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## FRANCIA

### Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos

2017

Ernesto Bohoslavsky, Magdalena Broquetas

*Vínculos locales y conexiones transnacionales del anticomunismo en Argentina y Uruguay en las décadas de 1950 y 1960*

Scholar historiography has studied many aspects of Argentina and Uruguay political life in the fifties and sixties. However, it still remains under-examined the heterogeneous interests, alliances and conflicts within the wide rightist universe in those years. Argentina and Uruguay right-wing actors such as Liga Federal Ruralista (middle-class representants), neo-fascist bands and Anti-communist organizations were included in social and political transnational networks during the Cold War Era. In this paper are reconstructed some of those social and institutional links between Rio de la Plata's Anti-communist organizations and with other inter-American and global networks, that allowed an intense circulation of ideas and persons. Particular attention is paid to the connections built by two main anti-communist actors: a "nationalist" current, identified by their authoritarian, catholic and Neo-fascist ideas, and violence-prone political style; and a "democratic" tendency, closer to US' government point of view, pro-businessmen and allegedly committed with peaceful and formal political activities. The paper is based in different sources: commercial press, Anti-communist press and propaganda, Intelligence services reports and diplomatic information sent from Buenos Aires and Montevideo.

Jonathan Brown

*The bandido counterrevolution in Cuba, 1959-1965*

The *bandido* or bandit uprisings that began in 1959 had their origins in the resistance of some peasants to agrarian reform. Many small property owners with a few coffee trees or tobacco plants or a small cattle herd feared the redistribution of private lands. Many landless rural laborers also joined the fight against the *comunistas* who administered the agrarian reforms. The Castro Regime maintained that the "real" peasants supported the Revolution. Indeed, rural residents who benefitted positively from land reform did fill out the militia units that fought the "bandits" in the Escambray Mountains and elsewhere on the island. The Cuban counterrevolution, in this regard, compares to the Vendée in France, the Cristero Revolt in Mexico, the kulaks of Russia, and the Contra Movement of Nicaragua. Sources : Cuban military records and CIA documents.

Jesús Bustamante

*La invención del Indio americano y su imagen: cuatro arquetipos entre la percepción y la acción política*

Visual image was of crucial importance when perceiving and giving meaning to the native populations of those lands to which Europe was arriving, both in its first (15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries) and second expansión (17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries). This paper aims to show how visual media have a logic, possibilities and limitations that are specific to them, and that have had significant influence on the West's prevailing image of those indigenous peoples. The object of this paper is to show the existence

and characteristics of four great visual archetypes about the American Indian, beginning in the 16th Century and reaching our days. Four archetypes that are not incompatible with each other, even though they have very different social and political implications.

Mercedes Saborido

*Una aproximación a la temática de las relaciones internacionales desde la prensa comunista argentina durante la Guerra Fría: los casos de Medio Oriente y la Revolución China*

The aims of the present work is to open a space for reflection on the possible significance of the study of the Argentine Communist press in relation to international issues of transcendence in the context of the Cold War, using as examples the case of China and the Middle East conflict. The internationalist vocation and the membership of the International Communist Movement make the communist parties a unique case. From this assumption, it could be presumed that episodes occurred in other regions of the world could affect local positions, or at least enable to alternative positions.

## Parlement[s]

26 (2017)

*Paix, sociétés civiles et Parlements (fin XIXe-1939)*

Dossier coordonné par A. Niess

*Si vis pacem para bellum*, tel était l'adage qui prévalait encore à la veille de la Grande Guerre. Comment, dans ce contexte, défendre la paix, comment la préparer puis la promouvoir pendant et au lendemain d'une guerre totale que l'on voudrait croire être la Der des Der ? Un jeu complexe s'instaure entre les parlementaires et les sociétés civiles qu'ils sont censés représenter, en un moment crucial pour la conception et la mise en œuvre de la Paix. Alors que la sécurité collective trouve ses premières expressions avec les conférences internationales de désarmement et la création de la Société des Nations, les fascismes menacent de réviser par la force les traités de paix. Ce dossier, constitué d'études de cas et de commentaires de sources sur la France, la Grande-Bretagne et l'Allemagne avant, pendant ou après la Première Guerre mondiale, évalue la façon dont les parlements traduisent ou non les aspirations pacifistes de leurs sociétés civiles. Réciproquement, il montre comment des opinions publiques pacifistes, y compris féministes, peuvent influencer leurs représentants et le débat démocratique. Des enjeux qui trouvent un cruel écho dans l'actualité

Nicolas PITSOS

*La résolution pacifique de la question d'Orient devant le Parlement français (1897-1913)*

Jean-Michel GUIEU

*Des parlementaires au service de la paix. Le Groupe parlementaire français de l'arbitrage international (1903-1914)*

Alexandre NIESS

*La gauche parlementaire française face à la loi de trois ans (1913)*

Gisèle BERSTEIN

*Le Sénat français et la paix, d'une guerre à l'autre (1920-1940)*

Marie-Michèle DOUCE

*Les femmes pacifistes et les parlementaires français : l'exemple du projet de loi Paul-Boncour de 1927*

Gearóid BARRY

*La création d'un « pacifisme parlementaire » ? Mouvements de paix, parlements et politique électorale en Grande Bretagne et en France pendant la Première Guerre mondiale*

Rebecca R. SHRIVER

*Féministe et pacifiste à l'époque de Weimar : la remise en question du pouvoir politique dans la nouvelle République*

### (HS 12) 2017

*Vie politique et parlementaire en Espagne (XIXe-XXe siècles)*

Dossier coordonné par M. Trouvé

L'Espagne vient de traverser une crise politique sans précédent depuis la mort de Franco. De décembre 2015 à octobre 2016, la monarchie parlementaire espagnole n'a pu se doter d'une majorité parlementaire en dépit de deux élections générales. Le bipartisme et l'alternance gauche-droite, qui avaient structuré les années 1977-2015, ont subitement été contestés par la gauche radicale de Podemos et le mouvement libéral catalan de Ciudadanos. Si ces convulsions de la représentation démocratique s'inscrivent dans un contexte européen plus large, elles affectent particulièrement un pays déjà frappé par la crise économique et sociale et les contestations nationalistes. Ainsi, l'Espagne renouerait-elle avec ses tensions politiques et son instabilité chronique du XIXe siècle ? Ce dossier interroge, à nouveaux frais, les origines contemporaines du parlementarisme, ses aléas, et plus largement ceux de la vie politique en Espagne depuis le début du XIXe siècle. Articles de recherches et commentaires de sources convoquent différents acteurs, représentants, partis, agents économiques et médias et examinent non seulement leurs pratiques, de la résistance à la fraude électorale en passant par le caciquisme, mais aussi leurs relations à la nation, leurs territoires et leurs mémoires. Un nouveau regard est ainsi porté sur une Transition démocratique espagnole qui n'en finit pas.

Jean-Philippe LUIS

*Les mutations de la place du parlement dans la construction de l'État libéral espagnol durant la première moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*

Mathieu AGUILERA

*« Así se administra a ciegas en España » : statistique, territoire et nation à l'Estamento de Procuradores (1835)*

Alexandre DUPONT

*Les carlistes au temps du Sexenio Democrático (1868-1874). Entre expérience parlementaire et tradition du soulèvement*

Eduardo GONZALES CALLEJA

*L'âge d'or du caciquisme en Espagne. Relève pacifique des partis et fraude électorale (1876-1923)*

Alexandre FERNANDEZ

*Les grands industriels de Biscaye députés aux Cortes (1891-1923)*

Isabelle RENAUDET

*Presse écrite et changement politique en Espagne, de la dictature franquiste à la démocratie*

Nicolas SESMA LANDRIN

*Ni chair ni poisson. Les sénateurs de désignation royale, entre héritage autoritaire et construction de la démocratie (1976-1979)*

Benoît PELLISTRANDI

*La droite à l'épreuve de la démocratie. Normalisation, élections, parlementarisation*

Juan E. SERRANO-MORENO

*Conflits de mémoires et querelles parlementaires dans l'Espagne des années 2000*

## Pouvoirs

160 2017

Claire Zalc

*La naturalisation acte ou vecteur d'intégration? Retour sur l'histoire du débat dans le premier XXe siècle*, pp. 47-60

Naturalisation et intégration semblent bien souvent liées dans les débats politiques et philosophiques. Les uns défendent l'idée que la naturalisation vient sanctionner le parcours d'un immigrant «intégré», d'autres défendent la thèse selon laquelle la naturalisation, par elle-même, est vectrice d'intégration en donnant accès à un ensemble de droits. Ce débat oppose deux conceptions de la nationalité : d'un côté, une «faveur» qui se «mérite»; de l'autre, un droit réducteur d'inégalités. Cet article propose de revenir sur la mise en place des termes de ce débat dans la France du premier XXe siècle, pour discuter la pertinence de cette alliance sémantique et conceptuelle. Et s'il valait mieux considérer la nationalité comme un statut?

Hugues Fulchiron

*Les enjeux contemporains du droit français de la nationalité à la lumière de son histoire*, pp. 5-17

L'histoire du droit français de la nationalité est étroitement liée aux réalités politiques, économiques et sociales d'une époque. Mais elle est aussi guidée par une sorte de «mystique», celle d'une communauté nationale formée par le partage d'un certain nombre de principes et de valeurs. Bien que concurrencée aujourd'hui par d'autres liens d'appartenance, la nationalité reste un élément fondamental du «vivre ensemble».

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Eric Thiers

*l'anti-élitisme: une passion française?*, pp. 19-29

L'anti-élitisme est-il une passion française ? L'histoire politique de notre pays est traversée par des courants qui ont régulièrement mis en cause ceux qui exerçaient le pouvoir en leur déniaient toute légitimité pour ce faire. On peut identifier trois courants : réactionnaire, populiste, «démocratique-révolutionnaire». Ce dernier courant fait peser depuis la Révolution française une suspicion permanente et profonde sur les élites. Face à cela, la République a tenté de concilier cette passion de l'égalité et la nécessité de distinguer une élite. Ce modèle «républicain-aristocratique», qui reposait sur la méritocratie, connaît aujourd'hui une crise qui imposerait une nuit du 4 Août des élites françaises.

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Jean-Luc Pouthier

*Saint-Siège et état de la Cité du Vatican. Histoire et présent*, pp. 5-14

Fruit de l'obstination de la papauté, après la fin des États pontificaux (1870), à asseoir son indépendance spirituelle sur une souveraineté temporelle, même symbolique, l'État de la Cité du Vatican, créé en 1929, est un objet juridique non identifié, dont la première fonction est d'abriter le gouvernement de l'Église catholique, le Saint-Siège. Si, depuis plus de quatre-vingts ans, cette



mission de garantie d'indépendance a bien été remplie, l'existence de ce pseudo-État a aussi causé à l'Église des difficultés inédites auxquelles le pape actuel, François, se trouve à son tour confronté.

François Jankowiak

*Habemus papam: histoire de l'élection pontificale*, pp. 15-26

L'élection du pape, manifestée au peuple de Rome et au monde entier par la formule *Habemus papam*, suscite traditionnellement un intérêt qui le dispute au mystère. Le processus de désignation de l'évêque de Rome, dont les modalités essentielles sont fixées à la période médiévale puis enrichies aux époques moderne et contemporaine, a tôt représenté un enjeu politique de premier ordre, cristallisé par la notion de *libertas Ecclesiae*. Cette liberté, in fine, s'exprime en de rares cas par la latitude dont dispose le pontife pour renoncer à sa charge.

Hugues Portelli

*Le pouvoir du pape et ses limites*, pp. 27-34

Les fonctions du pape ont varié avec le temps. Le rôle politique a eu longtemps la prévalence sur le rôle religieux, du fait tant de la gestion et de la défense des États pontificaux que des querelles avec les rois et empereurs. Il a fallu la disparition des États pontificaux et des liens avec les États pour que le pape, libéré des influences politiques, se recentre sur sa fonction religieuse. Cette fonction a été renforcée dans un premier temps en établissant sa suprématie sur le corps épiscopal et dans un second en se dotant d'un pouvoir médiatique. Ce pouvoir reste limité par la résistance de la Curie et la nécessité de s'appuyer sur le consensus épiscopal.

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Pascal Jan

*La ve republique et les partis*, pp. 5-16

Les partis politiques français, privés de statut spécifique, traversent une profonde crise révélée de façon spectaculaire par l'élection présidentielle et les élections législatives de mai et juin 2017, ainsi que par la judiciarisation croissante de leur fonctionnement interne. Pour autant, comme les formations traditionnelles en voie de perdition, les nouveaux mouvements politiques sont tout aussi présidentialistes dans leur stratégie que dans leur organisation.

Nicolas Sauger

*Raisons et evolution du rejet des partis*, pp. 17-26

Après avoir posé le constat d'une défiance des Français à l'égard des partis, cet article explore les raisons de ce rejet. Il montre que les partis et, plus largement, le système de représentation politique ont toujours été perçus comme problématiques. Mais l'acuité des difficultés s'est largement renforcée dans un contexte global de crise économique et de transformation de la souveraineté des États. Au-delà de ce phénomène rencontré par la plupart des démocraties consolidées, des spécificités françaises viennent aggraver encore la situation.

**67 (2) 2017**

Adrien Schu

*Qu'est-ce que la guerre ? Une réinterprétation de la « Formule » de Carl von Clausewitz*, pp. 291-308

Cet article entend montrer que la célèbre Formule clausewitzienne – « la guerre est une simple continuation de la politique par d'autres moyens » – peut être interprétée de façon à soutenir trois conceptions antagonistes de la guerre, qui se retrouvent toutes dans la littérature et dans l'œuvre même de Clausewitz. Ainsi, la Formule permet de penser la guerre comme un moyen d'action à la disposition des groupes organisés, comme l'affrontement d'ensemble de deux armées rivales et, finalement, comme l'une des phases alternatives du commerce entre groupes sociaux. Nous soutiendrons l'idée selon laquelle ces trois définitions se rattachent en fait à trois concepts distincts : la violence armée, la confrontation violente des armées et la guerre, respectivement.

**67 (3) 2017**

David Bergeron

*Thomas Jefferson et la réflexion sur l'Autochtone Conception d'une nature au fondement d'un projet humain*, pp. 497-519

Cherchant à comprendre les fondements de la représentation de l'Autochtone chez Thomas Jefferson, nous replaçons sa réflexion sur les « races » au sein des paramètres de son libéralisme et des développements scientifiques de son temps. Selon lui, la raison d'être de tout sujet social doit s'inscrire dans une vision expansionniste, agraire et capitaliste d'une Amérique en quête de terres. Pour Jefferson, l'Autochtone contrairement au Noir se doit d'être l'égal du Blanc, car ainsi l'exige l'appropriation apaisée de ses territoires nécessaire à la prospérité du citoyen. Sa rationalité permet de négocier avec lui comme éventuellement de le sédentariser pour compléter un processus territorial central au projet humain qu'est l'Amérique.

**67 (4) 2017**

Jonathan Chibois

*Les téléphonistes de la Chambre Infrastructure de communication et division du travail au Palais Bourbon sous la Troisième République*, pp. 653-673

Cet article traite des transformations du métier de député en France durant la III<sup>e</sup> République, engendrées par l'installation du téléphone et la création d'un service chargé de son exploitation au Palais Bourbon, à partir de 1881. L'analyse des archives historiques de la questure de la Chambre montre qu'en raison de différentes contraintes, l'appropriation de ce moyen de communication a été singulière, au sens où elle a pris la forme d'un usage par délégation. Plutôt que de téléphoner eux-mêmes, les députés se sont en effet peu à peu déchargés de leurs appels sur les téléphonistes, inaugurant des modalités inédites de division du travail parlementaire. La formalisation des usages du téléphone chez les députés illustre alors la rationalisation du parlementarisme français au début du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle.

[67 \(5\) 2017](#)

Laure Bardiès

*La sociologie française et la chose militaire. Une tradition antipolitique*, pp. 879-898.

Les difficultés contemporaines des sciences sociales françaises à appréhender les phénomènes militaires peuvent en partie se comprendre comme des héritages d'une tradition remontant à l'émergence de l'ambition scientifique appliquée aux sociétés et à l'histoire. Mélange de connaissance objective et de développements idéologiques, la tradition française s'est emparée de la chose militaire du début du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'en 1945 de multiples manières dont le point commun est le refus de la considérer en tant que chose politique relativement autonome des autres dimensions de la vie sociale. Mais un examen synthétique des idées principales produites par cette tradition montre que son rapport au politique est plus complexe et que l'on a tôt fait de glisser d'une vision apolitique à une vision antipolitique du monde.

## GERMANIA

### [Comparativ](#)

#### [27 \(1\) 2017](#)

Elisabeth White

*The Legal Status of Russian Refugees, 1921-1936*, pp. 18-38

Il saggio analizza le soluzioni giuridiche adottate dalla High Commission for Refugees nel periodo interbellico per far fronte alla permanenza di un alto numero di rifugiati giunti in Europa in seguito allo scioglimento degli Imperi russo e ottomano. Essi infatti erano considerati apolidi e di conseguenza privi di diritti, garantiti di norma ai cittadini dallo Stato. Proprio per questo avvocati russi ed esperti di diritto dell'immigrazione si impegnarono nella creazione di una definizione giuridica della categoria di rifugiato, in modo da assicurare loro diritti quali la libertà di movimento, il divieto di reciprocità dell'espulsione e il diritto al lavoro. Così gli Stati europei accettarono i limiti della loro sovranità statale e, negli anni Venti e Trenta, acconsentirono ad accordi e convenzioni, che portarono all'inserimento, nella loro legislazione, di norme a tutela dei rifugiati. In tal modo furono poste le basi per la protezione giuridica dei rifugiati nel Ventesimo secolo.

Frank Caestecker

*How the Refugees Crisis from Nazi Germany got (partly) solved through International Concertation*, pp. 39-59

In this article we provide an overview of the historical insights in the dynamics of refugee policy at the time of the refugee crisis due to persecution in Nazi Germany. Historiography on this topic is still largely based on a national perspective, with each country producing its own narratives and analyses. A comparative study has been undertaken by a group of national experts in this field which has highlighted the comparisons and contrasts in the responses of the various states and has also shown that individual states' policies had been strongly influenced by the decisions of their neighbours. In this article we provide a synthesis of these findings, integrate new research finding and re-evaluate the merits of the international refugee regime of that time which has received until now only dismal attention in historical research.

Gilad Ben-Nun

*Non-Refoulement as a Qualifier of Nation-State Sovereignty: The Case of Mass Population Flows*, pp. 60-76

Il saggio analizza il principio di non respingimento, che impedisce agli Stati di allontanare i richiedenti asilo verso i luoghi in cui la loro vita o la loro libertà sarebbero minacciate, indagando sulla possibilità che fosse stato concepito anche per i casi di migrazione di massa da aree di conflitto, come attualmente sono i casi della Siria e del Sudan meridionale. Attraverso una dettagliata analisi di studi e trattative preliminari che hanno portato alla Convenzione di Ginevra del 1951, così come di altro materiale d'archivio, è dimostrato che – contrariamente all'interpretazione fornita dalla Corte suprema statunitense – il non respingimento era previsto per tutti i casi, comprese le migrazioni di massa. In seguito è messo in luce il modo in cui la Corte europea dei diritti dell'uomo, a differenza della Corte suprema statunitense, riuscì ad interpretare correttamente il divieto di respingimento. Il

saggio si conclude con alcune riflessioni metodologiche sulle regole da applicare nell'analisi di materiale storico-giuridico e di trattati del passato.

Irial Glynn

*A Gradual Relinquishment of National Sovereignty? A Comparative Analysis of Europe's Response to Boat Migrants in search of Asylum*, pp. 77-96

Questo contributo si interroga sul motivo che ha spinto gli Stati europei a partire dagli anni Duemila ad affrontare l'arrivo di richiedenti asilo cercando di applicare le norme previste dalla Convenzione di Ginevra relative al divieto di respingimento, a differenza di quanto messo in atto dagli Stati del sud-est asiatico, dagli Stati Uniti e dall'Australia. In primo luogo, vengono prese in esame le risposte degli altri Stati del mondo al fenomeno migratorio a partire dagli anni Settanta e viene evidenziata la loro inosservanza della Convenzione di Ginevra. In secondo luogo, l'attenzione è rivolta all'Europa, la cui reazione negli anni Novanta fu simile a quella dei paesi sopra citati, per poi distinguersi da essi a partire dal 2000. A questo cambiamento è dedicato il resto dell'articolo, in cui viene messa in risalto la crescente influenza della Corte europea dei diritti dell'uomo (ECHR) e approfondito il caso dell'Italia, che in particolare ha accolto un significativo numero di richiedenti asilo.

