschistischen Italien zum Zeitpunkt der Rassenkampagne. Die Reaktion des Heiligen Stuhles und der katholischen Kirche in Italien
pp 346-370

L'articolo descrive e discute i primi risultati di una ricerca ancora in corso relativa alla persecuzione degli ebrei cattolici da parte del fascismo dopo la promulgazione delle leggi razziali del 1938. Le fonti su cui poggia l'articolo provengono dall'Archivio storico della Segreteria di Stato della città del Vaticano e riguardano le richieste di aiuto pervenute alla Santa Sede all'indomani della legislazione antisemita promulgata dal fascismo a partire da quell'anno. Le leggi razziali colpirono non solo quegli italiani di religione ebraica ma anche coloro che, pur convertiti al cattolicesimo in anni precedenti al 1938, risultavano secondo i parametri fissati dall'antisemitismo fascista comunque ebrei. Le fonti si suddividono in due principali tipologie: un primo gruppo riguarda lettere scritte dai perseguitati che chiedevano alla Santa Sede di intervenire in loro favore in quanto cattolici; il secondo insieme di fonti è rappresentato dai dispacci e dai documenti prodotti dalla Segreteria di Stato della Santa Sede relativamente alla questione dei convertiti e alle possibili soluzioni da adottare per salvarli e al contempo cercando di non mettere a rischio gli equilibri stabilitisi con il regime. L'articolo, grazie a una documentazione inedita, avvia una prima riflessione su un tema scarsamente indagato dalla storiografia e che invece propone nuove prospettive storiche sui processi politico-religiosi riguardanti la persecuzione antiebraica e in particolar modo la situazione specifica degli ebrei cattolici.

Christian Hartz
Ökonomie und Entschädigung nationalsozialistischer Zwangsarbeit
pp. 8-34

Compensation for injustices suffered under National Socialism, analysed with reference to forced labour in this article, remains an ongoing issue, even if Germany's industrial and political elites take a different view, considering it a closed chapter. In light of this problematic, the article addresses three themes: the extent of forced labour under National Socialism, its economic results (still evident today) and the practice of compensation. Since German industry takes the view that there is no legal claim to compensation for forced labour performed under National Socialism, in spite of the profits generated by such labour during the Second World War, it was not until the 1990s that symbolic but scant compensation of those forced labourers still alive could be enforced. The establishment of the Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and Future", the payment of compensation sums and the associated avoidance of additional payments may represent an updated variant of the "policy of closure" (Schlussstrichpolitik) that can be resisted only with international support.

Sven Schuster
50 Jahre FARC – Geschichtsbild und Selbstverständnis der ältesten Guerilla Lateinamerikas
pp. 62-80

Since its foundation in 1964, the FARC guerilla group has persistently opposed the Colombian government, waging a bloody war against the State, right-wing paramilitaries and the country's civil society. In the context of their 50th anniversary, however, they agreed to peace talks in Havana, Cuba. Although many observers hold that the FARC has long lost its ideology, because of their apparent involvement in drug trafficking, the aim of this article is to show that most of their leaders still share common views about the origin of the organization. Furthermore, the drafting of a new historical narrative, including the FARC's version of things, will be one of the cornerstones of the peace negotiations.

Hartmut Rübner
Kampf gegen die Attentäter und Verschwörer.Anarchismus in den „Terrorist Studies" – ein Forschungsüberblick
pp. 9-52

The research on anarchism is obviously imbalanced: as a subject of historiography, anarchism is currently hardly being studied in the context of social (or workers) movements; instead, it is being treated as an object of comparison within the field of terrorism studies. Furthermore, the last fundamental and pioneering studies on anarchism in German were published four decades ago;

newer assessments have increasingly appeared in Anglophone countries. Current scholarly engagement with anarchism focuses mostly on the terrorist variant of propaganda of the deed. This literature review confronts the comparative approach – employed by terrorism studies to show the continuity of political violence from anarchism to Islamism – with older and newer findings of historical research. Apart from revealing the restricted view of political violence evident within terrorism studies, the review points out that accusations of terrorism are used to discriminate political opponents or to deny fundamental democratic rights.

Totalitarismus und Demokratie

The global history of democracy of the interwar period combines the elements of triumph of democracy with the elements of its demise. Between 1914 and 1920 the number of democracies in the world almost tripled. In the short period between early 1919 and mid 1920 the number of democracies worldwide practically exploded. However, this "explosion," euphorically celebrated by the contemporaries, was followed by "recoil" in the first half of the 1920s and by a deep democracy crisis in the 1930s triggered by the world economic crisis. Neither before nor afterwards has one observed the fall of so many democracies during such a short period of time as in 1933/34, including democracies in such developed industrial states as Germany and Austria.

Bei der Mehrheit der europäischen Fälle stimmen die vorhandenen Datensätze in Bezug auf die Abgrenzung demokratischer und nicht-demokratischer Perioden europäischer Länder überein. Es gibt aber auch einige „Grenzfälle", konkret Bulgarien, Finnland, Italien, Litauen, Portugal, Rumänien, Spanien und Jugoslawien, bei denen es erhebliche Unstimmigkeiten bezüglich der Antwort auf die Frage gibt, ob und in welchen Perioden sie in der Zwischenkriegszeit demokratisch waren. Wir zeigen, dass manche der Unstimmigkeiten unter Bezugnahme auf historische Untersuchungen gelöst werden können. In anderen Fällen hingegen spiegeln die Differenzen wider, dass es anhand der vorhandenen Informationen kaum möglich ist festzustellen, ob die Qualität der Wahlen oder die Regierungsernennung in diesen Ländern in der Zwischenkriegszeit den Anforderungen einer minimalistischen Demokratiedefinition entsprach.

The First World War led to a profound social and political mobilization as well as a radicalization that fuelled unrest and ultimately nourished fascism and communism. Yet it also gave rise to new authoritarian regimes. Some of them succeeded in suppressing or integrating fascist movements and parties. Authoritarian dictatorships were based on wartime state intervention and seized on entrenched values and expectations that resonated with the popular quest for security and stability. Even charismatic dictatorships depended on these traditional foundations of political rule. Yet the

role of traditional values in the interwar period has been overshadowed by the concept of "The Age of Extremes" (Eric Hobsbawm) and virtually neglected by scholars. Without ignoring the important differences, historians and political scientists, in particular, are to relate authoritarian and fascist concepts of political and social order to each other. Moreover, it should be taken into account that the new dictatorships of the interwar period utilized and exploited traditional values and aspirations.

2015 (1)

Heidi Hein-Kircher

Zum Wechselspiel von verpasster Konsolidierung, Demokratiekritik und Diskursen der Versicherheitlichung in der Zweiten Republik Polens (1918 bis 1926)

pp. 97–117

The paper discusses the interplay of the failed consolidation of the Second Polish Republic, growing democracy criticism, and securitization discourses. This interplay resulted in dwindling support for parliamentary democracy. The failed consolidation was facilitated by scenarios of external threat. Furthermore, it can be attributed to the Polish partitions, which caused asymmetrically developed political, economic, social, and cultural predispositions; to the outcomes of World War I and the frontier wars in the East; and to the weak parliamentary system characterized by corruption. The politicians failed to integrate the previously separated parts of Poland and especially the national minorities, which constituted about 30 percent of the population. An atmosphere of threat to the state permeated the public and was further facilitated by securitization discourses of both the right and left. More and more the democratic regime itself was questioned and upheaval sentiments under the slogan of "moral healing" of political life became palpable. All this set the scene for Pilsudski's coup in May 1926, which resulted in the transition of the parliamentary democracy into an authoritarian regime.

2015 (1)

Lothar Fritze

Ideologiekonformität und Indoktriniertheit. Zum Herrschaftsanspruch der Weltanschauungsdiktatur

pp. 119–139

Ideocracies have to look to the people who have the ability to think and act independently within the limits prescribed by the ideology of the system. For this reason, ideocratic regimes cannot aim at completely destroying human autonomy. Indoctrination should thus aspire to generate dispositions to development of convictions that are compliant with the ideology. Ideocracies rely on people who are proactive and capable of thinking for themselves – however, always within the strict limits of the irrevocable essence of the system ideology and without ever questioning the established ideological core. In this inner contradiction of the ideological project are the seeds of its self-destruction.

2015 (2)

Kathrin Kollmeier

„Volksgemeinschaft" als Disziplinarpraxis – Hitlerjugend und Recht in der Beteiligungsdiktatur
pp. 207–224

Against the background of the current historiographic debate on the analytical use of the National Socialist term "Volksgemeinschaft (ethnic or national community)", this contribution tests this perspective for its applicability to the NS youth association. The two chronological dimensions of the term – both the prognostic and the declaratory one – allow for conclusions on the particular dynamic of the attempts to implement this societal main idea. Thus, by understanding it as a process, it becomes obvious that within the state youth association under leadership of the NSDAP social integration happened precisely also by way of exclusion mechanisms. At the same time the unfolding of the refined disciplinary and legal system for young men and women provided a variety of starting points for contributing in various ways and intensities and based on various motivations. Thus, the closely interconnected societal supra-structures of the NS associations can be recognized not only as tools of indoctrination and repression but at the same time as places where a dictatorship of participation was realised.

André Postert
Freiwilligkeit und Verpflichtung – Widersprüche der nationalsozialistischen Jugendorganisationen in ihrer Entwicklung
pp. 185–205

Still our knowledge of NS youth policy shows gaps. Research has comprehensively worked out the offi cial, bureaucratic level of the "Reichsjugendführung", however there lack empirical studies which could, so to speak, serve for testing the regional-historical practice. For the time being, the local realities of the NS monopoly organisation of the "Hitlerjugend" have not been systematically researched. The plans and concepts of the "Oberste Reichsbehörde" in Berlin were not always in accordance with the actual local situation of the youth organization. Its claim, i. e. winning over every boy and every girl for the National Socialist "Volksgemeinschaft (ethnic community)", was a goal which in its totalitarian dimension was not completely achieved until the end.

Mark Fenemore
Youth Opposition in the GDR, 1945–1965
pp. 249–268

Die Sozialistische Einheitspartei (SED) der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik wies ein ambivalentes Verhältnis zu Heranwachsenden auf. Die Propaganda zeichnete das Bild idealistischer, junger Kommunisten der Zukunft. Versäumten diese jedoch die Annahme dieser Rolle, reagierten die Parteispitzen mit verletztem Stolz, Wut und Aggression. Im Laufe der 1950er-Jahre verschob sich die staatliche Repression von den jungen Christen hin zu Maßnahmen gegen junge Menschen (vorwiegend Männer der Arbeiterklasse) aus den Subkulturen (wie beispielsweise Bebop-, Rock- und Beat-Fans.) Der vorliegende Artikel verknüpft die Archivrecherche mit Stanley Cohens Analyse „moralischer Panik".

Peter Skyba

Die FDJ im Kreislauf von Krise und Reform – Jugendpolitik als Konfliktfeld von Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in der DDR
pp. 269–287

Being a mass youth organisation, the FDJ was a part of the institutional organisation of the GDR and thus an actor in the tension area between rulership and society of the SED dictatorship. The contribution provides a macro-analysis of the critical development of the association until the mid-1960s, with a focus on the success and defi cits of the attempts of implementing the guidelines set by the SED leadership among the target group of youths in the GDR. In particular it asks about the unintended side-effects of these processes, to then sketch some arrangements resulting from the conflicts and existing until the end of the GDR.

Hagen Stöckmann

Ambition und Enttäuschung – Grenzen „totalitärer" Elitenerziehung im Nationalsozialismus und in der frühen DDR
pp. 289–317

Education has long been considered a key element of totalitarian regimes in order to restructure the society and stabilize power. Indeed both, NSDAP as well as SED found very own ways of implementing special schooling institutions where the coming elite of the two dictatorships schould be selected and formed. Whereas schools like the Nationalpolitical Institutes of Education, the Adolf- Hitler Schools in Nazi Germany or Cadett Schools in the GDR were presented as outstanding and privileged places for the future generation in propaganda, the institutes often failed to meet these expectations. Thus, an analysis of these schools looks promising for uncovering the contradictions and limitations inherent in totalitarian concepts of education. Drawing from administration sources and ego documents from school graduates, this article shows how the educational claims of the states often confl icted with reality inside the institutions and to what degree – if so – the two regimes nevertheless managed to affect the graduates.

Michael Epkenhans
Der Erste Weltkrieg – Jahrestagsgedenken, neue Forschungen und Debatten einhundert Jahre nach seinem Beginn
pp. 135-166

The year 2014 was dominated by the commemoration of the outbreak of the Great War. By analyzing both public ceremonies commemorating this event and the debates about the origins of the war among historians as well as selected new publications, this article tries to describe the different forms of commemoration and of the messages politicians and historians tried to convey as well as the current state of research. The article, however, focusses on the analysis of the most important books published in 2014, namely those written by Christopher Clark and Jörn Leonhard, Herfried Münkler and Oliver Janz. These books have greatly enlarged our knowledge about the origins, the course and the consequences of the Great War. Though the public took a great interest in these new publications, historians should be very reluctant to intervene in present day political debates utilizing the content of their books.

