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FRANCIA

[Histoire, Économie et Société](#)

3/2019

Vivien Bouhey, *Radiographie du mouvement anarchiste français de 1881 à 1894: Éléments pour servir une réflexion sur l'existence d'une internationale noire à la fin du XIXe siècle*

Alors que les historiens n'hésitent pas aujourd'hui à donner des définitions moins restrictives de ce qu'est une internationale, Vivien Bouhey prolonge ici la réflexion menée dans sa thèse sur le fonctionnement du mouvement anarchiste en montrant que celui-ci serait une internationale faible. Son article s'inscrit dans le cadre d'un débat sur l'existence d'une internationale anarchiste ouvert en 2009 par Marianne Enckell dans *Le Mouvement Social*.

38 2019

S. Neri Serneri, *La Résistance et la question du gouvernement*

En 1943, la chute du fascisme et l'occupation allemande imposèrent aux forces antifascistes italiennes de s'engager dans la résistance à l'occupant, mais aussi dans l'élaboration de nouvelles institutions démocratiques, rivalisant avec le projet conservateur de la maison de Savoie. Au travers des Comités de libération nationale (CLN), les partis antifascistes construisirent une direction unitaire du mouvement de résistance et ébauchèrent des formes de gouvernement démocratique, durant la période de la clandestinité elle-même. Puis, dans l'Italie libérée par les Alliés, à partir du printemps 1944, les CLN furent la base politique des gouvernements nationaux et locaux et soutinrent la convocation de l'Assemblée constituante. Cet article reprend les moments essentiels et les résultats de ce projet politique : les raisons de la force mais aussi des faiblesses des CLN, la compétition qui s'instaura entre les CLN, la monarchie et les autorités alliées. Dépassant les traditionnelles approches dichotomiques, on insiste ici sur le caractère progressif de la transition de la dictature fasciste au nouveau régime démocratique et on souligne la diversité des contextes et des acteurs qui en furent les protagonistes. Si, malgré des particularités, le dénouement des événements italiens ne se distingue guère des réalités européennes analogues, où prévalut une stabilisation modérée, cela ne signifie pas que le mouvement de Résistance, n'ait pas contribué, de façon déterminante dans ce contexte historique, à la reconstruction démocratique du pays.

M. Flores, *Epuration et procès en Italie durant la transition démocratique*

Lors des années de transition du fascisme vers la démocratie, la question de la justice et de l'épuration est décisive en Italie pour reconstruire un système démocratique. Les sanctions contre le fascisme, le processus laborieux et contradictoire d'épuration, l'amnistie très controversée proposée par le communiste Togliatti forment le contexte dans lequel se préparent des procès plus spectaculaires : contre les criminels nazis, les hiérarques fascistes mais aussi les résistants accusés de violences à la Libération.

V. Cirefice, *Démocratie ou partitocratie? Les rôles des partis dans les premières années de l'Italie républicaine*

La République italienne est régulièrement dénoncée, dans l'opinion publique comme dans une partie de l'historiographie, comme une « partitocratie », où les partis, oligarchies fermées, auraient confisqué le pouvoir. Revenant sur les différentes phases de cette dénonciation, née dès l'immédiat après-guerre, cet article se penche également sur l'action des partis à la Libération qui ont joué un rôle central dans la pacification sociale, l'apprentissage de la démocratie et la promotion, pour certains d'entre eux du moins, d'une diversité sociale.

F. Conti, *Heri Dicebamus? La franc-maçonnerie entre fascisme et démocratie*

L'article étudie le rôle de la franc-maçonnerie italienne durant la période de transition du fascisme à la démocratie (1943-1948). Il examine tout d'abord la façon dont se sont reconstituées les deux principales obédiences maçonniques : le Grand Orient d'Italie et la Grande Loge d'Italie, qui avaient dû se dissoudre en application d'une loi fasciste de 1925. L'article se concentre ensuite sur l'engagement politique de ces organisations maçonniques, en soulignant les profondes différences qui les distinguent. Le Grand Orient suivit en effet une orientation nettement démocratique, anticléricale et républicaine et accueillit dans ses loges de nombreux socialistes et communistes. Les divers groupes maçonniques héritiers de la tradition de la Grande Loge d'Italie furent, en revanche, surtout conservateurs, monarchistes et philo-catholiques. Dans son ensemble toutefois, la franc-maçonnerie n'eut plus alors – et à la différence de la période dite libérale – la capacité d'influencer l'opinion publique et de structurer le champ politique. Dans la nouvelle société de masse, malgré la vocation toujours bien vivante de ses membres à l'engagement politique, elle apparaît soudainement comme une forme d'association obsolète, incapable de faire entendre sa propre voix et de dicter l'agenda politique.

D. Menozzi, *Le Vatican du fascisme à la démocratie : les limites d'une transition*

Pie XII, qui au début de son pontificat avait promu un rapprochement avec le fascisme, adresse, en décembre 1942, un appel aux fidèles afin qu'ils interviennent directement dans la vie collective en vue de la reconstruction d'une société chrétienne. Deux années plus tard, il désigne la démocratie comme une voie pour sa réalisation. Il pose toutefois des conditions précises, en particulier l'attribution au gouvernement ecclésiastique du choix de son personnel de direction. S'établit alors un équilibre - qui limitera toutefois le plein accomplissement d'un ordre démocratique en Italie : l'Église assure l'adhésion populaire à la Démocratie chrétienne et cette dernière s'emploie à maintenir les privilèges garantis à l'Église par les accords du Latran de 1929.

Le Mouvement Social

1/2019 (266)

Isabelle Lucas, Stéphanie Ginalski, Thomas David, *Le recrutement des hauts dirigeants d'entreprises suisses (1910-1980)*

Jusqu'à une période récente, les rares études qui se sont intéressées aux dirigeants d'entreprises en Suisse aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles ont eu tendance à célébrer la figure du self-made man, parti de rien et parvenu à la fin de sa vie aux plus hautes positions de pouvoir. Cet article, qui porte sur l'origine sociale et la formation de plus de 800 hauts dirigeants des plus importantes entreprises suisses, actifs entre 1910 et 1980, s'inscrit en faux contre cette vision hagiographique. Il montre, confirmant les recherches sur le recrutement des grands dirigeants en Europe occidentale ou aux États-Unis, que l'origine sociale constitue le facteur le plus déterminant de la réussite. Deux spécificités helvétiques émergent toutefois. D'une part, quelques lieux de formation dominant, qui sont tous des établissements publics. D'autre part, l'armée joue un rôle important dans le parcours des dirigeants helvétiques. Ce lieu de sociabilité exclusivement masculin contribue à l'exclusion des femmes des centres de pouvoir économique.

3/2019 (268)

Timothy Stoneman, *La Voix protestante de l'Europe. Les évangélistes américains à la conquête des ondes européennes (1945-1965)*

Pendant les deux décennies qui suivirent la Seconde Guerre mondiale, des hommes de radio, évangéliques conservateurs américains, conçurent plusieurs grands projets pour porter la bonne parole en Europe, qu'ils voyaient comme le couronnement de leur projet de radio missionnaire mondiale. Lancer une «Voix de l'Europe» protestante émettant sur ondes moyennes leur posa une série de défis qu'ils n'avaient pas eu à relever en Amérique du Nord ou dans les pays du Sud. Le succès arriva par des voies inattendues, grâce au mouvement d'évangélisation de la jeunesse Youth for Christ et au baptiste et homme de radio débutant Paul Freed. En émettant depuis plusieurs sites commerciaux situés à la périphérie de l'Europe continentale, à Tanger, Monaco et aux Antilles néerlandaises, Freed développa une formule efficace associant la diffusion sous licence d'émissions religieuses américaines en ondes longues et courtes et des partenariats avec des évangélistes locaux. Une vision périphérique de la radiodiffusion européenne d'après-guerre nuance l'identification de la radio au territoire national, au service public et à l'entreprise d'État. Elle donne une place singulière à ces deux décennies d'après-guerre au sein du continuum de l'histoire de la radiodiffusion en Europe et d'une histoire globale de la radio.

Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos

Mariano Kloster, *Reflexiones sobre la actividad diplomática de la Confederación de Provincias Argentinas. El caso del Bloqueo Francés (1838-1840)*, in <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.78434>

The progress of the latest decades in political history agree to characterize the territory of the Río de la Plata in the nineteenth century as crossed by war. This general framework manifests diverse rhythms and characteristics depending on the context observed. Particularly, there are various dynamics in diplomatic negotiations, in order to end international conflicts. In the framework of the Blockade undertaken by France on the Río de la Plata between 1838 and 1840, in this work we address some diplomatic efforts undertaken by the Argentine Confederation on this issue. We analyse, through a varied set of documentary sources, the characteristics of the work of some of the officials who were in charge of foreign policy. Specifically, in two particular cases: the head of relations, Juan Manuel de Rosas, and minister Felipe Arana in front of an attempt of North American mediation and the diplomatic mission of Manuel de Sarratea in Rio de Janeiro. In this way, we analyze to the relational, cultural and political dimensions that characterize and organize the work of the foreign relations of the Confederation. Thus, we intend to make a contribution to this problem that has been scarcely addressed by historical studies.

Andrés Estefane, *Bureaucracy and State Knowledge: On the Production of Statistics in Chile (1750s-1870s)*, Debates, Online since 08 October 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/76841> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.76841>

This article studies the formation of the Chilean statistical service in a period that ranges from the last decades of colonial rule to the 1870's. The purpose of this chronology is to place the first republican scientific efforts in a broad time horizon, linking them with the proto-statistical researches ordered by the Spanish Crown during the second half of the eighteenth century. I argue that the colonial experience was crucial, but not determinant for the production of statistics in the early republican period. This line of continuity rested primarily on those intellectuals and bureaucrats who did research for the Empire and later performed similar tasks in the nascent republic. Such scientific heritage, however, started to change in parallel to the consolidation of the Chilean State, which brought about the development of a more robust and better anchored bureaucracy, the emergence of a specialized institution in charge of producing statistics, the increasingly national focus of the State research programs, and the inclusion of the local statistical production in global networks of knowledge exchange. By tracing the connections between scientific knowledge and State bureaucracy at provincial level, this article seeks to show the role statistics played in the forging of the Chilean State.

Bartolomé Yun Casalilla, *Globalizaciones versus imperios. Una perspectiva mundial sobre el nexo panameño en el siglo XVII*, in <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.78942>

The *Carrera de Indias* that linked Seville to Panama and carried Iberian peoples across the Atlantic has been considered the backbone of Europe's so-called early modern globalization and a motor of the "Rise of the West". The growth and decadence of this artery of Empire normally has been

approached by considering American economies independently from other, broader processes underway. Based on a critical discussion of the recent literature, this article puts the Panamanian crossing in a wider context. Situating Atlantic expansion as part of a more general process with multiple origins, it points to competing paths for early modern globalization. Tensions among these rival projects, which reached a height by 1640, elucidate both the *Carrera de Indias*' seventeenth-century crisis and the changes that subsequently took place in the Iberian empires. The history of globalization and the history of empires, usually studied as parallel and interrelated phenomena, are considered here from a perspective in which globalization could provoke an imperial crisis and reconfigure the Spanish empire.

Jimena Caravaca, Mariano Kloster, *Reflexiones sobre la actividad diplomática de la Confederación de Provincias Argentinas. El caso del Bloqueo Francés (1838-1840)*, in <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.78434>

The progress of the latest decades in political history agree to characterize the territory of the Río de la Plata in the nineteenth century as crossed by war. This general framework manifests diverse rhythms and characteristics depending on the context observed. Particularly, there are various dynamics in diplomatic negotiations, in order to end international conflicts. In the framework of the Blockade undertaken by France on the Río de la Plata between 1838 and 1840, in this work we address some diplomatic efforts undertaken by the Argentine Confederation on this issue. We analyse, through a varied set of documentary sources, the characteristics of the work of some of the officials who were in charge of foreign policy. Specifically, in two particular cases: the head of relations, Juan Manuel de Rosas, and minister Felipe Arana in front of an attempt of North American mediation and the diplomatic mission of Manuel de Sarratea in Rio de Janeiro. In this way, we analyze to the relational, cultural and political dimensions that characterize and organize the work of the foreign relations of the Confederation. Thus, we intend to make a contribution to this problem that has been scarcely addressed by historical studies.