## German History

35 (1) 2017

Andrew H. Beattie

*'Lobby for the Nazi Elite'? The Protestant Churches and Civilian Internment in the British Zone of Occupied Germany, 1945-1948, pp. 43-70*

Using a case study of the Protestant churches in the British zone in occupied Germany after the Second World War, the article explores church responses to an often-neglected aspect of the Allies' purge of post-Nazi Germany: their mass internment of German civilians. Whereas the literature is critical of church support for former Nazis and opposition to Allied measures, the article argues for differentiation. Church assistance for internees was even more extensive than previously recognized and erred on the side of assisting undeserving former Nazis, while also being somewhat selective and discerning. Much church activity was in opposition to the British, yet there was also a degree of cooperation and negotiation. The article argues that ecclesiastical criticism of civilian internment was not merely a symptom of a refusal to confront the past or an expression of nationalist ideology. Internment was a genuine object of criticism in its own right and a source of wider church objections to denazification. Ultimately, Allied internment policy, pressure from below, interconfessional rivalry, national solidarity and the lack of a German government all contributed to the Protestant churches becoming outspoken critics of the Allies and advocates for those members of the German people who found themselves in civilian internment camps

Frank Bösch

*Taming Nuclear Power: The Accident near Harrisburg and the Change in West German and International Nuclear Policy in the 1970s and early 1980s, pp. 71-95*

In 2011 a broad majority in the German Federal Parliament voted to abandon nuclear energy. This article explores the origins of the change in attitude towards nuclear energy and argues that seven years before the Chernobyl disaster, the accident at the U.S. power plant Three Mile Island near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1979, had a profound impact which nowadays seems to be largely forgotten in Europe. The article identifies the structural causes underlying the transnational reception of the Three Mile Island accident and explores international reactions, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany. The accident near Harrisburg led to a loss of public confidence and created unease about nuclear expansion in many industrialized nations. Reactions to the accident can be understood as an attempt to tame nuclear energy both technically, by increasing safety measures and abandoning plans for new nuclear power stations, and politically, with a more critical appraisal of nuclear energy and with semantics that encouraged a long-term withdrawal from nuclear power. Critics were now also accepted as experts. Nuclear policy in all countries became closely dependent on public opinion, indicating a high level of political responsiveness. Various factors, however, including the contemporaneous oil crisis put the brakes on this critical approach to nuclear power, while safety improvements and the limited expansion of nuclear power created new confidence in the early 1980s.

Matthew P. Fitzpatrick

*The Samoan Women's Revolt: Race, Intermarriage and Imperial Hierarchy in German Samoa*, pp. 206–228

While the category of race remains indispensable for mapping the construction and maintenance of imperial hierarchies, this article argues that it is not sufficient. Far from being a universally accepted first principle in all colonial settings, racial thinking was viewed in German Samoa as an unwanted, highly controversial and even inflammatory approach to maintaining the asymmetrical communal relations necessitated by colonialism. Examining the civil unrest sparked by the publication of a racial theorist's manifesto in the colony's newspaper of record in 1911, and the ensuing furore this triggered in Germany, this article suggests that in German Samoa racial considerations came exceedingly late to the social and legal codification of colonial sexuality and marriage. Furthermore, when they arrived, they were resisted by Samoans, contested in the colonial metropole and subverted by leading officials in the colony.

Wiebke Lisner

*Midwifery and Racial Segregation in Occupied Western Poland, 1939–1945*, pp. 229–246

Midwives worked at the interface between governmental intervention and the biographical turning points of pregnancy, giving birth, and early parenthood. With the introduction in 1938 of the mandatory enlistment of a midwife for every birth, the National Socialist state monopolized the activities of midwives, reinforcing their position as obstetrics experts. As such, midwives were indispensable for the implementation of Germanization policy for reproduction in Nazi-occupied western Poland during World War II. Recent studies concerning occupied Poland point out the intimate link between occupation and race policy, between Germanization policy and genocide. Yet only a few authors take gender-specific aspects of occupation policy into account or analyse everyday life and interactions between ethnic groups in occupied Poland. Based upon the biographies of three midwives, one German, one Polish and one Jewish, this article takes a closer look at the female space of pregnancy, child birth and early parenthood as a key starting point for biopolitics and Germanization policy. It thus sheds light on gender-specific realizations of occupation policy and its consequences for everyday life. Both Germanization and motherhood mattered to Nazi policy in the annexed Polish territories, and so examining how the roles of German, Polish and Jewish midwives were transformed opens a window onto how racial classifications were enacted within the 'private sphere' of pregnancy and birth.

Christian Haase; Christian-W. Kraiker

*Rediscovering the Region: The West German Daily Press in the 1970s*, pp. 247–271

After Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, West Germans began to accept the more permanent division of the country and rediscovered the regional fundamentals of their federal political system. A catalyst for this process was provided by a massive regionalization of the daily press in the aftermath of the recession in 1973. That regionalization entailed the delineation of new regional distribution and advertising

areas, the launch of new editions, the growth of regularly and irregularly published alternative papers and a stronger emphasis on regional news. In the 1970s regionalization cut across all segments of the market and across party affiliations and affected established papers, the irregular alternative press and even television and broadcasting. It propelled the West German daily press to its height point in German history, with more than 25 million copies per day in 1982. The new regional focus of the daily press increased public awareness of regional protests, regional identity politics and regional scandals during the chancellorship of Helmut Schmidt (1974–82) to such an extent that the article concludes that the 1970s were not only a ‘global’ decade, but also a regional decade. The history of the regional press that is presented in the article for the first time facilitates a new view of regional changes in economic prosperity, criticism of the federal state and the emergence of regional consumer markets between 1974 and 1982. The analysis provides a cornerstone for a more detailed media history of the Bonn Republic and a new understanding of the 1970s.

### [35 \(3\) 2017](#)

James M Brophy

*Bookshops, Forbidden Print and Urban Political Culture in Central Europe, 1800–1850*, pp. 403–430

To understand how German and Austrian readers gained access to forbidden literature during the Restoration and Vormärz periods, one must enter the world of bookshops. Publishers and book merchants, this essay argues, completed the print circuit of forbidden political knowledge. They possessed numerous ways to circumvent the censorship regimes of central Europe. Networks of publishers, printers, book dealers and their agents provided clandestine channels through which they smuggled books from abroad and circulated banned domestic literature. Because bookshop owners enabled the hand-to-hand transfer of contraband material, their role in developing an oppositional political culture was crucial. They made possible transnational communication networks by providing urban spaces where a socially diverse readership contested censorship and reshaped civic identities.

### [35 \(4\) 2017](#)

Jasper Heinzen

*Monarchical State-building through State Destruction: Hohenzollern Self-legitimization at the Expense of Deposed Dynasties in the Kaiserreich*, pp. 525–550

The German War of 1866 was a turning point in the consolidation of Prussian hegemony over the emerging German nation-state. This article engages with a neglected aspect of this process by investigating the destabilizing effect of Prussia’s territorial expansion at the expense of fellow monarchies in Hanover, Hessen-Kassel, Nassau and Schleswig-Holstein. It argues that the hostile response of ruling houses related to the deposed dynasties and the disapprobation of legitimists at home placed the Hohenzollerns in a difficult position, as they often found themselves caught between the informal yet palpable pressure of Europe’s ‘Royal International’ and the policies pursued by their chancellor, Otto von Bismarck. To escape this dilemma, King (from 1871 onwards Kaiser) Wilhelm and his successors sought to bring about a reconciliation with the alienated dynasties through treaty settlements, intermarriage and the appropriation of their rivals’ symbolic capital in public speech acts.



The way in which the Hohenzollerns courted their detractors betrayed a versatility that scholarship on the Prussian cult of monarchy has yet to fully appreciate. In fact, the Hohenzollern court's long-term preoccupation with sectional reconciliation reveals much not only about royal diplomacy in the second half of the nineteenth century but also about the workings of Germany's monarchocentric federal edifice and the role of civic initiative in the promotion of monarchical legitimacy.

Gaëlle Fisher

*Heimat Heimstättensiedlung: Constructing Belonging in Postwar West Germany*, pp. 568–587

This article explores the experiences of ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe as they rebuilt their lives and their homes in West Germany after the Second World War. It concentrates on the case of the Heimstättensiedlung, a residential area of a few thousand people located near Darmstadt, in the region of Hesse. Built as a settlement for the unemployed in the aftermath of the Great Depression, after the war the Heimstättensiedlung welcomed several hundred families of ethnic Germans from Hungary and Romania (Bukovina). Focusing on the presence of these Hungarian Germans and Bukovina Germans in this mixed settlement, which brought together 'old' and 'new' settlers, this article considers the shifting politics of reconstruction, identity and memory surrounding their 'integration'. It adopts a long-term perspective (from 1945 to the present) and examines the approaches of politicians, community leaders and individuals. In so doing, it shows that the position of ethnic Germans was highly ambivalent, predicated on the claim to belong 'as Germans among Germans' and, at the same time, the right to be different. The case of these ethnic Germans shows that continuities in the understanding of community after 1945 and the grounding of postwar identity in past practices and narratives meant the centrality of Germanness to belonging in West Germany was reaffirmed rather than challenged. This remained the case after their experiences were ethically recoded in accordance with an assimilationist concept of integration. This article thus questions the value of this historical precedent for contemporary discussions of immigration.

## Geschichte und Gesellschaft

### 43 (1) 2017

Robert Heise, Daniel Watermann

*Vereinsforschung in der Erweiterung. Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Perspektiven*, pp. 5-31

Knowledge about the complex history of voluntary associations is one of the key aspects to understanding the organization of modern society. There is, however, a remarkable lack of suitable approaches for analyzing them. We suggest four strategies for historicizing voluntary associations: Considering the specific sociological type of organization; dealing with the changeable motives of members; looking at intricate relations between societal and state actors; and understanding the sphere of voluntary associations as a social network. We conclude that these perspectives will lead to new insights in the history of voluntary associations, with all its continuities, tensions and transformations.

Sven Reichardt

*Radikalisierung. Zeithistorische Anmerkungen zu einem aktuellen Begriff*, pp. 68-91

Following a short introduction to the various political uses of the concept of radicalism, the article sketches out the ways political scientists have conceptualized and modelled the process of “radicalization”. These models have difficulties clarifying the relation between “cognitive radicalization” and “behavioral radicalization” and explaining the internal dynamics and points of transition in the process of radicalization. Using the historical example of fascist movements and regimes, the article seeks to overcome these conceptual weaknesses by undertaking a praxeological analysis of the multifaceted nature of fascist radicalization.

Martin Schulze Wessel

*Konvergenzen und Divergenzen in der europäischen Geschichte vom Prager Frühling bis heute*, pp. 92-109

In the 1960s and 1970s, political debates in East Central Europe and Western Europe were influenced by the idea of convergence between the capitalist and the socialist systems that dominated Europe. After 1989, the idea of convergence was replaced by ideas that revolved around the one-sided adaptation of “Europeanization” and “transformation”. Despite the great political and economic success of the transformation process, the concept of an “ever closer European Union” has lost its attractiveness in East Central Europe. Drawing on current political and cultural debates in East Central Europe, the paper argues that it is the asymmetrical nature of the transformation and the process of Europeanization that is causing new divergences in Europe today.

### 43 (4) 2017

Henning Türk

*„Ich gehe täglich in die Sitzungen und kann die Politik nicht lassen“. Frauen als Parlamentszuschauerinnen und ihre Wahrnehmung in der politischen Öffentlichkeit der Märzrevolution 1848/49*, pp. 497-525

The article deals with the role of women as spectators in the German National Assembly in 1848/49. Although the representatives allowed the participation of the women and even established a women’s

gallery, their role as spectators was hotly debated among the public. On the one hand, their admission underscored the Assembly's claim to speak for all German people. On the other, people wanted to prevent a transgression of traditional gender roles, which conceived of politics as a male concern. Thus, many observers of the National Assembly described the female spectators as unpolitical and superficial. Additionally, satire caricatured female interest in the parliamentary debates. The article shows that the revolution opened up space for new gender roles while at the same time enforcing new limits on them.

Jonas Kreienbaum

*Der verspätete Schock. Sambia und die erste Ölkrise von 1973/74*, pp. 612-633

While the first “oil shock” of 1973 / 74 has been extensively researched by historians, the crisis' impact on oil-importing countries of the “Third World” has received relatively little attention. The article deals with this lacuna by considering the exemplary case of Zambia. It asks how this central African country perceived the oil crisis and dealt with its effects and how it was influenced by it in the medium term. Comparing the country with both Western industrial states and other “developing countries,” the essay argues that Zambia, having just experienced a decade of growth and profiting from record high copper revenues, only belatedly realized the dangers of the situation, but was particularly hard hit in the end.

Julian Strube

*Revolution, Illuminismus und Theosophie. Eine Genealogie der „häretischen“ Historiographie des frühen französischen Sozialismus und Kommunismus*, pp. 50-90

In the twentieth century, historiographers of socialism have usually paid little attention to the religious ideas of the first socialist schools in France. This stands in stark contrast to contemporary historiographies of socialism and communism, published between the 1830s and 1850s, which had discussed those recently emerged movements against the background of a decidedly religious tradition: socialists and communists were widely regarded as the heirs of a heretical tradition reaching back to the late ancient environment of early Christianity. This tradition was allegedly handed down to medieval and early modern mystical heretics, referred to as illuminés and théosophes, who were thought to be responsible for the French Revolution and, eventually, the emergence of socialism and communism. As strange as this narrative might seem from today's perspective, it was enthusiastically propagated both polemically and self-referentially. While socialists would argue that certain heresies represented a tradition of „true“ Christianity set against a corrupted Church, critics regarded their ideas as sectarian aberrations from the Christian doctrine. Following a genealogical approach, this article discusses the emergence and the meaning of the terms illuminisme and théosophie in the context of the historiography of socialism and communism. It will be shown that central narratives and motifs can be traced back to theological and freemasonic polemics of the eighteenth century, which revolved around disputes about religious legitimacy. Those polemics entered political discourse in the aftermath of the French Revolution in the form of diverse conspiracy theories that sought to explain the social upheavals by the machinations of illuminés and théosophes. Despite the largely fictional character of those theories, they served as important sources for nineteenth-century historiographers. From a historical perspective, this process is not only of interest because it adds a barely noted chapter to the history of socialism and communism by showing its entanglement with the history of religion. It also renders possible new insights into processes of the contingent discursive construction of meaning and identity.

Anne Friedrichs

*Zwischen Nationalisierung und Universalisierung. Narrative und Funktionen der britischen und der französischen Geschichtswissenschaft im Vergleich (1919–1939)*, pp. 90-122

In recent years, interest in integrating various historiographical traditions by considering competing approaches and their discursive, institutional, and political contexts has increased. Such integration has occurred for various reasons and is based not least upon continued endeavours to expand the historical sciences toward accounting for the much-debated processes of globalisation and Europeanisation. Yet, in this respect, scholarly positions diverge regarding the importance of the nation and nation state as reference points for writing history in Europe, particularly prior to 1945. Amid both these disputes and the persistence of historical master narratives, this study aims to contribute to an understanding of the principles that guided the construction of narratives in British

and French historiography, as well as to reflect on the role claimed by some historians. For both the British and French during the nearly twenty years following World War I, historians constructed meanings that by no means focussed exclusively on the nation and the nation state. Instead, their narratives were based upon principles, norms, and processes such as freedom, participation, social responsibility, a balance of interests, and civic education, all of which they presented partly as particular knowledge and partly as universalist knowledge. This trend demonstrates not only that the construction of large-scale traditions was an integral part of some European historiographies, even before 1945. Moreover, several approaches coexisted whose proponents also commented on imperial questions as well as on overseas processes, while partly drawing on expertise from outside.

### [304 \(2\) 2017](#)

Eveline G. Bouwers

*Das Nationaldenkmal als Projektionsfläche. Eine großdeutsche Geschichtsidee von der Romantik bis zur Wiedervereinigung*, pp. 332–369

During the inauguration of the Walhalla in 1842, King Ludwig I of Bavaria spoke of his hope that “the German will exit it more German, better than when he came”. Writer Karl Gutzkow, however, denounced the Walhalla as a cultural memorial calling it instead the “private chapel of an individual”. This article explores how such divergent evaluations of the Walhalla came into being and how the growing collection of busts related to the changing images of Germany. By way of a long-term perspective – marked by the fall of the monarchy, the end of the NS-era, and German reunification – it shows that even if the Walhalla was time and again touted as a “national monument”, it often represented an understanding of the German nation that due to the manifold of national ideas could neither be enforced nor represent the majority. It was not just the repeated references to the Christian-Catholic Abendland, to the Great-German idea with Bavaria at its centre, and to patriarchy, but also the symbolic suppression of important episodes in German history such as the Reformation and the Holocaust that created a rift between the commemorated and other public concepts of the nation. Indeed, the historical narrative on display in the Walhalla was appropriated by Ludwig, and subsequently by those who were in charge of the admission of new busts after his death, such as the state council, the Reich chancellery, and the Bavarian ministry. While this article shows, through an analysis of the collection of busts against its socio-political backdrop, the altogether peripheral status of the Walhalla within the German monumental landscape, it simultaneously queries the suitability of the concept “national monument” when used for commemorative cultures that were impressed by particularistic interests and individual actors.

### [305 \(1\) 2017](#)

Moisés Prieto

*Alla fin trabocca e scoppia. Eine historisch-semantische Neuerwägung des „Züriputsches“ von 1839*, pp. 70-99

On September 6, 1839 a crowd of about 5,000 people started marching from the Zurich highlands towards the city of Zurich and finally overthrew the liberal-radical government. This was due to the government's intention to appoint the Hegelian theologian David Friedrich Strauß to the chair of dogmatics at the University of Zurich against the will of the Church authorities. Representatives of the Church and conservative politicians had founded a Central Committee in order to channel the protest against the political leaders' intentions. In addition, the rebellion was triggered off by the rumour that the government was about to mobilise foreign troops to maintain order. Due to the conservative character of the „Züriputsch“, as this event went down in history, Swiss historiography denied it a sort of revolutionary dignity and stigmatised it to a large extent. Instead the negatively connoted term „Putsch“ took root in the German-speaking world and beyond. The present article aims at analysing the publications in the aftermath of the event, from the point of view of historical semantics. It considers the terms used to describe the events in Zurich, as well as the independent career of the term „Putsch“ with respect to the German Revolution of 1848/49. Finally, some observations on the metahistorical narratives are made.

[305 \(2\) 2017](#)

Norbert Götz, Frank Palmowski

*Humanitäre Hilfe im Zeitalter Napoleons. Bürgerliche Gesellschaft und transnationale Ressourcen am Beispiel Erfurts*, pp. 362–392

This article examines how monies raised by the London-based „Committee for Relieving the Distresses in Germany and Other Parts of the Continent“ (1805–1815) were distributed by local committees, with the city of Erfurt as an example. Due to a lack of source material for the first campaign in 1805–1806 the focus is on the years 1814–1815. Networks of German immigrants within the British and Foreign Bible Society played a pivotal role on both occasions. Outstanding among them was Ernst August Schwabe, minister of one of the German churches in London and a native of Erfurt. The study shows how the transnational relief effort was organized, the way civil societies in London and Erfurt were interlinked through the aid campaign, and why the Erfurt committee of distribution failed in its trans-regional role. The provision of aid illustrates the diverging interests of donors in immediate emergency relief and of recipients in long-term use of the appropriated resources. A large proportion of the aid eventually went into a fund for war orphans, the disbursal of which was, in practice, controlled by the local women's association.