Christof Dipper
Die italienische Zeitgeschichtsforschung. Eine Momentaufnahme
pp. 351-378

Since 2012 anyone who wishes to apply for an Italian professorship must first receive the proof of his or her scientific suitability (*Abilitazione Nazionale Scientifica*). The commissions assigned this task thus receive a very clear insight regarding the applicants in their respective subjects. Over the past two years, 631 candidates in total have applied for *Storia contemporanea*; it is their output which will be presented and assessed here. As two thirds had to be considered as unsuitable, the overall assessment can only be negative, even if many applicants undoubtedly reach an international level of accomplishment. The reasons, first of all, are to be found in the collapsing university system, which in its current configuration would not be helped at all by the influx of additional money. From the perspective of cultural anthropology one could say, that a notable part of Italian faculties has decoupled themselves from international standards against a background of policies marked by a remarkable degree of ignorance regarding the consequences of strategies hostile to education - such an assessment would, however, be a slap in the face for the excellent minority. The benchmark must be derived from the international consensus regarding best practice.

Heinrich August Winkler
Von der deutschen zur europäischen Frage. Gedanken zu einem Jahrhundertproblem
pp. 473-486

For almost two hundred years, from the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806 to the reunification of Germany, Europe repeatedly had to deal with the "German Question". It was only solved by the accession of the GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany on 3 October 1990. Germany was reunified within the borders of 1945 "in peace and freedom"; its membership in NATO answered the German Question regarding European security. In the mean time, however, there is talk of a "New German Question", which supposedly results from the alleged hegemonic position of the Federal Republic within the European Union. Thus, the German Question has actually re-emerged in a new format - or is it not rather the European Question which is still open to the same extent as it was in 1991 at the conclusion of the Maastricht Treaty?

Peter-Paul Bänziger

Von Der Arbeits Zur Konsumgesellschaft? Kritik eines Leitmotivs der deutschsprachigen Zeitgeschichtsschreibung

pp. 11-38

Jasper M. Trautsch

Von der „Mitte" in den „Westen" Europas. Die räumliche Neuverortung Deutschlands auf den kognitiven Landkarten nach 1945

pp. 647-666

L'importanza attribuita oggi ai dibattiti tedeschi sulla percezione spaziale della Germania tra Otto e Novecento deriva da tre cognizioni fondamentali. In primo luogo gli spazi e le regioni sono il risultato di costruzioni sociali e non di unità geograficamente oggettive; in secondo luogo, esse sono anche il frutto di contingenze storiche e del continuo e progressivo adattamento ai nuovi contesti; in terzo luogo, gli ordinamenti territoriali sono indissolubilmente legati alle questioni di identità e quindi alle conseguenze politiche.

L'appartenenza della Germania all'Europa occidentale non si basa su criteri oggettivi, tale identificazione è stata piuttosto una conseguenza della guerra fredda e proprio per questo la Germania potrebbe quindi essere in futuro nuovamente ricollocata a causa del nuovo scenario geopolitico formatosi dopo il 1990. Proprio di recente la questione è stata sollevata in relazione alla crisi Ucraina e ci si è chiesti se alla Germania non spetti piuttosto di assumere il ruolo storico di *posizione di mezzo* tra "Oriente" e "Occidente". Un sondaggio condotto su circa 1000 tedeschi nell'aprile 2014 ha rivelato che una lieve maggioranza pari al 49% degli intervistati auspica che la Germania svolga in futuro un ruolo di mediazione tra la Russia e l'"Occidente", invece di stare saldamente nell'alleanza "occidentale".

Gran Bretagna

Contemporary European History

24 (2) 2015
Daniel Laqua
Democratic Politics and the League of Nations: The Labour and Socialist International as a Protagonist of Interwar Internationalism
pp. 175-192

The Labour and Socialist International (LSI) was a major vehicle for transnational socialist cooperation during the interwar years and thus seemed to continue the traditions of socialist internationalism. In the realm of international relations, however, it championed key tenets of liberal internationalism. The LSI supported the idea of a League of Nations and embraced the notion of a world order based upon democratic nation-states. While it criticised some aspects of the international system, its overall emphasis was on reform rather than revolution. The article sheds light on the wider phenomenon of interwar internationalism by tracing the LSI's relationship with the League of Nations, with the politics of peace more generally and with the competing internationalism of the communists.

Michele Di Donato
The Cold War and Socialist Identity: The Socialist International and the Italian 'Communist Question' in the 1970s
pp. 193-211

Coming about in a phase of renewal and electoral success for the European socialist parties, the rise of the Italian Communist Party in the 1970s elicited differentiated reactions within the Socialist International. While providing an account of the transnational socialist debate on Italian Eurocommunism, this article suggests to understand it in the context of a wider discussion on the political identity and aims of the European left. Divisions on the new 'communist question' amongst the socialist movement mirrored the divergent opinions on how to react to the changes that were taking place in European economics and society, as well as in the international system.

24 (3) 2015
Paolo Acanfora
Christian Democratic Internationalism: The Nouvelles Equipes Internationales and the Geneva Circles between European Unification and Religious Identity, 1947–1954
pp. 375-391

This article analyses Christian Democratic International organisations after the Second World War, namely the Nouvelles Equipes Internationales (NEI) and the Geneva Circles (secret discussion groups), in order to understand how and to what extent this international network has been important for European Christian Democratic Parties and for the overall process of European unification. The goal is to describe the relationship between the Christian-inspired parties and their efforts to define a common ideological framework and a successful Europeanism capable of

competing with other political groups and ideologies, especially communist and nationalist forces. The main sources used are the minutes of meetings of the NEI and the Geneva Circles.

130 (543) 2015
Krista Cowman
'From the Housewife's Point of View': Female Citizenship and the Gendered Domestic Interior in Post-First World War Britain, 1918–1928
pp. 352-383

This article explores the work of the Women's Housing Sub-Committee, a government-appointed body which reported to the Advisory Council of the Ministry of Reconstruction, in recognising the home as a key site where active, respectable female citizens might be produced. The Sub-Committee started work in 1918, a month after the Representation of the People Act gave votes to some British women, prompting a wide debate about how best to integrate them into political life. Charged with reporting on plans for post-war social housing in England and Wales, the Sub-Committee demanded that these homes should be designed from the point of view of the working-class housewife who would occupy them. Through considering the evidence gathered by the Sub-Committee and its responses to the plans suggested by Ministry architects, the paper demonstrates how the sub-committee demanded new spatial configurations that would afford women citizens the space they needed to think and discuss politics while new labour-saving devices–and the room to house them–would free up time for them to develop themselves as active citizens. Finally, it considers how this connection was pursued in the discourse of the three main political parties as they attempted to connect with the rising numbers of women voters in the decade between women's partial and full enfranchisement.

130 (544) 2015
Matthew Johnson
Leading from the Front: The 'Service Members' in Parliament, the Armed Forces, and British Politics during the Great War
pp. 613-645

The Great War was widely seen in Britain as a struggle for civilian and constitutional standards of government against the evils of 'Prussian militarism'. Yet the British political class itself was by no means a purely 'civilian' caste. During the war 264 MPs—some 40 per cent of the membership of the House of Commons—volunteered to serve in the armed forces. These men occupied a unique and controversial position both within Parliament and in the forces. A shared experience of military service could provide a common identity, and even a basis for common action, for MPs from rival parties, and many of these men came to support an apparently 'military' agenda at Westminster. At the same time, fighting MPs could act as agents of parliamentary oversight and control over the military establishment. Yet the importance of these 'Service Members' was not only evident in the realm of civil–military relations, and this article explores the significance and consequences of attempts by Service Members to claim a special political authority as the 'representatives' of the armed forces in the House of Commons, to offer an important new perspective on wartime British debates about the workings of representative politics, the nature of political citizenship, and the authority of Parliament as an institution.

Richard Toye
Keynes, Liberalism, and 'The Emancipation of the Mind'

This article offers a more systematic assessment of John Maynard Keynes's attitude to Liberalism, and his engagement with the Liberal Party, than has previously been attempted. It does so as a means of exploring how the study of ideologies should be approached. To Keynes, ideologies were not simply constellations of fixed principles; in his view, policies were always contingent on circumstances, and thus what was appropriate now would become outdated in the future. The Liberal, therefore, needed a flexible and experimental psychological attitude, in order to devise solutions that were appropriate to changing conditions. Using his 1925 lecture 'Am I a Liberal?' as a starting point, it is argued here that Keynes saw Liberalism primarily as a discursive practice in the public sphere, that is to say as a technique for 'doing politics'. We need not take Keynes's evaluation of his own Liberal mind-set at face value, but it nonetheless casts light on the nature of Liberalism in this period. In spite of the Liberal party's electoral decline, the political conditions of the 1920s were particularly well suited to Keynes's vision. For him, Liberalism depended upon, but would also help to facilitate, what he referred to as 'the emancipation of the mind.'

European History Quarterly

Gleb Tsipursky
Worker Youth and Everyday Violence in the Post-Stalin Soviet Union
pp. 236-254

The essay explores the implications of a new campaign launched by the Soviet authorities against violent youth behaviour, especially amongst working-class youngsters, after Stalin's death in 1953. Relying largely on official sources from the archives, newspapers and other publications, and also on personal sources such as interviews and memoirs, the study explores what the new campaign reveals about everyday working-class youth violence in the post-Stalin Soviet Union. The new initiative represented part of a broader Thaw-era endeavour to reinvigorate the attempt to construct a socialist version of modernity, specifically by reforming the population's everyday way of life, in a fashion perceived as helping to create model citizens, 'New Soviet People'. The findings contribute to a recent re-evaluation of the Thaw as a time not only of liberalizing reforms, but also of new coercive elements. Further, working-class violence reveals the extent of class differences in the supposedly classless Soviet Union, with working-class youth behaviour departing from the official model of normative conduct, predicated upon middle-class standards. The article focuses on male violence in particular, providing a glimpse of a working-class masculinity that is at variance with the officially prescribed model of socialist masculinity. By showing the frequency of collective violence amongst young workers, the author also questions the official discourse's frequent depictions of collectivism as a panacea for delinquency. Nonetheless, this account does not equate worker violence with conscious opposition to the government. Instead, it positions such behaviour within a wider context of the traditional working-class male youth milieu.

Radina Vučetić
Violence against the Antiwar Demonstrations of 1965–1968 in Yugoslavia: Political Balancing between East and West
pp. 255-274

In the 1960s, Yugoslavia faced street violence and riots during demonstrations against the Vietnam War. These protests can be understood only in the context of Yugoslav foreign policy, as they represented political balancing between East and West. The state sponsored and organized demonstrations against the war in Vietnam, events at which strong anti-American sentiments were expressed, while on the other hand the state used violence to stop such demonstrations in order to maintain its good relations with the United States. Displaying sympathy with the Vietnamese people while playing the role of America's communist ally was part of Yugoslavia's political double game, which the country had played since its break with the Soviet Union in 1948.

Alejandro Quiroga

Spanish Fury: Football and National Identities under Franco
pp. 506-529

This article explores the Franco dictatorship's utilization of football for nationalist indoctrination. It focuses on the Francoist appropriation of Spanish football victories and the promotion of a collective identity that portrayed Spaniards as ferocious, passionate and quixotic. The paper challenges the traditional view that Francoists sought to obliterate regional identities after the Spanish Civil War. As in the case of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Francoism cultivated certain types of regional identities via sports, seeking to introduce an element of populism and grassroots activism into the dictatorship. Football was also used by the anti-Francoist opposition to foster counter-hegemonic national identities. This article analyses how Spanish democrats, Catalan regionalists and Basque nationalists found in football a suitable means to build alternative identities. The conclusions show that whereas the political nationalism fostered by the Franco regime had little impact on Spaniards, the cultural features and stereotypes associated with the Spanish nation were adopted by different sectors of society.

Martina Cucchiara
The Bonds That Shame: Reconsidering the Foreign Exchange Trials of 1935-36 Against the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany
pp. 689-712

This article reassesses the foreign exchange trials and concurrent propaganda campaign in 1935–36 against the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany. Scholars have had difficulties situating the foreign exchange trials within the church struggle because most have viewed the proceedings as legitimate and the impact on the church and the laity as negligible. The argument of an untainted justice system under National Socialism can of course no longer be sustained, and the Nazis routinely used specific crimes to persecute their enemies. The violation of Germany's complex foreign exchange laws became a signature crime favoured by the Security Service in the persecution of Jews. In 1935, the regime attempted to use accusations of foreign exchange violations in pursuit of the church. New evidence from the Vatican Archives reveals that the foreign exchange trials against the church were anything but legitimate proceedings on the margins of the church struggle. Instead, the regime pursued immediate and specific political goals with the trials at a crucial point in the conflict. In particular, the regime attempted to force the church to publicly capitulate on unresolved issues over Catholic lay associations. Hitler routinely interfered in the proceedings and lower-ranking officials soon joined in and used the trials to discipline bishops and religious orders within their respective spheres of influence. The bishops' often ill-considered response to the trials only escalated the crisis within the church, and evidence indicates that the regime delayed settlements for as long as possible to press church leaders to make further concessions to the regime.