Luis Miguel Donatello, *Cosmopolitismo anticospolita, Reafirmación identitaria y tranferts culturels: sobre algunas trayectorias y redes entre el nacionalismo argentino y francés*, in <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.78888>

This article proposes to put in dialogue categories from globalization's sociological theories with historiographies trends on nationalism. Specifically, counterrevolutionary nationalisms. In this way it builds a descriptive hypothesis based on three terms: anticospo cosmopolitism, identity reaffirmation and *trasmfert culturel*. Following this propose, it shows similitude and differences between three experiences, linked to West European World and Latin America, in general, both France and Argentina in particular. These experiences were in common a reciprocal character and not a one way influence. There are trajectories and networks Integral Roman Catholic's, *maurrasiens* and theoreticians of national security. According to this, it argues that cases worked let us elements to understand cases with actual analogies. At the same time, it underlies the place of institutions about, by adhesion or opposition, trajectories and networks will build. In this sense, it proposes a contribution to the dossier where article it's elevated. This objective is to describe different ways of intellectual and political circulations between Europe and Latin America since 19th century from

today. For these reasons, this article focuses on counterrevolutionary nationalisms from 20th century. Finally, from the point of view of political sociology, the conclusions try to work in a comparative framework. Specially, for cases superficially considered as marginal's.

Eduardo Raíces and Marcelo Borrelli, *A la búsqueda de un orden estable. La revista Carta Política, de la muerte de Perón al abandono del Pacto Social (1974)*, in <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.78714>

In this article we analyze the editorial position of the liberal-conservative orientation magazine *Carta Política* face of the political scene inaugurated with the death of President Juan Domingo Perón on July 1, 1974. Published for the first time in June 1974, it was characterized by expressing an "expert" analytical perspective, invested with "seriousness", based on the intellectual trajectories of its collaborators. In this paper we focus mainly on how the publication evaluated the process of abandoning the Social Pact, the economic policy that had inaugurated Peronism in its return to power in 1973, and the readjustment of social actors against the new reality pos-Perón. Likewise, we will study its position in relation to the new government of its successor María Estela (Isabel) Martínez de Perón, the spiraling process of armed violence and the role that the Armed Forces began to assume in this context in the repressive task. The main hypothesis of the work is that for the magazine, the Social Pact did not ensure by itself the mechanisms of social reconciliation that boosted it in its origin, so the economy had to disengage from its regulations to ensure productive capacity and business profitability, but maintaining institutional stability as an indispensable prerequisite.

[Parlement\[s\]](#)

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François Chaubet, *La fondation du Congrès pour la liberté de la Culture (juin 1950) et les luttes idéologiques de guerre froide entre libéralisme et communisme*

À partir de juin 1950, le Congrès pour la liberté de la culture devint l'un des principaux et prestigieux acteurs culturels anti communistes de la Guerre froide. Constitué d'un réseau d'intellectuels européens (A. Koestler, R. Aron, I. Silone) et américains (J. Burham), il s'attacha à combattre le puissant sentiment philo-communiste présent en Europe de l'Ouest au début des années 1950, en organisant des festivals et des symposiums ou en créant des revues. Il défendit les valeurs de liberté et de pluralisme et fit un usage polémique de la notion de régime « totalitaire » pour mieux discréditer l'URSS. Toutefois, le Congrès était divers dans son anticommunisme, et une version modérée de celui-ci l'emporta, soucieuse de réconcilier les valeurs de liberté et d'égalité.

Frédéric Attal, *La Fondation Rockefeller, les sciences politiques et l'Europe : la circulation d'un savoir stratégique durant la guerre froide*

Cet article aborde l'introduction des sciences politiques dans les universités italiennes sur l'instigation des fondations philanthropiques étatsuniennes. Il entend démontrer que si le contexte politique et international de Guerre froide n'est pas étranger à l'intérêt que les fondations éprouvent pour ce « savoir stratégique », il serait erroné de conclure que son développement serait une greffe imposée par les États-Unis dans le cadre d'une américanisation supposée du champ académique européen.

Sophie Cœuré, *La réception de L'Archipel du Goulag et d'Alexandre Soljénitsyne en Europe occidentale et aux États-Unis (1974-1978) : un choc médiatique de guerre froide*

Cet article présente l'analyse critique comparée de trois documents : un rapport de la police politique soviétique (KGB) sur la parution de L'Archipel du Goulag (1974), une lettre du sénateur Jackson souhaitant à A. Soljénitsyne la bienvenue dans « le monde libre », et un extrait du Grain tombé entre les meules. Esquisse d'exil, dans lequel l'auteur évoque les réactions de la presse occidentale (1978). L'étude permet de décrypter le mécanisme d'un choc de grande ampleur, mobilisant à divers titres les gouvernements et les médias, et révélant toute l'importance de la culture dans le soft-power des années 1970. Les effets en seront incontestablement considérables, contribuant fortement à accélérer la dégradation de l'image du régime soviétique en Occident. La question du totalitarisme devient un débat transnational.

Philippe Tétart, *Le boycott des Jeux de Moscou (1980) : les athlètes à l'écran, entre impossible deuil d'un accomplissement sportif et sens de la responsabilité*

En 1980, les États-Unis boycottent les Jeux de Moscou. En France, la télévision s'interroge sur un possible alignement sur cette décision. Elle interroge des sélectionnés olympiques, qui s'inquiètent d'une telle perspective. À leurs yeux, le boycott déprécie la valeur des Jeux, dont la portée est autant

politique que sportive. En ne cachant pas leur sens critique vis-à-vis du régime soviétique et du choix américain, ils plaident pour la neutralité sportive et la souveraineté française, avec l'espoir de pouvoir aller au bout de leur quête compétitive.

Chloé Maurel, Jeux d'influence et rivalités internationales au sein de l'UNESCO naissante. Rapport d'un diplomate français à son gouvernement, au sujet de l'UNESCO (fin 1946)

Le rapport de 1946 d'un diplomate français à son gouvernement révèle les luttes d'influence au sein de l'Unesco naissante entre les pays anglo-saxons et les pays latins. Si la France a obtenu le siège de l'Unesco, les États-Unis ont déjà pris une forte influence dans la jeune organisation, grâce au financement important qu'ils y apportent, et à la nomination de fonctionnaires anglo-saxons aux postes clés. Mais la France, elle aussi, mène des efforts importants pour gagner de l'influence à l'Unesco, en y promouvant ses intellectuels et artistes. Elle peut s'appuyer sur des pays francophiles comme l'Italie et le Liban. Les pays du Sud se montrent, eux, inquiets d'un possible impérialisme américain à l'Unesco. Entre la France et les États-Unis, il y a une différence de conception sur ce que doit faire l'Unesco : promouvoir la culture classique, élitiste, pour la France, ou la culture de masse, par l'intermédiaire des mass media, pour les États-Unis. Ces clivages et différences de conception vont perdurer longtemps au sein de l'Unesco.

Pouvoirs

169 2019

J. Rupnik, *Démocrature en Europe du Centre-Est : trente ans après 1989*

Democratorship in Central-Eastern Europe: Thirty Years after 1989

Central Europe is making a comeback in the perceptions of the West, but for reasons opposite to those of 1989. It is no longer democratisation, but on the contrary the authoritarian regression called “illiberal democracy” that is focusing attention. Thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the notion of democratic society is opposed to that of open society. How can we explain such a turnaround? What are its main features and how can we define such hybrid regimes that are moving away from liberal democracy while not embracing dictatorship?

Marc Lazar, *Une nouvelle épreuve pour la démocratie italienne*

A New Trial for Italian Democracy

Italy is experiencing an unprecedented situation with a government based on an unholy alliance between two populist parties, Matteo Salvini’s Lega and Luigi Di Maio’s Five Star Movement, which have diverging interests. These parties are trying to invent forms of direct democracy and are contributing to the establishment of a “peoplocracy”.

Philippe Braud, *Les démocraties libérales sont-elles mal-gouvernables ?*

Are Liberal Democracies Badly Governable?

Is democracy the best conceivable government system? This idea, which was widely shared during the second half of the 20th century, seems to be challenged today. Would authoritarian regimes not be more efficient in the pursuit of their long-term goals? Does not the hyper-critical atmosphere that exists under liberal regimes paralyse political ambitions? Despite its apparent vulnerability and undisputable defects, democracy possesses a plasticity that provides it with a superior adaptability to the long-term trends of modern societies.

Relations Internationales

177 (1) 2019

Naïma Maggetti, *La Grande-Bretagne à l'ONU dans les années 1940 et 1950 : sa défense d'un colonialisme « libéral et éclairé »*

Dès sa création l'Organisation des Nations Unies se présente comme une organisation tutélaire des droits de l'Homme, des peuples opprimés et une tribune pour la lutte anticoloniale. Cependant, cette insistance sur l'image de l'ONU en tant qu'arène d'internationalisation de la critique coloniale fait écran à son utilisation comme tribune de légitimation du colonialisme par les colonisateurs, notamment le gouvernement britannique, lesquels comprennent rapidement l'importance de l'Organisation pour la réaffirmation des politiques impériales. La perspective adoptée dans cet article permet de montrer comment, de la fondation des Nations Unies, en 1945, aux années 1950, les Britanniques, mis en difficulté dans le contexte anticolonialiste d'après-guerre, cherchent à faire de l'ONU une tribune pour asseoir la légitimité internationale de leur Empire en usant de l'argument du développement économique et social des colonies.

Kévin Wursthorn, *Les compagnies pétrolières et le développement des pays du golfe Arabo-Persique dans les années 1950*

Au début des années 1950, l'exploitation pétrolière des pays du golfe Arabo-Persique était récente. La région restait sous-développée alors que les revenus colossaux générés par l'exploitation pétrolière profitaient essentiellement à une minorité proche du pouvoir. Ce contraste inquiéta les puissances occidentales, de plus en plus dépendantes du Golfe pour leur approvisionnement en pétrole, et les poussa à agir. Les grandes compagnies pétrolières devinrent un outil idéal pour favoriser le développement local sans augmenter significativement l'aide au développement. Cet article examine les raisons, les actions et les intérêts qui ont poussé les compagnies pétrolières à favoriser le développement des pays du Golfe dans les années 1950.

178 (2) 2019

Ilaria Parisi, *L'indépendance européenne en question : la France et la crise des euromissiles (1977-1987)*

La crise des euromissiles affecte la sécurité du continent européen et ainsi le projet politique d'une Europe « troisième puissance », dans lequel la politique d'indépendance française trouve son épanouissement. C'est donc pour préserver sa politique européenne, axe majeur de sa politique extérieure, que Paris s'implique dans la crise des euromissiles. Bien que dans des styles différents, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, puis François Mitterrand poursuivent les objectifs suivants : le rétablissement de l'équilibre militaire au niveau des forces nucléaires américano-soviétiques de portée intermédiaire ; le renforcement de la cohésion atlantique face à la nouvelle menace soviétique ; l'exclusion de toute prise en compte de la force de frappe, ressource ultime de la défense nationale, dans les négociations nucléaires américano-soviétiques.

180 (4) 2019

Grace A. Ballor, *Du « défi américain » à l'expansion européenne : les relations économiques transatlantiques des années 1950 aux années 1970*

L'histoire économique des relations transatlantiques d'après-guerre s'est articulée autour de deux discours prédominants : l'aide américaine à la reconstruction de l'Europe par le plan Marshall et « le défi » des investissements des entreprises américaines en Europe. Mais peu de recherches ont lié ces deux éléments. De plus, les études existantes ont négligé l'expansion des entreprises européennes outre-Atlantique. Cet article tâchera de remédier à ces deux lacunes de la recherche en examinant les relations transatlantiques sous l'angle des entreprises. En particulier, le cas de l'épicier belge Delhaize, sa participation aux programmes d'assistance technique des États-Unis dans les années 1950, les défis qu'il a dû relever dans les années 1960, et son expansion sur les marchés des États-Unis dans les années 1970 offrira une nouvelle dimension à l'histoire des relations transatlantiques au cours du XX^e siècle et l'histoire de la mondialisation.