XVI (66) 2017

Valeria Manzano

*Fraternalmente americanos: el Movimiento Nueva Solidaridad y la emergencia de una contracultura en la década de 1960*, pp. 115-138

Este artículo reconstruye la emergencia de iniciativas contraculturales en los tempranos años sesenta. En particular, el artículo se focaliza en el Movimiento Nueva Solidaridad, una iniciativa creada por poetas y escritores, y cimentada en una red de revistas, cartas y encuentros, como el que tuvo lugar en Ciudad de México en febrero de 1964. Los escritores de Nueva Solidaridad propusieron la construcción de lazos de fraternidad interamericanas y, desde una perspectiva “neo-humanista”, convocaron a las “conciencias despiertas” de las Américas a debatir los sentidos de una revolución que creían ya estaba en marcha y concebían como dual, colectiva y subjetiva. El análisis de esta experiencia contribuye a una mejor comprensión de las dinámicas políticas y culturales latinoamericanas, y a restituir la pluralidad de sentidos históricos que asumió el lenguaje de la revolución en la década de 1960.

Doris Wieser

*A Fainha Njinga no diálogo sul-atlântico: género, raça e identidade*, pp. 31-53

This article proposes a rereading of the representations of Queen Njinga of Angola (1582-1663) in the light of African and Latin American feminist studies. The Queen’s image created in the chronicles of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (especially Cavazzi) and the historiographical debate about the legitimacy of her throne and her gender identity are confronted with feminist studies, which intend to delegitimize the Western categories of gender and race in the African context. Finally, two historical novels written from the Brazilian perspective are analyzed, *O trono da Rainha Jinga* (1999) by Alberto Mussa, and *A Rainha Ginga. E de como os africanos inventaram o mundo* (2014) by José Eduardo Agualusa, questioning whether they offer innovative readings for the categories of gender and race.

XVI (64) 2017

Sven Schuster

*A visão dos vencedores: O Brasil e a glorificação da Guerra do Paraguai nas exposições universais do século XIX*, pp. 147-174

Between 1862 and 1889, the Empire of Brazil participated in the most important World’s Fairs in Europe and the United States. Especially within the scope of the exhibitions in Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), and Philadelphia (1876), one of the most frequently visualized topics was the Paraguayan War, which the exhibition organizers staged as an epic battle between “civilization” and “barbarism”. Besides, by constructing a “national memory” of the victory over the descendants of the indigenous Guaraní, generally considered as “savages”, Brazil sought to present itself as regional power as well as a society whose racial composition was about to change by the process of “whitening”.

Claiton Marcio da Silva

*Modernizar è preciso. Pensamento social e mudança no Brasil rural (1944-1954)*, pp. 195-209

The modernization model for Brazilian agriculture adopted after World War II was markedly influenced by the North-American Rural Expansion model, disregarding other experiences by national research institutes or propositions from important scholars at the time. In this article, we seek to debate an intellectual perspective, having authors such as Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Carlos Schmidt Emílio Willems, Florestan Fernandes, and Antônio Cândido as our basis. By performing a historical and anthropological analysis of the first impacts of industrialization on traditional rural populations, these authors have raised questions on culture, adaptation to the environment, and the agricultural techniques in use, thus criticizing the Iberian colonial model in Brazil.

Gabriela Noemí Scodeller

*Desarrollo, participación sindical y circuitos transnacionales de formación durante los años sesenta y setenta: el caso de las dirigencias latinoamericanas de la ORIT-CIOSL*, pp. 211-234

El artículo examina el rol que buscaron ocupar las dirigencias sindicales nucleadas en la Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT) en los planes de desarrollo proyectados para América Latina en los años sesenta. Acompañar eficazmente su demanda de participación en las esferas de toma de decisiones requería cierta preparación y formación técnica y política. Para ello, recurrieron al saber experto de distintas instituciones, introduciéndose en un mundo que, lejos de miradas univocas, tenía una diversidad de opciones para ofrecer. A lo largo del texto se presenta el conjunto de actores, ideas y situaciones que intervinieron en la configuración de este campo, y se muestra la importancia que el tema fue tomando para los dirigentes de la ORIT. Se analiza en torno a qué ejes pretendieron formarse ellos como cuadros político-técnicos y en torno a qué características buscaron modelar la fuerza laboral de la región.



1 (15) 2017

Bernhard Dietz

*Conservative Revolution» in Europe? Radical Conservatism in a Transnational Perspective, 1918–1939*, pp. 36–47

The «Conservative Revolution» is back. With the rise of populist right-wing political movements and parties all over Europe (and the USA), the question has been raised as to whether «Weimar conditions» are returning. The increasing success of a nationalist and authoritarian political agenda that is openly hostile to the values of liberal democracy and is accompanied by a poisoned and aggressive political discourse certainly invites historical comparisons and has encouraged an increasing interest in the historical origins of the intellectual background of the new Right. In German history, the quest for the origins of these ideas quickly leads to the intellectual counter-movement to liberalism, democracy and internationalism of the Weimar period for which the term «Conservative Revolution» has been established. It has been used to describe rightist conservative intellectuals whose radical nature went beyond classical conservatism but nonetheless remained distinct from National Socialism before 1933. For today's new Right, the «Conservative Revolution» serves as an intellectual benchmark and a spiritual *lieux de mémoire*.

3 (15) 2017

Alexey Tikhomirov

*The Grammar of Trust and Distrust under State Socialism after Stalin. Introduction*, pp. 313–329

«Everything was forever», is how Alexei Yurchak characterised the last Soviet generation's perception of state socialism. This cohort of the population who lived in the USSR, especially in the Brezhnev years, were not the only ones who have used words like «normal», «good», «happy» and «stable» to describe daily life. The growing sense of «normality», which prevailed after Stalin's death across different generations, social groups and individuals, was possible due to the establishment of a post-war and post-Stalinist «habitus of trust». It provided many agents with a kind of auto-pilot for navigating daily life by simultaneously being inside and outside the official public sphere, and by masterfully connecting private meanings with collective values. Barbara Misztal introduced the term «habitus of trust» in «Bourdieu's sense of a milieu created and sustained by social learning».

This term implies (1) rules of interaction; (2) rules of distancing; and (3) rules of remembering, which are all responsible for building communities, generating identities and giving political orders a sense of legitimacy. Taken together, these rules defined the grammar of trust and distrust under state socialism, which impacted the shared sense of stability and inner hybridity of a socialist personality. This special issue aims to analyse trust and distrust at points of mutual interdependence among the subject, society and the state in the Eastern bloc in the period from Stalin's death in 1953 to the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Scholars have already pointed out the significance of the roles that trust and distrust played in the dynamics of international relations and Cold War conflict, as well as in the functioning of the Soviet state and in radicalising terror. We look at the shift from Stalinist violence towards a politics of trust and empathy as emotional forces and moral resources that made it possible to renegotiate a social contract among the state, society and the individual, and which also enabled the stabilisation of the Eastern bloc as a whole in the post-Stalin era.

## Neue politische Literatur

(1) 2017

Helge Wendt

*Licht und Schatten des europäischen Kolonialismus. Reinhard's „Die Unterwerfung der Welt“ als Fortschreibung einer globalen Europäisierung*, pp. 5-20

The essay portrays Wolfgang Reinhard's "Die Unterwerfung der Welt. Globalgeschichte der europäischen Expansion 1415–2015". The present volume is a revised and actualized edition of four volumes, Reinhard had published in the 1980s. The main argument is that European colonial expansion induced "Europeanization" of other parts of the world. The colonial expansion was rooted in the competition between European states during their development into modern states. Reinhard delivers valuable and comprehensive insights into different colonial and post-colonial contexts, from the early modern period to the present. The volume lacks synthesis and a perspective from local histories, which might have challenged the narrative Reinhard presents.

Bernd Ladwig

*Politische Philosophie der Mensch-Tier-Beziehungen. Eine kritische Literaturschau*, pp. 21-48

As of now, Human-Animal-Relations are not yet one of political philosophy's central topics. Political philosophy can be described as anthropocentric in three ways: Only human fate is considered when defining the common good; only humans are viewed as equal members of any given polity; only humans are considered as political actors. In contrast, this article reviews recent works, that challenge the anthropocentric notion in at least one of the three aforementioned aspects. They either relate to the well-being of animals as an important pillar of common good definitions or focus on politics as species-transcending communities, arguing for a full membership of animals in today's societies or even considering animals as political actors in their own right.

Karena Kalmbach

*Revisiting the nuclear age. State of the art research in nuclear history*, pp. 49-70

This article provides an overview of recent research developments in the field of nuclear history, focusing on Western European and Northern American research perspectives and topics. The analysis of these developments reveals under-researched areas which merit more focus from humanities and social sciences scholars in order to better understand the role of nuclear matters in twentieth century history and their implications for the twenty-first century. The areas which require more intensive research include: nuclear waste, the role of social scientists in constructing the nuclear age and the shifting narratives of nuclear vices and virtues.

Dirk Jörke

*Vom Verdammen zum Verstehen? Neuerscheinungen zum Populismus*, pp. 71-96

Populism is on the rise. Accordingly, populism has become a major topic in social sciences and in political theory. This essay discusses a selection of recent publications on the topic. In doing so, three goals are pursued. Firstly, recent empirical studies indicate that there is a problem of a clear positioning of populism on the left-right axis, as more and more populist parties adopt formerly leftist positions like a strong welfare state. Secondly, the essay attempts to criticise a purely normative confrontation with populism that for example dominates the discussion in Germany. Thirdly, it is argued that in order to fight populism one has to overcome an implicit complicity of economic and cultural liberalism.

(2) 2017

Marcus Höreth

*Die Europäische Union am Abgrund – und doch auf dem Sprung nach vorne? Konzepte für die politische Einheitsbildung Europas im Vergleich*, pp. 213-228

The essay looks at three of the most recent publications dealing with the European crisis. The discussed books by Simms/Zeeb, Guérot and Offe offer not only a diagnosis of the crisis, but also ideas and suggestions on how to overcome the current state. They share a threefold approach to their topic. They diagnose the current malaise, identify the culprits, and finally offer different visions for the future. The three books have weaknesses in different parts of this approach. Simms/Zeeb oversimplify the roots of the crisis, Guérot lacks insight into the role of “the elite” in the crisis and Offe’s vision for the future seems to contradict his own analysis. All three essays, however, are much needed and welcomed contributions to an important debate

Rüdiger Hachtmann

*Wie einzigartig war das NS-Regime? Autoritäre Herrschaftssysteme der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts im Vergleich – ein Forschungsbericht*, pp. 229-280

This comparative essay of how unique the National Socialist dictatorship in Germany was, reviews important new research in European and global history and the National Socialist system of rule, including recently published biographies of Hitler. The main focus lies on the comparison of National Socialism with other fascist and right-wing authoritarian regimes operating in the period between the two world wars and how they can be classified. Views on the National Socialist system of rule must be taken beyond narrow explanations focusing on Hitler, and away from the obsolete premises and specifications of a traditional mode of historiography. Thus, at the end of this report thoughts and suggestions on how to re-conceptualize research on the National Socialist system of rule are offered.

[\(3\) 2017](#)

Tim Schantzky

*Staatskonjunkturen. Neue Perspektiven auf die USA in New Deal und Zweitem Weltkrieg*, pp. 401-412

This essay connects two recently published books and points out their respective reappraisal of the U.S. in the 1930s and during World War II. Kiran Patel puts New Deal America into a framework of international comparisons and global perspectives while Mark Wilson puts forth a powerful new narrative on the role of government during the war effort.

Stefan Ihrig

*The Armenian Genocide and Germany – New Research and Approaches*, pp. 429-448

Germany has a special relationship with the Armenian Genocide, stemming from its World-War-I alliance with the Ottoman Empire. A variety of factors have led to a rather paradoxical situation when it comes to Germany and the Armenian Genocide. While internationally the overall state of the research has advanced greatly in recent years, Germany seems to lack behind. This article surveys recent contributions and seeks to place them within the overall developments and trends.

## Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

96 (1) 2017

Ruth Nattermann

*Antisemitische Strömungen im Movimento Femminile Italiano (1869–1916). Vorurteile, Konflikte und Reaktionen zwischen katholischem Anti-Laizismus und Anti-Judaismus*, pp. 365–388

This article explains the motivations for and developments of anti-Semitic tendencies within the early Italian women's movement between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the First World War. The analysis of the discourses and events in question, hitherto neglected in relevant historical research, is based on the archives of secular and Catholic women's organizations, their publications and personal archives. The first part of the article focuses on Jewish-Catholic relations in the early Italian women's movement. The second part examines the increasing radicalization of anti-Jewish discourse among Catholic activists from the Libyan war in 1911/12 onwards, and the transition towards an overtly anti-Semitic polemic. The study puts forward the thesis that the strong anti-secular tendencies of organized Catholic women in Italy were at the latest from 1912 onwards replaced by anti-Jewish prejudices, which were to intensify considerably during Fascism.

Emanuela Guidoboni

*Il valore della memoria. Terremoti e ricostruzioni in Italia nel lungo periodo*, pp. 415–444

The paper presents some reflections on the impact of reconstruction work on the economic and social history of Italy. This problem dates far back in time and is largely under-appreciated: from the 11th century to the year 2000 over 4,800 sites (villages and towns) suffered serious destruction followed by massive and extensive reconstruction work. Few cases have attracted the attention of historians, with the exception of rebuilding work after the 1693, 1783, 1908 and 1915 earthquakes. Yet the interest of such studies lies less in the history of local town planning, and more in that of the surrounding territories and how these were managed administratively, politically and by government in general. What happens at the various stages of reconstruction work provides an accelerated glimpse of power and decision-making dynamics at work, conditioned by in-fighting, class conflict, or the slowness and instability of solutions dogged by bureaucratic squabbling within government. Such features of the governance process often escape historical analysis. The quality of reconstruction work significantly affects the impact of subsequent earthquakes. For this reason, and given the frequency of seismic events in Italy, we find „chains“ of destruction and reconstruction (L'Aquila, for example, is preparing for its sixth rebuilding, between the 14th century and today). Destruction and reconstruction map out a history spanning natural features and the features of the built environment. We must rise above set disciplinary patterns and topics if this history is to be explored, understood and more widely disseminated.

[20 \(2017\)](#)

Ralf Hoffrogge

*Der Sommer des Nationalbolschewismus? Die Stellung der KPD-Linken zu Ruhrkampf und ihre Kritik am Schlageter-Kurs“ von 1923, pp. 99-146*

The connection between Communism, Nationalism, and Anti-Semitism has been discussed widely, both in historical scholarship and political debate. In the German context, an episode in the Summer of 1923, where KPD politician Ruth Fisher discussed in a public event with fascist students and adopted to their language of “Jewish Capital,” is often quoted as key-evidence that the German Communist Party (KPD) had nationalist leanings that did not exclude anti-Semitism. Fischer’s appearance was indeed part of the so-called “Schlageter Kurs,” designed by Comintern strategist Karl Radek to win over sympathizers of the nationalist right for the communist cause or at least to “neutralize” the emerging fascist movement in Germany. While it is accepted in scholarship that this strategy was a short-lived episode and had been abandoned as early as September 1923, it is taken for granted that the whole KPD followed the “Schlageter-Kurs.” This essay for the first time reconstructs the oppositional voices, arguing that in 1923 the German Communist Party was deeply divided around the issue of nationalism. By presenting a short collective biography of the Berlin KPD leadership, it is also argued that this leadership constituted a network of workers and intellectuals in which many of the latter were from Jewish background.

Gerhard Hanloser

*Die Rote Fahne und der Antisemitismus. Olaf Kistenmachers Präsentation tatsächlicher und vermeintlicher antijüdischer Aussagen in der KPD-Tageszeitung, pp. 147-173*

The text criticizes the dissertation by the historian Olaf Kistenmacher (Hamburg) which analyzes anti-Semitic notions in the German Communist Party’s (KPD) organ Rote Fahne (Red Flag). The reviewer agrees with Kistenmacher that the KPD used anti-Semitic slogans and thought patterns, especially for purposes of agitation. Due to methodological premises, however, the intention of such notions is not illuminated; instead, attempts by the KPD to counteract anti-Semitism by means of propagandistic simplifications of the class relation, which are easy to decipher, are themselves described as anti-Semitic. Kistenmacher thus exaggerates the KPD’s anti-Semitism and furthermore unconvincingly presents it as a source of the post-68 New Left’s anti-Zionism which he again simply portrays as anti-Semitism. In this manner, the book displays

numerous commonplaces of the so-called anti-German milieu  
which drastically overstates the problem of anti-Semitism within the (German) left

[21 \(2017\)](#)

Andreas Peglau

*Revolutionärer Sozialdemokrat und Kommunist. Zur Rolle des Psychoanalytikers Wilhelm Reich in der österreichischen „Linken“ zwischen 1925 und 1930, pp. 21-48*

This article sheds light on a particular aspect of the history of Austria's "left" parties during the second half of the 1920s and makes a crucial correction to biographical accounts of the "left-wing" psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich (1897–1957), ally and antipode of Sigmund Freud, late "father" of body psychotherapy and researcher of vital energy. On the basis of Comintern documents, a claim made by Reich in an internal autobiographical note, but later revoked, can be proven true: from 1927 onward, if not earlier, Reich had been a member both of Austria's Social Democrat Party and – secretly – of the Austrian Communist Party. In assuming this double role, he contributed significantly to the decision of several hundred social democrats to leave the Social Democrat Party and join the Communist Party in 1930. The Comintern monitored these developments and was to a certain extent able to shape them. The article concludes by arguing that it would nonetheless be wrong to write Reich off as a "Stalinist" on the basis of these events.

## Totalitarismus und Demokratie

### (1) 2017

Werner Müller

*Die Oktoberrevolution und die deutsche Linke*, pp. 71–90

After the German Left, despite its split, had unequivocally welcomed the October Revolution, in January 1918 the attitude of the majority-SPD changed fundamentally, when the Bolsheviks prevented the constituent assembly from working. For Lenin, thus the SPD did no longer count as a possible partner. The Bolsheviks supported the founding of the KPD and lent massive financial support, however until mid-1920 the party remained small and without influence. The Russian interest focused on the Independent Social Democrats whose numbers grew rapidly in 1919, while at the same time the party became more radical. Joining the Communist International at first led to a factual, then also to an organisational split. Only by the left-wing majority on the USPD's party congress joining the KPD, the latter became a mass party. A few months later the Comintern led the VKPD to the "March action" of 1921, the start of a rising meant to topple the Reich government by way of social unrest and armed violence. This reflected the pre-given and perceived image of the October Revolution.

Siegfried Heimann

*Georgien, die Bolschewiki und die deutsche Sozialdemokratie (1917–1921)*, pp. 91–103

The contribution focuses on the fate of the First Republic of Georgia (1917–1921), from Karl Kautsky's point of view, and on the German Social Democrats' changing view of the October Revolution. Starting out from the dictum: "Who addresses Stalin, must also address Lenin, who speaks of Stalinist crimes, must also discuss the October Revolution", Kautsky's view of the "Menshevist" Social Democratic Workers Party, which ruled Georgia between 1917 and 1921 and was the German Social Democrats' "brother party", and of the "Social Democratic Farmers Republic of Georgia" and its sad end is presented. For Kautsky, the fate of Georgia was exemplary evidence for the correctness of his scathing criticism of the Bolshevik "October putsch" which, as he said, had annihilated the achievements of the February Revolution.

Leonid Luks

*Fedor Stepun's Analysen der russischen Revolution in der katholischen Zeitschrift „Hochland“ (1924–1927)*, pp. 105–121

Fedor Stepun (1884–1965) was one of the most important mediators between German and Russian culture in the 20th century. In 1922, he was expelled from his motherland along with other prominent Russian intellectuals. The Soviet leadership, turning Russia into an ideocratic dictatorship, considered those independent thinkers to be regime-obstructors. However, they were rarely noticed in the West as well, because the Western audience was more focused on the Bolshevik winners in the Russian Civil War rather than on those who had lost. So the later had to fight for their spiritual and material survival. Nevertheless, certain European groups were willing to listen to the Russian exile thinkers,



e.g. the publishers of the Catholic journal “Hochland” which became a tribune for a number of them in the 1920s and 1930s. Fedor Stepun was one of the most active “Hochland”-authors. This contribution deals with Stepun’s articles, dated 1924–1927, where he analysed the Russian revolution and the European crisis of the 20th century.

Mario Keßler

*Arthur Rosenbergs „Geschichte des Bolschewismus“: Ein Beitrag zur frühen Historiografie der russischen Revolution*, pp. 123–140

Arthur Rosenberg (1889–1943) became, after a short political career in the Communist Party of Germany, famous as a historian of contemporary Germany and of international communism. His “History of Bolshevism” was one of the first serious academic treatments on the subject in Germany. He considered the Bolshevik doctrine and actions to be historically progressive for Soviet Russia. But what was progressive for Russia was reactionary for the West, where the bourgeois revolution had been completed, and where a well-trained industrial proletariat and an educated middle-class constituted a majority of the population. In his book Rosenberg pointed out that the Soviet leadership under Stalin, despite its revolutionary rhetoric, was sacrificing the cause of the international proletariat for the state interest of the USSR.