Gender & History

Roseanna Webster
'A Spanish Housewife is Your Next Door Neighbour': British Women and the Spanish Civil War
pp. 397-416

In August 1936, week after the start of the Spanish Civil War, the artist Felicia Browne was killed attempting to blow up a train transporting arms to Nationalist troops in Aragon. According to an eyewitness report, Browne had stopped to help a wounded colleague, despite coming under fire. She was the first of over 500 British volunteers to die in the war and the only British woman to play a combat role. But she was one of over seventy female volunteers who travelled to Spain from the United Kingdom, who were in turn supported in Britain by hundreds of women engaged in activism concerning the Civil War, their participation diverse in nature and degree. This article examines British women's efforts on behalf of the Republican government in the Spanish Civil War, considering particularly the role gender played in their engagement with the conflict.

Rachael Attwood
Lock Up Your Daughters! Male Activists, 'Patriotic Domesticity' and the Fight Against Sex Trafficking in England, 1880–1912
pp. 611–627

On 2 January 1880, Alfred Stacy Dyer, a publisher and opponent of state-regulated prostitution, wrote the Daily News to expose the fact that young English girls were immured in the licensed brothels of the near Continent. With this, the phenomenon of sex trafficking entered popular consciousness in England and the country's anti-trafficking movement was inaugurated. The domestic campaign against the regulation of prostitution, led by the revered women's rights activist Josephine Butler, had been the prime force in England's fight against systematic female sexual exploitation since 1869. The anti-trafficking movement, in contrast, was, and would continue to be, dominated by men.

J. Mark, P. Apor

Socialism Goes Global: Decolonization and the Making of a New Culture of Internationalism in Socialist Hungary, 1956–1989

pp. 852-891

Guido Crainz
Italy's Political System since 1989
pp. 176-188

This essay follows the development of the Italian political system over the last twenty-five years, starting from the collapse of the principal political parties that had previously dominated the history of the Republic. In institutional terms, it seems legitimate to describe this as a transition, since the outcomes of initiatives to reform the electoral system, to abolish the previous system of 'perfect bicameralism', and reshape relations between the State and the regions are still unknown. But I argue that many fundamental changes in the relationship between the country and its political system were already evident in the 1980s.

Antonio Varsori
The Foreign Policy of First Republic Italy: New Approaches
pp. 292-297

This introductory article deals with the most recent contributions by Italian historians on the Italian Republic's international role. It aims mainly to demonstrate that a new generation of younger Italian historians is successfully offering new views and interpretations on First Republic Italy's role in the international system, and is also focusing on aspects such as the culture of Italy's political parties, the economic dimension, the role of public opinion, and the influence of external actors on domestic Italian politics – in short, that there has been a turn away from traditional diplomatic history based upon the archives of the Foreign Ministry.

Gabriele D'Ottavio
Under Special Surveillance: Italy through German Eyes, 1975-6
pp. 330-345

A new document found in Willy Brandt's personal correspondence provides a particularly important insight into German views on Italy in the mid-1970s. The document is a report on Italy's political and economic situation, signed by the former German ambassador in Rome, Rolf Lahr, on 15 December 1975. This article first illustrates the portrait of Italy painted by Lahr. It then contextualizes the document, by explaining why Lahr's analysis may in places seem influenced by his perception of his country, the Federal Republic of Germany. Finally, it argues that Lahr's report was also reflecting a narrative that, as the following G7 summit of Puerto Rico, in June 1976, clearly demonstrated, had wider political implications for German attitudes towards Italy. All of a sudden, West Germany seemed to have moved to the side of the 'watchers', while Italy was considered once again a 'problem' for European and international politics.

Lucia Bonfreschi

Interpreting Foreign Institutions. How the Italian Academic Culture Dealt with the French Fifth Republic, 1958–1998

pp. 298-314

The interpretation by Italian scholars of the institutions of the French Fifth Republic was directly linked not only to the new French constitution and to the evolving practice of power in France, but also to the scholars' own judgement on the Italian constitution and on their changing perception of the role of the political parties within Italian republican institutions. Three main phases in the development of the interpretation of the Fifth Republic by Italian jurists and political scientists can be identified. During the first – extending from 1958 to the late 1970s – it was strongly criticized by most as anti-democratic. The second phase – from the late 1970s to the early 1990s – was marked by the end of anti-democratic suspicions; but only during the 1990s – the third phase – were the Fifth Republic's institutions proposed by some scholars as a model to be imported in to Italy.

Daniele Caviglia

Arguing for a Worldwide Perspective: Italy and the Reform of the International Monetary System between Transatlantic Cooperation and European Integration (1971–73)

pp. 315-329

The end of the Bretton Woods system, following the US decision of August 1971, and the simultaneous re-launch of the European integration with the enactment of the Werner plan came at a critical moment of internal weakness for Italy. This article highlights how the Italian government and the monetary authorities – while not always on the same wavelength – tried to tackle these challenges with a view to preserving the principles of multilateral cooperation that had promoted the country's recovery in the post-war years. By launching the project denominated 'Global Approach' in the summer of 1972, Italy tried to interconnect the modification of the Werner plan with the reform of the international monetary system within the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to restrain the growing trends towards unilateralism. However, despite all efforts, both initiatives were doomed to failure while the country entered a dramatic period of political instability and social unrest.

Valentine Lomellini

The PCI and the USA: Rehearsal of a Difficult Dialogue in the Era of Détente

pp. 346-360

This article deals with the international strategy of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) towards the USA: it tries to explain why, during the 1970s, the most sophisticated and well-organized Communist party of the western world misunderstood the declarations of the newly elected US President Jimmy Carter as a policy of openness towards European leftist forces. Based on primary and press sources, and unpublished interviews, research indicates that the PCI believed that

establishing links with politically progressive circles in the USA would grant it sufficient credibility with Washington to influence US politics towards the PCI itself. Such belief depended on several factors: the actual existence of intellectual and political attention from prominent US scholars and certain liberal environments; the PCI's misunderstanding of the role played by American intellectuals; the fierce faith in the PCI's opportunities thanks to détente; and, last, the PCI's fascination for the 'altra America'.

(5) 2015

Fulvio Conti
From Universalism to Nationalism: Italian Freemasonry and the Great War
pp. 640-662

During the period from 1914 to 1915, prior to Italy's entry into the First World War, Freemasonry was a powerful force in Italian public life with a strong presence in every part of the nation and in the most vital organs of the State (parliament, public administration, the armed forces). Between them, the Grand Orient and the Grand Lodge of Italy counted 25,000 members and more than 500 lodges. Freemasons played a critical role in the campaign to mobilize Italian public opinion and political parties in support of Italy's intervention in the war as an ally of France and Great Britain. To do so, they abandoned the movement's traditional cosmopolitan and pacifist stances and adopted instead the objectives of the nationalists, a shift that would be consolidated during the war. Nonetheless, from 1917 onwards Italian Freemasons joined their counterparts in other European countries to press for the creation of a League of Nations to promote a new post-war universal order premised on the peaceful coexistence of independent and democratic nations. In examining the initiatives taken by Italian Freemasons in this period, this article focuses on the principles that inspired them, the language they adopted and the forms of communication and mobilization they used.

Lucy Maulsby
Case del fascio and the Making of Modern Italy
pp. 663-685

In recent decades, scholars of modern Italy have identified Fascism's effort to establish a new society as a hallmark of the regime's engagement with modernism. Fascist party headquarters (case del fascio), the primary institution through which the party aimed to alter the character, habits, and attitudes of its citizens in the making of Fascist Italy, are largely absent from this discourse, despite their extraordinary importance to the regime. Through an analysis and discussion of the regime's building activity in the rapidly developing working-class neighbourhoods on the edge of nineteenth-century Milan, the city most closely associated with modern ways of life in the interwar period (and still today), this paper provides an opportunity to explore the ways in which the amenities, design, and location of party-controlled outposts were intended to advance the party's objectives and communicate Fascism's central place in the making of a modern urban landscape in the regime's final decades.

20 (1) 2015

Noga Wolff

Exploiting Nationalism in order to Repudiate Democracy: the Case of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany

pp. 86-108

The assumption at the basis of this article is that the chronicles of Italian Fascism and German Nazism reflect a common trajectory in the history of two respective democracies in which a nationalist socialization overpowered the universal values of democratic civil society. This history underscores the persuasive authority and power of the nationalist narrative, running ever so blindly and counter to the humanistic principles that aspire to the welfare of all human beings. While fully acknowledging the singularity of German National Socialism during the first half of the 20th century, the conclusion of this article finds Nazism to be a highly applicable instance of the principles of fascism and an ultimate expression of the dangerous potential inherent to nationalism. By means of an analysis of the speeches and writings of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, the core principles of nationalism are demonstrated: a particularistic solidarity among individuals who are allegedly bonded by a historical definition (based on a cultural, religious or biological foundation), and the prioritization of the interests of the nation and of those who are seen to be part of it above everything else. These principles are provided as an alternative ethical core by Mussolini and Hitler, and are shown in this article to be no less significant motifs than the common racial ones strewn throughout the various argumentations in the two respective fascist ideologies.

20 (3) 2015

Jean-Philippe Thérien

The United Nations Ideology: from Ideas to Global Policies

pages 221-243

Building on the observation that the UN is a key intellectual actor of world politics, I argue that the end of the cold war marked a turning point in the evolution of UN thinking. The first part of the article puts forward a conceptual framework centred on the notions of global governance, ideology and global public policy. It shows that these three notions are useful tools for an understanding of the production and diffusion of UN ideas. This conceptual framework is used in the second part to analyse the three issues that have dominated the UN agenda throughout the post-cold war period: security, development and human rights. The third part then explains how this agenda has recently been extended to include a new issue: global democracy. I contend that, in each of its areas of interest, the UN ideology helps to establish global public policies designed to transform global governance practices. The article demonstrates that even though the UN is perpetually constrained by states—especially the most powerful ones—it does exercise a distinctive form of political leadership in global affairs.

Modern Italy

Mattia Granata
The Economic Policies of Italian Social Democracy in the post-war Period (1945–1962)
pp. 137-151

In post-war Italy, 'reformism' has been ignored by many, wished for by some, and pursued by only a few. While it was a beacon for the major progressive political forces of Western countries, in Italy this idea was for a long time considered an 'impossible' vision. Even when there have been attempts to trace its development, explain the reasons for its failure, or reassess some of its merits, it has been sought everywhere except where it should actually be located: within those parties which defined themselves and considered themselves reformist, for example within the social democrat tradition. For a long period on the political level, Italian social democracy was squeezed between the formidable Catholic tradition and a powerful Communist culture. These pressures contributed to its negation, on both a historiographical and a political level, including a denial of the features of modernity in its development, or at the very least the obscuring of its achievements. Italian reformism, whether a 'possible' or 'impossible' option, has thus been removed from consideration, both in politics and in historiography.

Stefania Rampello
Italian anti-Fascism in London, 1922–1934
pp. 351-363

Between the end of the Great War and the start of the Second World War, various Italians living in London, who for the most part had migrated there around the start of the twentieth century, started their own particular determined opposition to Fascism. Their initial aim was to counter Fascist monopolisation of London's Italian community, contesting control of the community's main associations, institutes and cultural bodies by the Fascio, which had been established in London in 1921. Subsequently, these anti-Fascists also sought contacts outside London's Little Italy, on the one hand with British political bodies and the British press, and on the other with anti-Fascists in other countries. While strong links were formed with the latter, British society showed only a muted interest. This is in part explained by the positive response to the Fascist experience by the Conservative press and various eminent British politicians, at least until the mid-1930s.

Joanne Lee
Political Utopia or Potemkin Village? Italian Travellers to the Soviet Union in the early Cold War
pp. 379-393

Situated on the border between the capitalist West and Communist East, and with the largest Communist party in Western Europe, Italy found itself at the centre of global ideological struggles in the early Cold War years. A number of Italian writers and intellectuals who had joined the PCI

(Partito Comunista Italiano) during the Resistance had hoped that the party would play a central role in the post-war reconstruction of Italy and were attracted to the Soviet Union as an example of Communism in action. This article centres on accounts of journeys to the USSR by Sibilla Aleramo, Renata Viganò and Italo Calvino. It will argue that although their writings portray a largely positive vision of the USSR, they should not be dismissed as naive, or worse, disingenuous travellers whose willingness to embrace Soviet-style Communism was based on a wholescale rejection of Western society and its values (see P. Hollander's 1998 [1981] work, Political Pilgrims: Western Intellectuals in Search of the Good Society). Rather, the article shows how their accounts of the USSR shed light on the writers' relationship with the PCI and argues that the views expressed in the travelogues emerge from the writers' personal experiences of war and resistance, a fervent desire to position themselves as anti-Fascist intellectuals, and their concerns regarding the direction that Italian politics was taking at a pivotal moment in the nation's history.