69 (1) 2019

M. Le Boulay, *Mettre l'Europe en boîtes. L'édification des archives historiques de l'Union européenne*, pp. 25-45.

Monument en trompe-l'œil dans la mesure où nombre de documents n'y sont pas accessibles, les Archives historiques de l'Union européenne (AHUE) restent malgré tout l'un des éléments matériels et symboliques incarnant le pouvoir européen. Cet article montre qu'elles sont le fruit de la mobilisation de divers acteurs : institutions communautaires (au premier rang desquelles la Commission), acteurs historiques de la construction européenne, mais aussi historiens et archivistes. Ces « coentrepreneurs d'archives » ne sont pas uniquement animés par le souci de légitimer l'Union européenne. Malgré des conflits, ils coopèrent et privilégient une histoire officielle, celle des institutions et des dirigeants, au détriment d'autres visions de l'Europe moins héroïques qui ont été envisagées mais bientôt abandonnées. L'effet de ces archives sur les publications scientifiques doit cependant être nuancé, car les chercheurs utilisent aussi des sources complémentaires.

69 (2) 2019

C. Péchu et al., *De nouveaux mouvements sociaux durant les années 1968? Penser la structuration localisée des engagements «soixante-huitards» en Suisse*, pp. 33-63.

Pour reconsidérer la thèse de l'apparition de « nouveaux mouvements sociaux » et de nouveaux clivages, cet article s'intéresse aux liens que les organisations politiques et du mouvement social entretiennent les unes avec les autres. Dans une perspective d'analyse localisée, il compare la structuration de l'espace militant constitué par les appartenances organisationnelles des « soixante-huitards » engagés à Genève et Zurich, cartographié au moyen d'analyses de correspondances multiples (ACM). Les années 1968 voient bien se développer partout des engagements un peu à part, centrés sur la dénonciation des formes de domination autres qu'économiques. Mais ce ne sont ni les mêmes militants, ni les mêmes organisations qui peuplent ces types de militantisme dans les deux villes. Une telle analyse montre aussi que les mêmes labels doctrinaux revendiqués ne signalent pas forcément une proximité des engagements.

69 (4) 2019

D. Copello, *Faire la révolution par les droits de l'homme. Un phénomène d'imbrication militante dans l'Argentine des années 1970 et 1980*, pp. 577-600.

Cet article propose de revisiter l'opposition, classique en histoire des idées politiques, entre gauches révolutionnaires et droits de l'homme. À partir de l'analyse d'une organisation militante argentine des années 1970 et 1980, on y montre que le militantisme pour les droits de l'homme peut se combiner de plusieurs manières au militantisme révolutionnaire. Des logiques de simultanéité temporelle, de superposition subjective et organisationnelle, et des processus de réfraction entre espace des droits de l'homme et champ politique sont alors mis en évidence, l'imbrication de ces deux univers devenant une donnée fondamentale pour en comprendre les évolutions. L'intérêt d'une histoire contextuelle

des idées à partir de leurs usages, intégrant l'analyse des dynamiques militantes à l'étude du fait intellectuel, se trouve ainsi souligné.

GERMANIA

[Comparativ](#)

1 2019

Hajo Frölich, *Real Animals: Nationalism and the Practice of Zoological Research in China, 1900s–1930s*, pp. 22-43

When, in the early twentieth century, zoology as an academic subject was established in China, its first agents did all they could to distance themselves from earlier Chinese forms of researching animals. Instead, Chinese zoologists – many of whom had studied abroad – emphasized the complete novelty of their discipline and how it, like many other new branches of science, would contribute to making the Chinese nation “rich and strong” again. Yet by taking a closer look at China’s first scholarly journals devoted to zoology, this article demonstrates how in various ways, the new field was in fact also characterized by continuities and by references to “traditional” ways of studying animals in China. I suggest that such continuities should be read as conscious if understated attempts at self-assertion within an increasingly global scientific community. Thus, Chinese zoology doubtless was a hybrid undertaking far from having severed all connections to the country’s past. From the 1900s to the 1930s, however, both a cursory look as well as the rhetoric of Chinese zoologists suggested otherwise. This contradiction is explained by referring to the global political context as well as the role of nationalism.

2 2019

Stefan Rinke, Frederik Schulze, *Global History avant la lettre. The Historiography on Latin America between Regional Studies and Global Challenges*, pp. 20-35.

The article traces the relationship between Latin American history and global history and argues that both fields serve an important bridging function for each other. While Latin American history can help to overcome the opposition between global history and historical area studies, global history can contribute to reconciling Latin American history with the parent discipline by integrating Latin America as an integral part of a global historiography. Due to its interdependencies and hybrid history, already established in the early modern era, Latin America is especially fruitful for global historical questions.

German History

1 2019

Gerald Kirwin, *Radio from a Sinking Ship: Nazi Domestic Broadcasting in the Last Months of the Second World War*, PP. 21-37

Since the Battle of Stalingrad in winter 1942/43, a rift had been growing between Nazi propaganda claims and the reality of almost uninterrupted military setback. By the final months of the war, with the Allies rapidly advancing across Germany, this contradiction reached a new level. This article is a case study of the German domestic radio service from January to May 1945 as it was confronted with an unrelenting crisis that ended in total defeat. Using original sources, it focuses on radio policy and tactics, as mirrored in the radio conferences at the Propaganda Ministry, the programmes broadcast and listener response. The dual and irreconcilable courses characterized, on the one hand, by a clinging on to normality, echoed in the programme schedules and, on the other, by outpourings from a dying propaganda machine, including the Radio Werewolf venture, are examined. However, the article first sets the limits within which Nazi radio was forced to operate. Here access to its audience in light of massive technical problems and inroads by Allied stations that broadcast to the Reich play a key role. Among the interesting aspects covered in the study is the resumption of religious broadcasting.

Pamela E Swett, *Neither Too Hard, nor Too Soft: Hellmuth Heye, the Quick Controversy and West Germany's 'Citizens in Uniform'*, pp. 54–76

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

2 2019

Julia E Ault, *Defending God's Creation? The Environment in State, Church and Society in the German Democratic Republic, 1975–1989*, pp. 205–226

This article re-examines the place of the environment in the German Democratic Republic in the last decade and a half of its existence. It traces the Socialist Unity Party's claims to protect the environment and asks how the state's failure led to the rise of an ecological movement based in the Protestant Church, and, ultimately, how environmental principles expanded beyond the structures of the Church, while still retaining an important religious component. Previous scholarship has viewed the environment as an explicitly oppositional concern—typically focusing on East Berlin's Environmental Library—that led directly to the autumn of 1989. In contrast, this article argues the environment drew support from many segments of East German society that interacted and overlapped over a longer period. Pollution affected everyone in the GDR, to varying degrees, and therefore resonated with a wide range of citizens. The environment complicated the relationship between state, society and opposition, breaking down traditional dichotomies while unifying many East Germans around a common concern.

4 2019

David Hamlin, *The Reichsbank and German War Aims in 1918*, pp. 500–516

German war aims in 1918 were shaped in part by a consensus among German policy-makers, but also in part by competing visions of national security. The growing conviction that economic production and access to raw materials shaped German perceptions of security. For some, this meant control over an extensive network of production facilities in Eastern Europe. For others, the viability of the Mark as a stable means of exchange took priority. The ways in which these competing visions were negotiated could result in more radical goal as in Lithuania and Courland, or might limit the extension of German influence, as in Ukraine. In particular, the financial concerns of the Reichsbank and Treasury alternately obstructed and radicalized German policy in the former Russian Empire. Both bodies feared that any substantial outlays to secure control over productive assets would endanger the stability of the Mark, but both favoured extending controls over Lithuania and Courland for the same reason. The article highlights competing forms of domination advocated by different branches of the German government and the impact intramural fights had on German expansionism. It also underlines the significance of the financial components of German expansion.

Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht

70 (9-10) 2019

Frank Bajohr, *Trends der Holocaustforschung seit den 1990er Jahren. Errungenschaften, Wandel, Probleme und Herausforderungen*, S. 485 – 496

La ricerca sull'Olocausto ha conosciuto un boom internazionale a partire dagli anni Novanta. Questo articolo delinea le principali tendenze e i punti focali di questo sviluppo e si interroga soprattutto sui cambiamenti rispetto ai precedenti approcci della ricerca. La classica distinzione tra perpetratori, vittime e spettatori sta cedendo sempre più il passo a una storia di ampio respiro del costume e della società, che va oltre le categorizzazioni statiche per indagare i cambiamenti dinamici di ruolo. Infine vengono esaminati criticamente i problemi attuali della cultura della memoria e della rappresentazione dell'Olocausto nei media e nei memoriali.

70 (5-6) 2019

Guido Hausmann, *Brest-Litowsk 1918. Zwei Friedensschlüsse und zwei Historiographien*, S. 271–290

I trattati di pace conclusi dalle potenze centrali con la Russia sovietica e l'Ucraina nel 1918 rivestono scarso interesse per l'attuale ricerca storica di lingua tedesca, anche se sono di fondamentale importanza soprattutto per la storia delle relazioni della Germania con l'Europa centrale e orientale nel XX e XXI secolo. Lo scarso interesse è più marcato nei confronti della cosiddetta "pace del pane" con l'Ucraina, il primo trattato di pace della prima guerra mondiale, rispetto alla cosiddetta "pace della dittatura" con la Russia sovietica. Questo saggio esamina la storiografia russa e ucraina dei due accordi di pace per giungere ad osservazioni sulle differenze e sui cambiamenti interpretativi dal periodo tra le due guerre ad oggi.

70 (5-6) 2019

Marie-Janine Calic, *Das Abkommen von Dayton Die Fortsetzung des Krieges mit anderen Mitteln*, S. 326–338

Alla fine dell'estate del 1995 è arrivato il "momento propizio" per la conclusione della pace in Bosnia ed Erzegovina. Gli accordi di Dayton, tuttavia, si sono limitati a fermare i conflitti relativi alle cause, ma non sono stati realmente in grado di risolverli o trasformarli. Fino ad oggi, gli interessi e gli obiettivi delle parti sono rimasti sostanzialmente invariati. In una certa misura, anche gli attori sono gli stessi. Per esempio, a più di vent'anni dalla fine della guerra, il paese è profondamente diviso e non c'è un'intesa sul modo di intendere lo stato. Anche se la guerra calda è finita a Dayton, la pace non è stata ancora vinta.

Geschichte und Gesellschaft

1 2019

Lisa Dittrich, *Europäischer Antiklerikalismus. Eine Suche zwischen Säkularisierung und Religionsreform*, pp. 5-36.

Building on recent studies of the European culture wars in the second half of the nineteenth century, the article expands on the constructivist thesis about secularization of genuine religious questions. Based on examples from France, Germany, and Spain, the article shows that anticlericalism was not necessarily anti- or areligious, but rather that it frequently consisted of a search for new concepts of religion and sacralization. Thus, the article concludes that anticlericalism is part of the pluralization of the religious field.

2 2019

Morten Reitmayer, *Die Elitesemantiken einer Klassengesellschaft. Großbritannien im 20. Jahrhundert*, pp. 191-221.

The article reconstructs the terms used to describe the holders of top social positions in Great Britain during the twentieth century and analyzes the causes behind shifts in terms and their meanings. It focuses on society's experiences with British elites and society's expectations of them. The analysis reveals the tenacious persistence of class society ideas, which manifests itself in the dominance of the conceptual pair "upper class /upper classes." While at the beginning of the twentieth century the heterogeneity of the upper classes was emphasized, in the second half of the century their homogeneity stood in the foreground. The decisive factor for the change was Great Britain's relative loss of economic and international political significance. During Margaret Thatcher's time as prime minister, a further break occurred when the gentlemanly ideal was pushed into the background in favor of brute economic practices.

4 2019

Frank Trommler, *Abschied von der Kulturmacht. Die auswärtige Kulturpolitik der „alten“ Bundesrepublik und die nationalsozialistische Vergangenheit*, pp. 497-522

When in the 1980s German diplomats in Washington learned that the U. S. government was planning to build a National Holocaust Museum, they panicked, fearing that it would have a devastating impact on the image of the Federal Republic of Germany. This article analyzes their lament at being forced to address the Holocaust after several decades of relative silence by detailing the strategies that the Foreign Ministry employed to avoid confronting the Nazi past for more than thirty years. In its work with neighboring countries, West Germany's cultural diplomacy was supposed to represent a new beginning after Nazism. Despite its failure in this respect, it was lauded for its contribution to the rehabilitation of the country.