Uli Schöler

*Russische und Französische Revolution im Urteil Siegmund Kunfi*, 141–152

One hundred years after the October events in St. Petersburg, the number of interpretations counts by the thousands. Even if there are good reasons why this experiment of the century has lost almost all charisma, given the countless victims, nevertheless there are intelligent interpretations which are worth looking at because they are capable of providing better insights. Among them counts the comparison drawn ten years after the Russian Revolution by the almost forgotten Hungarian Social Democrat Siegmund Kunfi when he was in exile in Vienna. More systematically – and more intelligently – than others before him, he attempts to draw parallels between the course of the events in Russia, including the struggles between factions within the ruling Bolshevik Party, and the course of the great French Revolution of 1789. His – not frequently convincing – results are worthwhile still today, although there is reason for criticism.



## Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte

65 (1) 2017

Maren Röger

*Besatzungskinder in Polen. Nationalsozialistische Politik und Erfahrungen in der Volksrepublik*, pp. 26-51

Despite the strict orders against social interaction, thousands of war children - children of German occupiers and local women - were born. Inasmuch as the authorities were informed about the German father, the National Socialist racial planners decided on further procedures. Children considered “racially valuable” were taken away from their Polish mother. Yet the increasing infiltration of racial ideology into the legal realm also increased the rights of illegitimate children and their mothers. In the case of the Incorporated Polish Territories, where Nazi family law was introduced, this led to the paradoxical situation that fathers could be sued for child support payments despite the simultaneous prohibition of sexual relations between Poles and Germans. The article firstly provides an overview of the policies of the Nazi occupiers towards these war children and secondly investigates the measures which the socialist state subsequently applied to the “war mothers”. Also, the experiences of the war children after 1945 are reconstructed on the basis of biographical interviews.

65 (2) 2017

Sandra Kraft

*“Wenn’s der Wahrheitsfindung dient”. Antiautoritärer Protest vor Gericht um 1968*, pp. 163-190

One of the most prominent features of the German Student Movement (a.k.a the ‘68-Movement) was its anti-authoritarian self-image. Yet despite many attempted approaches and interpretations, this core characteristic is difficult to pin down. This is not only due to missing or imprecise theoretical deliberations of the protagonists, but also due to the complexity and terminological ambiguity of the term authority. The present article deals with the problem of the theoretical and practical meaning of authority for the Student Movement. Using the concrete example of the criminal proceedings against Fritz Teufel and Rainer Langhans, it shows to what extent the movement’s understanding of authority also shaped the form and content of the confrontation in court. The two activists turned the court room into a political stage with “happenings” and verbal provocations of the judges and prosecutors. The goal was to expose the structures of the West German courts as undemocratic and undermine the authority of its officials. But while the accused were ostensibly seeking out “putrid authority”, they also used the trials to drop their own authoritarian personality structures, therein following an idiosyncratic interpretation of applied critical theory. Authority was to be broken from the outside as well as from the inside.

65 (3) 2017

Benedikt Stuchtey

*Zeitgeschichte und vergleichende Imperien-geschichte*, pp. 301-338

The article investigates the productive tension between contemporary history and comparative imperial history. The author argues in favour of understanding imperialisms and empires as analytical categories with relevance for contemporary history. He sees good prospects for the writing of the history of colonial empires including their decolonisation as a history of trans-imperial intersections

based on the current developments and research results of New Imperial History. Finally he poses the question what was actually “European” in the European Expansion.

Guido Thiemeyer

*Stiefkinder der Integration*, pp. 339-363

The article provides a historical analysis of the impact of supranational European integration on German federalism based on archival research. When it was set up in 1949, the political system of the Federal Republic of Germany was based on a political equilibrium between the Länder and the Federal Government. With the beginnings of supranational European Integration in the 1950s, when the Federal Government transferred certain elements of national sovereignty to European Organisations, this equilibrium was disturbed. From now on the Länder governments developed different strategies to prevent their creeping disempowerment which went along with this constant change of the political system of the Federal Republic. The article therefore deals with an aspect of “Europeanisation” of the Federal Republic of Germany and the emergence of the so-called European multi-level-governance system.

65 (4) 2017

Peter Lieb

*Der deutsche Krieg im Osten von 1914 bis 1919. Ein Vorläufer des Vernichtungskriegs?*, pp. 465-506

In recent years, mostly in Anglophone circles, there has been a discussion regarding a “German Way of War”. According to this thesis, the German Empire embarked on a military “Sonderweg” [special path] in contrast to other states. This was supposedly particularly evident in a more radical form of warfare exhibited during colonial wars and the First World War. This view postulates a continuity of German military culture between the First and the Second World War. The present article tests this thesis by means of an examination of the Eastern Front during the First World War and concludes that the supposition of a specifically German military culture during the German Empire and a continuity between the form of warfare practised on the Eastern Front of the First World War and “Operation Barbarossa” often bears the markings of a backward-looking projection. In comparison to the Austro-Hungarian as well as the Russian Army, the German military was the most restrained until late 1917. Ultimately the success of Bolshevism since late 1917 led to a radical mental change; the state of command now exasperated, as the counterinsurgency in Ukraine in 1918 demonstrated. Simultaneously the German Army also largely tried to go easy on the civilian population. A further surge of radicalisation was revealed in the conflicts in the Baltic States in 1919. These may have possessed a formative character for the later Nazi movement, but not for the military, who saw the “Baltic fighters” as “undisciplined rabble”.

Martin Großheim

*Der Krieg und der Tod. Heldengedenken in Vietnam*, pp.545-581

To this day, the Vietnamese State practises a form of remembering the dead, which is designed to justify the high human losses in the wars against France and the USA and to stylise the dead as selfless martyrs in the struggle for independence and the implementation of Socialism. At the centre are the Communist cadres and soldiers, who since 1925 gloriously sacrificed their lives in their service for the revolution and against colonialism and feudalism and who thus deserve the status of

“revolutionary martyrs” (liệt sỹ). To date, this restrictive and hierarchical form of remembering the dead, which is expressed in approximately 3 000 Heroes’ Cemeteries throughout the country as well as other memorial sites, serves as a core component of the Vietnamese state remembrance project to legitimise Communist one-party rule. Since the beginning of reform policies (đổi mới) in 1986, however, private forms of remembering the dead outside restrictive state hero worship can increasingly be observed among civil society representatives. The article presents two examples: The commemoration of the fallen soldiers of the Republic of Vietnam, which collapsed in 1975, as well as the military victims of the military conflicts with the People’s Republic of China, who so far do not play a central role in state-driven remembrance.

Michael Wildt

*Nationalsozialismus oder deutscher Faschismus?*, pp. 103-115.

Il nazionalsocialismo fu generato dallo spirito e dalla violenza della prima guerra mondiale. Hitler, che aveva condotto una vita da bohème alquanto banale prima della guerra, è stato svegliato dalla mobilitazione del 1914, che egli ha trascorso a Monaco di Baviera. Come decine di migliaia di altri giovani, si offrì volontario per il servizio militare e si immerse nell'esperienza ingannevolmente grande della "comunità nazionale" del 1914, in quel senso di unità e certezza della vittoria che fece sparire ogni realismo sulla natura e sulla durata della guerra. Quando fu ferito per la prima volta nell'autunno del 1916 sul fronte occidentale, le illusioni di una rapida vittoria erano già svanite, ma non la convinzione dell'invincibilità della Germania. Per Hitler, come per milioni di altri tedeschi, l'esercito era rimasto imbattuto, ma era stato tradito da malvagi criminali sul fronte interno.

Il fascismo fu sia una risposta al crollo del vecchio mondo e della prima guerra mondiale, sia un modo di guardare al futuro in senso plebiscitario e antidemocratico. Sebbene le differenze tra i rispettivi gruppi fascisti, specialmente per quanto riguarda il ruolo del razzismo e dell'antisemitismo, siano abbastanza ovvi, ci sono diversi elementi che consentono di inquadrare il nazismo come fascismo. Il suo slancio antiborghese, la sua struttura di movimento di massa focalizzata su un "Führer", il suo specifico "stile politico" fascista (G. Mosse) e una sua concezione totalitaria della società, insieme ad un nazionalismo estremo, etnizzato, e in particolare la pratica della violenza, che era diretta contro lo stato costituzionale liberale, hanno somiglianze evidenti con il fascismo italiano innanzitutto e non solo. Tutto ciò fa sì che anche il nazionalsocialismo da una situazione storica nazionale particolare possa essere compreso meglio all'interno del contesto europeo.

Arnd Bauerkämper

*Der europäische Faschismus in transnationaler Perspektive*, pp. 171-184

I fascisti in Europa oscillarono tra un nazionalismo radicale e la visione di una comunità transnazionale. Oltre al nazionalismo ipertrofico, emersero anche punti di riferimento transnazionali e interazioni tra i fascismi. Dopo la spettacolare "marcia su Roma" e il trasferimento del potere a Mussolini, il fascismo italiano divenne in breve un modello per le forze nazionaliste radicali di tutta Europa, che non miravano soltanto ad una stabilizzazione autoritaria, ma puntavano anche ad una totale riorganizzazione politica e sociale. Tuttavia, la nomina di Hitler a cancelliere il 30 gennaio 1933 e la conseguente rapida attuazione del monopolio di regime nazionalsocialista in Germania cambiarono radicalmente i rapporti transnazionali del fascismo europeo. A partire da quel momento si vennero a trovare due campi magnetici di politica fascista, sui quali i più piccoli movimenti fascisti dovevano allinearsi. Allo stesso tempo e alla luce di ciò alcuni confini furono superati e altri ne furono costruiti. In tale contesto un'intesa europea fondata sul ripudio della violenza risultava praticamente impossibile, come doveva essere dimostrato definitivamente durante la seconda guerra mondiale.

## GRAN BRETAGNA

### Contemporary European History

#### 1 (26) 2017

Pepijn Corduwener

*Challenging Parties and Anti-Fascism in the Name of Democracy: The Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque and its Impact on Italy's Republic*, pp. 69-84

This article studies the political ideology of the Italian political movement Fronte dell'Uomo Qualunque in the light of the problems of party democracy in Italy. The movement existed only for a few years in the aftermath of the Second World War, but the impact of its ideology on post-war Italy was large. The article argues that the party's ideology should be studied beyond the anti-fascist–fascist divide and that it provides a window onto the contestation of party politics in republican Italy. It contextualises the movement in the political transition from fascism to republic and highlights key elements of the Front's ideology. The article then proceeds to demonstrate how the movement distinguished itself from the parties of the Italian resistance and advocated a radical break with the way in which the relationship between the Italian state and citizens had been practiced through subsequent regimes. The way in which the movement aimed to highlight the alleged similarities between the fascist and republican political order, and its own claim to democratic legitimacy, constitute a distinct political tradition which resurfaced in the political crisis of the 1990s.

#### 2 (26) 2017

Stephen G. Gross

*Introduction: European Integration across the Twentieth Century*, pp. 205-207

This forum explores continuities and transformations in the way Europeans thought about integrating their continent politically, economically and ideologically across the twentieth century. It questions the idea of a Stunde Null, which sees European integration primarily as a response to the destruction of the Second World War. Instead, the forum shows how mentalities, ideologies, challenges and constraints that arose before 1945 shaped the way European elites conceptualised and pursued unification in the post-war decades. The European leaders who orchestrated integration after 1945 were looking both backward and forward, trying to revive older visions for a unified continent and overcome long-standing problems while simultaneously aspiring to a new, supranational regional order that would preserve Europe's position as a global power. In exploring such continuities, this forum adds a regionalist dimension to the burgeoning literature – by Patricia Clavin, Daniel Gorman, Mark Mazower and others – on the connections between interwar internationalism and the post-1945 global order, and on the continuity of intellectuals, experts and politicians through the middle half of the twentieth century.

#### 4 (26) 2017

Kim Christiaens, James Mark and José M. Faraldo

*Entangled Transitions: Eastern and Southern European Convergence or Alternative Europes? 1960s–2000s*, pp. 577-599

Ever since the fall of the Iron Curtain and the enthusiasm it inspired about the potential for European unity and democracy, it has become fashionable to see post-war European history in terms of convergence. Historians have researched the integration of the European continent into the global, in the context of the Cold War, decolonisation and economic globalisation. Internally, processes of convergence are seen to link the trajectories of nations on a continent where integration eventually trumped the divisions of nationalism, regionalism and the Iron Curtain. This story of an 'ever deeper and wider union' was also reflected in the ways in which the transformations of Southern and Eastern Europe were narrated. The idea of a so-called 'return to Europe' inspired histories that connected the fall of right-wing authoritarian regimes in the Southern European states of Portugal, Greece and Spain from the mid-1970s with the end of communism in Eastern Europe from 1989. This dominant account has presented Southern and Eastern European 'peripheries' moving towards the (Western) European core and its norms, values and models of liberal democracy. Even though some have raised objections to these teleological and Western-dominated narratives of transition they have remained strikingly potent in histories of post-war Europe. Only very recently have they received historiographical critique. Partly this is due to the enduring appeal of centre-periphery approaches that continue to influence intellectual debates about European identity and history. This is also because research on the transitions in Southern and Eastern Europe has for a long time remained rather insular. Historians have been slow to enter a research field that has been dominated by institutional and political approaches, and they have remained more focused on national histories. Where historians of either Eastern or Southern Europe have addressed the transnational or transregional aspects of transition, this has mainly focused on the appeal of the West or its Atlanticist dimensions.

## English Historical Review

[132 \(555\) 2017](#)

Matthew Kerry

*Radicalisation, Community and the Politics of Protest in the Spanish Second Republic: Asturias, 1931–34*, pp. 318-343

In October 1934 thousands of leftists took up arms in a two-week revolutionary insurrection in the northern Spanish region of Asturias which shook the Second Republic (1931-1936) and formed part of a critical European juncture of protest in 1934. This article rethinks the process of radicalization - a key process for understanding both the insurrection and the wider polarisation of Spanish society prior to the Civil War - in the context of the Asturian coalfields. I argue that radicalisation, understood as a more militant, confrontational mode of politics, rather than as having any particular ideological content, needs to be located in the struggles, divisions and anxieties at a local level, shaped by understandings of community, within the wider national and international context. Increased tension and confrontation was due to a combination of factors, including competition amongst different leftist groups to present themselves as the most anticlerical, alienation from the main mining union, anxieties over the perceived emergence of fascism, and a spiral of protest and repression shaped by a more heavy-handed state policing strategy in 1934. The interplay of social and political factors provided the energy behind the revolutionary insurrection. This serves to re-evaluate the process of radicalisation in the Second Republic, and the politics and struggles of the working class in a dark and tumultuous decade for the European left.

[132 \(556\) 2017](#)

Daniel Laqua

*Activism in the «Students' League of Nations»: International Student Politics and the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants, 1919–1939*, pp. 605-637

The aftermath of the First World War saw manifold efforts to (re-)construct an international community. One striking feature of this development was the foundation of a number of international student organisations. This article analyses the largest of these organisations - the International Confederation of Students (Confédération internationale des Étudiants, CIE), using it as a prism through which to examine four major aspects of inter-war student internationalism: nationalism, intellectual co-operation, mobility and radicalism. The CIE brought together the representatives of different national unions of students and thus involved activists who could cast themselves as future leaders. It portrayed its activities as «apolitical», embracing an internationalism that sought to consolidate, rather than overthrow, the international order. To this end, the organisation co-operated with the League of Nations, particularly in the realm of student travel. Yet, despite its discourse of peace and non-partisanship, the CIE suffered from manifold national divisions and maintained an uneasy relationship with the political developments of the period. In this context, the article shows how, rather than being the domain of impractical idealists, internationalism provided an arena for the pursuit of competing national and political agendas.

## European History Quarterly

### 47 (1) 2017

George Gilbert

*Revolt from the Right: Russia's Right-Wing Students Between Conservatism and Radicalism*, pp. 32-54

The article examines the Academist movement between 1900 and 1914 – the student branches of a number of right-wing groups that emerged in the Russian Empire between 1900 and 1905 and endured throughout the late imperial period. It will argue that these groups arose separately from the Russian autocracy, and formed part of an independent, «right-wing» approach to the problems facing Russian society in the late imperial period. It is particularly concerned with the idea, widely present on the right, that the Russian present was in a period of crisis and a more drastic approach to moral and spiritual renewal was needed. It will consider the nature of the Academists' conceptions of moral education, spiritual renewal of society, and also their violence, anti-Semitism and emergence of an ethno-populist politics. The contention is that the emergence of an independent right-wing movement contributed to the wider instability in the Russian autocracy in the late imperial period.

Ángel Alcalde

*War Veterans and Fascism during the Franco Dictatorship in Spain (1936-1959)*, pp. 78-98

This article argues that analysis and contextualization of the history of the Francoist veterans of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) leads to an understanding of Franco's dictatorship as a fascist regime typical of the late 1930s and early 1940s. It reveals the congruence of the regime with the phenomenon of neo-fascism during the Cold War era. Drawing on a large range of archival and published sources, this article examines the history of the main Francoist veterans' organization, the Delegación Nacional de Excombatientes (DNE) of the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS (FET-JONS), between 1939 and 1959. The evolution of the Francoist veterans' organizational structures and political discourses can be understood as part of a process of fascistization and defascistization, which provides rare insights into the overall relationship between fascism and war.

### 47 (2) 2017

Robert Niebuhr

*Enlarging Yugoslavia: Tito's Quest for Expansion, 1945-1948*, pp. 284-310

When Yugoslav strongman Josip Broz Tito secured power at the end of the Second World War, he had envisioned for himself a new Yugoslavia that would serve as the center of power for the Balkan Peninsula. First, he worked to ensure a Yugoslav presence in the Trieste region of Italy and southern Austria as a way to gain territory inhabited by Slovenes and Croats; meanwhile, his other foreign policy escapades sought to make Yugoslavia into a major European power. To that end, Yugoslav agents quickly worked to synchronize the Albanian socio-economic and political systems through their support of Albanian Partisans and only grew emboldened over time. As allies who proved themselves in the fight against fascism, Yugoslav policymakers felt able to act with impunity throughout the early post-Cold War period. The goal of this article is to highlight this early foreign policy by focusing on three case studies – Trieste, Carinthia, and Albania – as part of an effort to reinforce the established argument over Tito's quest for power in the early Cold War period.

### 47 (3) 2017

Ambrogio A. Caiani

*Re-inventing the Ancien Régime in Post-Napoleonic Europe*, pp. 437-460

«Revolution» as a historical category has received continuous academic interest and scrutiny, whereas the regime invented by the French Revolution has received less sophisticated theoretical analysis and



unpacking. The term *ancien régime* was created in the moment of its death. The subsequent restructuring and politicization of this concept during the post-Napoleonic era remains largely unstudied. It is the argument here that the world after 1815 created a number of «new old regimes». These political systems, which made reference to *ancien régime* inheritances, were not straightforward reflections of a «real past». They were malleable discourses that could be calibrated to corroborate the competing claims made by conservatives, radicals and liberals about how post-Napoleonic Europe was to be organized. The ‘new old regime’ of the nineteenth century, though historically grounded, was instrumental in design and made little effort to resurrect the «real past» to which it purportedly made constant reference. The battle to define the «new old regime» was not a rear-guard action but lay at the very heart of European politics after 1815. The forces of nationhood, constitutionalism, parliamentarianism, liberalism and democracy unfurled by the twin titans of revolution and Napoleonic conquest were not guaranteed to win the day. Dynasticism, aristocratic hierarchy, military glory, religious revival, village communalism and regionalism continued to prosper during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Maria Thomas

*Sacred Destruction? Anticlericalism, Iconoclasm and the Sacralization of Politics in Twentieth-Century Spain*, pp. 490-508

This article examines the ways in which anticlerical discourses and actions in Spain from the early twentieth century onwards became infused with religious language, sentiments and even belief. Specifically, it focuses on the anticlerical violence and iconoclasm which occurred on Republican territory at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. The protagonists of these acts used a wide repertoire of religiously inspired collective action in their attacks on Catholic property and personnel. This article seeks to explain why this was. It argues that, in a time of momentous change and accelerating modernization, «secular» and «traditional» modes of thought mingled and fused together in the mental landscapes of anticlerical actors who had been strongly influenced by religious principles and practices. It suggests that the concept of the «sacralization of politics» is wholly applicable to the Spanish case.