Rhiannon Evangelista
The Particular Kindness of Friends: ex-Fascists, Clientage and the Transition to Democracy in Italy, 1945–1960
pp. 411-425

This article examines some of the social implications of Italy's limited purge of the bureaucracy and Fascist political class following the Second World War. Using the postwar personal correspondence of former Fascist government ministers Giuseppe Bottai (1895–1959) and Dino Alfieri (1886–1966), the article analyses the informal networks that promoted the continued influence of these ex-Fascists with high-ranking bureaucrats and other prominent individuals (such as Pope Paul VI and Aldo Moro). Thanks to the long-standing social practice of the raccomandazione, Bottai and Alfieri maintained their Fascist-era connections well into the postwar period, often serving as intermediaries between 'ordinary Italians' and governmental, political and cultural elites. Although they no longer held political power, these ex-Fascists represented a class of 'alternative elites' unassociated with the democratic values of the new Republic.

Todd H. Weir
The Christian Front Against Godlessness: Anti-Secularism and the Demise of the Weimar Republic, 1928–1933
pp. 201-238

In the late 1920s, church leaders in Germany began to warn of a coming wave of international anticlericalism. Referring to the bloody suppression of the Cristero rebellion by the Mexican government, the Jesuit intellectual Friedrich Muckermann told the Katholikentag, Germany's largest gathering of lay Catholics, in 1928 that 'everything indicates that we are about to face a worldwide *Kulturkampf*, to which Mexico is but a weak prelude'. By 1930 such predictions had given way to declarations of an immediate threat originating in Moscow and carried westward by the communist parties. The German press reported on horrific events taking place in the Soviet Union, where churches were being demolished, and priests, monks and nuns were being exiled or executed. On 9 February 1930 Pope Pius XI called for a 'crusade of prayer' to oppose these crimes 'against God and the souls of the innumerable population of Russia'. In April the highest official of the Protestant Church in Berlin, General Superintendent Emil Karow, described a great army gathering in the east and pointing its weapons at everything born of faith in the living God. The battle of the Antichrist against Christ has begun. The eschatological pictures of the Bible are becoming reality … Darkness and light, unspirit and spirit, stand in battle, a battle that will perhaps decide the spiritual countenance of centuries.[3]

Whereas the principal target of the 'culture wars' that raged across Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century had been ultramontane Catholicism, in this inter-war *Kulturkampf* the fate of Christianity as a whole appeared to be at stake. The German church hierarchies, Protestant and Catholic alike, instructed priests and lay organizations to undertake widespread defensive campaigns against German secularists as part of a global battle with unbelief. As in the nineteenth-century *Kulturkampf*, …

Paul Warde
Global Crisis or Global Coincidence?
pp. 287-301

That the weather can influence events is old news, whether shaping military campaigns or as the cause of harvest failure. Equally, since ancient times patterns of weather distinct to particular places have been evoked as an explanation for ways of life, cultural, economic and political; in other words, arguing that society is in some form determined by 'climate' (probably originating in the Greek term for inclination, or, in other words, latitude). Such 'determinism' had its academic heyday in the first half of the twentieth century, as part of now discredited geographies exemplified by Ellsworth Huntingdon, Griffiths Taylor and more eccentric advocates such as the British politician Sydney Frank Markham. Despite the dwindling appeal of such views, for most of the post-war period any self-respecting historian who thought that soil, prevailing wind or topography of any kind might be important in history still gave due obeisance to climate, not least through

Braudel's conception of the Mediterranean as a coherent zone born of geology, climate, olive, ruminant and vine.

But climate is not the same as climate change. It comes as no surprise that as we face the question of adaptation to anthropogenic climate change, and as our knowledge of historical climate has improved vastly since the 1980s, the role of climate change in history would be raised too. A changing climate is more than a constraint or backdrop, but can become itself an agent, or 'actant' in history if the former sounds too purposive.[3] This represents a shift in climate's explanatory role from that which it had occupied in many a comparative global history, on a greater or lesser scale, since Herodotus: as the conditioner of difference, at a time when global histories themselves were interestingly parallel but essentially distinct narratives of largely unconnected regions. In such narratives, …

Moshik Temkin
Culture vs. Kultur, or a Clash of Civilizations: Public Intellectuals in the United States and the Great War, 1917–1918
pp. 157-182

This article analyses the historical conditions for, and implications of, the attitudes and conduct of a number of prominent or influential public intellectuals in the United States during the Great War. It argues that many intellectuals, particularly those who supported American entry to the war, shared a general lack of concern with the realities of full-scale warfare. Their response to the war had little to do with the war itself – its political and economic causes, brutal and industrial character, and human and material costs. Rather, their positions were often based on their views of culture and philosophy, or on their visions of the post-war world. As a result, relatively few of these intellectuals fully considered the political, social, and economic context in which the catastrophe occurred. The war, to many of them, was primarily a clash of civilizations, a battle of good versus evil, civilized democracy versus barbaric savagery, progress versus backwardness, culture versus kultur. The article describes several manifestations of American intellectual approaches to the war, discusses the correlation between intellectual and general public attitudes, and concludes with some implications for thinking about the relationship between intellectuals and war in more recent American history.

J. M. R. Bennett
The British Luther Commemoration of 1883–1884 in European Context
pp. 543-564

In 1883 and early 1884 the controversial commemoration of the four-hundredth birthday of Martin Luther, celebrated in Germany and worldwide, captured much British public attention. The examination of this celebration offered here will improve current understanding of late Victorian religious controversies and indicate their continuing centrality to a range of cultural and historical debates in the period. The commemoration invigorated historic antagonisms in the British religious landscape, yet it also did far more than this. The commemoration provided a platform for those who wanted to foster Protestant unity in the face of what was widely perceived to be a revived threat from 'popery' and religious indifference at home and abroad. Whereas some religious and not-very-religious commentators, often belonging to a younger generation, wanted closely to associate Luther's world-historical role with liberalizing intellectual and social progress, others – sceptics, Catholics, high Anglicans, older Protestants – resisted this. Arguments about Luther's life and teaching often became more broadly Victorian discussions of the family, Anglo-German affinities or antagonisms, and the nature of modernity. By relating themes in the study of modern religious history to current concerns in the history of historical writing, this article will point to wider lacunae in scholarly approaches to nineteenth-century culture.

Marc Mulholland

'Marxists of Strict Observance'? The Second International, National Defence, and the Question of War
pp. 615-640

In August 1914, as war broke out, socialist parties across Europe offered support to their own governments. The Socialist International was shattered. This rush to defencism has traditionally been seen as a volte face in which the International's frequent protestations in favour of peace and international working-class solidarity were suddenly abandoned. The collapse has been variously ascribed to socialist helplessness, betrayal, or ideological incoherence. This article examines the International's attitudes to war and peace as developed and espoused in the decades before 1914, and finds that the decisions of the constituent socialist parties in 1914 were understandable within this context. Socialists were not abandoning past ideals, but attempting to put them into practice. The circumstances of modern war, however, made traditional distinctions – between aggressor and defensive belligerents, and between 'progressive' and 'reactionary' nations – difficult to maintain. For some socialists, this meant that socialists of every country had a certain justification in rallying to their nation's defence. For Lenin and the Bolsheviks, however, if no capitalist country could be considered innocent, then all must be guilty.

J. D. Taylor

The Party's Over? The Angry Brigade, the Counterculture, and the British New Left, 1967–1972
pp. 877-900

This article analyses the emergence of politically motivated acts of left-wing terrorism in Britain between 1967 and 1972. Through the case of the 'Angry Brigade', an ill-defined grouping which claimed responsibility for a number of attacks against property between 1970 and 1971, it analyses how protest and political violence emerged from discourses and events in the British New Left, the anti-war protest movements, the counterculture, and the underground press. Against common interpretations of '68 as a watershed of naïve hopes that waned into inaction, this article identifies a consistency of political activity that developed beyond traditional party and class politics towards a more internationally aware and diverse network of struggles for civil equality. Among the shared political and cultural commitments of the counterculture, campaigns around squatting, women's liberation, or the necessity of 'armed propaganda' each became possible and at times overlapped. It analyses the group's development, actions, communications, as well as surrounding media discourses, subsequent police investigation, and the criminal trials of ten individuals for their involvement in the Angry Brigade. The article reappraises their overlooked historical significance among the wider countercultural militancy and discourses of political violence of the late 1960s to early 1970s.

Martin Thomas and Richard Toye

Arguing about Intervention: a Comparison of British and French Rhetoric Surrounding the 1882 and 1956 Invasions of Egypt
pp. 1081-1113

This article compares the rhetorical justifications surrounding two landmark instances of Western imperialism. In 1882, the British occupied Egypt, ousting indigenous proto-nationalist forces that supposedly threatened British and other foreign interests. The consequences of this intervention were still being worked out in 1956 when, in the wake of the Cairo regime's nationalization of the Suez Canal, the British again invaded. France participated on this occasion, with serious but differing political consequences for both. We suggest that comparing how the British and French argued about these issues, and also examining how the rhetoric of the later crisis contrasted with the earlier one, offers useful insights into the two nations' respective imperial cultures. Specifically, we suggest that the latter-day imperialists Anthony Eden and Guy Mollet couched their actions in internationalist rhetoric reminiscent both of the Gladstone government's justifications for intervention in 1882 and of French official explanations for their takeover in Tunisia a year earlier. Each claimed their actions were taken both to uphold better standards of governance and to restore regional order, itself a highly loaded concept. The language of imperial domination was eschewed; but the ends of empire were served by the use of this rhetoric of 'liberal order'.

Emily Jones
Conservatism, Edmund Burke, and the Invention of a Political Tradition, c. 1885–1914
pp. 1115-1139

This article addresses the reputation of Edmund Burke and his transformation into the 'founder of modern conservatism'. It argues that this process occurred primarily between 1885 and 1914 in Britain. In doing so, this article challenges the existing orthodoxy which attributes this development to the work of Peter Stanlis, Russell Kirk, and other conservative American scholars. Moreover, this article historicizes one aspect of the construction of C/conservatism as both an intellectual (small-c) and political (capital-C) tradition. Indeed, though the late Victorian and Edwardian period saw the construction of political traditions of an entirely novel kind, the search for 'New Conservatism' has been neglected by comparison with New Liberalism. Thus, this study explores three main themes: the impact of British debates about Irish Home Rule on Burke's reputation and status; the academic systematization of Burke's work into a 'political philosophy of conservatism'; and, finally, the appropriation of Burke by Conservative Unionists during the late Edwardian constitutional crisis. The result is to show that by 1914 Burke had been firmly established as a 'conservative' political thinker whose work was directly associated with British Conservatism.

Tom Hulme
Putting the City Back into Citizenship: Civics Education and Local Government in Britain, 1918–45

This article is about interwar Britain, civic education, and the theoretical and practical expression of local citizenship. Building upon recent analyses in urban history that have reassessed the perception of municipal and civic decline, I argue that historians must now also challenge the historiography that views citizenship as indivisible from national identity. It was indeed actually common for both children and adults to be taught that it was in the local, and the city especially, that the rights and responsibilities of citizenship were received and enacted. I trace this distinctive conception of citizenship to the ideological resilience of the Victorian idealist philosopher Thomas Hill Green. Drawing on his justification for state intervention to ensure individual liberty, educators positioned municipal government as the guardian of the life and health of individuals and communities—an educational approach they termed civics. This was apparent in organizations such as the National Association of Local Government Officers, Workers' Educational Association, and the Association for Education in Citizenship, and expressed through the flood of civics textbooks published following the First World War. Using a case study of Manchester I unpick the points of contact between these organizations and the individuals connected to Green, and show how civics was applied in both formal and informal sites of education. While this discourse of citizenship was damaged by the social democracy of the post-1945 welfare state, I conclude that, in the interwar period at least, citizenship was still very much local and urban based.

Gareth Millward
Social Security Policy and the Early Disability Movement: Expertise, Disability, and the Government, 1965–77

In 1965, the Disablement Income Group launched its National Disability Income campaign to fight for equal treatment of disabled people in the British social security system. By 1977, a series of benefits were created to cover the general population. Yet, despite the obvious political significance of these developments, very little research has focused on the early pan-impairment disability non-governmental organization (NGO). Existing scholarship has come from one of two traditions: the 'poverty lobby' and NGO histories that focus on expert campaign groups; and disability studies which describes a teleological narrative of the development of disabled people's attempts to secure civil rights. This article contends that neither approach is satisfactory. The crossovers between these two historical approaches are necessary to understand how these groups operated and to appreciate their political significance. Using the archives of the Disablement Income Group, the Disability Alliance and the Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation, this article shows that the history of these NGOs is more nuanced than previously described. Similarly, the novelty and

growing power of civil rights and poverty lobby campaigning should not be overstated. Through a specific analysis of the lobby in its social and political context, historians can find a clearer picture of how these groups operated and better analyse their significance.