Bettina Fettich-Biernath, *Präsenz ohne Einfluss? Die Bedeutung der Entwicklungs- und Ausrüstungspolitik der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1956 –1980 für ihr Selbstverständnis*, pp.523-550

The history of official development assistance programs of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) from the 1950s to the 1970s offers insights into the government's selfperception. Its internal evaluations and debates on foreign aid continuously focused on how development and foreign politics were intertwined. By definition, development policy was considered detached from foreign policy considerations. However, this assumption was challenged by aid projects that supported foreign police and military forces, such as in Ethiopia and Somalia. This article traces the importance of debates on international responsibilities and the rule of non-interference for the FRG's perception of its role in international relations.

308 (1) 2019

Marina Cattaruzza, *Das Ende Österreich-Ungarns im Ersten Weltkrieg. Akteure, Öffentlichkeiten, Kontingenzen*, pp. 81-107

This article aims to analyse the process of dissolution of the Habsburg Empire during the First World War. When the war broke out, only a few non-governmental actors favoured the destruction of this multinational empire. They were: a) a small cadre of British and French intellectuals and journalists, and b) the nationalist Czech and Southern Slav committees, made up of a small number of émigrés living mostly in Great Britain and France. Both groups propagated the principle of „self-determination“ for the „oppressed nationalities“ of the Habsburg Empire and the establishment of „Czechoslovakia“ and „Yugoslavia“ as autonomous states. In 1917, the Entente powers found themselves in a difficult military situation, due principally to two factors: a) the outbreak of the Russian revolution and the coming into power of the Bolsheviks, who immediately signed an armistice with the central powers and exited the war; b) the catastrophic defeat of the Italian army in Caporetto against joint Austrian and German forces. The new military scenario induced the British war cabinet to actively promote a separate peace with Austria on the basis of the restoration of the pre-war situation. In this uncertain circumstances, a network of Italian politicians and journalists relaunched the slogan of „self-determination for the oppressed nationalities“, utilizing it as a non-conventional weapon adopted to overcome their country’s military weakness. The programme of self-determination was solemnly proclaimed in Rome in April 1918, in the presence of the Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, delegates of the Entente powers, the United States, and, of course, self-declared representatives of the „oppressed nationalities“. This congress signed the death sentence of the Habsburg monarchy: from then on, the Entente powers and the USA progressively backed the formation of the new „national“ states“ of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Ironically enough, the principle of self-determination was not a decisive factor for the outcome of the war. The victory of the Entente was determined much more by the failure of the German offensive on the Western front and – even more crucially – by the American intervention on the side of the French and British troops. Consequently, we may consider the dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy a side effect of a failed propaganda campaign aimed at regaining the upper hand over the enemy.

308 (2) 2019

Klaus Wolf, *Machtkalkül und Effizienzstreben. Lloyd George, der Kernbereich der britischen Exekutive und die institutionelle Ausformung eines Mehrebenensystems (1916–1919)*, pp. 332-363

The essay questions the widespread view that Lloyd George coming into office as prime minister in 1916 turned the traditional Cabinet government of the United Kingdom into a prime-ministerial one. Based on both R. A. W. Rhodes’ definition of „core executive“ and S. Piattoni’s definition of „multi-level governance“ the article examines the networks and political practices surrounding Lloyd George as well as the organizational changes at the state, sub-state, and supranational levels. Thus, a method is elaborated to specify the term „executive prime minister“ introduced by P. Dunleavy and G. W.

Jones in order to describe the excessive preference of some prime ministers for leading the executive rather than performing in Parliament. Being faced with the First World War and its consequences Lloyd George built up an efficient core executive. Moreover, he contributed to the improvement of the supranational co-operation and co-ordination by enforcing the institutional innovations within the scope of the British Empire, the coalition warfare, and the Paris peace conference. On the other hand, the political stability was diminished at the sub-state level as the participation process, inaugurated by him in Ireland, failed. Lloyd George constantly tried to combine the advance of efficiency with the reduction of unwanted influences by reshaping the institutional framework and shifting various competences. Yet his political achievement was at all levels and almost always dependent on the support of the core executive.

308 (3) 2019

Harald Kleinschmidt, *Klimatheorie, Statistik, Revolutionsbegriff. Die Transformation der Wahrnehmung der Vergangenheit in Europa zwischen dem 17. und dem 19. Jahrhundert*, pp. 593–636

The dynamisation of the European perception of the past around AD 1800 has often been noted but rarely been traced in empirical records. The article explores the genesis of the perception of a break between past and present with a focus on the three constitutive components of the physical environment, as reflected in climate theory, of the human-made environment with regard to statistics and of the perception of change explicit in the concept of revolution. The theoretical scrutiny of reversible change as the task of the older climate theory gave way to the historiographical description of irreversible change of supposed „races“. Whereas the older statistics had pursued the optimisation of the stability of the world of states, the new statistics aimed at improving society through the purposeful advancement of factors promoting dynamic change. From the early 1780s, the concept of revolution narrowed down to processes of fundamental, thorough and linear, that is, irreversible change of and within states. Jointly with the two former components, the new concept of revolution invoked the perception of a break between past and present through descriptions of irreversible dynamic changes. This transformation of the perception of the past was European in its origin and should, therefore, not be taken for granted as universally valid.

309 (1) 2019

Jens Ivo Engels, Volker Köhler, *Moderne Patronage – Mikropolitik in der Moderne. Konturen und Herausforderungen eines neuen Forschungsfeldes*, pp. 36–69

This paper makes the case for a history of political patronage in the era of modernity. Inspired by the relevant research in the Romanic countries, we understand political patronage as integral part of modern politics, and we base our text on the concepts of „micropolitics“ as it has been adapted by Wolfgang Reinhard for early modern history. Instead of the rather static concepts in existing network research, we advocate a cultural history of modern micropolitics, including practices, norms and values. Until today, the question of the specific features of modern micropolitics is still open.

However, we propose to consider the following characteristics: Compared to the premodern period, patronage and micropolitics of the modern era suffer from extremely reduced legitimacy. At the same time, the resources available for political gift-giving and exchange changed, namely first as a result of industrialization and second due to the high modern interventionist state. In the modern era, horizontal forms of networking gained significance compared to hierarchical forms of patronage which had dominated in antecedent ages, caused by wider distribution of the new resources and by changing social norms. By the way, new social actors occurred. Since the nineteenth century, moreover, new organizations such as political parties emerged and invented what we call „organizational patronage“. Finally, political convictions became an important criterion for favoritism.

309 (3) 2019

Robert C. Moore, *Die deutsche Legende vom ‚aufgezwungenen Verteidigungskrieg‘ 1914*, pp. 606–658

This paper is a reply to Rainer F. Schmidt’s essay „Revanche pour Sedan“ (HZ 303, 2016, 393–425), which according to the revisionist paradigm of the „initiative of the Entente“ claims that France and its President Poincaré in 1914 provoked the German Reich with a policy of war preparedness and blackmail to force it – through its alleged „foreknowledge“ of the German war plan – on a course of action that left Germany no choice but to start the First World War. Therefore, Schmidt states, Poincaré’s policies amount to an „indirect“ unleashing of the Great War. The author identifies Schmidt’s theses as a revival of the topoi of the arsenal of justification of the German leadership and part of a projection scenario to reverse its responsibility, which was initiated after the war in 1919 through a special propaganda campaign of the Foreign Office against the Versailles Treaty and the obligation to pay reparations. This campaign was not only intended to deny Germany’s responsibility for triggering the war, but specifically to discredit France and Poincaré politically and morally. In analyzing the core theses put forward by Schmidt, the author proceeds in several areas, showing on the one hand that these are unproven assertions and speculations that are not based on primary sources but on a revisionist chain of quotations, and shows on the other hand, that the real events of the July crisis are only presented selectively with false attributions. As a result, the author states that Schmidt’s interpretation of the origins of the First World War is an expression of a current wave of neo-revisionist literature, that tries to shift responsibility for the war to the Entente but runs counter to the real events prior to the outbreak of the war which cannot be confirmed by primary sources.

19 (72) 2019

María Victoria Baratta, *Los hermanos sean unidos. El americanismo durante la Guerra del Paraguay en Argentina (1865-1870)*

Este artículo analiza las representaciones del americanismo en el debate político intelectual argentino durante la Guerra de la Triple Alianza. En contraposición al análisis revisionista, observamos que el ideal americano aparece de manera difusa y débil durante la contienda. El americanismo estuvo más ligado a la contemporánea guerra entre Chile y España que al caso de la Guerra de la Triple Alianza. La guerra contra Paraguay puso en evidencia las debilidades y no las fortalezas del discurso americanista en la visión de los actores contemporáneos.

Sylvia Saítta, *Reediciones, reescrituras y práctica política: Rodolfo Walsh en 1973*

En 1973, Rodolfo Walsh cierra *Operación masacre*, un texto escrito, editado varias veces, reescrito, corregido y completado a lo largo de diecisiete años; publica *Un oscuro día de justicia*, un cuento de 1967; y edita en formato libro *Caso Satanowsky*, una investigación periodística realizada en 1958. Este artículo sostiene que, con estas tres reediciones, Walsh interviene, de manera elusiva, pero a la vez precisa y puntual, en las problemáticas que signan el año: el regreso de Juan Domingo Perón a la Argentina después de años de exilio, la lucha revolucionaria, el poder de los servicios de inteligencia, la actuación de los grupos armados paraestatales y parapoliciales, el poder de la prensa escrita y el cine en sus vínculos con el Estado.

19 (70) 2019

Ricardo Andrés Manrique Granados, *Tres son multitud: suplantación, instrumentalidad y huellas de sedición en los vínculos epistolares de Alexander von Humboldt, Francisco José de Caldas y José Celestino Mutis*

Aunque el lugar de Alexander von Humboldt en la tradición de la historia de las ciencias es privilegiado en ambos extremos del Atlántico, no siempre se han formulado reflexiones idóneas en torno al lugar que cumplen lo discursivo y las redes del conocimiento en la representatividad de un sujeto tan complejo y poblado de sentidos como el estudioso alemán. El presente estudio tiene el objetivo de organizar nuevos modos de comprender los saberes en los que Humboldt fue pionero, a la vez que se tienen en cuenta otras figuras que corresponden a contextos políticos diversos, como lo fueron Francisco José de Caldas y José Celestino Mutis. De igual modo, se tenderán puentes con conceptos y funciones como el criollismo, la identidad y la geografía, pues trascienden los marcos que proponen la botánica y la física, y se perfilan como ejes integradores de saberes inmersos en dinámicas sociales que ameritan un análisis detenido.

Paula Seiguer, *"Los caminos de Penzotti". Las misiones protestantes en América del Sur y la construcción de la laicidad*

Este artículo analiza el caso de Francisco Penzotti, un misionero metodista que sufrió nueve meses de arresto en el Perú entre 1889 y 1891 en razón de su prédica. Analiza no solo lo ocurrido a Penzotti, sino de los usos que la prensa y la literatura protestante hicieron de ello: en efecto, trata de mostrar cómo y por qué este episodio se transformó en "un caso", y qué puede decirnos esto sobre las formas en que los protestantes buscaron implantar su fe en América del Sur, sobre su auto-percepción, sobre sus vínculos con las élites locales y los poderes extranjeros, y sobre las relaciones entre la inserción del protestantismo en el subcontinente y la construcción del Estado laico.

17 (1) 2019

Sonja Levsen, *Sexualität und Politik um 1968: Eine transnationale Geschichte?*, pp. 98-115

Recent historiography stresses the ‘fundamentally transnational’ character of ‘1968’. The revolt against traditional sexual mores in this vein appears to be one aspect of a transnational or even global ‘youth revolt’. However, when looking beyond slogans such as ‘Make love, not war’ and the iconic images of Berlin’s ‘Kommune 1’, we discover fundamental differences in the ways in which protest movements dealt with sexuality. While ‘liberating’ sexuality in the early 1960s became a core concern of the German New Left, the respective French and British movements paid the topic only scant attention. The article discusses causes and consequences of these divergent paths. It shows that in 1968, the prominence, strategic use and political concept of sexuality in the protests differed widely – a fact that should prompt us to reconsider accepted assumptions about the ‘transnational’ 1960s.