[47 \(4\) 2017](#)

Ola Innset

*Markets, Knowledge and Human Nature: Friedrich Hayek, Karl Polanyi and Twentieth-century Debates on Modern Social Order*, pp. 679-700

The article reads the works of Friedrich Hayek (1899-1992) and Karl Polanyi (1886-1964) in the light of their political commitments to neoliberalism and socialism respectively. It argues that both thinkers were inspired to explain history and recent events in line with these commitments in their 1944 publications, *The Road to Serfdom* and *The Great Transformation*. Furthermore, they both developed their most significant insights by attempting to counter perceived challenges from political projects to which they were opposed. Polanyi spent much of his life trying to disprove a liberal attack on socialism as out of touch with the realities of human nature, whereas it was in debates with socialists that Hayek developed a new theory of the epistemological functioning of markets, which then became foundational for the neoliberal project. Taking into account the high-stakes politics of Vienna in the interwar years is crucial for fully understanding the social theory of these two thinkers.

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Stuart Finkel

*The “Political Red Cross” and the Genealogy of Rights Discourse in Revolutionary Russia*, pp. 79–118

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Daniela L. Caglioti

*Subjects, Citizens, and Aliens in a Time of Upheaval: Naturalizing and Denaturalizing in Europe during the First World War*, pp. 495–530

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## Journal of Political Ideologies

### 1 (22) 2017

Ishay Landa

*Progress, fascism and the Last Humans*, pp. 30-51

This paper re-evaluates the notion of progress in light of the trauma represented by interwar European fascism. It critically examines the widespread assumption that interwar European fascism demonstrates the illusory, or even pernicious, nature of progress. Seeing fascists as enraged crusaders against the march of history, whose aim was to impede the further rise of what Nietzsche contemptuously referred to as 'the Last Humans,' affords a perspective from which progress, at least in its main current, no longer appears invalidated by fascism. The criterion of democratic mass empowerment, furthermore, can usefully distinguish between two mutually exclusive notions of progress: the first, of largely Hegelian provenance, was committed to mass empowerment; the second, while intractably opposing progress as a democratic enterprise, also appropriated it for radically anti-democratic purposes, transmuting its meaning so that the Last Humans are no longer conceived as its beneficiaries but, at most, as its tools.

### 2 (22) 2017

Dean Blackburn

*Still the stranger at the feast? Ideology and the study of twentieth century British politics*, pp. 116-130

This article explores the way in which scholars of twentieth-century British politics have engaged with the concept of ideology. It begins by revisiting Michael Freeden's seminal intervention on the subject before going on to assess the way in which recent work has challenged, and indeed preserved, older assumptions about the nature and function of political ideas. In doing so, it pursues two objectives: it seeks to demonstrate the consequences of regarding ideas as a significant feature of twentieth-century politics, and it attempts to encourage a more vibrant dialogue between historians and other disciplines that are contributing to the field of ideology studies.

## Modern Italy

### 22 (1) 2017

Paolo Foradori

*Protecting cultural heritage during armed conflict: the Italian contribution to 'cultural peacekeeping'*, pp. 1-17

World cultural heritage is under systemic attack on several crisis fronts, most notably in Mesopotamia, where ISIS is practising a deliberate and highly sophisticated strategy of «cultural cleansing». Through its newly established Task Force, Italy is leading the international community's efforts to strengthen the protection regime by including a cultural component in the mandates of peacekeeping interventions. The Italian contribution distinguishes itself, thanks to its capacities and capabilities, in fulfilling the military, police and cultural tasks of «cultural peacekeeping» and in meeting the needs of the international intervention in the crucial entry and exit phases. Moreover, Italy's commitment to protecting cultural heritage fits perfectly with the distinctive features of Italy's international identity and role while at the same time serving the country's national interests by increasing its standing and visibility in world affairs.

Jessica L. Harris

*«In America è vietato essere brutte»: advertising American beauty in the Italian women's magazine Annabella, 1945-1965*, pp. 35-53

This article examines how the American conception of female beauty introduced new and distinct understandings of beauty and femininity to postwar Italy. In analysing beauty product advertisements from one of the most popular women's magazines of the period, Annabella, the article articulates the components of the American beauty ideal and illustrates how these notions broke with previous Italian ideas of beauty. Moreover, the article also examines how this new ideal promoted democratic consumer capitalist values – freedom of choice, individualism, and affluence – which had an important political and cultural significance in Italy's Cold War struggle. In light of this struggle and the country's postwar redevelopment, the American beauty ideal sought to influence the women who read Annabella and the way in which they fashioned and identified themselves – as the Italian «Mrs Consumer».

### 22 (2) 2017

Clodagh Brook

*Post-secular identity in contemporary Italian cinema: Catholic «cement», the suppression of history and the lost Islamic other*, pp. 197-211

Alessandro Ferrari claims that Catholicism was the only cement binding the newly unified Italy together, a country without a common language or a widespread culture capable of founding civic engagement. Taking a post-secular perspective on religion, which recognizes that religion is not simply a «residue» soon to be extinguished (as Raymond Williams once stated), this article will explore Italian cinema's contemporary constructions of this national 'religious cement' as a putative foundation for identity in 21st century Italy. The article sets out too to show the cracks in the cement: collective identity can only be created by ignoring religious diversity and removing thorny issues from the history of the Catholic church.

## [22 \(3\) 2017](#)

Rachel Haworth

*Scandal, Motherhood and Mina in 1960s Italy*, pp. 247-260

Celebrity scandals are a useful tool to reveal the pervasiveness of expected ways of behaving within a particular culture or society. Italy of the early 1960s was particularly marked by these kinds of scandals, including that of singer Mina's pregnancy by Corrado Pani in 1963. This article takes this scandal as a case study to explore how star image in this period in Italy was influenced by the established ideologies that governed social convention, morality, and traditional gender roles. It examines in detail the ways in which the popular press reported on this scandal, using the reports that covered the announcement of the pregnancy and then the birth to cast light on the extent to which the mainstream social values and ideas regarding the status quo and expected ways of behaving for women in Italy during the early 1960s were destabilised and/or reasserted through the star persona of Mina.

## [22 \(4\) 2017](#)

Paul Corner

*Dictatorship revisited: consensus, coercion, and strategies of survival*, pp. 435-444

The article examines certain of the more recent perspectives on twentieth-century dictatorship, looking in particular at the complex relationship between the dictator and the people. Extending its range beyond that of the «classic» totalitarianisms, the paper argues for a more nuanced approach to the question of popular support for or resistance to regimes and suggests that many of the old binaries concerning popular attitudes need to be revised, with a consequent readjustment of the roles often attributed to violence, to ideology and other cultural factors, and to the varied seductive attractions of mass mobilisation. While pointing to the difficulties of reaching any very definite conclusions in an area characterised by ambivalence and ambiguity, the paper attempts to suggest certain variables related to popular behaviour that may have determined the degree to which regimes were able to impose domination.

## Past & Present

235 (1) 2017

Rosario Forlenza

*The Enemy Within: Catholic Anti-Communism in Cold War Italy*, pp. 207–242

The article argues that between the mid-1940 and the early 1950s Italian Catholic anti-communism moved from portraying communism as a threat with specifically foreign characteristics to emphasising its indigenous naiveté. Thus, the communist persona was incorporated within the social body of the nation, via replacement of representations of threatening otherness with a parody of the dull, devout PCI member. Catholic anti-Communism in Italy was thus built vis-à-vis the peculiar nature of Italian Communism, as well as around normative ideas of what the ideal Italian society should be like—namely the search for order and the need to re-formulate the relationship between the individual and society that had been shattered by the experience of World War II.

Benjamin Thomas White

*Refugees and the Definition of Syria, 1920–1939*, pp. 141–178

Between the French occupation in 1920 and the outbreak of the Second World War, one of the most striking and controversial features of political and social life in Syria was the arrival and settlement of large numbers of refugees. Armenians and other Christians escaping Anatolia; Kurdish insurgents evading the Turkish military; Assyrians fleeing Iraq: all took refuge in French mandate Syria, where they joined refugees who had arrived, before the French, during the First World War.

Malcolm R. Petrie

«*Contests of Vital Importance*»: *By-Elections, the Labour Party, and the Reshaping of British Radicalism, 1924–1929*, pp. 121-148

Via an examination of the Labour party's approach to by-election campaigning in Scotland between the fall of the first Labour administration in October 1924 and the party's return to office in May 1929, this article explores the changing horizons of British radicalism in an era of mass democracy. While traditional depictions of interwar politics as a two-party contest in which political allegiances were shaped primarily by social class have increasingly been questioned, accounts of Labour politics in this period have focused chiefly on national responses to the challenges posed by the expanded franchise. In contrast, this article considers local experiences, as provincial participation and autonomy, particularly in candidate selection and electioneering, came to be viewed as an impediment to wider electoral success, and political debate coalesced around attempts to speak for a political nation that was, as the focus on Scotland reveals, indisputably British. Often portrayed as evidence of ideological divisions, such internal quarrels had crucial spatial features, and reflected a conflict between two models of political identity and participation: one oppositional in outlook, local in loyalty, and rooted in the radical tradition, the other focused upon electoral concerns and Labour's national standing.

Christian Goeschel

*Staging Friendship: Mussolini and Hitler in Germany in 1937*, pp. 148-172

In September 1937, Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler met in Germany. Millions of ostensibly enthusiastic Germans welcomed the Duce. Here were the world's first two fascist dictators, purportedly united in solidarity, representing the '115 million' Germans and Italians against the Western powers and Bolshevism. Most historians have dismissed the 1937 dictators' encounter as insignificant because no concrete political decisions were made. In contrast, I explore this meeting in terms of the confluence of culture and politics and argue that the meeting was highly significant. Its choreography combined rituals of traditional state visits with a new emphasis on the personality of both leaders and their alleged 'friendship', emblematic of the 'friendship' between the Italian and German peoples. Seen through this lens, the meeting pioneered a new style of face-to-face diplomacy, which challenged the culture of liberal internationalism and represented the aim of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany to create a New Order in Europe. At the same time, analysis of this meeting reveals some deep-seated tensions between both regimes, an observation that has significant implications for the study of fascist international collaboration.

Dennis C. Grube

*Civil Servants, Political History, and the Interpretation of Tradition*, pp. 172-196

A renewed interest in aspects of high politics among historians who subscribe to the 'new political history' has coincided with the embrace by some political scientists of interpretivism as a method for understanding how beliefs and traditions impact on British political life. In order to examine the potential synergies between these two developments, this article utilizes a form of 'historical interpretivism' to study the beliefs and actions of senior civil servants. In 1980, the British government released a Memorandum of Guidance for Officials Appearing before Select Committees – known ever since as the 'Osmotherly' rules – to help civil servants navigate the stresses of appearing



before parliamentary committees. This article analyses the civil service files in the decade leading up to the publication of the Osmotherly rules to reveal how senior civil servants sought to reconcile their interpretations of Westminster tradition with the need to respond to the demands of the 'open government' agenda. The article argues that studying the narratives which guide the beliefs of individual civil servants and their political masters can help political historians and political scientists alike analyse the power of tradition in shaping political action.

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Ambrogio A. Caiani

*Collaborators, Collaboration, and the Problems of Empire in Napoleonic Italy, the Oppizzoni Affair, 1805-1807*, pp. 385-407

The recent bicentennial commemorations of the Napoleonic empire have witnessed a proliferation of new studies. Scholars now possess much more sophisticated conceptual tools than in past decades with which to gauge the problems faced by French imperial administrators throughout Europe. Well-trodden concepts, like centre/periphery or collaboration/resistance, have been reinvigorated by more sophisticated understandings of how rulers and ruled interacted in the early nineteenth century. This article argues that, while much progress has been made in understanding problems of 'resistance', there is more to be said about the other side of the same coin, namely: 'collaboration'. Using the micro/local history of a scandal in Napoleonic Bologna, this article wishes to reaffirm that collaboration was an active agent that shaped, and often shook, the French imperial project. The biggest problem remained that, despite 'good intentions', collaborators sometimes simply did not collaborate with each other. After all, imperial clients were determined to benefit from the experience of empire. The centre was often submerged by local petty squabbles. This article will use a specific micro-history in Bologna to highlight the extent to which Napoleonic empire builders had to thread a fine line between the impracticalities of direct control and the dangers of 'going native'.

Sam Brewitt-Taylor

*Christianity and the Invention of the Sexual Revolution in Britain, 1963-1967*, pp. 519-546

This article argues that the myth of 'the sexual revolution', increasingly accepted in Britain's national media between 1963 and 1967, played a central role in causing the real transformation of British sexual culture that occurred from the late 1960s. It also argues that Christian agency played an important role in the framing and the legitimation of this myth. Until 1963, British debates about sexual morality had been dominated by Christian arguments. In 1963 and 1964, the existence of a rapid, widespread, inexorable, secular, and antinomian transformation of sexual mores was prominently proclaimed by Christian commentators, who thought it an inevitable consequence of 'secularization', whereas secular commentators usually objected that this narrative was insufficiently evidenced. After its initial discussion in the mainstream media in 1965, the 'sexual revolution' narrative was increasingly articulated without explicit reference to Christianity, but it usually retained theologically inspired structural features inherited from earlier religious discussions. In the late 1960s, elite perceptions of inexorable sexual liberalization decisively legitimated rapid decensorship, wider access to the pill, and the reimagination of 'normal' sexual behaviour, thereby importantly shaping real popular change. In this way, Christian clergymen made a significant, early, unwitting, and hitherto unacknowledged contribution to Britain's sexual revolution.

[60 \(3\) 2017](#)

Francisco J. Romero Salvadó

*Between the Catalan Quagmire and the Red Spectre, Spain, November 1918-April 1919*, pp. 795-815

Drawing upon a vast array of primary sources, this article focuses on a key period of modern Spanish history: November 1918 – April 1919. In the aftermath of the First World War and spurred on by the Allied victory, demands by Catalonia's political elites for greater autonomy seized the country's agenda. However, the political tussle between the centre and the Catalan elites ended a few months later with their mutual defeat. The upsurge of labour agitation and the hopes of the proletariat generated by the Bolshevik Revolution combined with bourgeois fear resulted in the question of national identity being superseded by bitter class conflict. This article conveys the thesis that these crucial months crystallized the organic crisis of the ruling liberal regime. Indeed, the outcome of these events proved its fragile foundations, dashed hopes for a reformist and negotiated solution, and constituted a dress rehearsal for the military coup of 1923, a clear example of the reactionary backlash which swept across Europe in the interwar years.

[60 \(4\) 2017](#)

Gareth Curless

*The Triumph of the State: Singapore's Dockworkers and the Limits of Global History, c. 1920-1965*, pp. 1097-1123

Labour history has been revitalized by the global turn. It has encouraged historians to look beyond national frameworks to explore issues relating to mobility and inter-territorial connection. This article, while accepting the benefits of a global approach, argues that historians should not lose sight of the factors that constrain mobility or lead to the collapse of cross-border exchanges. Singapore's dockworkers were at the forefront of the island's anti-colonial campaigns of the 1940s and 1950s. Inspired by anti-colonial movements elsewhere in the world, dockworkers drew on international discourses relating to self-determination to place their local struggles in a global context. This activism, however, coincided with the emergence of countervailing forces, including the universalization of the nation-state and the rise of state-led developmentalism. In this context, dockworkers' internationalism came to be regarded as a threat to state sovereignty and development. As a result, once Singapore achieved independence the ruling People's Action Party encouraged dockworkers to abandon their globalized outlook in the name of modernization and nation building. Global history, then, should be as much about the rise of the national as the transnational, and the loss of connection as the forging of inter-territorial networks.

## 20th Century British History

### 28 (1) 2017

Don Leggett

*Restoring Victory: Naval Heritage, Identity, and Memory in Interwar Britain*, pp. 57-82

In the decade following 1918, HMS Victory was restored as a memorial to the nation, empire, the Navy, and all the sailors who had lost their lives in the Great War. This piece of Britain's naval heritage became a focal point for Great War memory and a resource for narrating the Navy's place in post-war Britain. This article analyses the restoration campaign, focusing on its appeal work and the materials it produced, discourses surrounding the restoration and the use of Victory's oak to recover this ship's importance at the intersection between Britain and its Navy in the aftermath of the Great War, and the function that the Navy played in the construction of post-war memory and identity.

Roberta Bivins

*Picturing Race in the British National Health Service, 1948-1988*, pp. 83-109.

In 1970, Harold Evans, the respected editor of Britain's best-selling Sunday broadsheet the *Sunday Times* from 1967 to 1981, roundly reproached his fellow journalists for their reporting of 'race'. Writing for the resolutely middle-brow *The Listener* magazine (published from 1929 to 1991 by the British Broadcasting Corporation since 1929 to accompany and amplify the national broadcaster's educational and cultural mission), Evans asserted that «the way race is reported can uniquely affect the reality of the subject itself». In the matter of race, he observed, the newspapers did far more than fulfil their «traditional» role as a «mirror of society». Instead, «stealthily in Britain, the malformed seeds of prejudice have been watered by a rain of false statistics and stories». Evans, famously a supporter of US-style campaigning investigative journalism, applied similar techniques to excoriate his fellow journalists. Focusing closely on the language in which stories about non-white migrants and racialized ethnic minorities were reported, he condemned rhetoric portraying migrants as «pouring in» and Britain as being «overrun».

Relatively few historians have examined British racial discourses through the lens of specifically medical events, institutions and phenomena. Yet as Evans' commentary indicates, such events and sites both prompted and stimulated debates about the very fabric of identity in post-imperial Britain. Here, I will argue that close scrutiny of visual representations of racialized minorities in the NHS can shed new light on British attitudes towards race, ethnicity and belonging in the post-war period. While some images of this intersection are propagandist, candid, opportunistic, or even accidental, particularly in photojournalism and the broadcast media, others are explicitly humorous, ironic, or satirical, most notably a rich seam of editorial cartoons. The latter in particular explicitly use images of racialized bodies and situations in the NHS to comment on and critique social attitudes towards immigration in a welfare state.

### 28 (2) 2017

David Geiringer

*Catholic Understandings of Female Sexuality in 1960s Britain*, pp. 209-238

Recent interpretations of religious change in modern Britain have stressed the importance of a sudden and abrupt 'sexual revolution' during the 1960s. The role the Churches played in bringing about their own demise remains a point of debate, particularly in the case of the Catholic Church. This article

attempts to move beyond existing historical disputes over a «religious crisis» and whether it was rooted in «internal» causes (problems within the Church) or «external», secular developments. It explores the way sexual knowledge was discussed and disseminated by Catholic authorities during this decade of perceived cultural transition, drawing on the previously unpublished papers of the Papal Commission for Birth Control 1963-5 and the training manuals of the Catholic Marriage Advisory Council (CMAC). These sources offer a unique insight into the often problematic task of reconciling Catholic thought with the discourses of «sexual liberation». While the central hierarchy's continued opposition to women's contraceptive autonomy has understandably dominated historical attention, the material presented here suggests that Catholic understandings of female sexuality were not universally at odds with the intellectual infrastructure of a «sexual revolution». On the question of female sexual pleasure, progressive Catholic authorities in both the Papal Commission and the CMAC made fervent efforts to engage with contemporary scientific modes of understanding. Perversely, this approach served to neglect certain aspects of corporeal and emotional experience, thereby limiting the case for meaningful doctrinal change.

Neil Pemberton

*The Burnley Dog War: The Politics of Dog-Walking and the Battle over Public Parks in Post-Industrial Britain*, pp. 239-267

This article investigates controversies surrounding dog walking and dog fouling in 1970s and early 1980s Britain, focusing on the microhistory of a series of events in a Lancashire mill town that became known as the «Burnley Dog War». A ban on dog walkers from Burnley's main public parks triggered a highly publicised seven-year struggle over access. On one level, the park ban served as a rallying cry for dog lovers across Britain, widening the dividing line between dog owners and dog haters. On another level, it constituted a struggle between antagonists over questions of belonging and exclusion in a town devastated by large-scale deindustrialisation. The dog war stimulated combatants to interrogate the nature and quality of their townscape and their sense of civic identity, the analysis of which allows scrutiny of the impact of deindustrialisation upon their sense of self and place. During the conflict, various aspects of the town's economic history, civic traditions, and landscapes, were alternately disavowed, recovered, rearticulated and contested in relation to its post-industrial present. As it will be shown, the Burnley dispute over dog walking and dog fouling serves as a lens for exploring post-industrial fractiousness along class lines.