David Monger
Familiarity Breeds Consent? Patriotic Rituals in British First World War Propaganda
pp. 501-528

This article extends recent reconsideration of British First World War patriotism by considering the ways in which domestic propaganda campaigns used repetitive organizational structures as rituals to provide a sense of familiarity among civilians. Using examples, involving multiple propaganda bodies and in varied parts of the nation, of street meetings, film screenings, fundraising weeks and the religious response to the fourth anniversary of Britain's entry into the war, it argues that historians should consider repetitive elements in First World War propaganda as a possible virtue rather than a drawback. Instead of repetition showing a lack of imagination or initiative, it apparently served a purpose in making propaganda events comfortable and accessible instead of alien or challenging. The form, organization and structure of propaganda, as well as its content, should be carefully studied to ensure fuller understanding of its purposes and impact.

Spagna

Ayer

98 (2) 2015
Joaquín Fermandois
Entusiasmo y desconfianza. Populismo y relaciones internacionales en el caso Perón-Ibáñez, 1953-1955
pp. 187-211

The foreign policy of the first government of Juan Domingo Perón (1946-1955), marked by the populist rhetoric inherent to the Peronist project, posed an important challenge for Chile during the administration of Carlos Ibáñez (1952-1958). The multiple similarities between the leadership of both men led many to believe that it was possible to replicate in Chile, with a few differences, the Peronist model already established in Argentina. Despite the existence of voices in Ibañez's entourage that pointed towards that objective, the historic foreign policy of the Chilean state influenced the policies of his administration towards Argentina to a larger extent than the rhetorical kinship between Perón e Ibáñez.

99 (3) 2015
Gonzalo Pasamar
¿Cómo nos han contado la Transición? Política, memoria e historiografía (1978-1996).
pp. 225-249

In this article we shall offer an approach to the cultural products relating to the Spanish transition to democracy, paying attention to some of their key political and memory aspects. The overview examines the vicissitudes of their main narratives over the period from 1978 to the second half of the 1990s: while during the years of the disenchantment a critical viewpoint of the Transition spread, the early 1980s witnessed the birth of another more indulgent and commemorative. Nevertheless, the 1990s began with the first attempts to reexamine the topic, followed by an extremely strained political situation where the belief that the Transition had proved a fraud began to emerge.

99 (3) 2015
Raquel Varela
Portugal y España, 1974-1978: ¿una unidad histórica?
pp. 23-47

In this paper we put the hypothesis that Portugal and Spain have been a unit of the historical point of view since the nineteenth century, and this feature was essential to explain the almost simultaneity of the end of their dictatorships in 1974-1978. In the first section we overview the main theoretical discussions of this hypothesis. In the second phase we analyse the foreign affairs of the Intersindical and CCOO. We argue that this objective historical unity was achieved by reciprocal withdrawal of PCE and PCP, with consequences for Intersindical and CCOO, against the attempts to draw a common policy for the Peninsula, on the part of Western governments and social democratic parties.

María Dolores Ramos

Defensoras de la paz, jóvenes guerreros y madrinas de estandartes. Narrativas y experiencias de género en el largo siglo xix

pp. 21-45

This paper is focused on militaristic and pacifist discourses and social practices arisen in Europe from mid-nineteenth century to the outbreak of World War I. It addresses how a culture of peace, rich in proposals and debates, was created. This culture of peace was stimulated by female leaders that enjoyed international recognition, organised networks and were involved in mobilisations in various countries. Notable among them was the Austrian aristocrat Bertha von Suttner, first woman to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, in 1905. Her novel Lay Down Your Arms!,subject matter of this paper, not only is a cultural product where a pacifist plot is developed, but also a text that provides, from the perspective of sociocultural-history, numerous values, attitudes, significations, and political and ideological references on war and peace.

Fernando Sánchez-Costa
Memoria pública y recreación nacional. Políticas de memoria y prácticas culturales en la Barcelona republicana (1931-1936)
pp. 207-236

Este artículo tiene como objetivo llevar a cabo una radiografía de los discursos y las prácticas conmemorativas en la Barcelona de la Segunda República (1931-1936). Para ello, utiliza una extensa panoplia de fuentes periodísticas y administrativas de la época, así como bibliografía nacional e internacional. Entiende el autor que la «memoria pública» forma parte de la «esfera pública» en sentido habermasiano, es decir, del ámbito en el que la comunidad se autodescubre y autodefine. Por eso, el autor realiza una disección de las narrativas y de las praxis conmemorativas, a fin de encontrar los implícitos ideológicos que subyacen o se explicitan en ellas. El concepto de «memoria pública» queda perfilado como una categoría de análisis socio-histórico. El texto analiza los discursos de memoria dominantes y su vinculación con el nacionalismo liberal-obrerista imperante. Estudia las concomitancias y las diferencias de estos relatos verbales y visuales con la historiografía catalana renaixentista. Al mismo tiempo, arguye que la partitura básica del imaginario histórico catalán, así como la voluntad de «redimir el pasado», permiten interpretar el comportamiento político de los dirigentes del periodo. El artículo recoge también la importancia de la iniciativa ciudadana en la configuración simbólica del nuevo tapiz de memoria urbana.

Miguel Angel Giménez Martínez
El régimen parlamentario de la Segunda República y las relaciones entre su presidente, el Gobierno y las Cortes
pp. 54-77

Si la Segunda República supuso la inauguración de la democracia en España, también significó una depuración del parlamentarismo hasta entonces conocido. La Constitución de 1931 diseñó un sistema parlamentario de gobierno que contemplaba un complejo mecanismo de equilibrios entre los tres principales órganos del Estado: el presidente de la República, el Gobierno y las Cortes. Sin embargo, la regulación constitucional de las relaciones entre estos poderes, al estar inspirada en ideas distintas e incluso en algunos casos antagónicas, provocó graves conflictos que afectaron a la estabilidad del régimen republicano y comprometieron su futuro. Partiendo de un enfoque multidisciplinar que combina la exégesis de textos legales, el estudio de las fuentes parlamentarias (los Diarios de Sesiones) y el contraste con las aportaciones doctrinales, este artículo trata de analizar las deficiencias de este parlamentarismo "racionalizado" y los problemas a que dio lugar su puesta en práctica.

Magdalena González Martín
La teorización de Julio Aróstegui sobre la historia del tiempo presente como historia vivida
pp. 126-133

Julio Aróstegui contribuyó de manera destacada al conocimiento y a la teorización de la historia del tiempo presente en España. Sus aportaciones, recogidas ampliamente en su obra La historia vivida, publicada en 2004, han resultado de enorme utilidad para una nueva generación de historiadores. Tiempo, generaciones y memoria son tres de los conceptos clave que utiliza para profundizar en su teoría.

Historia Contemporánea

Pedro José Chacón Delgado
El concepto de independencia vasca en Sabino Arana Goiri
pp. 75-103

Puede parecer una obviedad definir al nacionalismo por su independentismo, y quizás por eso la mayoría de los investigadores del nacionalismo vasco han recurrido al lema del primer partido nacionalista, JEL (Jaungoikua eta Lagizarra, Dios y Ley Vieja en euskera), para definir esta ideología, pensando que el concepto de independencia ya iba incluido, como así es, en el segundo término de dicho lema. Esta preeminencia por el lema ha conducido a la investigación a centrarse en si Sabino Arana Goiri le daba más importancia a la religión o a la raza, por ejemplo. Pero priorizando el concepto de independencia, como hacemos aquí, para explicar el nacionalismo vasco, por encima del lema JEL, se obtienen resultados inesperados. Por ejemplo, que el concepto de independencia, por sí solo, es previo al lema JEL, puesto que a Luis Arana Goiri, hermano del fundador y quien se supone que le transmitió la «idea» al propio Sabino, le bastó con ser independentista para ser el primer nacionalista. El concepto de independencia vasca se utilizaba, en efecto, antes de que apareciera el nacionalismo pero se trata de saber si esta ideología le dio el mismo significado que tenía o si se lo modificó y cómo.

Francisco Javier Ramón Solans
"El catolicismo tiene masas". Nación, política y movilización en España, 1868-1931
pp. 427-454

Entre 1868 y 1936 en España se produjo una guerra cultural continua, pero con diversos grados de intensidad, por la definición secular o religiosa del espacio público. Ante este conflicto, los católicos españoles lejos de mantener una actitud pasiva acometieron una importante reforma de sus contenidos, organizaciones y estrategias, haciendo uso de los modernos medios de movilización de masas. Asimismo, se creó una potente red de organizaciones en las que se pudieron integrar por primera vez seglares, jóvenes, mujeres y hombres. El impulso devocional del culto a la Virgen, al Sagrado Corazón y al Cristo Rey proporcionó a los católicos símbolos con los que identificarse y en torno a los cuales reagruparse. Por último, dicha renovación debe insertarse en la creación de una cultura política nacionalcatólica en la que se enmarcan estas nuevas estrategias, prácticas y asociaciones, dotándolas de un sentido nacionalista que exaltaba la indisoluble unidad entre España y el catolicismo.

Historia del Presente

33 (1) 2015
Maximiliano Fuentes Codera
Imperialismos e iberismos en España: perspectivas regeneradoras frente a la Gran Guerra

From a comparative perspective, the overall objective of this paper is to analyse how nationally regenerative proposals as *iberism* and imperialism were affected by the impact of the First World War in Spain. Within this framework, it especially studies the *iberism* as national horizon in a dynamic context, strongly conditioned by the development of the conflict and the positions assumed by Portugal, the evolution of domestic politics and the heated debates that took place in Spain. It also takes a look at the contact points between the various approaches of Aliadophiles and Germanophiles on these issues to observe a shared field between the two groups. To sum up, the main objective of the paper is to analyze the Spanish neutrality within the general framework of the renewal of the nationalist discourses that were developed in Europe during the war.

33 (1) 2015
María Antonia Paz Rebollo
Usos públicos de la historia en la Transición española. Divulgación histórica y debate en Televisión Española (1978 a 1985)

Se analizan las versiones y usos de la historia en dos programas de televisión durante los años de la Transición política española: Tribuna de la Historia y La víspera de nuestro tiempo. Se valora el formato, la selección de temas abordados y los invitados presentes en estos espacios, así como su repercusión en el debate público a través de la prensa escrita. Se mostrará que en TVE no hubo amnesia histórica durante la Transición, todo lo contrario, a través de estos programas, se intentó ofrecer una historia objetiva que hiciera realidad el diálogo sobre el pasado entre expertos con diferentes enfoques. Se evitó el formato documental utilizado por el franquismo y se optó por el coloquio entre posturas diversas, porque no sólo se perseguía la difusión de una nueva historia sino también de una nueva cultura política: podía haber diálogo y debate sobre temas polémicos, entre posturas discordantes. La historia se utilizó de esta forma para educar a los españoles en las nuevas realidades a través del ejemplo del pasado. Con la Transición cerrada el intento perdió interés y estos programas desaparecieron.

34 (2) 2015
Xavier Andreu Miralles
Nacionalismo español y culturas políticas. El comienzo de una buena amistad

In recent decades, the New Cultural History has raised new questions about the past and has contributed decisively to improve our understanding of main historical processes. The renovation has been specially important in two fields: the study of nations and nationalism, and the cultural history of politics. In Spain, many specialists have worked in the study of Spanish nationalism; at the same time, many others have analyzed the formation of modern Spanish «political cultures». Nevertheless, they have not crossed their ways until now. In this article, I explain briefly the most

recent theoretical trends on the study of nations and nationalisms; after that, I summarize the debates aroused by the concept of «political culture» in Spanish historiography; finally, I point out how this concept could be useful for the study of Spanish nationalism.

34 (2) 2015

Daniel Fernández de Miguel
Los recelos a la modernización al estilo norteamericano en España

Durante el primer tercio del siglo xx, los debates en torno a la modernización que se desarrollaron en España situaron a Europa como principal marco de referencia, pero también aparecieron partidarios y detractores de la modernización al estilo norteamericano, en fase claramente ascendente. Tras la victoria franquista en la Guerra Civil, en un momento coincidente con el ascenso de los Estados Unidos a la condición de superpotencia mundial, la modernización al estilo norteamericano despertó más recelos que nunca en sectores importantes de la sociedad española, en ocasiones con la clara connivencia de las autoridades franquistas. La progresiva mejora de las relaciones bilaterales, confirmada por la firma de los Pactos de Madrid en 1953, condujo a que en la segunda mitad de los años cincuenta nuevas élites reformistas dirigieran su mirada hacia el otro lado del Atlántico en busca de referencias económicas e ideológicas de modernización, rompiendo así con la tradición antiamericana dominante hasta entonces en el conservadurismo español.