17 (2) 2019

Tim B Müller, Jeppe Nevers, *Narratives of democracy: A call for historical studies*, pp. 123-134

Historians have long been aware of the power of narratives; but they have been hesitant to analyse the production of national narratives of democracy, in which their own profession played an important role. This issue and introduction aims to insert and study the role of narratives in the history of democracy. It builds on the growing literature in both the conceptual and political history of democracy, which has stressed the importance of the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century in the coming of modern democracy, albeit in non-linear and highly contested ways and often in contrast to the retrospective teleology at work in most older histories of democracy. Therefore, from the 19th century onwards, languages and narratives of democracy developed in many countries, but it happened at different times, at different speeds, and in different forms. This issue encourages and exemplifies systematic and comparative historical analysis of how narratives of democracy were created in that context: What national narratives of democracy did, in fact, exist in specific periods and contexts? Where have these narratives come from? How were nations ‘narrated’ as democratic, what purposes did different narratives serve, and how did they change over time?

17 (4) 2019

Peter-Paul Bänziger, Laura Rischbieter, Monika Wulz, *Neoliberalism as a concept of contemporary history: A prolific research tool or an analytic pitfall?*, pp. 384-389

Over the past three decades, an ever-increasing number of concepts and methodologies have become fashionable for analysing present societies. Most of these theories underwent the fate of any fashion: they lost appeal after a few years. This appears not to be true, however, for neoliberalism. For more than 20 years, it has delineated the horizon of the political critique of phenomena such as globalization

or deregulation, followed by a wave of social-scientific analyses of present societies, their economies, cultures, and politics; and there is hardly any evidence that this political perspective will lose significance in the near future. In particular, this observation applies to historiography: after the concept of neoliberalism had been expediently borrowed from the social sciences, an uncountable number of studies that either use this analysis as a heuristic tool or examine the complex histories of neoliberal thought and action have been published in the course of the past decade.

Only recently, however, has a debate on the heuristic benefits and disadvantages of the concept emerged, both in historiography and in the social sciences. In a January 2018 Dissent forum, for instance, historian Daniel Rodgers argued that neoliberalism has too many meanings and that it should, therefore, be replaced by more concrete conceptual tools, such as finance capitalism and market fundamentalism. In their responses, to mention two historians' voices, Julia Ott welcomed the very broadness of the term that Rodgers deplored, while NDB Connolly joined the latter's critique by denouncing the prevailing account of the emergence of neoliberalism as a predominantly 'White story'. Are the crucial phenomena of recent capitalism related to neoliberalism as an intellectual project at all, and, if so, in which way? In addition, what if neoliberalism is understood not only as a distinct economic trend but also as a development within the larger framework of liberal political, economic, and intellectual currents? How far can neoliberalism's normative doctrines be engaged at all without examining its entanglements with other political, economic, and cultural forms?

Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

98 (1) 2019

Michael Thöndl, Richard Nikolaus Graf Coudenhove-Kalergi, *die „Paneuropa-Union“ und der Faschismus 1923–1938*, pp. 326–369

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

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Massimiliano Valente, *Benedetto XV e l'Ufficio provvisorio per informazioni sui prigionieri di guerra (1914–1918)*, pp. 367–386

From the start of the Great War, Benedict XV and the Vatican Secretariat of State received numerous requests for information – from family members or relatives – regarding missing soldiers. For this reason, the Pope, from the autumn of 1914, organized a specific service that gradually took shape over the following months, to better respond to these requests. In this way, a special temporary office for information on prisoners of war was created. A sort of information network was also set up, in part through the creation of similar offices by Catholic bishops, namely the Mission catholique suisse en faveur des prisonniers de guerre in Fribourg and the Kirchliche Kriegshilfe in Paderborn; and subsequently, after Italy's entry into the war, in Vienna as well, by the local nunciature. Thanks to the cooperation of the Catholic hierarchies, the Holy See was in most cases able to put families in touch with prisoners or inform them of their death. This network was also of great importance to the Pope's so-called „assistance diplomacy“ implemented between 1914 and 1918 and taking the form of spiritual and material support for the victims of war and mediation between the belligerents for the reciprocal exchange of prisoners. This policy was recognized as meritorious by most powers, during and after the war, and ensured the Holy See an international standing during the 1920s.

Matteo Stefanori, *Le strade che portano a Roma. Ebrei stranieri nella capitale, 1933–1945. Primi risultati di una ricerca in corso*, pp. 387–427

This essay aims to reconstruct the history of the hundreds of non-Italian Jews who passed through Rome or lived there between 1933 and 1944. The analysis centres on the records of foreign Jews drafted by the Police headquarters. When the Nazis gained power in Germany, many German Jews left their country to escape the violence of Hitler's regime. With Nazi influence expanding throughout Europe, an increasing number of Jews from Austria, Poland and the regions of eastern Europe migrated towards Italy, particularly to Rome. The start of the war opened a new political phase, marked by martial measures including the arrest, detention and internment of non-Italian Jews as enemy aliens. After briefly illustrating the evolution of the Fascist regime's policy towards incoming migrants before and after the passage of the anti-Jewish laws, the article focuses on the stories of non-Italian Jews of Rome, describing where they lived, their occupations and social background. A few individual personal stories will be told in detail. The aim is to stimulate further reflection on Klaus Voigt's definition of Italy as a „precarious shelter“ for Jews and to explain why many Jewish refugees decided to go to Rome, and not elsewhere, to escape the Nazi persecutions.

Stefano Twardzik, *Il memoriale di Aldo Moro. La ricerca di una ratio nella sequenza dei manoscritti in fotocopia rinvenuti nel 1990*, pp. 428–487

The document known as „Aldo Moro's memoirs“ consists of statements, reflections and the politician's answers to questions asked by the Red Brigades, the terrorist organization that held him captive for almost two months in the spring of 1978 before murdering him. The original document has never been found, and it is known only in a partial typed transcription – discovered in October 1978, immediately after the joint police-force raid led by general Dalla Chiesa into the brigatists' den in Via Monte Nevoso in Milan – and in photocopies of autograph manuscripts inserted among copies of his letters and wills, discovered twelve years later in the same place (420 pages of memoirs and letters). This article does not focus on describing the contents of the memoirs, but instead on a correct contextualization of the compilation of these writings, which can be subdivided into thematic and non-thematic but which lack a unitary numerical code. Above all, it tries to answer the persisting questions as to the overall sequence of the copies found in 1990; in other words, if this sequence is the result of a covert intervention on these papers by the State security services after the autumn of 1978, a theory supported by Miguel Gotor in his book „Il memoriale della Repubblica“. In my opinion this theory is unconvincing. Though we cannot rule out a limited manipulation of the papers after their handling by the Red Brigades and the removal of documents, I believe that the sequence of pages was decided on by the Red Brigades, making a distinction between the texts they had typed out (obviously before 1 October 1978) and those that had not been typed by this date, due either to a lack of time, or because it was deemed unnecessary, or both.

(25) 2019

Thomas Gräfe, *Antisemitismus im deutschen Kaiserreich. Stereotypenmuster, Aktionsformen und die aktuelle Relevanz eines „klassischen“ Forschungsgegenstandes*, pp. 45-80

Any meaningful discussion of the rise of a “new” anti-Semitism has to be based on a diachronic comparison. However, most studies on con-temporary anti-Semitism only trace its history back to 1945, not to the roots of modern anti-Semitism in the 19th century. This essay re-examines the ideology and social practice of anti-Semitism in imperial Germany on the basis of current research and compares them to hostility towards Jews in present-day Germany. The aim is to identify similarities and differences, so as to draw conclusions about what is “new” and what is “old” in “new” anti-Semitism,

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Martin Sabrow, *Zeitgeschichte als Aufarbeitung*, pp. 11-25

The article reconsiders the relations between past and present in the era of “Erinnerungskultur”, i. e. remembrance culture. It describes the semantic careers of the terms “Zeitgeschichte” (contemporary history) and “Aufarbeitung” (coming to terms with the past) in the representation of the past in Germany after 1989. By discussing the inherent tension between both attitudes of coping with the past and its historical burdens, the article reflects upon the characteristics of today’s historical discourse: a remarkable alliance between politics and historiography, the dominance of teleological perspectives, and the revival of the belief in the concept of historical lessons (“*historia vitae magistra*”).

Ekaterina Makhotina, *Ein „victim turn“? Gesellschaftliche und staatliche Formen der Opfererinnerung in Russland*, pp. 61-74

The debate about the past in Russia is characterized by an intensification of politics of history. The government attaches great importance to school curricula and the standardization of textbooks. In this narrative, most of all the military glory serves as a unifying „bracket“ for patriotic education. However, there is partly a „victim turn“ in the Russian remembrance landscape: due to the individual stories of the war generation and the victims of Stalinism, an unheroic kind history is getting more and more important for the medialization of history. History policy under Putin is seeking to integrate new social practices into the official rituals.

Ulrike Jureit, *Geschichte als Identitätsressource. Wandlungsprozesse im Gedenken an den Holocaust*, pp. 27-37

Current research shows that the remembrance boom of the 1980s and 1990s has by no means come to an end but is changing categorically. The article analyses current tendencies in German and European remembrance dynamics and illuminates above all generational but also cultural processes of change in dealing with the dictatorial past. In addition to the general paradigm shift from hero to victim, the focus is on the increasingly normative rhetoric of remembrance, while at the same time experience-oriented forms of historical consumption are becoming considerably more attractive.

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(1) 2019

Rüdiger Bergien, *Programming with the Class Enemy. The Stasi, Siemens and the Transfer of IT Knowledge during the Cold War*, pp. 1-30.

Siemens computers in the service of the Stasi – this reminds us of illegal transfers of technology and of how the East German Ministry of State Security (*Ministerium für Staatssicherheit*, MfS, colloquially known as the Stasi) used intricate methods of spying and smuggling to gain possession of western high-tech. In 1970, however, the Siemens West Berlin branch office delivered three of their most modern main-frames quite officially and with the blessing of the West German government to East Berlin's Wuhlheide, the location of the front company disguising the computing center of the Stasi. Technicians, programmers and Siemens sales personnel even provided "IT support" for Department XIII of the MfS and delivered spare parts, new software versions and peripheral equipment. Yet while Siemens was unsuccessfully waiting for follow-up orders from the GDR, Western technology enabled the Stasi to jump-start its moves towards digitalization, which provided it with a leading place in comparison to its Eastern "sister state security services" until 1989.

(2) 2019

Mathias Häußler, *A British Sonderweg? A Research Report on the Role of Great Britain in European Integration since 1945*, pp. 263-287.

The Brexit Referendum of 23 June 2016 has moved the hitherto mostly unnoticed research literature on Britain's role in European integration since 1945 into the spotlight of historical interest. The present research report deals with the question as to what the underlying reason for the United Kingdom's differing positions with regards to European policy in comparison to other states of the European Communities is, especially France and Germany. Can one speak of a form of British exceptionalism in this context? In doing so, the pertinent critical historical studies are connected with conceptual developments in European Integration history. The result reveals the particular strengths of contemporary history in systematically historicizing hardened patterns of interpretation and questioning the embedding of the individual strand into the wider context.

(3) 2019

Contemporary History Podium, *Right-Wing Populism in Western Democracies – Historical Perspectives*, pp. 439-442.

The future of democracy as well as the challenges arising from globalization on the one hand as well as the illiberal or even authoritarian temptation on the other hand are keeping politicians, the wider public and research busy in many countries of Europe and America. The successes of (right-wing) populist parties and movements in established democratic countries with their often nationalist and

equally anti-modern and xenophobic rhetoric pose the question as to the potential risks and democratic courses of action. The “Contemporary History Podium” wishes to put these phenomena into clearer historical perspective by using five case studies: The Federal Republic of Germany (Karin Priester), the USA (Ursula Prutsch), France (Ronja Kempin), the Netherlands (André Krause), and Italy (Thomas Schlemmer). They reveal the interdependence of long-term developments, socio-political upheaval and current crises. New parties such as the *Alternative für Deutschland* as well as established parties such as the *Rassemblement National* (formerly *Front National*) are examined. An important emphasis is laid on leading figures such as Marine Le Pen, Geert Wilders, Donald Trump or the almost forgotten Silvio Berlusconi, who are especially important as catalysts of populism in their respective countries.