[28 \(3\) 2017](#)

Max Hodgson

*«If I Ever Have to Go to Prison, I Hope it's a Russian Prison»: British Labour, Social Democracy and Soviet Communism, 1919-25*, pp. 344-366

Through the inter-war period, the USSR became an example of 'socialism in action' that the British labour movement could both look towards and define itself against. British visitors both criticized and acclaimed aspects of the new Soviet state between 1919 and 1925, but a consistently exceptional finding was the Soviet prison. Analysing the visits and reports of British guests to Soviet prisons, the aims of this article are threefold. Using new material from the Russian archives, it demonstrates the development of an intense admiration for, and often a desire to replicate, the Soviet penal system on the part of Labour members, future Communists, and even Liberals who visited Soviet Russia. It also

critically examines why, despite such admiration, the effect of Soviet penal ideas failed to significantly influence Labour Party policy in this area. Finally, placing these views within a broader framework of the British labour movement's internal tussles over the competing notions of social democracy and communism, it is argued that a failure to affect policy should not proscribe reappraisals of these notions or the Soviet-Labour Party relationship, both of which were more complex than is currently permitted in the established historiography.

Hester Barron, Claire Langhamer

*Children, Class, and the Search for Security: Writing the Future in 1930s Britain*, pp. 367-389

This article is based on 269 essays written in 1937 by Middlesbrough schoolboys aged 12-16 years on the topic «When I leave school», which were collected by the social research organization Mass Observation. The essays provide a counterpoint to social scientific surveys of ordinary people and allow us to work with the boys' own understandings of the world they inhabited. They offer an alternative lens on a period which, at least in relation to the industrial areas of Britain, is often characterized by poverty and unemployment. This representation is largely absent from the children's essays: instead, an overwhelming sense of possibility characterizes their writing, from their wildest fantasies to their most concrete plans. Most dreamt of lives that would be long, fulfilling, domesticated, and happy. This is not to say that they were oblivious to the world around them; indeed an emphasis on security and planning suggested an implicit awareness of material context. Nonetheless these boys expressed a marked determination that their lives would be better than those of their parents. As such, they embodied the educational and occupational aspirations that are more often seen as characteristic of post-war Britain. Their essays illustrate emergent and widely held expectations of social mobility and dreams of cradle-to-grave security in the years before the Second World War, articulated - as they were being lived - by a generation which would go on to elect the 1945 Labour government.

Philippa Haughton

*Justifying British Advertising in War and Austerity, 1939-51*, pp. 390-413

Drawing together institutional papers, the trade and national press, and Mass-Observation documents, this article examines the changing ways that the Advertising Association justified commercial advertising from 1939 to 1951. It argues that the ability to repeatedly re-conceptualize the social and economic purposes of advertising was central to the industry's survival and revival during the years of war and austerity. This matters because the survival and revival of commercial advertising helps to explain the composition of the post-war mixed economy and the emergence of a consumer culture that became the «golden age» of capitalism. While commercial advertising's role in supporting periods of affluence is well documented, much less is known about its relationship with war and austerity. This omission is problematic. Advertising was only able to shape the 1950s and 1960s economy because its corporate structures remained intact during the 1940s, as the industry withstood the challenges of wartime and the difficulties presented under Attlee's government. Recognizing the deliberate attempts of advertising people to promote a role for commercial advertising invites us to reconsider the inevitability of post-war affluence, while offering fresh insight into the debate around consumer education, freedom of choice, and the centrality of advertising and communication in democratic society: issues central to the society Britain was, and hoped to become.

[28 \(4\) 2017](#)

Laura Carter

*Rethinking Folk Culture in Twentieth-Century Britain*, pp. 543-569

Research on folk culture in twentieth-century Britain has focused on elite and transgressive political episodes, but these were not its mainstream manifestations. This article re-evaluates the place of folk culture in twentieth-century Britain in the context of museums. It argues that in the modern heritage landscape folk culture was in an active dialogue with the modern democracy. This story begins with the vexed, and ultimately failed, campaign for a national English folk museum and is traced through the concurrent successes of local, regional, and Celtic «first wave» folk museums across Britain from the 1920s to the 1960s. The educational activities of these museums are explored as emblematic of a «conservative modernity», which gave opportunities to women but also restricted their capacity to do intellectual work. By the 1970s, a «second wave» folk museology is identified, revealing how forms of folk culture successfully accommodated the rapid social change of the later twentieth century, particularly in deindustrializing regions. From this new, museums' perspective, folk culture appears far less marginal to twentieth-century British society. In museums folk culture interacted with mainstream concerns about education, regionalism, and commercialization.

## SPAGNA

### [Ayer](#)

#### [105 \(1\) 2017](#)

Emma Sarno

*Análisis de redes sociales e historia contemporánea*, pp. 23-50

This paper aims to discuss the potential of social network to highlight hidden or nonlinear patterns in relational data analysis in contemporary historical research. Individuals —and many other entities— can be suitably shaped by the presence of connections with others, in time or space, due to institutional affiliation or patronage, transactions or migration, etc. Network analysis's methods and its graphic tools help visualise networks and their dynamics diachronically, assess the role of single individuals in bonding or bridging other actors, rank them according to their «centrality» or «core-periphery» scores, identify structures across individuals and simplify complex structures through block-modeling.

Pablo Ospina Peralta

*Movimientos indígenas en los Andes ecuatorianos en el siglo xx*, pp. 187-213

The article analyses the factors that caused indigenous local rebellions in Ecuador, taking place during the first half of twentieth century, to coalesce into a powerful and organised social movement on a national scale. The key factor was a process of capitalist modernization, which detached ethnicity from the traditional hacienda system, encouraged migration, and promoted the learning of Castilian (Spanish) language. As a result, an indigenous intelligentsia adopted a distinctive ethnic identity. They were accompanied by left-wing political organizations and activist sectors within the Catholic Church.

Mónica García Fernández

*Sexualidad y armonía conyugal en la España franquista. Representaciones de género en manuales sexuales y conyugales publicados entre 1946 y 1968*, pp. 215-238

This paper analyses the different meanings attributed to female and male sexuality in marriage and sex manuals published in Spain from 1946 to 1968. It examines the advice given to men about how to handle their wives' sexuality, as well as those recommendations that encouraged women to satisfy their husbands' desires. Although these books promoted a respectful behaviour towards women by their husbands, and defended the woman's right to orgasm, they supported an oppressive model of sexuality that denied female autonomy and endorsed male authority over women's bodies.

#### [106 \(2\) 2017](#)

Xavier Andreu Miralles

*El género de las naciones. Un balance y cuatro propuestas*, pp. 21-46

This article analyses the historical literature over recent decades that examines the relationship between gender and nationalism in the contemporary world. It discusses the challenges of this enterprise, as well as its achievements and limitations. It concludes by assessing Spanish historiography regarding this subject, and outlines possible lines of future inquiry.



Gemma Torres Delgado

*La nación viril. Imágenes masculinas de España en el africanismo reaccionario después de la derrota de Annual (1921-1927)*, pp. 133-158

This article analyses Spanish colonial discourse about Morocco, concentrating on the Rif wars. The most reactionary sectors of the Army of Africa conceived this colonial project as one of national regeneration - one that would recover the inherent imperial nature of Spain. We analyse how the discourse generated by this nationalist project was based upon the recovery of an alleged national virility and how the nation was represented through male images. By focusing on masculinity, the article analyses how gender has been used to imagine the nation.

Jaume Claret

*El «problema catalán» durante la primera Transición*, pp. 265-289

One of the challenges faced by the Spanish Transition to Democracy was the so-called «Catalan problem». This «problem» included the rise of nationalism, the strength of the left, unity among the opposition, and a general spirit of social awareness. The first two governments of the Monarchy implemented three different strategies, each with historical referents, in an attempt to solve it. First, in April 1976, it created a «special regime» reminiscent of the Mancomunitat. Second, in June 1977, it made a commitment to the conservative nationalism of Jordi Pujol based on his anti-Francoist credentials. Third, during the summer and fall of 1977, it implemented the ultimately successful strategy of restoring the Generalitat, and permitting the return of its exiled President, Josep Tarradellas.

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Roberto Pittaluga

*Ideas (preliminares) sobre la «historia reciente»*, pp. 21-45

In this work I will approach some distinctive features of «recent history» by beginning with the critiques that it has faced in debates taking place in Argentina in recent years. Despite such critiques, its practitioners have firmly established its legitimacy. What is more, the debates have provoked historians to rethink various points of view and to adopt historical and conceptual perspectives on the nature of historiography itself. Indeed, the practice of «recent history» throws into question the spaces where a legitimate historical knowledge is constructed and the relationship between history and politics.

Gabriela Águila

*Represión y terror de Estado en la Argentina reciente: nuevos abordajes y perspectivas de análisis*, pp. 47-71

In recent years, studies on repression in Argentina's recent past have been flourishing. Scholars have produced an agenda of future research consisting of new perspectives, themes and problems. In addition to some well-publicised studies and interpretations of repression and political violence, other studies have addressed a number of themes and cases, which have provoked debates over periodisation, scales and approaches. This article explores some of the most important themes and problems that characterise the field. It places the focus on the question of the state and its agencies in order to examine these issues from different analytical perspectives.



Zira Box

*Cuerpo y nación: sobre la España vertical y la imagen del hombre*, pp. 205-228

Throughout the war and post-war years, the nationalist discourse of the Falange built up the ideal that the Spanish Nation was structured around the values of sobriety, austerity, linearity and hierarchy. These values were condensed into the constant assertion of verticality. The aim is to explore one of the features of this vertical Spain: its masculine dimension. In doing so, the aim is to study how masculinity was expressed and strengthened through the body by underlining a double dimension. On one hand, the attention is focused on the corporal space, considering that the body was a transmitting vector of the typical values of the Falangist nation. In this way, a sober and austere Spain was expressed by the use of the uniform, the execution of gestures or following standards of physical appearance. On the other hand, the ways that corporal metaphors and representations were used to imagine the nation also prove interesting. They were a mechanism that strengthened the masculinity of Falangist verticality.

[108 \(4\) 2017](#)

César Rina Simón

*Expectativas iberistas en la contemporaneidad. Una propuesta conceptual*, pp. 179-201

This article analyses the complexity of peninsular expectations and broadens concepts surrounding the idea of «Iberism». In so doing, it pays close attention to debates concerning the construction, reception and denial of nationalisms and cultural identities in the modern world. Since Iberisms came to take various forms, it cannot be explained by use of a narrow conceptual framework. Lacking an articulated doctrine, a governmental program, or a diversified political culture, it is best understood as a transversal set of expectations linked to various political and regeneracionista movements. A concise definition is a difficult task due to the plurality of actors, discourses and contexts.

Aurelio Martí Ballater

*Un internacionalismo patriota. El discurso nacional del PSOE (1931-1936)*, pp. 257-282

The Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) of the Second Republic articulated a binomial discourse that embraced both workers internationalism and Spanish patriotism. By analysing this discourse, this article demonstrates how internationalism did not diminish the patriotic devotion of Spanish socialists. In coherence with the interpretative frameworks of their European counterparts, Spanish socialist internationalism did not deny the existence of nations but embraced a fraternal relationship between them. Consequently, the concepts of national loyalty and internationalist solidarity did not enter into contradiction within the working-class movement.

Xosé R. Veiga Alonso

*Poderes locales y construcción del Estado en el siglo XIX (1808-1874)*, pp. 285-302

The article discusses some of the recent research that analyzes the relationship between local powers and statebuilding in the «short nineteenth century». The state experienced a loss of authority in favor of a plurality of political actors. Reciprocity, negotiation, and clientelism came to link state and

society. The relationship between the centre and the periphery became more complex. It was not only characterized by confrontation and resistance, but also by cooperation.

## Historia del Presente

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Ángela Cenarro

*La Falange es un modo de ser (mujer): discursos e identidades de género en las publicaciones de la Sección Femenina (1938-1945)*

The Women Section of the Falange's periodicals in the forties, *Medina* and *Y*, contributed to the construction and dissemination of ideals for womanhood accepted in the early period of Franco Dictatorship. Contrary to the thesis that the domesticity model, by virtue of which women were exclusively conceived as spouses and mothers, was reinforced and it emerged as the only referent for Spanish women in the postwar, the analysis of these periodicals confirms that the construction of gender models was a process permeated by tensions and contradictions. These were the legacy of social and cultural changes that had taken place in previous decades, as well as the experience of the Spanish Civil War that, by means of the active participation of thousands of women in the war effort, the dominant gender models in the Francoist side became redefined. Besides, altered these female publications reflected the fascist women's efforts to negotiate their place in Franco Dictatorship, as well as their desire to make visible their contribution to the 'New Spain'. To sum up, the article explores the construction of femininity in the Spanish postwar as a process defined by the instability instead of the imposition of a rigid and immutable model.

Teresa María Ortega López y Francisco Cobo Romero

*Guardianas de la raza». El discurso «nacional-agrarista» y la movilización política conservadora de la mujer rural española (1880-1939)*

This article intends to direct the attention towards the rural environment, with the proposal to study, in the chronological period between the late decades of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century, the history of the peasant women, these authentic unknown for the specialized historiography on contemporary age. As we will try to demonstrate, these peasant women began to be seen and recognized as essential and irreplaceable for the specialized observers of the period covered by our study. The political, social and economic changes that occurred in the above mentioned period, facilitated the gradual and differentiated incorporation of rural women into the reflections and discourses elaborated by many theorists, social analysts and politicians, mostly belonged to the ideological field of nationalist traditionalism. All of them began to highlight the essential role that rural women should play in the realization of a great and vast plan of national regeneration and homeland revaluation.

César Rina Simón

*Fascismo, nacionalcatolicismo y religiosidad popular. Combates por la significación de la dictadura (1936-1940)*

The rituals related to the popular religion were symbolic mechanisms of legitimation of a regime that was built on the foundations of a folk and sacred anointing. These celebrations allowed to represent palingenetic narratives of the Franco regime in ideal spaces for socialization. At the same time, the

potential of these rituals, deeply rooted in the Spanish society, developed them in scenarios of conflict of special interest to the contemporary historiography, which has impacted on the polyhedral ideological dimensions of the dictatorship. The multiple faces of the counterrevolution: fascists and fundamentalists, Catholics, and military members pushed to portray rituals as a means to represent the new State.

Mónica Moreno Seco

*Cruce de identidades: masculinidad, feminidad, religión, clase y juventud en la JOC de los años sesenta*

In the Sixties, an age of profound social change, political tensions and religious crisis, the evolution of gender identities in the YCW (Young Christian Workers) was influenced by intersectionality with other categories such as class, religion and youth. In this relevant Catholic Action organization, femininity and masculinity were constructed in relation to each other, first from complementarity discourse and then from the demand for equality between women and men. Work experience, Christian commitment and juvenile rebellion led to significant changes in the gender identities of YCW militants. These identities were also influenced by a change in religious discourse that, originally, sought a Catholic reconquest of Spanish society but moved towards dialogue with other political cultures and participation in the social and political movements which were undermining the francoist dictatorship.

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José Ramón Rodríguez Lago

*Las claves de Tedeschini. La política vaticana en España (1921-1936)*

The management of Federico Tedeschini as Nuncio in Madrid for fifteen years enables us to enter in the vision of the Papal curia about the development of events in Spain during the interwar period and the implementation of various ecclesiastical strategies adopted in pursuit of their interests. The analysis of the documentation generated by the Nunciature and by the Vatican Secretary of State brings to light how the internal dynamics of the Church in Spain were conditioned by a complex and dialectical interplay that it was experienced at that time for a corporation increasingly global and centralized.

Juan María Sánchez-Prieto

*El uso político de las conmemoraciones: el mito de Azaña y el sacrificio de Suárez*

The goal of this work is to take into account the figure of Manuel Azaña as a *lieu de la memoire* laying upon the commemorations of his birth and death, in 1980 and 1990, events which turned Azaña — reviled during the Francoist dictatorship — into an almost revered national icon. I will analyze the political use of Azaña in this context, particularly linked to the political quarrels to hold the political centre during the decade of socialist hegemony. This political use is not limited, as historiography has noted until now, to the partisan instrumentalization of that figure made by the new Partido Popular of Aznar at the beginning of the 90s. Tierno Galván and the former president Suárez have tried as well to use Azaña's memory. In the course of the commemorative decade, Suárez

projected in a original way the comparison with Azaña and, once created the CDS, looked for to transform the new party in the banner of the so called neoazañismo, in other words, a new PSP made to mesure for him, being helped to fulfill that project by Morodo. The recognition of the figure of Azaña by Aznar is easy to understand along this path, trying to appropriate with decisiveness that political legacy from Suárez, once this was politically sacrificed, as the latest stage of a series of iterative commemorative rituals.

## Pasado y Memoria

16 2017

José Luis Neila Hernández

*“Entre el palco y la butaca”: el apaciguamiento británico y el regeneracionismo internacional de la España de Primo de Rivera*, pp.47-67

The image of Spain in the United Kingdom, and especially in diplomatic spheres, during the General Primo de Rivera’s Dictatorship depicts a range of stereotypes rooted in English culture and other representations influenced by the historical context. It was a game of mirrors where topics like backwardness, inefficiency and orientalism –later encoded by Hispanism– coexisted with appeasing approaches. Appeasement would shape British attitudes toward Mediterranean dictatorships such as those of Italy.

Antoni Marimon Riutort

*Entre el humor y la política. La prensa satírica durante la Restauración: el caso de Mallorca*, pp. 149-175

This work analyses the development of the rather unknown satirical press, in the particular period of the Restoration (1874-1923). With the analysis of this type of media, restricted to a specific geographical area, we aim to explain the modernization process and the growing ideological plurality of the Restoration society. The satirical periodicals saw a considerable rise under the relative freedom of the press allowed by the regime. Both in the big cities and in the medium-sized towns, the publications which combined political and social criticism with high doses of humour proliferated.

Rafael Ruiz Andrés

*El proceso de secularización de la sociedad española (1960-2010): entre la historia y la memoria*, pp. 207-232

Spain, the former ultra-defender of Catholicism, becomes less Catholic every decade. In three ‘waves of secularization’ (Pérez-Agote), Catholicism, one of the basic features of Hispanic identity, has been diluted. This essay shows how secularization not only involves the progressive weakening of the belief, but it also conforms in itself a powerful narrative in the Spanish collective memory. Individuals, in their self-presentation as modern and rational beings, make use of a secular narrative that, in the case of younger groups, is strongly linked to an inherited memory than to an experienced process. In order to reflect about the challenges that the religious situation poses in the future of our world context, it is necessary to put our secular narrative between history and memory to understand the full picture.

## STATI UNITI

### American Historical Review

122 (3) 2017

Jennifer Luff

*Covert and Overt Operations: Interwar Political Policing in the United States and the United Kingdom*, pp. 727-757

This article reveals a startling episode unknown to contemporaries and historians: Britain's secret interwar bar on Communists in government service. Between 1927 and 1946, thousands of unwitting industrial workers suspected of Communist sympathies were investigated, and many were fired or blacklisted from government employment. Contrary to popular and historical accounts, the interwar British security regime was considerably more stringent than the American one. Moreover, these security regimes were enacted by legislatures, not imposed by executive fiat, and thus reflect the peculiarities of their respective political cultures. Comparing interwar American and British surveillance and policing of Communists shows that each state developed distinctive practices that varied along a covert/overt axis: both surveillance and policing could be surreptitious or conspicuous. Publicity alerted American civil libertarians, who left a record of noisy protest for historians, while secrecy concealed state repression from British citizens and the historical record. This article calls for more comparative research on modern political policing, which can enable historians to integrate the "secret state" into larger historical narratives and provide the empirical grist to revise theoretical accounts of state surveillance and social control by scholars such as Michel Foucault and Giorgio Agamben.