El Club del Progreso, fundado en 1852, fue el primer espacio exclusivo de sociabilidad con el que contó la burguesía de Buenos Aires. Concebido como un sitio refinado y europeizante, contribuyó a la forja de una identidad de clase y al rol protagónico de una elite política y económica. Así lo revelan las fuentes histórico-literarias, las cuales dan cuenta también de la posterior fundación del Jockey Club (1882), un espacio aún más refinado que logró, al fin, convertirse en el lujoso escenario de una burguesía porteña ya consolidada.

Las celebraciones vinculadas a la religiosidad "popular", como manifestaciones de fuerte arraigo en la comunidad, desempeñan una relevante función en la articulación de símbolos, discursos e identidades sociales, susceptibles de presentar diferentes lecturas ideológicas. El nacionalcatolicismo se valió de este conjunto de rituales y creencias para legitimar la dictadura en principios supraterrenales. Los imaginarios franquistas pugnaron por la apropiación y resignificación de los símbolos relacionados con la religiosidad "popular", bien desde una perspectiva eclesiástica purificadora o bien desde una praxis fascista.

The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe announcement provided Francoist Spain an excellent opportunity to join a multilateral forum aiming to promote security in Europe as well as a détente between the West and the Soviet Union. Spanish diplomacy, despite the relative international isolation of the country and the limits derived from the authoritarian nature of the Regime, designed a negotiation strategy contributing to gaining visibility and providing valuable contributions to the Final Act, such as the incorporation of the text on Mediterranean security. They also reached a wording of the Act principles agreeable to Spain's interest and to the progress made in United Nations. On the basis of the analysis of the Spanish delegation reports, this article studies both the lights of the work done in Helsinki and Geneva and its shades, the latter being identified with the red lines established by the Francoist Regime. In terms of human rights and especially regarding free circulation and exchange of information.

Stati Uniti

Benjamin Madley
Reexamining the American Genocide Debate: Meaning, Historiography, and New Methods
pp. 98-139

Native Americans suffered catastrophic demographic decline following sustained contact with Europeans. From a pre-contact population of perhaps 5,000,000 or more, the number of American Indians within the continental United States and its colonial antecedents fell to some 240,000 individuals by 1880–1900. The cataclysm thus ranks among the major long-term population disasters of world history. Some scholars assert that introduced diseases were the primary cause of this catastrophe, while others argue that colonialism, war, and diseases combined to wreak demographic devastation. Academics continue to debate whether or not Native Americans—or any groups of them—suffered genocide during the conquest and colonization of the Americas. It is a question that should matter not just to scholars and Native Americans, but to all U.S. citizens. Although the political and administrative boundaries of the United States have been imposed upon indigenous peoples, they form a cohesive unit of historical analysis with real meaning and repercussions for scholars, American Indians, and non-Indians in both the past and present. While the stakes of the debate as it relates to Native Americans may echo those in other genocide debates, new methods of inquiry will help to move this particular debate forward. Examining statements of genocidal intent, massacres, state-sponsored body-part bounties, and mass death in government custody can provide scholars with a rubric for locating, evaluating, or ruling out possible instances of genocide. Detailed case studies are crucial to this approach. They can reframe the debate by focusing on the question of genocide for particular tribes rather than all Native Americans. Applying these methods to two specific cases—Connecticut's Pequot Indians and California's Yuki Indians—suggests how this approach might then be used to locate and define other cases of genocide within and beyond the Americas.

Anne E. Gorsuch
"Cuba, My Love": The Romance of Revolutionary Cuba in the Soviet Sixties
pp. 497-526

In 1963, Zoia Barash moved to Cuba from her home in the Soviet Union. "We were young and Cuba was beautiful when we got here," she remembered in a recent interview. So too for Natalia Balashkova, who moved to Cuba after marrying a Cuban military officer she met in Moscow: "I knew what to expect. Cuba was building socialism. We came willingly, out of love." The popular Soviet song "Cuba, My Love," from 1962, is suggestive of the attachment some Soviets citizens felt for revolutionary Cuba in the early 1960s: "Cuba, my love / Island of crimson dawns / Its song flies over the planet and rings out: / Cuba, my love!" The Cuban Revolution was, as described by Petr Vail' and Aleksandr Genis in their evocative book about the Soviet sixties, "a striking event for the

Soviet person of the 1960s, a powerful, creative social revolution combined with an exotic, distant sea." This romantic passion for Cuba was often accompanied by a concomitant nostalgia for an idealized Soviet past. The complex of longings underpinning the Soviet-Cuban relationship are evident in the Soviet cultural—visual, literary, cinematographic, touristic—imagination, and in the cross-cultural experience of Soviet and Cuban citizens traveling for work, education, or love. There was enthusiasm and romance between Cuban and Soviet citizens, but there was also mistrust. Both desire and anxiety are particularly evident in Soviet discourses and encounters with the gendered and racialized Cuban body, including the virile Cuban man, the consumptive pleasures of sex associated with Cuban women, and the impoverished black body believed to be in special need of Soviet assistance. Soviet understandings of the body—male and female, white and black—were fundamental to what Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, in *Bodies in Contact*, have called "the articulation of imperial ideologies." A history of Soviet-Cuban cultural relations in the early 1960s makes visible both the internationalist enthusiasms, often youthful, of the early Soviet sixties and the perceived dangers of those passions when Cuba was understood to challenge the superiority of the Soviet project.

Alex Borucki, David Eltis, David Wheat
Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America
pp. 433-461

Within half a century of Columbian contact, the most powerful state in Europe had taken over the two most powerful polities in the Americas: the Aztec and Inca empires. From that point until at least 1810, Spanish America was the largest and most populated European imperial domain in the New World, stretching eventually from California to Buenos Aires. Both the first and the last slave voyages to cross the Atlantic disembarked not very far from each other, in the Spanish colonies of Hispaniola (1505) and Cuba (1867). This continent-sized group of colonies developed the first and, until the late eighteenth century, the largest free black population in the Americas. Spanish America was therefore the part of the Americas with the most enduring links to Africa. Yet while the French, the British, and even the Portuguese empires have reasonably precise data on the origins, composition, and demographic evolution of their black populations, most of the information we have for the Spanish colonies is on nineteenth-century Cuba. How puzzling that we know less about the size, nature, and significance of the African connection with Spanish America, especially the Spanish role in the slave trade, than we do about any other branch of the transatlantic traffic. While there is an ancient and well-developed historiography on Latin America, Africans in the Spanish-speaking Americas, and indeed the Spanish themselves, have yet to receive their due in Atlantic history—at least for the years after 1640. Using the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database at www.slavevoyages.org, as well as new archival sources, we have conducted a new evaluation of the slave trade to the Spanish colonies. Our reassessment has given us a new appreciation of not only the African presence in the Spanish Americas, but also—given the links between slavery and economic power before abolition—the status of the whole Spanish imperial project. Overall, more enslaved Africans permanently entered the Spanish Americas than the whole British Caribbean, making Spanish America the most important political entity in the Americas after Brazil to receive

slaves. We now believe that as many as 1,506,000 enslaved Africans arrived in the Spanish Americas directly from Africa between 1520 and 1867. We further estimate that an additional 566,000 enslaved Africans were disembarked in Spanish America from other European colonies in the New World, such as Jamaica and Brazil. Our new, upwardly revised figures will appear on the updated estimates page of the Voyages section of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (hereafter Voyages); however, it is important to note that the database does not address the trans-imperial intra-American slave trade, a lacuna that obscures the picture of how the slave traffic functioned in Spanish America.

Bruce Saposnik
Wailing Walls and Iron Walls: The Western Wall as Sacred Symbol in Zionist National Iconography
pp. 1653-1681

On September 20, 1929, Colonel Frederick Kisch, chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive, took a walk to the Western Wall in Jerusalem. "I am not one of those to whom the traditional practice at this site makes a strong appeal," he wrote in his diary that day, and yet "I stood there for a quarter of an hour alone." Looking around, Kisch recorded a strong sense that "the whole character of the surroundings has been changed." The previous week had seen the most widespread violence between Arabs and Jews that Palestine had yet known, which left 133 Jews and 116 Arabs dead. It had been sparked by a conflict over practices and rights at the Wall, a conflict that had been seething palpably for more than a year, with its roots extending even further back. The 1929 riots (also known as the Wailing Wall or Western Wall riots) would soon prove to be a critical turning point in the emerging national conflict between Palestine's Arabs and its budding Jewish national community—the "zero hour" in the conflict, as a recent book on the violence has termed it. This was a formative moment in the crystallization of the Palestinian Arab national movement, and in the shaping of the Jewish Yishuv (pre-state community) in Palestine and the development of many of the central sets of images and concepts that would help mold its particular brand of Zionist nationalism. For both Jews and Arabs in Palestine, the course of events in that late summer of 1929 would affect not only their perceptions of one another, but their conduct toward each other in future stages of the escalating conflict. The evolution of the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine has been the subject of much direct examination. There is an aspect of the events of 1929, however, that has not been fully explored: the semiotics of the riots' ground zero—the Western Wall compound—as a changing symbol in the context of Zionism as a national movement. Since the riots imposed existential question marks on the Zionist Yishuv, the realignment of ideological precepts—both in the lead-up to the riots and in their wake—involved shifts in a number of Zionism's most fundamental building blocks. The stark transformations in the imagery of the Wall in the context of a dramatically changing reality in Palestine and in the Yishuv's relations with both the Arabs and the British authorities offer a unique opportunity to examine the dynamics of a changing symbol, the transformation and nationalization of a religious icon, its incorporation into an emerging national liturgy, and its role in the construction of a new sense of a nationalized sacrality. They also provide us with a rare opportunity for a direct glimpse into the seam lines and chasms that simultaneously connect a modern national movement and its iconography to and separate it from

the traditional religious imagery from which that movement sought to distinguish itself, but from which, at the same time, it often drew many of its central symbols and cultural resources.

Diplomatic History

Eric Gettig
"Trouble Ahead in Afro-Asia": The United States, the Second Bandung Conference, and the Struggle for the Third World, 1964–1965
pp. 126-156

Focusing on the abortive Second Afro-Asian Conference of 1965, this article analyzes American efforts to shape the future of Third World internationalism during a critical period of transition in the history of the Third World project, of U.S. relations with the Third World, and of the global Cold War.

Stephanie M. Amerian
"Buying European": The Marshall Plan and American Department Stores
pp. 45-69

This article examines collaborations between Marshall Planners and American department stores during the early years of the Cold War to persuade American consumers, especially women, to buy European imports. Specifically, it analyzes four elaborate imports fairs held in 1950 and 1951 by Gimbel's in Philadelphia, Macy's in New York City, and Jordan Marsh in Boston. The purpose of the promotions was twofold. First, Marshall Planners hoped that American consumers would help alleviate Europe's "dollar gap" to provide it with the dollars needed to buy essential American raw materials and manufactured goods. Second, the exhibits served a public relations goal, as Marshall Planners tried to sell Americans on the tangible benefits of the European Recovery Program to their everyday lives. By "buying European," Marshall Planners hoped that Americans would not only assist in European economic recovery, but would also realize the value of liberal internationalism to the postwar world.

Renata Keller
The Latin American Missile Crisis
pp. 195-222

This is a transnational history of the ways that the Cuban Missile Crisis affected national politics and international relations in the Americas. It argues that Latin American governments and citizens tried to take advantage of the crisis to change both local balances of power and relations with the United States.

Heather Marie Stur
"Hiding Behind the Humanitarian Label": Refugees, Repatriates, and the Rebuilding of America's Benevolent Image After the Vietnam War

pp. 223-244

This article argues that as the United States attempted to salvage its image as a benevolent nation in the wake of the Vietnam War, a movement of Vietnamese refugees demanding repatriation challenged the notion that the evacuation of Vietnamese was a necessary rescue operation motivated by humanitarian concern. Via wire reports and communiqués, the Vietnamese government accused the United States of fabricating a humanitarian emergency in order to continue meddling in Vietnam's affairs. In the broader picture of U.S. foreign relations, the repatriate issue threatened to undermine America's efforts to rehabilitate its image of itself as a benevolent power at a time when the United States had lost credibility due to misguided policy decisions, atrocities committed by American troops during the Vietnam War, and the postwar embargo. Images of Americans embracing Vietnamese refugees served as a form of damage control as the United States sought to reclaim its moral authority, which had undergirded the benevolent image it had used to justify its intervention in Vietnam in particular and global dominance in general.