(4) 2019

Felix Lieb, *An Overrated Book? Karl Jaspers and “The Question of German Guilt”*, pp. 565-592.

Only a few months after the end of the Second World War, the philosopher Karl Jaspers proclaimed that “acceptance of the guilt [is] to be a fundamental trait of our German self-consciousness”. Jaspers book “Die Schuldfrage” (The Question of German Guilt) published in 1946 and his differentiation between criminal, political, moral and metaphysical guilt formulated therein are to this day seen as contributions of the highest import towards the question of responsibility for the crimes of National Socialism. Based on the contemporary reactions, Felix Lieb can show that Jasper’s book received very little notice in the post-war period. Additionally, the Germans saw his theses less as a call for admitting one’s own guilt, but rather as a welcome instrument to deflect a supposed allegation of collective guilt.

2/2019

Timo Walz, *Kampf um die rechte Ordnung. Sozialistische Strafverteidiger zwischen spätem Kaiserreich und »zweiter Revolution« 1919*

With particular reference to a group of defence lawyers around Kurt Rosenfeld and Theodor Liebknecht, the article demonstrates how socialist lawyers shaped court proceedings as well as their public perception and were able to harness them for the purposes of their own political movement. How did they utilise legal procedures for broader objectives? After providing some information on the origin of this type of lawyer and the biographical backgrounds of those involved, the article focuses on the trials following the ›Spartacist Revolt‹. During these trials of (alleged) participants in the January uprising of 1919, the above-mentioned group of defence lawyers accused the judiciary, the new government and the armed forces. They were already posing questions here that were crucial for the Weimar Republic, concerning the legitimacy and legality of the government and about an alternative political order. Furthermore, the special scope of impact of political criminal defence in times of upheaval and of lawyers working also as politicians in a high-visibility capacity becomes apparent. Socialist lawyers can therefore not be reduced to their role as principal witnesses against the biased judicial system of the Weimar Republic. They were self-aware protagonists making a significant contribution to the debate on the legal and political character of the new order.

67 (3) 2019

Volker Barth, Michael Homberg, *Die Politik der (Des-)Information Falschmeldungen, Gerüchte und Propaganda in der langen Jahrhundertwende*, pp. 197-217.

Nell'articolo, che apre questo numero monografico dedicato al tema delle battaglie per l'informazione e alla circolazione delle notizie false tra il 1880 e il 1930, gli autori indagano la connessione tra la circolazione globale e il significato politico delle notizie false. In primo luogo, si esamina l'intricata relazione tra guerre, voci e notizie false. In una seconda fase, questo aspetto viene legato alla storia della ricerca sulla psicologia del pettegolezzo e sulla sociologia delle false notizie; infine ci si concentra sulla discussione attorno alle "battaglie per l'informazione" e alle "false notizie" nelle scienze storiche. In conclusione, queste considerazioni sono applicate all'analisi degli anni del lungo volgere del secolo, durante il quale i cambiamenti nelle tecniche di produzione e la medialità della trasmissione di notizie false sono state di grande significato.

67 (4) 2019

Tim Szatkowski, *Kooperation mit einem autoritären Regime. Deutschland und Birma im Kalten Krieg 1962 bis 1988*, pp. 313-334.

Questo articolo si interroga sull'importanza della Birmania nella politica estera della Germania occidentale, sugli interessi e sugli obiettivi dei governi federali e i mezzi utilizzati per conseguirli. In particolare, si mette a fuoco il ruolo del conflitto tra Est e Ovest e il significato dei motivi economici in questo contesto. Inoltre, si chiarisce come i governi federali abbiano valutato la figura e le politiche di Ne Win e come abbiano reagito alle violazioni dei diritti umani. Infine, l'autore sottolinea il fatto che nel 1988 l'eterogenea opposizione in Birmania è diventata il focus della diplomazia e della politica, da quando Suu Kyi, figlia del fondatore del Paese, Aung San, ne è diventata la figura centrale; insignita del premio Nobel per la pace nel 1991, è infatti l'attuale Consigliere di Stato, nonché Ministro degli Esteri della Birmania. Ciò su cui occorre indagare è come il governo Kohl/Genscher abbia valutato le ambizioni politiche e le possibilità di successo dell'opposizione e se abbia sostenuto attivamente questo movimento.

67 (6) 2019

Stephan Lehnstaedt, *Historischer Antisemitismus im heutigen Polen. Das Beispiel der Narodowe Siły Zbrojne*, pp. 497-517.

Il presente contributo vuole indagare il significato odierno dell'antisemitismo storico e la rilevanza che possono avere anche in Germania i dibattiti sulla storia che emergono in Polonia, dove ad esempio la memoria delle NSZ è ancora oggetto di dibattito. Nella prima parte, quindi, viene analizzata la posizione delle NSZ all'interno della resistenza polacca; in seguito si riflette brevemente sul rapporto

delle NSZ con gli ebrei e l'Olocausto. Una terza parte mostra in che modo questa eredità storica è stata affrontata soprattutto negli anni successivi alla caduta della cortina di ferro e si riflette dunque anche sull'organizzazione erede dei veterani (ZZNSZ). Non sorprende che le organizzazioni anticomuniste non abbiano goduto di alcuna commemorazione ufficiale nella Repubblica Popolare di Polonia, quindi questo aspetto viene solo brevemente accennato nel saggio. Infine, questi fenomeni vengono contestualizzati all'interno dell'attuale politica polacca della memoria e della storia.

67 (7-8) 2019

Fabian Bennewitz, *Solidarität über Kurzwelle. Die Sondersendungen des DDR-Auslandsradios für Uruguay während der Militärdiktatur (1977-1984)*, pp. 641-659.

Questo articolo esamina come era strutturata e si svolgeva la "solidarietà ad onde corte", quali fattori all'interno di questa rete di attori influenzavano il lavoro di solidarietà e come l'utilizzo di un mezzo come la radio ha cambiato il movimento di solidarietà. Quali tecniche hanno dovuto utilizzare i redattori, come si sono dovuti adattare i programmi per rispondere alle esigenze tecniche in Uruguay e al bisogno di informazione degli ascoltatori? In che misura il programma RBI (Radio Berlin International) per l'Uruguay può essere visto come una rete di diversi attori, anche come elemento stabilizzante di reti transnazionali di solidarietà, ma anche come luogo di dibattito politico-ideologico? Particolare attenzione è dedicata all'interazione degli attori, che attraverso le loro azioni hanno creato sempre nuove interfacce, hanno formato nuove reti e sono diventati così influenti a livello globale. Il periodo oggetto di studio si estende dal 1977 al 1985, che corrisponde all'incirca all'arco di tempo della trasmissione in Uruguay, interrotta quando fu decisa la transizione democratica e la maggior parte degli esiliati fece ritorno nel Paese.

67 (11) 2019

Alexander Zinn, *Abschied von der Opferperspektive Plädoyer für einen Paradigmenwechsel in der schwulen und lesbischen Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 934-955.

Il contributo, attraverso la presentazione di alcuni casi studio, riflette sugli approcci ad oggi utilizzati nella ricerca storica sulla vita di omosessuali e lesbiche. Secondo l'autore una prospettiva selettiva e solidarizzante con i perseguitati, influenzata comprensibilmente dalla lunga stigmatizzazione ed esclusione degli omosessuali dalla società, conduce però talvolta a dei vicoli ciechi in cui la ricerca può smarrirsi. Per questa ragione l'autore suggerisce di spostare il focus della ricerca e di indagare sempre più le condizioni di vita della grande maggioranza degli omosessuali sfuggiti alle persecuzioni del regime nazista. Il risultato sorprendente potrebbe essere che lesbiche e omosessuali non erano affatto solo vittime, ma spesso (anche) attori molto ostinati, che più o meno "con successo" hanno modellato il loro destino nonostante le circostanze avverse e, inoltre, che raramente le loro vite erano adatte a essere elevate a miti eroici o martiri.

GRAN BRETAGNA

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28 (2) 2019

Daniel Zamora Vargas, *Foucault, The End of a Decade*, pp.262-272

28 (3) 2019

Alan Granadino, *Possibilities and Limits of Southern European Socialism in the Iberian Peninsula: French, Portuguese and Spanish Socialists in the mid-1970s*, pp. 390-408

This article discusses the relations between the French, Portuguese and Spanish socialist parties during the transitions to democracy in the Iberian Peninsula (1974–7). It focuses on the attempt of these parties to establish a distinctive ideological trend, Southern European socialism. The main argument is that the French socialists attempted to promote their ideological line – and predominantly the union between socialists and communists – in the Iberian Peninsula during the transitions to democracy. The Portuguese Socialist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers Party initially considered following this line. However, the radicalisation of the Portuguese revolution in the sensitive context of Cold War détente, as well as the involvement of the European social democrats in both Portugal and Spain against the union of the left, prevented this model from being further considered by the Spanish and Portuguese socialist parties. Nevertheless, all these parties showed interest in promoting a common Southern European Socialist identity that differed from European social democracy as well as from Soviet communism, considering it useful in the struggle for hegemony within the left.

49 (1) 2019

Enrico Acciai, *Traditions of Armed Volunteering and Radical Politics in Southern Europe: A Biographical Approach to Garibaldinism*, pp. 50-72.

Historiography rarely concerns itself with investigating the capacity that war volunteering has to endure and persist across time; that is, not only the continuation of memories passed down from one generation of fighters to another, but also its ability to reactivate itself as soon as a new movement of volunteers begins. Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there were successive generations of volunteers who, as well as wearing the Garibaldian red shirt and aligning themselves with that tradition, were also political activists belonging to extreme left-wing organizations. In these cases, it was not only that Garibaldinism was considered to be an important part of the political horizon, but also – and this is what will be explored in this article – that there was a tradition of war volunteering that was passed down through generations and that was clearly linked to the Garibaldian red-shirt tradition. The article will follow Amilcare Cipriani's biography. A young Garibaldi volunteer, he soon moved towards internationalism (he was one of the defenders of the Paris commune) and lived a good part of his life moving continuously between Europe and Northern Africa. At the end of the century, in 1897, he was amongst the principle actors in a Garibaldian campaign that would pave the way for the next steps in the red-shirt volunteering tradition.

49 (2) 2019

Mathew Turner, Tony Joel, David Lowe, *'Between Politics and Scholarship': The First Decade of the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, 1949-1958*, pp. 250-271.

Through the consultation and examination of meeting minutes, correspondence, and memoranda, this article contends that a political-scholarly nexus characterized the formation of the Munich-based Institut für Zeitgeschichte and directly shaped its research activities within the first decade of its existence, from 1949 to 1958. As a government-funded body it was obliged to service the needs of those governments at a federal and state level, in response to bureaucratic, administrative, and judicial demands – most notably the construction of expert reports (or Gutachten) in response to government requests for advice. The research directions of the Institute were driven by the demands of West German society beginning to come to terms with its Nazi past, and expressed through its political representatives..

María Sierra, *Creating Romanestan: A Place to be a Gypsy in Post-Nazi Europe*, pp. 272-292.

This article examines the political formula of Romanestan as conceived by Ionel Rotaru (1918–1982), a Romanian refugee in France after the Second World War. Romanestan is the most visible aspect of an ambitious plan demanding rights for those labelled Gypsies throughout the world. This study is of interest because it sheds new light on the problems of social and political readjustment after the Second World War from the standpoint of racial exclusion. Rotaru's project was both the response to

longstanding historical racist aggression and also a crucial turning point in the formation of Romani ethnic identity. What makes its study interesting is that the formula of the Romanestan wove the right to exist of those regarded as Gypsies into a creative transnational political project. Based on classified documents, this article highlights the political nature of processes of ethnicization and assesses the performative power of symbols.

49 (3) 2019

Natalia Jarska, *Modern Marriage and the Culture of Sexuality: Experts between the State and the Church in Poland, 1956-1970*, pp. 467-490.

Through an analysis of archival documents and the published writings of experts, this paper explores the relationships between the emerging field of sexology, the state, and the Catholic Church in post-1956 Poland, as these relationships play an important role in the history of sexuality under state socialism. In the period in question, experts in sexuality, mainly medical doctors, focused on how to improve sexual relations within marriage. They developed a notion known as the 'culture of sexuality' based on progressive values such as equality, rationality, and psychological health. Experts drew a connection between an improvement in people's marital sex lives and the health and welfare of both society and the nation. The Party-State supported these developments and also used them to their advantage in their political struggle with the Catholic Church. However, the experts' proposal to restrict access to abortion (in 1961) was met with decisive resistance on the part of the Party-State.