122 (4) 2017

Holly Brewer

*Slavery, Sovereignty, and "Inheritable Blood": Reconsidering John Locke and the Origins of American Slavery*, pp. 1038-1078

Historians of slavery in America—most notably Edmund Morgan—had their ideas shaped by the struggles of the Cold War, and debates over the connections between political and economic liberalism. As we have paid more attention to slavery, we have made increasingly strenuous efforts to rationalize slavery, democracy, and capitalism, efforts that have also occurred in other academic fields, ranging from philosophy to political theory to sociology and literature. Many of these efforts, for right or wrong, have focused on John Locke, a crucial figure of the Enlightenment and the beginnings of modern democratic ideals. In this article I contextualize Locke's ideas and actions with regard to slavery in the empire to argue that we need to begin with different assumptions and questions. Those policies did not emerge from Locke, but instead from those he argued against: the Stuart kings. To understand the origins of slavery, we need to pay more attention to how various laws and policies enabled it across the empire, to who was behind those policies, to who profited the most from those policies via customs on imported staple crops, and to how those policies were initially



rationalized. Slavery was created in legal pieces—pieces written, approved, and rationalized in hierarchical political contexts by Charles II and his brother James II. They had origins in older feudal law, with new innovations to make them more capitalist—but the larger rationale was in principles of absolutism and the divine rights of kings. There are powerful connections between monarchy, oligarchy, lordship, and slavery; all emphasize hereditary status. It took force to implement and get access and control enslaved labor and collect taxes; the power of empire was critical to each part of slavery’s development. When Locke had real power in the 1690s on the Board of Trade, he helped to reform Virginia laws and government, objecting especially to royal land grants that had rewarded those who bought “negro servants.”

Sven Beckert

*American Danger: United States Empire, Eurafrica, and the Territorialization of Industrial Capitalism, 1870–1950*, pp. 1137-1170

During the last third of the nineteenth century, a debate emerged in a number of European countries on the “American danger.” Responding to the rapid rise of the United States as the world’s most important economy, some European observers feared their nations’ declining competitiveness in the face of the territorial extent of the United States, and its ability to integrate a dynamic industrial sector with ample raw material supplies, agriculture commodities, markets, and labor into one national economy. This “second great divergence” provoked a range of responses, as statesmen, capitalists, and intellectuals advocated for territorial rearrangements of various European economies, a discussion that lasted with greater or lesser intensity from the 1870s to the 1950s. Their sometimes competing and sometimes mutually reinforcing efforts focused on African colonialism, European integration, and violent territorial expansion within Europe itself. Using the debate as a lens to understand the connections between a wide range of policy responses, this article argues that efforts to territorialize capitalist economies delineate a particular moment in the long history of capitalism; and it demonstrates the unsettling effects of the rise of the United States on European powers.

[122 \(5\) 2017](#)

Vanessa Ogle

*Archipelago Capitalism: Tax Havens, Offshore Money, and the State, 1950s–1970s*, pp. 1431-1458

This article traces the emergence of an archipelago-like landscape of distinct legal and economic spaces throughout the long midcentury. Consisting of tax havens, offshore financial markets, flags of convenience, and economic free zones, this archipelago allowed free-market capitalism to flourish on the sidelines of a world increasingly dominated by more sizable and interventionist nation-states. It argues that certain characteristics of the rise of free-market capitalism since the 1970s and 1980s were previously practiced in the offshore archipelago, only to move back to Europe and North America with the rise of neoliberalism.

Glenda Sluga

*"Who Hold the Balance of the World?" Bankers at the Congress of Vienna, and in International History*, pp. 1403-1430

By the early nineteenth century, the contingencies of more than two decades of continental wars had reinforced the indispensability of bankers and their networks to European governments. In a period when the term "international" was itself relatively new, bankers were historical agents in a new era of international politics and finance. The bankers, and their families, who gathered around the great congresses established by the statesmen of Europe to negotiate peace at the end of the Napoleonic Wars connect the political and economic strands of that international past. From the Congress of Vienna to the Congress of Verona (1814–1822), conventions of sociability offered bankers opportunities to expand and exploit diplomatic and commercial networks, and to advocate for humanitarian causes—Jewish rights in some cases, and Greek independence in others. This essay contributes to new histories of capitalism by restoring economic actors to the shifting transnational landscape of modern politics. In this history, bankers cultivated the norms that came to characterize the liberal tenets of a new international order, from the evolving language and practices of humanitarianism to the burgeoning market for nation-building sovereign debt.

## Diplomatic History

### 41 (1) 2017

Frédéric Bozo

*"We Don't Need You": France, the United States, and Iraq, 1991-2003*, pp. 183-208

In April 2003, against the backdrop of a severe deterioration of bilateral relations resulting from France's determined opposition to the recent American (and British) invasion of Iraq and from the George W. Bush administration's willingness to "punish" Paris for it, French President Jacques Chirac asked his diplomatic adviser to call his White House opposite number, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, to find out if the page of Franco-American discord could be turned. Chirac wanted to show good will: France was ready to cooperate with the United States to shape the future of Iraq, his message went. But Rice's response was icy: "We have paid our victory with our blood and treasure," she said, adding, "we don't need you."

### 41 (2) 2017

Sebastian N. Page

*"A Knife Sharp Enough to Divide Us": William H. Seward, Abraham Lincoln, and Black Colonization*, pp. 362-391

This article explores William H. Seward's opposition to Abraham Lincoln's pursuit of black colonization (resettlement) during the American Civil War. Although the existing literature has shown a cursory awareness of the two men's differences over that policy, scholars have failed to appreciate the full force of what was easily the strongest point of disagreement between the president and his secretary of state.

Drawing on archival research from three countries, this article explains why Seward opposed colonization. It charts how wartime colonization policy evolved and investigates why even Seward could discern some merit in the idea during the early part of the war. Above all, it demonstrates the dilemmas faced by a would-be saboteur of the presidential will, as well as the unintended consequences that can arise from an administrator's well-meaning interventions in policymaking.

### 41 (3) 2017

Kenneth Kolander

*Phantom Peace: Henry "Scoop" Jackson, J. William Fulbright, and Military Sales to Israel*, pp. 567-593.

This article analyzes congressional influence on U.S. relations with Israel during President Richard Nixon's first term in the White House. Importantly, congressional assertiveness significantly impacted the development of both the U.S.-Israel special relationship and the Arab-Israeli peace process, and also revealed coalescing conservative support for a closer relationship with Israel.

### 41 (4) 2017

Frédéric Heurtebize

*Eurocommunism and the Contradictions of Superpower Détente*, pp. 747-771

This article argues that Eurocommunism was an unwanted consequence of détente. By relaxing tensions between the superpowers, détente allayed fears of a communist threat in Western Europe and gave communist

parties more leeway to choose a semi-independent course that nearly brought them to power in Italy and France.

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Daniel Weimer

*The Politics of Contamination: Herbicides, Drug Control, and Environmental Law*, pp. 847-873

Extending the literature on environmental and diplomatic history, this article examines how herbicide use in U.S. drug control during the 1970s sheds light on the U.S. domestic politics of toxic chemicals, consumer protection, and the limits of U.S. environmental law in American foreign policy.

Gleb Tsipursky

*Domestic Cultural Diplomacy and Soviet State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Cold War, 1953–1962*, pp. 985-1009

Using the case study of the Cold War Soviet Union, this article explores what it terms “domestic cultural diplomacy,” namely government actions within their own borders to positively impact the opinions of foreigners, which it distinguishes from “foreign cultural diplomacy,” referring to state efforts aimed outside of its own territory. The article examines a range of Soviet internal cultural activities that had the goal of convincing foreigners that the USSR possessed an appealing and modern popular culture. The conceptual framework of domestic cultural diplomacy, it suggests, opens new possibilities for scholarly research on diplomatic history and foreign policy.

## Gender & History

[29 \(1\) 2017](#)

Kristen Loveland

*Feminism Against Neoliberalism: Theorising Biopolitics in Germany, 1978–1993*

Recent scholars have argued that feminism is the handmaiden of neoliberalism. This article suggests otherwise, offering a study of West German feminists in the 1980s. Responding to the advent of reproductive technologies, these feminists were pioneers in critically assessing the relationship between reproduction and neoliberalism. Radical feminists like Maria Mies argued that global capitalism allied with the state to coercively structure reproduction for its needs. For disability rights feminists like Theresia Degener, however, the state did not coerce; it produced citizens who willingly regulated their reproduction under a new eugenics from below. In analysing the marketisation of reproduction, German feminists developed a more sophisticated understanding of neoliberalism than critics today who simplistically theorise neoliberalism as the mere retraction of the state.

Lisa Featherstone

*'That's What Being A Woman Is For': Opposition To Marital Rape Law Reform In Late Twentieth-Century Australia*

From 1976 until 1994, Australian states and territories introduced a raft of reforms to sexual assault laws. Most of these were welcomed, and were seen to reflect women's changing status within a modernising society. One reform, however, was especially contentious. The British law had proclaimed that a woman could not be raped within marriage: the marital bond included a husband's right to sexual access to his wife. Following South Australia's lead, all Australian jurisdictions introduced changes to this law, making it a crime to rape a woman within marriage, either before or after separation. It was a fundamental challenge to the way familial authority was conceptualised, established and policed. In a period where feminism had infiltrated many layers of political and social life, we might expect that this change to the law would have been greeted with relief and even celebration. The response to changes to marital rape laws was, however, both muted and ambivalent. Even feminist groups did not offer unequivocal support, and in general public opinion was at best reserved. Further, many conservative groups understood the new laws as an assault on the sanctity of the family itself. Drawing on a wide range of sources in the mainstream and alternative media, as well as parliamentary debates, government enquiries, academic studies and legal reports, this paper will explore the multifarious responses to legislative change. It uncovers the complex ways sexual violence and female bodily autonomy were understood within and beyond the borders and boundaries of the home and family.

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Jialin Christina Wu

*Private Lives, Public Spheres: Contesting Child Marriage at the Age of Independence in British Malaya, 1950*

In October 1950, three Malay women, Hamida, Rugayah and Endon, granted an interview to Geoffrey Boland of the *Straits Times* to speak about their experiences as child brides and child-mothers. The

interview took place in the home of Che Zahara, the President of the Malay Women's Welfare Association (MWWA, Singapore). All three interviewees, the eldest of whom was nineteen, were married at thirteen or fourteen to men in their twenties and thirties. None of their marriages lasted beyond a year. Hamida and Endon were twice-divorced. Rugayah, Boland wrote, was 'the unluckiest of the three, having been married and divorced three times'.<sup>1</sup> Still, noted Che Zahara, they were 'more fortunate than girls of 16 or less, married to men of over 50 or 60, who ran away a few days after marriage in bewilderment and fear'. Speaking for all three, Hamida recounted that 'none of them knew what marriage meant at the time of their first marriages and later became afraid'. They concluded they were 'finished with men; we have no desire at all ever to marry again'.

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

[19 \(1\) 2017](#)

Javier Gil Guerrero

*Propaganda Broadcasts and Cold War Politics: The Carter Administration's Outreach to Islam*, pp. 4-37

After the Islamic revolution in Iran in early 1979 and the hostage crisis that began at the U.S. embassy in Tehran later that year, the Carter administration launched a public diplomacy campaign specifically directed at Muslims, the first of its kind. The idea was to counter the narrative of a Western crusade against Islam while highlighting the differences between the United States and militant Islam. In time, the damage control effort was transformed into an attempt to rally Muslims—both outside and inside the Soviet Union—against Soviet Communism. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan created an opportunity for the United States to bolster its standing in the Islamic world. Influencing Muslim opinion was no longer just a matter of delegitimizing the discourse of radical Islam, but also one of using the growth of religious sentiment among Muslims against the Soviet Union. The initiative's spearhead was the increased multilingual radio broadcasts directed at Muslim audiences across the globe.

Manolis Koumas

*Cold War Dilemmas, Superpower Influence, and Regional Interests: Greece and the Palestinian Question, 1947–1949*, pp. 99-124

This article discusses official attitudes toward the creation of the state of Israel from the eruption of the postwar international crisis in Palestine until the end of Arab-Israeli War of 1948–1949. In 1947–1949, Greek policy toward the Middle East was determined by a mix of regional, political, and ideological factors: the Greek security problem during the early Cold War era, including the Greek civil war; the existence of the Greek Orthodox Church of Jerusalem; the Greek government's need to take into account the position of the Greek diaspora community in Egypt; commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean; anti-Semitism; the need to secure Arab votes in support of the Greek question before the United Nations; and relations between Greece and its new superpower patron, the United States. Greek decisions were dominated by Cold War needs, but the United States did not impose policy on its junior partner.

[19 \(2\) 2017](#)

William Burr

*To “Keep the Genie Bottled Up”: U.S. Diplomacy, Nuclear Proliferation, and Gas Centrifuge Technology, 1962–1972*, pp. 115-157

In the 1960s and early 1970s, U.S. policymakers maintained a complex effort to limit the dissemination of gas centrifuge technology for enriching uranium, which they saw as an inherent nuclear proliferation risk. Recognizing that controls could not stop scientific research and development, U.S. officials nevertheless believed the overseas development of gas centrifuge technology could be slowed. To prevent further dissemination overseas, the United States supported cooperation with European allies that were already developing the technology. Cooperation involved implementation of secrecy and export controls, although a U.S. initiative to include Japan failed because nuclear secrecy was incompatible with Japanese law. The United States tried to deflect Japan's interest in the gas centrifuge by offering to share an alternative technology, gaseous diffusion, for enriching uranium. That initiative failed, but the U.S. government remained committed to keeping enrichment technologies under secrecy controls.

Tao Wang

*Neutralizing Indochina: The 1954 Geneva Conference and China's Efforts to Isolate the United States*, pp. 3-42

Based on declassified documents from the People's Republic of China (PRC), Vietnam, and the former Soviet Union, this essay examines China's policy toward the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indochina in relation to the United States. The article shows that Chinese leaders wanted to neutralize Indochina in order to forestall U.S. military intervention in the conflict, which, if it occurred, would directly threaten the PRC's southern flank. In pursuit of this objective, Chinese officials sought to exploit differences between the United States and its two main allies, Britain and France, and thereby induce U.S. policymakers to agree to end the first Indochina War between France and Vietnam. Because Chinese leaders worried that the United States might respond by trying to foment splits within the Communist camp, they worked to build a united front with the Soviet Union and North Vietnam, both of which shared Beijing's anxiety about U.S. intervention, and to convince the Viet Minh guerrilla leaders to make necessary concessions for a negotiated settlement at Geneva.

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Evanthis Hatzivassiliou

*The Crisis of NATO Political Consultation, 1973–1974: From DEFCON III to the Atlantic Declaration*, pp. 104-133

After war broke out between Arab countries and Israel in October 1973, the U.S. government asked its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to do the unthinkable: establish an agreed position on an ongoing “out-of-area” crisis. Then, on 25 October, the United States unilaterally raised the alert level of its armed forces to DEFCON III, affecting the NATO area without consulting any allies. These actions constituted a radical departure from established NATO practice and angered the Europeans. U.S. officials, for their part, were upset at what they saw as a dismal European failure to support U.S. objectives in the Middle East crisis. In subsequent months, NATO frantically searched for ways to improve consultation, especially on out-of-area issues. The outcome in 1974 was the promulgation of the Atlantic Declaration, along with a series of functional reforms in alliance



consultation procedures. The crisis forced NATO to adjust to the new trends of globalization that were rapidly becoming evident.

[19 \(4\) 2017](#)

Gregory Winger

*The Nixon Doctrine and U.S. Relations with the Republic of Afghanistan, 1973–1978: Stuck in the Middle with Daoud*, pp. 4-41

The overthrow of the monarchy in Afghanistan in 1973 was a seminal moment in the country's history and in U.S. policy in Central Asia. The return of Mohamed Daoud Khan to power was aided by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA, the Communist party) and military officers trained in the Soviet Union. Even as Communism was making its first substantive gains in Afghanistan, the United States was wrestling with how best to pursue its strategy of containment. Stung by the experience of Vietnam, President Richard Nixon concluded that the United States could not unilaterally respond to every instance of Communist expansion. In the turbulent years that followed, U.S. diplomacy and Daoud's desire for nonalignment combined to mitigate Soviet influence in Afghanistan. However, the U.S. triumph was fleeting insofar as Daoud's shift toward nonalignment triggered the erosion of Soviet-Afghan relations, culminating in the overthrow of his government and the final ascension of the PDPA.

Christoph Lorke

*Depictions of Social Dissent in East German Television Detective Series, 1970–1989*, pp. 168-191

This article discusses the processing of social dissent and its media relevance in East German society in the 1970s and 1980s. The *Gegenwartskriminalfilm* (contemporary crime movie) *Polizeiruf 110* and the courtroom television show *Der Staatsanwalt hat das Wort* are fruitful film sources for analyzing the specific ways in which social reality and social inequality were constructed and negotiated in the Communist state. Social images as mirror and manifestation of effective public attention to and the perception of social problems shed light on the social symbolic order: They reveal the opposition of “good” and “bad” behavior, with a contrast in their symbolic representations.

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Margarite Poulos

*"So that life may triumph": Communist Feminism and Realpolitik in Civil-War Greece*, pp. 63-86

The prominence of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) in the arena of postwar international peace and gender politics is now established. This article focuses on the shifting trajectory of the WIDF's Greek chapter, the Panhellenic Democratic Women's Union (PDEG), as Greece slid from a precarious peace after liberation to a full scale civil war (1946–1949). The PDEG witnessed a dramatic transition from its role as umbrella organization for the mass women's movement spawned by wartime antifascist resistance in Greece, to a vital support apparatus of the communist war effort, especially concerned with the plight of its ever-swelling female ranks. This article argues that the Greek chapter was far less of a "front" organization than a guardian of an increasingly endangered democratization agenda mobilized during the earlier resistance phase, which linked national political regeneration with women's active participation in the nation.

Mary Linehan

*Women in the 1968 Eugene McCarthy Campaign and the Development of Feminist Politics*, pp. 111-137

In 1968, Eugene McCarthy's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination brought new women into politics. United by a shared commitment to peace, McCarthy women helped to drive an incumbent president from office, opened peace talks with North Vietnam, nearly elected a maverick president, and permanently altered the power structure within the Democratic Party. Although their candidate lost the nomination, these women believed theirs was a victory with life-changing implications. McCarthy women confidently moved forward in the political realm because the movement encouraged and valued women's ways of organizing, empowered them with unprecedented opportunities for leadership and influence, and taught them to question the limits sexism placed on women's political participation. They created a Democratic feminist politics that endures today. The National Women's Political Caucus, Emily's List, and the careers of Barbara Boxer and Hillary Rodham Clinton are only part of this legacy.

29 (2) 2017

John Kelly Damico

*"We Had Better Pray the Women Win": White Women and Public School Desegregation in Mississippi*

This article investigates the unique role moderate, white southern women played in the public school desegregation battles in the early 1960s by focusing on the group Mississippians for Public Education (MPE) and its conflicts with the influential, segregationist Mississippi Citizens' Council. The MPE illustrates a unique form of social activism employed by sympathetic white southern women, whose tactics were influenced by their specific regional culture, generation, and historical times. These women engaged in a "maternalist form of political activism," using motherhood as a weapon and a shield against their critics.

Shobna Nijhawan

*International Feminism from an Asian Center: The All-Asian Women's Conference (Lahore, 1931) as a Transnational Feminist Moment*

This article focuses on the South-South encounters of Indian women from across the Indian subcontinent with women from other colonized countries (Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia) and the non-Western world (Afghanistan, Japan, Persia). Acknowledging an intricately interwoven history of the (Western-led) international women's movement, it shows how women in the interwar period networked across continental, regional, and national, as well as ethnic, linguistic, racial, and religious divides. The All-Asian Women's Conference that convened in British India in 1931 serves as an example thereof. Its objectives were to appreciate the qualities of what attendees identified as Asian womanhood in light of an international sisterhood and to speak in a unified voice on international and national political platforms. Notwithstanding the ephemerality of this pan-Asian project, its spirit may well be understood as international feminist, offering Third World and transnational feminist scholarship a historical account of an instance of women's international organizing headquartered in Asia.