President Jimmy Carter's pursuit of a faith-based foreign policy caused his early frustrations with the Middle East peace process. He initially pursued a comprehensive, regional settlement. The administration worked toward reconvening a Geneva conference focused on ending the Arab–Israeli conflict. Carter was guided in these efforts by his religious beliefs, specifically his understanding of Christian social justice. As a result, Carter viewed the situation of the Palestinians as one of the most significant human rights challenges he faced in the region and began championing the cause of the people in the West Bank and Gaza as he attempted to secure them a place in Geneva. After the likelihood of a conference collapsed, Carter, in effect, began negotiating directly with the Israeli government on behalf of the Palestinians. Those efforts cost him much political support and caused the peace process to stagnate.

This article argues that the October War of 1973 between Egypt, Syria, and Israel had a profound impact on the right wing campaign against détente in the United States. It focuses on Eugene Rostow's leading role in the anti-détente movement of the 1970s, revealing how Rostow, who had previously supported détente, interpreted the October War as a Soviet plot to destroy Israel and separate Europe from the United States. Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon, he concluded, were deceiving the American people to maintain the "myth" of détente. Race profoundly influenced Rostow's reasoning. He rendered Arab peoples irrational, emotional, and childlike, wholly under

the control of Soviet leaders. Rostow launched what one historian has referred to as the "first head-on assault of détente," through his leadership of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority and later his founding of the Committee on the Present Danger. While the article highlights the conflicting views between Rostow and Kissinger, it emphasizes that the two men shared a Cold War worldview.

This article examines the Anglo-Chinese negotiations over diplomatic normalization from a comparative perspective, and sheds valuable light on the transformation of the Cold War in the early 1970s. The Anglo-Chinese talks were inextricably linked with the complicated process of Sino-American rapprochement. At first, the White House kept Britain in the dark concerning its China initiative. After delivering the "shock" of his forthcoming China visit, Nixon asked Heath to delay reaching a deal with Beijing until the dust of the presidential party had settled. For all his initial outrage, Heath's unsentimental attitude toward the "special relationship" made it easier for him to adjust to the "Nixon shock." Ultimately, it was not the pressure from the White House, but the long-held British legal position that Taiwan's status was "undetermined," that prevented Britain from reaching an agreement with China until March 1972.

Jared McBrady
The Challenge of Peace: Ronald Reagan, John Paul II, and the American Bishops
pp. 129-152

In 1983, the American Catholic bishops' conference released *The Challenge of Peace*, a pastoral letter on nuclear weapons policy. This article examines the drafting process of that pastoral letter, revealing a complex relationship between President Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II, and the U.S. bishops. At the same time Reagan was strengthening the relationship betweenWashington and the Vatican, the American bishops were becoming increasingly critical of the president and his policies in a way not previously seen from the Catholic hierarchy—a tension that colored the drafting of *The Challenge of Peace*. The pastoral represents a watershed moment in the transformation of the American Catholic Church into a major voice in the American public sphere.

Weldon C. Matthews
The Kennedy Administration, the International Federation of Petroleum Workers, and Iraqi Labor under the Ba'thist Regime
pp. 97-128

The International Federation of Petroleum Workers (IFPW) was an international trade secretariat based in the United States and secretly funded by the U.S. government. The federation supported the Kennedy administration's policy of rapprochement with Iraq during the country's first Ba'thist regime by defending the regime against criticism of its violent suppression of the Iraqi Communist Party and by fostering the development of Ba'thist-led Iraqi labor unions, free of Communist influence. Simultaneously, left-wing Ba'thist union leaders strove to establish an autonomous, radically democratic, and nonaligned labor movement in the face of their own government's efforts to subordinate unions to government control. The leftist labor leaders also confronted the Iraq Petroleum Company as it attempted to reduce the size of its Iraqi work force. The IFPW focused solely on Cold War goals and did not support the union organizers in their struggles for either labor autonomy or economic security for oil workers.

Michelle Denise Getchell
Revisiting the 1954 Coup in Guatemala: The Soviet Union, the United Nations, and "Hemispheric Solidarity"
pp. 73-102

This article reevaluates the U.S.-backed coup in 1954 that overthrew Guatemala's democratically elected president, Jacobo Árbenz Guzmán. The coup is generally portrayed as the opening shot of the Cold War in the Western Hemisphere and a watershed moment for U.S.–Latin American

relations, when the United States supplanted its Good Neighbor Policy with a hardline anti-Communist approach. Despite the extensive literature on the coup, the Soviet Union's perspectives on the matter have received scant discussion. Using Soviet-bloc and United Nations (UN) archival sources, this article shows that Latin American Communists and Soviet sympathizers were hugely influential in shaping Moscow's perceptions of hemispheric relations. Although regional Communists petitioned the Soviet Union to provide support to Árbenz, officials in Moscow were unwilling to prop up what they considered a "bourgeoisdemocratic" revolution tottering under the weight of U.S. military pressure. Soviet leaders were, however, keen to use their position on the UN Security Council to challenge the authority of the Organization of American States and undermine U.S. conceptions of "hemispheric solidarity." The coup, moreover, revealed the force of anti-U.S. nationalism in Latin America during a period in which Soviet foreign policy was in flux and the Cold War was becoming globalized.

James Stocker
Accepting Regional Zero: Nuclear Weapon Free Zones, U.S. Nonproliferation Policy and Global Security, 1957–1968
pp. 36-72

Nuclear weapon free zones (NWFZs) were an important development in the history of nuclear nonproliferation efforts. From 1957 through 1968, when the Treaty of Tlatelolco was signed, the United States struggled to develop a policy toward NWFZs in response to efforts around the world to create these zones, including in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. Many within the U.S. government initially rejected the idea of NWFZs, viewing them as a threat to U.S. nuclear strategy. However, over time, a preponderance of officials came to see the zones as advantageous, at least in certain areas of the world, particularly Latin America. Still, U.S. policy pertaining to this issue remained conservative and reactive, reflecting the generally higher priority given to security policy than to nuclear nonproliferation.

Frédéric Bozo
"I Feel More Comfortable with You": France, the Soviet Union, and German Reunification
pp. 116-158

This article explores the interactions between French and Soviet leaders at the end of the Cold War when they were confronted by German reunification. This important dimension of the events of 1989–1990 has been largely neglected up to now. Although allegations of Franco-Soviet collusion against German reunification have long been widespread, the evidence presented here from declassified French, Soviet, and West German sources shows that the two countries in fact failed to cooperate to shape the modalities and outcome of these processes despite the close relationship that by then prevailed between French President François Mitterrand and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Although for decades Paris and Moscow had shared the objective of avoiding a disruptive settlement of the German question, and although both leaders were initially deeply

troubled by the pace of events, they did not agree about the fundamental issue of German self-determination and did not share an understanding of the international conditions required for German reunification. Even more critically, they had different visions of the transformation of the European security system that should accompany it.

David Allen
Realism and Malarkey: Henry Kissinger's State Department, Détente, and Domestic Consensus
pp. 184-219

This article uses recently declassified archival documents to reassess public opinion in the United States regarding East-West détente. When Henry Kissinger was U.S. secretary of state during the Nixon and Ford administrations, he made dozens of speeches intended to educate the public in what he considered the proper methods of diplomacy. By analyzing those "heartland" speeches using recently released documents, the article shows that Kissinger and the State Department tried much harder to create a foreign policy consensus behind détente and realism than previously understood. Despite these efforts, Kissinger's message was lost on the public. The article provides the first extended analysis of a series of fact-finding "town meetings" held by the State Department in five locations across the United States—meetings that revealed how badly Kissinger had failed. By February 1976, all those involved in U.S. foreign policymaking—Kissinger's opponents, his advisers, and the wider public—desired a greater role for moral values in foreign policy.

Tommaso Piffer
Office of Strategic Services versus Special Operations Executive: Competition for the Italian Resistance, 1943–1945
pp. 41-58

This article explores the relationship between the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) and the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in the Italian campaign during World War II. Drawing on recently declassified records, the article analyzes three issues that prevented satisfactory coordination between the two agencies and the impact those issues had on the effectiveness of the Allied military support given to the partisan movements: (1) the U.S. government's determination to maintain the independence of its agencies; (2) the inability of the Armed Forces Headquarters to impose its will on the reluctant subordinate levels of command; and (3) the relatively low priority given to the Italian resistance at the beginning of the campaign. The article contributes to recent studies on OSS and SOE liaisons and sheds additional light on an important turning point in the history of their relations.

Thomas K. Robb, David James Gill

The ANZUS Treaty during the Cold War: A Reinterpretation of U.S. Diplomacy in the Southwest Pacific
pp. 109-157

This article explains the origins of the Australia–New Zealand–United States (ANZUS) Treaty by highlighting U.S. ambitions in the Pacific region after World War II. Three clarifications to the historiography merit attention. First, an alliance with Australia and New Zealand reflected the pursuit of U.S. interests rather than the skill of antipodean diplomacy. Despite initial reservations in Washington, geostrategic anxiety and economic ambition ultimately spurred cooperation. The U.S. government's eventual recourse to coercive diplomacy against the other ANZUS members, and the exclusion of Britain from the alliance, substantiate claims of self-interest. Second, the historiography neglects the economic rationale underlying the U.S. commitment to Pacific security. Regional cooperation ensured the revival of Japan, the avoidance of discriminatory trade policies, and the stability of the Bretton Woods monetary system. Third, scholars have unduly played down and misunderstood the concept of race. U.S. foreign policy elites invoked ideas about a "White Man's Club" in Asia to obscure the pursuit of U.S. interests in the region and to ensure British exclusion from the treaty.

Sara Dubow
"A Constitutional Right Rendered Utterly Meaningless": Religious Exemptions and Reproductive Politics, 1973–2014

On June 18, 1973, President Nixon signed into law the Health Programs Extension Act, extending the funding of a dozen public health programs for one year. This act included a clause allowing medical personnel and hospitals receiving federal funds to refuse to provide or perform abortions or sterilizations for reasons of religious belief or moral conviction. Voted on separately as an amendment to the proposed bill, this first federal conscience clause passed by 92–1 in the Senate and by 372–1 in the House. By the end of 1974, twenty-eight states had passed similar conscience clauses. Two years after its passage, a Newsweek article about the antiabortion movement's largely unsuccessful efforts to pass legislation at the federal level wrote that "only a conscience clause measure sponsored by Idaho's Democratic Senator Frank Church—has had far-reaching effect."

Michael Brenes
Making Foreign Policy at the Grassroots: Cold War Politics and the 1976 Republican Primary

On June 28, 1976, Ronald Reagan wrote to Southern Chairmen's Association member Clark Reed to explain his stance on the issues affecting his challenge to incumbent President Gerald Ford. What at first looked to be a hopeless cause for Reagan was shaping up to be a battle that the former California governor could potentially win. Reagan told Reed he opposed mandatory school busing (which he said should be settled by "local communities"), a national health insurance program, and the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. Reagan also took the opportunity to take stock of his campaign and its evolution since the previous November, noting that the months of "campaigning has convinced me as well of something I didn't know when I began: the American people are ready to halt the retreat of the last several years that has gone under the name of detente." Public opposition to détente—and more broadly, Ford's foreign policy—jump-started Reagan's campaign after defeats in a number of early primary elections. Reagan did not intend to make foreign affairs the cornerstone of his candidacy, but refocused his attention to the Cold War after he found audiences responded enthusiastically to his call for expanding America's global reach to fight communism. Americans wanted to refight the Cold War, Reagan concluded, as they had demonstrated their belief that the "best guarantee for peace—the guarantee our Soviet adversaries understand—is military strength."

Paul E. Herron
Slavery and Freedom in American State Constitutional Development

In 1972, Edmund Morgan delivered the presidential address to the Organization of American Historians on the relationship between slavery and freedom in American political development. He argued that the rise of liberty and equality was accompanied by the rise of slavery. Morgan claimed

that slavery reduced the demand for white indentured servants and alleviated the attendant problem of a discontented, landless class of single men. Moreover, the expansive growth of the evil institution united whites and minimized class differences. The revelation that the rights of Englishmen were preserved by destroying the rights of Africans also applied to state constitutional development. The essay historically explains the interdependency of freedom and slavery in American state constitutional development

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Heidi J.S. Tworek and Simone M. Müller (special issue edited by)

The Governance of International Communications: Business, Politics, and Standard-Setting in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Carter and Reagan administrations created a new approach to exerting national power vis-à-vis the Soviet Union that actively acknowledged information as a vital component of national security. By 2000, the approach had become a concrete national security strategy for U.S. active engagement abroad, known through the acronym of DIME: diplomatic, informational, military, and economic power. The national security framework now explicitly equated the I of information with the D, M, and E of diplomacy, military and economics in the international realm. But governments and business have implicitly linked international information to military, diplomatic and economic power since at least the mid-nineteenth century through international conferences and organizations. While the revelations about the NSA have made these connections clearer to all over the past two years, the mechanisms underlying such information, in this case Internet governance, actually arose over 150 years ago. This special issue examines historical attempts of statesmen, administrators, reformers and business elites to control and manage the contentious realm of international communications during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Journal of Women's History

Julia Hudson-Richards
"Women Want to Work": Shifting Ideologies of Women's Work in Franco's Spain, 1939–1962
pp. 87-109

In the first years of the Franco dictatorship, the regime and the fascist women's organization, the Sección Femenina (Women's Section), worked to change the norms for working women in the new state. Women's work was redefined and moved toward the domestic, and the regime's discourse endowed it with new social value. This new ideology did not reflect the reality of many working class Spanish women who found themselves working outside the home or the economic realities of Franco's Spain. In the 1950s, however, women's economic role began to change as they became consumers. Women carved out their own spaces of economic significance despite the regime's plan for them and their new economic identities, spurred on by consumerism and a reintegration with the larger world, forced the regime to recognize their contributions with the 1961 "Law of Political, Professional, and Labor Rights for Women."