49 (4) 2019

Amerigo Caruso, *Joining Forces against 'Strike Terrorism': The Public-Private Interplay in Policing Strikes in Imperial Germany, 1890-1914*, pp. 597-624.

This article examines the blurred boundaries between public and private repressive practices in Wilhelmine Germany with a special focus on the legal and administrative framework drawn up to redistribute security tasks and delegate the use of violence to non-state actors. While the rapid escalation of political violence in Central and Eastern Europe after 1917 has been widely discussed in the recent historiography, the structure of violence in the pre-war period remains less explored, especially with regard to the public-private interplay in the policing of popular protests. After the first massive strike by Ruhr miners in 1889, the Prussian authorities began to support the formation of semi-private armed protection groups in an effort to tackle 'strike terrorism'. The idea of privatizing repressive practices arose as a result of widespread fears of social and political disintegration. Yet, although it may seem paradoxical, the precondition for delegating the use of violence to non-state actors was Prussian administrators' confidence in the state's solidity and efficiency. The ambivalence in contemporary discourses concerning the vulnerability of the existing social and political order is crucial to explaining why the Prussian authorities implemented strategies for legally distributing arms to those groups that were considered part of the 'loyal classes'. The mobilization against 'strike terrorism' involved not only officially organized armed groups, such as the Zechenwehren, but also

more informal or extra-legal strategies such as private use of the municipal police, the distribution of arms to strike-breakers and the militarization of white-collar workers and supervisors.

Matteo Millan, *'The Public Force of the Private State' – Strikebreaking and Visions of Subversion in Liberal Italy (1880s to 1914)*, pp. 625-649.

From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, Italy witnessed a significant increase in labour conflicts, trade unionism and social protests, all of which shook the foundations of the liberal state. Following the failure of the authorities' attempts to deal with mass protests, efforts were made under the governments of Giovanni Giolitti to adopt new policing policies that embraced state neutrality in social conflicts and the deployment at the same time of substantial police forces to prevent the escalation of conflict and bloodshed. The success of these policies is highly questionable and there were major differences in this respect between northern and southern Italy, and between rural and industrial areas. Nevertheless, these policies contributed to the fear of abandonment and desire for revenge felt by significant sections of the propertied classes, and the issue of strikebreaking was at the centre of the controversy. Focusing on the Po Valley, this article first presents a broad overview of the political situation in Italy with emphasis on policing policies and work replacement, then analyses the various forms of legal and illegal private strike-breaker protection organizations that took on clear subversive aims. Drawing on newspapers and archival records, the article highlights the overlap between private and public law enforcement and the combination of coercion and consensus in the Italian countryside. The long-term consequences of the unresolved issue of strikebreaking and private policing help explain the rise of Fascism after the Great War.

58 (1) 2019

Frank Mort, *Safe for Democracy: Constitutional Politics, Popular Spectacle, and the British Monarchy 1910–1914*, pp. 109-141

How did the British monarchy respond to the multiple challenges of early twentieth-century mass democracy? Historians have separated the growth of constitutional sovereignty from the practice of a welfare monarchy, or from royalty as decorative and media friendly. This article argues that the political transformation of the modern monarchy was inseparable from innovations to its style and presentation. Opening with the dramatic constitutional crisis that confronted George V and his advisors in 1910, I show how the monarchy's entanglement in high politics forced the crown to assume an increasingly neutral, arbitrarial stance on industrial disputes and on the Irish question, despite the king's own conservatism. Simultaneously, George V invested in styles of royal accessibility and informality that contrasted sharply with other major European dynasties, in a series of royal tours across the industrial heartlands of England and Wales in 1912 and 1913. Extensively covered by the national and imperial press and by the newsreels, these visits to the strongholds of laborism promoted a vision of patrician democracy that drew heavily on traditions of organic, one-nation conservatism. But they also positioned royalty and the people in a new imaginary relationship that was more personal and intimate. Both versions had long-term consequences for the British monarchy across the twentieth century.

58 (3) 2019

Tim Grady, *Landscapes of Internment: British Prisoner of War Camps and the Memory of the First World War*, pp. 543-564

During the First World War, all of the belligerent powers interned both civilian and military prisoners. In Britain alone, over one hundred thousand people were held behind barbed wire. Despite the scale of this enterprise, interment barely features in Britain's First World War memory culture. By exploring the place of prisoner-of-war camps within the “militarized environment” of the home front, this article demonstrates the centrality of internment to local wartime experiences. Forced to share the same environment, British civilians and German prisoners clashed over access to resources, roads, and the surrounding landscape. As this article contends, it was only when the British started to employ prisoners on environmental-improvement measures, such as land drainage or river clearance projects, that relations gradually improved. With the end of the war and closure of the camps, however, these deep entanglements were quickly forgotten. Instead of commemorating the complexities of the conflict, Britain's memory culture focused on more comfortable narratives; British military “sacrifice” on the Western Front quickly replaced any discussion of the internment of the “enemy” at home.

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91 (1) 2019

Jennifer L. Allen, *National Commemoration in an Age of Transnationalism*, pp. 109-148

91 (2) 2019

Jens-Uwe Guettel, *Reform, Revolution, and the “Original Catastrophe”: Political Change in Prussia and Germany on the Eve of the First World War*, pp. 311-340

91 (4) 2019

Robert Geraci, *Pragmatism and Prejudice: Revisiting the Origin of the Pale of Jewish Settlement and Its Historiography*, pp. 776-814

Dan Stone, *The Course of History: Arno J. Mayer, Gerhard L. Weinberg, and David Cesarani on the Holocaust and World War II*, pp. 883-904

ottobre 2019

Alessia Facineroso, *Weapons, words, politics: the three seasons of the post-unification exile of the Bourbon Monarchy (1860–1866)*, pp.

This article reconstructs the ‘three seasons’ of the exile of the Bourbon rulers of southern Italy after 1860. Unlike the previous periods of exile suffered by the dynasty (in 1799 and between 1806 and 1815), the Bourbon exile after Unification took the form of a ‘hierarchical’ emigration government, ruler and diplomatic corps, and numerous foreign volunteers ready to fight for the monarchy. Between 1860 and 1866 this ‘control centre’ organized armed expeditions against the Kingdom of Italy, while deploying a variety of political strategies that through propaganda offered the promise of modernization in the shape of the concession of a constitution for the Mezzogiorno and the ‘nationalization’ of southern Italy. This propaganda campaign was combined with diplomatic pressures on the European powers. Sicily played a crucial role in these projects and became the principal Mediterranean platform for the attempts to restore the Bourbon monarchy. But although the war of 1866 between Italy and Austria brought these strategies to an end, many of the arguments set out by the Bourbons in exile would later be absorbed into the debates on the ‘Southern Question’.

giugno 2019

Umberto Gentiloni Silveri, *The Italian question: systemic crisis, global change and new protagonists (1992–2018)*, pp. 393-401

In recent months, the importance of anti-system political and cultural forces have progressively been gaining ground. The internal balance within the Italian Republic has shifted, taking on new forms and content. This new chapter in Italian history is set to become a particularly interesting case study, both with regards to the dynamics that are impacting the nation’s political and institutional system, and with regards to the links between these changes and developments on an international scale. Although orientation is by no means straightforward, applying a historical method approach offers tools that may be useful for undertaking analysis and investigating the underlying issues.

aprile 2019

David Ragazzoni, *Silvio Spaventa and Marco Minghetti on party government*, pp. 293-323

This article contextualizes, explores, and compares a selection of writings on party government and the modern State authored throughout the 1880s by two major representatives of post-Risorgimento Italian liberalism – Silvio Spaventa (1822–1893) and Marco Minghetti (1818–1886). Its comparative analysis unveils two alternative paths for taming factionalism and securing political freedom in modern representative governments: the strategy of monism pursued by Spaventa, revolving around the primacy of the State and its unity; and the strategy of pluralism championed by Minghetti, praising self-government and the multiple associations that enliven civil society. It connects these strategies to the intellectual background of the two authors – the importance of Hegel’s ideas for Spaventa; the implications of Tocqueville’s anti-Hegelianism for Minghetti – and maps them onto their visions of

party government. In doing so, it retrieves an important chapter in the Italian debates on parties that has received scarce consideration among Anglophone scholars. It also helps to pluralize our understanding of Italian liberalism(s) in the aftermath of the Risorgimento. Finally, it draws the attention of Anglo-American political theorists and historians to Minghetti's seminal book *I partiti politici e l'ingerenza loro nella giustizia e nell'amministrazione* (1881), which offered the first systematic analysis and defense of parties, and their difference from factions, in the history of modern Italian political thought.

febbraio 2019

Tullia Catalan, *The Board of Deputies of British Jews and the initial phase of the Italian Racial Laws: reactions and strategies (1938–1940)*, pp. 48-62

This article aims to reconstruct the activities of the Board of Jewish Deputies, the central representative body of British Jewry, in support of the Italian Jews affected by the Fascist Racial Laws of 1938. By analysing the institution's documents and examining the most widely read Jewish newspaper in the U.K., the *Jewish Chronicle*, this research investigates how the initial phase of the Italian anti-Semitic campaign was received in Great Britain, and what measures were put in place by British Jewry in their attempts to help the Italian Jews. The Jewish historian, Cecil Roth, played an important role during this phase, in active collaboration with the leadership of the Board and the staff of the *Jewish Chronicle*, gathering as much information as possible on Italy and its history in order to shed light on the events that were taking place during the first years of the Racial Laws and until the entrance of Italy into WWII (1938–1940). The involvement of certain members of the Foreign Office with links to the Board, and the shared goal of helping Italian Jewry, was also fundamental in this period

febbraio 2019

Patrick Bernhard, *The great divide? Notions of racism in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany: new answers to an old problem*, pp. 97-114

One of Michele Sarfatti's greatest accomplishments has been to challenge the notion that there was a fundamental difference between the biological racism predominant in Nazi Germany and the 'cultural racism' of Fascist Italy. I examine how this dichotomy took shape and the meaning it acquired over time. My basic argument is that this division is the result of dialogue between Italian and German population experts during the interwar period, and that making a sharp distinction between a 'German' and an 'Italian' style of racism helped them to construct their own identities. In other words, the debate on racism was a vehicle for defining what it meant to be a 'true' Nazi or Fascist. In this way, differences in racist ideology can be understood as a product of struggles over meaning. Ultimately, my aim is to de-essentialize the meaning of race in research on both Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

24 (1) 2019

David Lebow, *Leviathans unbound: irrationalist political thought in interwar United States and Germany*, pp. 32-53

This comparative ideological history considers why interwar America produced less prominent thought threatening parliamentarism and the rule of law than Germany. Despite different traditions, thinkers in Progressive Era America and Weimar Germany shared two commitments. Both scorned political parties and yearned for national unity. Both were also hostile to the restraints of legal formalism. Both efforts to deploy unbounded states to realize unity failed, but differently. Progressivism's eclipse by World War I tempered confidence in democratic fulfilment and experts' moral leadership. By contrast, appeals in post-war Weimar to national unity and the reliance on state authority – both integral to the search for constitutional legitimacy – radicalized amidst crisis thinking. Exemplary thinkers Carl Schmitt and Thurman Arnold agreed that crisis demanded transformative action based on unifying myths and administrations liberated from legal rationalism. Anti-liberal Schmitt aimed to destroy political heterogeneity and unshackle decree from statutory legality. Writing after Progressivism's disillusionment, the New Dealer Arnold sought to use myth to conceal endemic plurality and employ law's own irrationality to deliver to 'technicians' the discretion necessary for haphazard economic experimentation. Difference in timing helped make similar commitments develop differently in interaction with crisis thinking, and helps explain Arnold's irrationalist defence of liberal democracy.