Tadashi Ishikawa

*Human Trafficking and Intra-Imperial Knowledge: Adopted Daughters, Households, and Law in Imperial Japan and Colonial Taiwan, 1919–1935*

In the early 1920s, the League of Nations embarked on regulating human trafficking as a social problem and questioned colonial empires about how to regulate it within and outside of their territories. As this question affected the Japanese empire and colonial Taiwan (1895–1945), the metropolitan government utilized the international discourse about human trafficking to construct regulations for the border-crossing prostitution of under-age women. This translation of the international discourse about human trafficking enabled Japan to preserve adult prostitution and freed colonial Taiwan from the related effects of Japan's international agreement. These maneuvers also encouraged officials and the press based in Japan and Taiwan to associate prostitution with daughter adoption and further child abuse and parental authority, redefining the ideal of free will and movement. This article examines how Japanese criticisms of human trafficking evolved and intertwined in the Japanese colonial courts that adjudicated the adoption of Taiwanese daughters into households.

Michelle T. King

*Margaret Sanger in Translation: Gender, Class, and Birth Control in 1920s China*

During her first and only successful lecture tour in China in 1922, Margaret Sanger set out to enlighten Chinese audiences by sharing information from the West about the modern, scientific practice of birth control. But the lines of communication were not so transparent, and her Chinese interlocutors were not only passive recipients in the process. This article highlights how gender and class identities critically affected the translation of Sanger's message about birth control, through an analysis of Sanger's autobiographical writings and coverage of her visit in Chinese periodicals. Although Sanger was keen to limit the fertility of lower-class Chinese women, for the most part her contraceptive message resonated among educated, middle-class Chinese men. Focusing on the influence of these varied gender and class identities allows us to delimit the boundaries of birth control discourse for educated Chinese women, who are otherwise largely absent from the historical record.

Deborah Jordan

*The Role of Petitions in the Mobilization of Women for the Right to Vote: The Case of Queensland, Australia, 1894, 1897*

Women across the western world began to focus on obtaining the vote in the last decades of the nineteenth century. One of the first strategies of the specifically dedicated Women's Equal Franchise Association (WEFA) in Brisbane, Australia was to collect signatures calling for "one woman, one vote." The very wording of the petition became a point of contention in challenges over leadership of the new association. A subsequent, non-partisan breakaway group formed and also collected signatures. This article addresses the initiation, collection, and submission of the WEFA petition and the 1897 petition collected by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Addressing forms of political intervention amid contentious politics allows a more nuanced analysis of the broader women's movement's engagement with petitions, which were crucial in the formation of the more narrowly focused associations and participants' ongoing strategies. The often-vituperative representation of suffragists in the press highlights their achievements in mobilizing mass support for the vote and establishing a measure of legitimacy.

29 (4) 2017

Cassia Roth

*Policing Pregnancy: Reproduction, Poverty, and the Law in Early Twentieth-Century Rio de Janeiro*

At the turn of the twentieth century, women across the Americas experienced increased scrutiny over their reproductive lives. The Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro presents one crucial case study for understanding how the uneven process of modernization affected women's reproduction, and, in turn, how women negotiated these changes. This article explores police attitudes towards poor women's reproductive lives during Brazil's First Republic (1889–1930) and the early period of Getúlio Vargas's regime (1930–1937). During this time period, Brazil experienced a shift from familial to state patriarchy, and women's sexual lives—and honor—became public goods. I argue that police practice embedded patriarchal definitions of honor into modern judicial and societal attitudes toward women's bodies. As the state began controlling women's sexuality, the police played an active role defining and monitoring women's reproductive lives. But women actively negotiated police scrutiny over their reproduction in ways that complicated any monolithic consolidation of patriarchal norms.

Molly C. Ball

*Wife, Mother, and Worker: The Decision to Work in Early-Twentieth Century São Paulo*

This article examines the degree to which working-class women embodied the roles of wife, mother, and worker in early-industrial São Paulo, Brazil (1900–1930). By juxtaposing employment evidence from the Jafet textile factory with personal stories and anecdotal evidence, the article highlights the complex decisions these women made to return to and remain in the formal labor market. As workers, these women could work toward personal and family goals and gain some degree of personal satisfaction. For middle-class women, formal employment was often mutually exclusive from being a wife and mother. This was not the case for working-class women; nationality, however, impacted the degree to which working-class women entered the formal labor market. Married women in Spanish households sought employment in times of extreme economic necessity. In contrast, Italian mothers were more prominent in textile factories than either women of other nationalities or their single Italian cohort.

Elizabeth S. Manley

*Honest Citizens and a "Grave Moral Threat": Prostitution, Public Women, and Political Transition in Postdictatorial Dominican Republic, 1964–1978*

In 1966, following the demise of a brutal thirty-year dictatorship, the Dominican Republic faced a difficult political transition. President Joaquín Balaguer, collaborator in the previous regime, offered promises of democratization and progress. In response, citizens wrote copious letters decrying the brothels and women of the "licentious life" in their neighborhoods as a threat to the Dominican future. While the new regime endeavored to respond to their demands, it also sought national conciliation through the appointment of various female officials to political posts across the nation. For citizens, however, the capacity of the Dominican government to respond progressively and transparently to the "grave moral threat" of prostitution was the measure of the nation's capacity to heal and progress. In sum, citizen and government discourse surrounding the role of women in the public sphere reveals the centrality of the female body in the transition from authoritarian rule to the drama of national reconstruction.

## Perspectives on Politics

15 (3) 2017

A. Dahl

*The Black American Jacobins: Revolution, Radical Abolition, and the Transnational Turn*, pp. 633-646

While scholars of African American political thought have done a remarkable job centering focus on black thinkers, they still largely frame their endeavor in reference to the geo-political boundaries of the U.S. nation-state, thereby ignoring the transnational and diasporic dynamics of black politics. The consequence is that alternative traditions of thought in the Americas—e.g., Caribbean traditions—are cast as irrelevant to questions of racial exclusion in U.S. political thinking. I seek to correct nation-centric perspectives on U.S. political thought and development by demonstrating the utility of the «transnational turn». Drawing on the framework developed in C.L.R. James's *The Black Jacobins*, I trace how an influential cohort of abolitionists in the antebellum United States looked to the Haitian Revolution as a model for the overthrow of slavery. Engaging the writings and speeches of David Walker, James Theodore Holly, and Frederick Douglass, I then argue that radical abolitionists operated in the same ideological problem-space as Haitian revolutionaries and adopted a specific model of revolution as much indebted to Haitian political thought as Anglo-American models of anti-colonial revolt. By implication, racially egalitarian movements and moments in U.S. political development cannot be adequately understood with exclusive reference to national traditions of thought.

S. Dasgupta

*Gandhi's Failure: Anticolonial Movements and Postcolonial Futures*, pp. 647-662

M.K. Gandhi was the undisputed leader of India's struggle for independence. Yet his vision for postcolonial India was completely marginalized at the moment of decolonization. The article takes this seemingly paradoxical juncture as the vantage point from which to offer a critique of Gandhi's political thought and more broadly an analysis of the shift from anticolonial movements to postcolonial rule. Through the voices of Gandhi's two most significant contemporary critics—B.R. Ambedkar and Jawaharlal Nehru—the article shows how his ideas failed to either inspire the struggle of the ruled (Ambedkar), or address the anxieties of the would-be rulers (Nehru). Gandhi's vision for a postcolonial India persisted within the conceptual constellation of negating colonial modernity, rather than the historical possibilities of postcolonial futures. These predicaments provide an opportunity to analyze the persistence of modern western political imaginaries in the decolonized world. Not through mere assertions of continuity or mimicry, but rather through the concrete struggles, aspirations, and anxieties that constituted the strands of those transitional moments.

A. McQueen, B.A. Hendrix

*Tocqueville in Jacksonian Context: American Expansionism and Discourses of American Indian Nomadism in Democracy in America*, pp. 663-677

Tocqueville's discussion of American Indians in *Democracy in America* is often read as the paradigmatic expression of a conventional story about American political expansion. This narrative

holds that westward expansion was easy, in part because American Indians did not offer much resistance. Historians of political thought and scholars of American Political Development tend to affirm this narrative when they read Tocqueville's text as suggesting merely that Indians are "doomed" to an inevitable extinction. Our interpretation here proceeds along different lines, with a greater focus on the ways in which contending Jacksonian-era discourses of Indian nomadism are represented in Tocqueville's text. We argue that Democracy reflects complex and often competing descriptions of inherent Indian nomadism, retreat, and removal, with varying attributions of causal responsibility for disappearing Indian populations. This reading of Tocqueville highlights contentions about Indian removal that are often ignored or neglected in current scholarship, and can therefore help us to better appreciate both his text and his time.

## Studies in American Political Development

31 (1) 2017

Milkis, S., & York

J. Barack Obama, *Organizing for Action, and Executive-Centered Partisanship*, pp. 1-23

This article examines the historical significance of Barack Obama's creation of "OFA," a presidential grassroots organization. It attempts, as Theda Skocpol has put it, to analyze American political development "as it happens." Born as "Obama for America" during the 2008 campaign, OFA was renamed "Organizing for America" and ensconced in the Democratic National Committee during Obama's first term, where it served as the "grassroots arm" of the party. After 2012, it was spun off as a nonprofit social-welfare entity called "Organizing for Action" dedicated to advocating for Obama's second-term objectives: immigration reform, efforts to fight climate change, gun safety legislation, LGBT rights, and the implementation of health reform in the face of continuing intense opposition. That OFA was kept intact after Obama's successful election and reelection efforts marks it as an especially pioneering effort. Making use of several personal interviews, a wealth of primary documents, and data on spending and mobilization tactics, we explain how Obama's paradigm-shifting organization marked an effort to meet the challenges of forging a new progressive coalition in a fractious polity. More broadly, the article considers how this digital age grassroots effort has been influenced by, and in turn has contributed to the advance of an executive-centered partisanship characterized by high expectations for presidential leadership in a context of widespread dissatisfaction with government, strong and intensifying political polarization, and high-stakes battles over the basic direction of domestic and foreign policy programs.

Ericson D.

*The United States Military, State Development, and Slavery in the early Republic*, pp. 130-148

The U.S. military was the principal agent of American state development in the seven decades between 1791 and 1861. It fought wars, removed Native Americans, built internal improvements, expedited frontier settlement, deterred slave revolts, returned fugitive slaves, and protected existing property relations. These activities promoted state development along multiple axes, increasing the administrative capacities, institutional autonomy, political legitimacy, governing authority, and coercive powers of the American state. Unfortunately, the American political development literature has largely ignored the varied ways in which the presence of slavery influenced military deployments and, in turn, state development during the pre-Civil War period.

31 (2) 2017

Fordham B.

*Protectionist Empire: Trade, Tariffs, and United States Foreign Policy*, pp. 170-192

Between 1890 and 1914, the United States acquired overseas colonies, built a battleship fleet, and intervened increasingly often in Latin America and East Asia. This activism is often seen as the precursor to the country's role as a superpower after 1945 but actually served very different goals. In contrast to its pursuit of a relatively liberal international economic order after 1945, the United States



remained committed to trade protection before 1914. Protectionism had several important consequences for American foreign policy on both economic and security issues. It led to a focus on less developed areas of the world that would not export manufactured goods to the United States instead of on wealthier European markets. It limited the tactics available for promoting American exports, forcing policymakers to seek exclusive bilateral agreements or unilateral concessions from trading partners instead of multilateral arrangements. It inhibited political cooperation with other major powers and implied an aggressive posture toward these states. The differences between this foreign policy and the one the United States adopted after 1945 underscore the critical importance not just of the search for overseas markets but also of efforts to protect the domestic market.

Jacobs, N. & Milks, S.

*Extraordinary Isolation? Woodrow Wilson and the Civil Rights Movement*, pp. 193-217

This article explores the contentious and dynamic relationship between Woodrow Wilson and a nascent, diverse civil rights movement from 1912 to 1919. The pivotal relationship between Wilson and the early civil rights movement emerged out of two concurrent and related political developments: the increasing centrality of presidential administration in the constitutional order and the growing national aspirations of political strategies and goals among reform activists. Not only do we illustrate an early form of social movement politics that was largely antithetical to the administration's objectives, but we also trace how the strategies adopted by civil rights leaders were contingent on an early, still-to-be institutionalized administrative presidency. We highlight Wilson's involvement in the racial unrest that emerged from the debut of the film *The Birth of a Nation* and in the race riots that accompanied the Great Migration and World War I in his second term. These early twentieth-century episodes legitimized a form of collective action and helped to recast the modern presidency as an institution that both collaborated and competed with social movement organizations to control the timing and conditions of change.

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

### [103 \(4\) 2017](#)

Rickford, R.

*We Can't Grow Food on All This Concrete': The Land Question, Agrarianism, and Black Nationalist Thought in the late 1960s and 1970s*, pp. 956-980

Russell Rickford examines pastoralist discourses within black nationalist theories of land and autonomy during the black power movement. In the 1960s many African American thinkers saw urban enclaves as sites of incipient black nationality. By the decade's end, many of these nationalists had embraced rural settings as alternative domains of black sovereignty. This shift in envisioning the ideal "land base" reflects nationalism's penchant for mythmaking as well as the resilience of black America's political and cultural quest for sanctuary and self-determination.

### [104 \(1\) 2017](#)

Dowd, G.E.

*Indigenous Peoples without the Republic*, pp. 19-40

Would indigenous peoples have done better without the American Revolution? Gregory Evans Dowd challenges the thesis that the Revolution, by creating a settlers' republic, imperiled American Indians more than had the British Empire. Examining North America on the eve of the revolution and the British settler colonies in Canada, Australia, Southern Africa, and New Zealand afterward, Dowd suggests that the American Republic, frequently ferocious though it was, was not exceptionally so. Native American nations, moreover, seized and still retain from American republicanism a concept of indigenous sovereignty largely unavailable in the other British settler colonies and their successor states. Indeed, by redirecting the British Empire northward and overseas, the Revolution endangered indigenous peoples abroad.

### [104 \(2\) 2017](#)

Jóhannesson, S.

*'Securing the State': James Madison, Federal Emergency Powers, and the Rise of the Liberal State in Postrevolutionary America*

Sveinn Jóhannesson investigates how James Madison and his Federalist collaborators dealt with the problem of creating and justifying special emergency powers in a polity that saw itself as republican. What would be the justification for allowing a government "of the people" to suppress an uprising by the people against their own government? Jóhannesson contends that to solve this problem, Madison engineered an ideological transformation into the nature of American government, inventing what we now call constitutional liberalism.

## **ALTRO**

### **Desarrollo Económico**

57 (221) 2017

Jorge Gelman

*La construcción del Estado en Buenos Aires y los derechos de propiedad. Una aproximación cuantitativa desde los juicios de desalojo, 1810-1863*, pp. 33-61

En este trabajo nos proponemos realizar un estudio de los juicios de desalojos producidos en el territorio de Buenos Aires, tanto en la ciudad como en el sector rural, en el medio siglo que sigue a la crisis del orden colonial. El interés por este tema tiene que ver por un lado con el objetivo de estudiar los procesos concretos de construcción del estado, evaluando su capacidad cambiante de regular los conflictos sociales, observando en este caso en qué medida diversos actores sociales apelan a la Justicia estatal para dirimir los diversos derechos sobre el uso y propiedad de la tierra y aceptan sus sanciones. De la misma manera los cambios en los juicios de desalojo pueden ser pensados como la expresión de la capacidad de distintos grupos sociales de promover o imponer cambios en los criterios de los derechos de propiedad al mismo estado, o el mantenimiento de los antiguos. Por otro lado este estudio plantea algunas hipótesis sobre un tema de interés creciente en la historiografía rural, las transformaciones en los criterios sobre los Derechos de Propiedad como un mirador privilegiado sobre los cambios en las relaciones sociales, la conflictividad social y la evolución de la desigualdad.

## Historia (Cile)

### 50 (2) 2017

Rodolfo Monteverde Sotil

*Política internacional de la posguerra del Pacífico, remodelación urbana y proyectos escultóricos de Lima: El monumento público a Francisco Bolognesi y a los caídos de la Batalla de Arica (1905)*, pp. 663-697

En 1905 se inauguró en Lima la plaza y el monumento dedicados a Francisco Bolognesi y sus compañeros muertos en el morro de Arica durante la Guerra del Pacífico (1879-1883). Sobre la base del papel que desempeñaron los monumentos y los espacios públicos limeños a fines del siglo XIX e inicios del XX, durante las delicadas relaciones entre Perú y Chile y las intenciones peruanas de fortalecer una unión diplomática con Argentina, analizaremos el proyecto para crearlos, sus características materiales intrínsecas y la ceremonia de sus inauguraciones; donde el invitado de honor principal fue el argentino Roque Sáenz Peña.

### 50 (1) 2017

Marcos Fernández Labbé

*“La tierra no es el cielo, pero el cielo comienza aquí en la tierra”. La cuestión del clericalismo en el campo político y el pensamiento católico chileno, 1960-1964*, pp. 11-47

El objetivo del presente artículo es reconstituir e interpretar un conjunto de opiniones y juicios referidos a la acción política de la Iglesia Católica, emitidos en el marco del espacio público y destinados a argumentar o poner en cuestión los alcances de dicha intervención a lo largo de la primera mitad de la década de 1960 en Chile, todo ello a partir de un marco interpretativo referido al proceso de secularización. Las fuentes utilizadas son en lo fundamental publicaciones emanadas desde el campo católico, así como de los sectores políticos presentes en el ámbito de la política formal del periodo. Como conclusiones se resaltan la eficacia y visibilidad de la opinión de inspiración religiosa en el espacio político del periodo y la evidencia de la persistencia del anticomunismo, el distanciamiento con respecto a las organizaciones políticas relacionadas con la derecha tradicional y la persistencia de fundamentos trascendentes para la comprensión de los objetivos de la acción política católica.

Marcela Ferrari

*La Democracia Cristiana argentina durante la dictadura cívico-militar y la transición temprana (1976-1985)*, pp. 49-77

Este artículo analiza al Partido Demócrata Cristiano de Argentina y sus prácticas durante un periodo de la historia argentina reciente comprendido entre el inicio de la última dictadura y 1985, cuando después de haberse recuperado la democracia el partido volvió a recurrir a la estrategia frentista. Se indagan especificidades de esta organización con base doctrinaria cristiana, pero no confesional, muy minoritaria, con significativo impacto en la sociedad durante las postrimerías del régimen militar y la transición democrática temprana como defensor de los derechos humanos. La perspectiva elegida para organizar la narración –basada en la consulta de documentos partidarios, prensa política y de circulación masiva– es la del doble juego partidario –electoral y de régimen. Los resultados de la

investigación realizada a partir de fuentes partidarias, periódicas, diarios de sesiones, entrevistas orales y testimonios escritos, sugieren matizar la caracterización de este partido como una organización de izquierda relativamente excepcional dentro del contexto latinoamericano.

Rafael Pedemonte

*Una relación tensa y ambivalente: el medio intelectual cubano ante “lo soviético” en los primeros años revolucionarios (1959-1966)*, pp. 141-173

Mediante un conjunto variado de fuentes, que incluye documentos de archivo, entrevistas y artículos de periódicos, este artículo busca demostrar que la Revolución cubana no fue desde un inicio un proyecto inspirado del comunismo “ortodoxo”. La intensidad del acercamiento con la URSS generó dudas y debates teóricos (incentivados por la tesis guevarista del “foquismo”) en un país donde muchos temían una integración pasiva en el campo socialista. Dentro del mundo intelectual, intensas polémicas estallaron en la década de 1960 (como la “polémica de los manuales” de 1966) reflejando sensibilidades divergentes ante “lo soviético”, así como una concepción distinta del papel del artista y de las vanguardias en la sociedad revolucionaria. La “normalización” de los lazos cubanosoviéticos, visible a fines de la década, fue posible tras un largo periodo de desacuerdos, aprehensiones y controversias doctrinarias.

## Kritika

18 (1) 2017

Masha Kirasirova

*The “East” as a Category of Bolshevik Ideology and Comintern Administration: The Arab Section of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East*, pp. 7-34

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Mustafa Tuna

*"Pillars of the Nation": The Making of a Russian Muslim Intelligentsia and the Origins of Jadidism* pp. 257-281

Boris N. Mironov, Nicholas Seay

*Cannon Fodder for the Revolution: The Russian Proletariat in 1917*, pp. 351-370

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Manfred Zeller

*Before and after the End of the World: Rethinking the Soviet Collapse*, pp. 591-601

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Michael David Fox

*Toward a Life Cycle Analysis of the Russian Revolution*, pp. 741-783

Jonathan Daly

*The Pleiade: Five Scholars Who Founded Russian Historical Studies in the United States*, pp. 785-826