Jennifer Mori
How Women Make Diplomacy: The British Embassy in Paris, 1815–1841
pp. 137-159

British diplomatic wives of the early nineteenth century were under increasing pressure to perform their public duties to higher standards of accountability. This article examines the embassies in Paris led by two women—Elizabeth Stuart and Harriet Granville—to ascertain how they negotiated the expectations of their post with respect to class and gender norms. Their records illustrate how new standards of state service could be set for women and how women's hospitality work in the service of diplomacy could make it a more consultative political domain.

Eileen McDonagh
Ripples from the First Wave: The Monarchical Origins of the Welfare State
pp. 992-1016

Before the welfare state, people were protected from disabilities resulting from illness, old age, and other infirmities by care work provided within the family. When the state assumes responsibility for care-work tasks, in effect it assumes parental roles, thereby becoming a form of familial government in which the public provision of goods and services is analogous to care work provided in the family. My research pushes back the origins of the state's obligation to care for people to a preindustrial form of government, hereditary monarchies – what Max Weber termed patrimonialism. It explicates how monarchs were cast as the parents of the people, thereby constituting kingship as a care work regime that assigned to political rulers parental responsibility for the welfare of the people. Using historical and quantitative analysis, I establish that retaining the legitimacy of monarchies as the first form of familial government in the course of Western European democratizing makes it more credible to the public and to political elites to accept the welfare state as the second form of familial government. That, in turn, promotes a more robust public sector supportive of social provision. The results reformulate conceptions of the contemporary welfare state and its developmental legacies.

Tyler M. Curley
Models of Emergency State-Building in the United States
pp. 697-713

Over the last decade, the impact of emergencies on the American state has become the subject of renewed interest. While early literature in the post-9/11 era often overlooked the historical development of crisis governance in the United States, many scholars have begun to uncover the precedents that continue to shape modern emergency management. In an effort to clarify the main analytical assumptions of the existing scholarship, I construct three models of emergency state-building: permanent emergency state, national security state, and contract state. The models each share an underlying framework of historical institutionalism, which defines the state as a stabilized material institutional structure that is disrupted by emergency conditions — exogenous shocks that cannot be incorporated into the normal state-building processes or legal order. Yet this perspective is ill-equipped to explain institutional change. I propose discursive institutionalism as an approach that emphasizes how discourse and ideas construct emergencies as objects of government management — in different ways, at different times. I then illustrate the utility of this perspective by demonstrating the influence of national planning ideas on efforts to prepare the state for emergencies before they occur.

John H. Aldrich

Did Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison "Cause" the U.S. Government Shutdown? The Institutional Path from an Eighteenth Century Republic to a Twenty-first Century Democracy

This address asks how we got to todays politics in America; a politics of polarized political parties engaged in close political competition in a system of checks and balances. The result has often been divided control of government and an apparent inability to address major political problems. This address develops the historical foundation for these characteristics. Historically, the Founding period set the stage of separated powers and the first party system. America developed a market economy, a middle class, and a mass-based set of parties in the Antebellum period. Through the Progressive era, nation-wide reforms led to a more democratic but increasingly candidate-centered politics in the North, and the establishment of Jim Crow politics in the South. The post-War period saw the full development of candidate-centered elections. While the breakup of Jim Crow due to the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts in the mid-1960s ended Jim Crow and made possible a competitive party system in the South, the later was delayed until the full implementation of the Republican's «southern strategy» in 1980 and beyond. This set in motion the partisan polarization of today, to combine with separated powers to create what many refer to as the «current» political «dysfunction».

[Studies in American Political Development](#)

Travis M. Johnston
A Crowded Agenda: Labor Reform and Coalition Politics during the Great Society
pp 89-105

For much of the post-WWII era, conservative forces blocked progressive labor policy from reaching a floor vote. With huge Democratic majorities in Congress, the 1960s represented a rare opportunity for unions to substantively alter industrial relations policy. The decade served as an important moment of policy development for numerous groups in the coalition. Organized labor, however, made few gains during this prolific era. Despite labor's central position within the governing coalition, Democrats repeatedly failed to pass their most important legislative ambition, the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act's right-to-work clause. In 1965, Democrats nearly achieved this goal when such a bill passed the House, only to be blocked by a filibuster in the Senate. By analyzing the Democrats' legislative priorities during the Great Society, the author show how coalitional politics structured the party's policy agenda and how this ordering affected legislation in turn. With the infusion of new coalitional demands, party elites strategically placed labor's controversial issue at the end of a long legislative agenda, effectively eliminating any chance for passage. Rather than locating all blame with the usual suspects, this rarely studied episode suggests that President Johnson and his leaders in Congress played a central role in the bill's failure. The study provides new insight into the process, and consequences, by which party leaders decide whose issues to prioritize when setting the agenda.

Daniel Carpenter e Benjamin Schneer
Party Formation through Petitions: The Whigs and the Bank War of 1832–1834
pp. 213-234

When President Andrew Jackson removed the public deposits from the Bank of the United States, he set off an economic and political crisis from which, scholars agree, the Whig Party emerged. We argue that petitioning in response to removal of the deposits shaped the emergence of the Whig Party, crystallizing a new line of Jacksonian opposition and dispensing with older lines of National Republican rhetoric and organization. Where petitioning against removal of the deposits was higher, the Whigs were more likely to emerge with organization and votes in the coming years. We test this implication empirically by using a new database of petitions sent to Congress during the banking crisis. We find that petitioning activity in 1834 is predictive of increased support for Whig Party candidates in subsequent presidential elections as well as stronger state Whig Party organization.

Daniel Amsterdam

Before the Roar: U.S. Unemployment Relief after World War I and the Long History of a Paternalist Welfare Policy
pp. 97-121

Daniel Amsterdam reveals shortcomings in how scholars have written about the American welfare state by tracing the history of U.S. unemployment relief from the antebellum period through the early 1930s. Along the way, he unearths the long roots of Herbert Hoover's highly scrutinized "associative" approach to mass joblessness and shows that federal involvement in unemployment relief and what is now called stimulus spending began earlier than historians generally portray. Finally, by examining local relief campaigns during the depression of the early 1920s, he calls into question prevailing wisdom regarding corporate social politics during the so-called New Era.

Historians and the Carceral State

The United States is covered by an extensive, overlapping, and expanding policing apparatus at local, county, state, and federal levels. This has produced the world's largest prison population, with more humans caged in this nation than in any other country on earth. This special issue of the *Journal of American History,* "Historians and the Carceral State," introduces readers to the growing literature on how the carceral state emerged in the early republic, was consolidated in the nineteenth century, and then underwent phenomenal expansion during the long twentieth century. See in particular the essays: *African American Women, Mass Incarceration, and the Politics of Protection* by Kali Nicole Gross, pp. 25-33; *Guns and Butter: The Welfare State, the Carceral State, and the Politics of Exclusion in the Postwar United States* by Julilly Kohler-Hausmann, pp. 87-99; *"A War within Our Own Boundaries": Lyndon Johnson's Great Society and the Rise of the Carceral State* by Elizabeth Hinton, pp. 100-112.

Caitlin A. Fitz

The Hemispheric Dimensions of Early U.S. Nationalism: The War of 1812, Its Aftermath, and Spanish American Independence
pp. 356-379

At the same time that the United States was embarking on what supporters called a "second war for independence," Spanish Americans were embarking on their first. **Caitlin A. Fitz** returns the War of 1812 to that hemispheric setting, showing how the Americas' nearly simultaneous wars against Europe gradually prompted U.S. observers to imagine the Western Hemisphere as a happily independent republican family at a time when Europe seemed to be crumbling under the weight of dynastic alliances and monarchical tyranny. That sense of inter-American unity, she asserts, inspired people throughout the United States with patriotic pride and visions of international importance.

Growing Apart: A Political History of American Inequality
pp. 500-504

Growing Apart is an ever-changing, highly interactive Web site that charts, graphs, tabulates, and narrates American economic and social inequality during the last several decades. By linking users to a vast array of additional sources, this innovative site is a portal to many people and organizations that have generated a vast array of essays, statistics, maps, and graphs that purport to explain, chart, and historicize a phenomenon of great contemporary interest. If continuously edited and enhanced, Growing Apart will never become stale or out of date. The Web site can be found at: http://scalar.usc.edu/works/growing-apart-a-political-history-of-american-inequality/index.

[102 (3) 2015](#)
Jennifer Burns
The Three "Furies" of Libertarianism: Rose Wilder Lane, Isabel Paterson, and Ayn Rand
pp. 746-774
Jennifer Burns analyzes the careers and writing of the children's author Rose Wilder Lane, the book critic Isabel Paterson, and the best-selling novelist Ayn Rand, all of whom developed a radical politicized individualism in the 1930s and 1940s. These women's identities as independent career women with atypical domestic lives influenced both this new individualism and their opposition to the New Deal. They were members ofa self-conscious generation that influenced the development of a political conservatism and libertarianism rooted in long-standing intellectual traditions. After World War II, Lane, Paterson, and Rand were able to form pedagogical relationships with prominent businessmen who carried their ideas into the rejuvenated conservative movement even as the three women's names faded from public view.

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Edward E. Curtis IV
"My Heart Is in Cairo": Malcolm X, the Arab Cold War, and the Making of Islamic Liberation Ethics
pp. 775 ss.

Malcolm X's 1964 hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca, is frequently depicted in contemporary U.S. culture and across the Muslim world as the ultimate symbol of his spiritual journey from street hustler to Nation of Islam minister and finally Sunni Muslim believer. Edward E. Curtis IV questions that conventional view, arguing that Cairo, not Mecca, was the real center of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz's newfound identity as a Sunni Muslim. For Shabazz, the Islamic socialism and Afro-Asian solidarity of Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt rather than the monarchical, conservative ideology of Nasser's Saudi Arabian rivals represented the heart of Islamic religion and the key to the liberation of all people of color.

Altro
Historia (Cile)

Manuel Bastías Saavedra
Intervención del estado y derechos sociales. Transformaciones en el pensamiento jurídico chileno en la era de la cuestión social, 1880-1925
pp. 11-42

This article studies the changes in legal thought, which preceded the constitutional recognition of social rights in Chile. By looking at documents produced between 1880 and 1925, it evaluates how legal scholars perceived the relation between State and welfare. The objective is to illustrate the formation of a critical legal movement, which questioned the normative foundations of the nineteenth-century State, by representing it as a guardian of property rights. This critique of law led to a reevaluation of the legal system, making the State assume the correction of economic inequalities as one of its main functions. The recognition of social rights in the Constitution of 1925 was the culmination of a longer process of legal change.

Joaquín Fernandez Abara
En lucha contra el 'pulmón de la conspiración fascista en América Latina': los comunista cileno ante el processo político argentino y el gobierno de la revolución de junio (1943-1946)
pp. 435-463

This article describes and analyzes the Chilean Communist Party's position and interpretation of the Gobierno de la Revolución de Junio and the Argentinean political process from 1943 to 1946 by utilizing general and partisan press, theoretical publications and legislative speeches. The article argues that the Chilean communists' interpretation of this phenomenon was influenced by their anti-fascism. In this manner, they deemed that the Gobierno de la Revolución de Junio was a fascist experience and demanded that the Chilean government cancel diplomatic relations with Argentina and isolate it internationally. To reach the objective, Chilean communists called for social mobilization, especially among urban workers and intellectuals. Those interpretations and attitudes defined the Chilean communists' opinion of incipient Peronism, leading to an increasing conflict with the Peronist regime.

Daniela Serr Anguita
Celbrar o no Celebrar? La organización de los festejos oficiales del centenario de la indipendencia de Chile, 1904-1910
pp. 595-626

This article analyses the organization of the official celebration of the national centenary of independence on the part of the Chilean State, which took place between 1904 and 1910. Through the revision and analysis of parliamentary discussions and the laws and public decrees enacted in Chile during this period, we can conclude that the possibility of actually celebrating the Centennial was not a given. On the contrary, it arises during a particular time, in the first years of the twentieth century and as a response to the national elite's interest and expectations. In the context of a parliamentary regime, the Chilean Centennial's official celebration depended almost exclusively on the initiative and will of the members of the National Congress.

Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History