30 (4) 2019

Yin Cao, *Bombs in Beijing and Delhi: The Global Spread of Bomb-Making Technology and the Revolutionary Terrorism in Modern China and India*, pp. 559-589

In early 1910, Chinese revolutionaries attempted to assassinate the regent of the Qing Empire by planting a bomb near his residence in Beijing. Two years later, an explosive of a similar type was used by Indian revolutionaries in their attempted assassination of the viceroy of the British Raj in Delhi. Investigating these two seemingly unconnected events demonstrates that radical political activists in both China and India acquired their explosive-making skills from diasporic Russian revolutionaries in Japan and France respectively after the failure of the 1905 Russian Revolution. Although both assassination attempts failed and have largely been marginalized in the national narratives in both countries, the transnational connections between Chinese and Indian revolutionaries in their pursuit of learning the portable dynamite technology overseas sheds light on how modern Chinese and Indian history can be analyzed in a single framework. Staging Chinese and Indian revolutionary terrorism in the context of the cross-boundary circulation of dissident ideologies and technologies in the early twentieth century reexamines marginalized aspects of China's 1911 Revolution and the Indian Nationalist Revolution that can be written as connected transnational history.

[Modern Italy](#)

24 (1) 2019

Niccolò Bertuzzi, *Contemporary animal advocacy in Italy*, pp. 1-20.

In spite of the great tradition in social movement studies, Italy completely lacks any contribution regarding animal advocacy from the point of view of political sociology. This is despite the fact that, as in the rest of Western societies, interest in the wellbeing, rights and status of non-human animals is growing. This can be seen both among the general population and in the very varied organised forms of welfare and activism. In this article, we will investigate this internal differentiation, starting from an initial stratification in welfare, protectionism and anti-speciesism, and focusing in particular on the following two aspects: ethical values; and political ‘careers’ and multi-membership affiliations. The investigation was accomplished by means of 20 semi-structured interviews and an online questionnaire answered by 704 volunteers and activists. The tripartition hypothesised was confirmed, although with a few exceptions: more progressive values emerged among anti-speciesists, and conservative positions among protectionists and welfarists, but the overall spectrum is characterised by utilitarian perspectives. Similarly, previous experience in the specific field of animal advocacy is typical of the protectionist area, while anti-speciesists also come from other opposition movements.

Javier Suárez Trejo, *From Romana Gens to cumbiatella: propaganda, migration and identity in Italo-Peruvian mobilities*, pp. 21-44.

Branding promotes and sells products and services through the creation of an identity – the brand. What happens when the promoter of a brand is a government? What transformations does a national identity experience when it becomes a brand to export? Is national branding a contemporary form of promoting national identities? To explore these questions, the article focuses on two artefacts that show the propaganda/branding strategies of Italians in Peru and Peruvians in Italy during the twentieth century: the magazine *Romana- Gens ne la Terra de ‘Los Incas’* (1934–1941) and the ad-documentary *Marca Perú in Loreto, Italy* (2012). The analysis of these artefacts shows three dimensions of Italo-Peruvian mobilities. First, the complex negotiations of foreign populations that seek to integrate into their adoptive countries (and/or desired market). Second, the reversal of the direction of migration: Latin America was a point of arrival for the Italian immigrants from the nineteenth century until the 1970s, but during the last decades of the twentieth century, it became a point of departure to Italy, which was seen as a place of economic progress. Finally, the specific politics of affects in the relationship of Italian and Peruvian immigrants with national identities built during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

24 (2) 2019

Simona Storchi, *The ex-Casa del Fascio in Predappio and the question of the “difficult heritage” of Fascism in contemporary Italy*, pp. 139-157.

This article focuses on the history and reception of the ex-Casa del Fascio in Predappio, from the end of the Second World War to the current plans for its restoration and reuse as a study centre and a museum of Fascism. Taking into account changes in legislative, political, and cultural contexts, the article proposes an approach to the legacy of Fascist architecture in Italy based not just on its ideological charge, but also on cultural and political shifts, changes in legislation, and the complex relationships between the bodies in charge of the preservation and management of public heritage. The recent plans put forward by the town administration to restore the building and turn it into a museum of Fascism have reopened the debate on the heritage of Fascism and the ex-Casa del Fascio has now become one of the most conspicuous emblems of Italy's uneasy relationship with its Fascist past and of the problems of dealing with the material legacy of the Fascist regime.

Hannah Malone, *The Republican legacy of Italy's Fascist ossuaries of the First World War*, pp. 199-217.

The military ossuaries that were built to house the remains of fallen soldiers of the First World War offer a striking example of how Italy has dealt with the legacy of Fascism. Located along former frontlines in north-eastern Italy, the ossuaries occupy an ambiguous position in Italian heritage as both national monuments and the remnants of a difficult past. Whereas originally they functioned as instruments of Fascist propaganda, they have been reinvented as monuments of Republican Italy. Thus, while challenging the notion of Fascist remains as 'difficult heritage', this article suggests that the ossuaries might be seen as palimpsests that have been overlaid with different and ever-changing memories. To this end, the article traces the afterlives of ossuaries from 1945 to the present in search of evidence of evolving attitudes towards the Fascist period. It also examines a recent resurgence of public interest in the ossuaries in conjunction with the centenary of the First World War.

Nick Carter, *The meaning of monuments: remembering Italo Balbo in Italy and the United States*, pp. 219-235.

This article examines the meaning of monuments in Italy and the United States (Chicago) dedicated to the Fascist gerarch Italo Balbo. A hugely popular personality in Fascist Italy, Balbo cemented his reputation in the early 1930s as the commander of mass-formation transatlantic flights to Brazil (1930-1931) and the United States (1933). Chicago's monuments – a road (Balbo Drive) and a column (the 'Balbo monument') – are a legacy of Balbo's triumphant arrival in the city in 1933. Italy's monuments date from the postwar and contemporary periods. The article examines why Balbo Drive and the Balbo monument in Chicago have become more controversial over time, especially in recent decades, and why, despite calls for their removal, both remain. It contrasts the Chicago case with the situation in Italy where, since the 1990s, Balbo has been commemorated in numerous ways.

24 (3) 2019

Nicola Cacciatore, *Missed connection: relations between Italian anti-fascist emigration and British forces in Egypt (1940-1944)*, pp. 265-279.

Italian anti-fascists started to emigrate from the moment that Mussolini seized power. These émigrés, or fuorusciti, tried to organise themselves to put an end to Mussolini's regime, but found themselves confronting a number of unexpected difficulties in their host countries. Among them, Giustizia e Libertà (GL) was one of the most active organisations. One of the problems they had to face was the issue of how best to deal with their hosts without compromising their integrity as Italians, and as patriots. The case of Paolo Vittorelli (Raffaele Battino), who is the subject of this article, presents a clear case study of this issue and shows how close collaboration between Italian anti-fascists and western democracies (in this case, the United Kingdom) was hindered by ideological problems. The study of such episodes helps us to shed light not only on the mentality of the GL émigrés, but also on the way the Italian Resistance would later approach the issue of working together with the Allies during the Italian campaign of 1943–1945.

Amy Boylan, *Cuore and the cinema: reframing the Risorgimento for the First World War*, pp. 281-294.

During the years leading up to and during the First World War, patriotic films featuring self-sacrificing child protagonists formed an important sub-genre of Italian film production. This article looks at Film Artistica Gloria's Cuore series (1915–1916), adapted from De Amicis' novel, with particular attention given to the two war-themed films, *Il tamburino sardo* (UK: *The Sardinian Drummer Boy*, 1915) and *La piccola vedetta lombarda* (*The Little Lookout from Lombardy*, 1915). An examination of the way in which advertising, reviews, and promotional materials worked to reframe these Risorgimento stories within a new historical context shows how the transmedial relationship between the novel, films and paracinematic texts helped to transform De Amicis's civically-minded patriotic tales into an endorsement of Italy's intervention in the First World War.

Giorgia Priorelli, '*The founders of a European era*'? *The Fascist and Falangist plans for Italy and Spain in the new Nazi order*, pp. 317-330.

At the dawn of the Second World War, the successes of the Axis seemed to herald the realisation of a new anti-Bolshevik and anti-democratic European order dominated by Nazi-fascist powers. Italian Fascists and Spanish Falangists enthusiastically welcomed plans for the 'new civilisation' in which they were determined to participate as protagonists. This article sheds light on the roles projected for the respective countries in the New European Order in the postwar period, according to the black and the blue shirts. It also investigates the ideological and cultural foundations of the Fascist and Falangist projects related to the new continental configuration, identifying similarities and differences between them. Considering the scarcity of comparative writings about fascist movements in the Mediterranean area, the present research fills a historiographic gap.

24 (4) 2019

Maurizio Marinelli, *Domesticating Italy's foreignness in China: the transcultural politics of the copy and the real*, pp. 417-436.

This article consists of three sections. The first one concentrates on the conceptualisation of the Italian concession in Tianjin (1901–1947). The second connects the past imagery of the Italian ‘aristocratic concession’ to its contemporary reinvention as the ‘New Italian-style Town’. The third section explores the rationale for the diffusion of what I define as Italianerie: a fascination for Italy, for a ‘real-unreal’ Italian-flavoured atmosphere, through the creation of multi-million-dollar luxury designer outlets known as ‘Florentia Villages’. The first Florentia Village, ‘inspired by classic Italian architecture’, opened in Wuqing, halfway between Beijing and Tianjin, in June 2011, followed by the replica of this template in eight Chinese cities. Is this the outcome of a specific patrimonialisation strategy? What is the significance of this showcase of Italian design in China? What lies behind the apparent paradox of reproducing ‘in/authentic’ Italy in miniature, and using it to sell the ‘real’ luxury products, in a country like China, which is stereotyped as the paradise of the fake? Is innovation by design reconfiguring the relationship between production and consumption of cultural images and commodities? This article intends to explore these questions with particular attention to transcultural strategies in Chinese urbanism – past and present.

Linetto Basilone, *Through East Asia to the sound of ‘Giovinezza’: Italian travel literature on China, Korea and Japan during the Fascist ventennio*, pp. 457-468.

During the Fascist *ventennio*, prominent Italian writers and journalists, such as Mario Appelius, Raffaele Calzini, Arnaldo Cipolla, Arnaldo Fraccaroli, Roberto Suster and Cesco Tommaselli, reported from China, Japan and Korea for *Il Popolo d'Italia*, *Corriere della Sera* and *La Stampa*. Their travel narratives were crucial for the creation and diffusion in Italy of the dominant representation of China and Korea as remote, decadent and exotic societies; and of Japan as a progressive society resonant with Fascist Italy. The narrativisation of these countries in Italian travelogues from the Fascist *ventennio* was part of a widespread discursive practice by Italian intellectuals willing to subscribe to, and actively disseminate, the guiding principles of Fascism. When emphasising China's and Korea's irreconcilable difference from, and Japan's affinity with, Fascist Italy, these intellectuals extolled the Italian race and culture, justified Italy's position in geopolitical dynamics, and propagandised the exceptionality of the Fascist ideology.

Past & Present

242 (1) 2019

John Horne, *End of a Paradigm? The Cultural History of the Great War*, pp. 155-192

Cultural history has dominated the study of the Great War for 25 years. Since all intellectual paradigms have a life-cycle, it seems important to ask whether this one can still innovate. Cultural history has achieved much. It has shown how the war was represented (by artists and intellectuals, ideologies and ‘war cultures’). It has gone further by making the recovery of the experiences of the war the core of its agenda. Cultural historians have revealed what the first mass event of the 20th century meant for soldiers, women and hitherto neglected groups such as prisoners and occupied populations. They have also re-situated the conflict in new ‘time frames’ and in the new spatial relationships intrinsic to a global war. The result, however, has been an analytically descriptive history that has played down the causal history emphasized by traditional political and military studies. Yet these kinds of history provide the ‘master narratives’ of the First World War. Should cultural history continue to operate in a semi-parallel universe? Renewal seems necessary, and to achieve this, cultural historians might engage more with other historical fields. Three short examples, in demographic and military history, illustrate how this could be done.

Lydia Walker, *Decolonization in the 1960s: On Legitimate and Illegitimate Nationalist Claims-Making*, pp. 227-264

What happened to peoples who felt colonized in post-colonial states? After the Second World War, the formal international order of the United Nations and Cold War political alignments recognized national self-determination as a right, but only saw claims of self-determination within European empires. However, there are hidden stories of anti-colonial claims within post-colonial states, claims that operated through informal networks because they were invisible to international institutions. These networks produced a layer of international relations that took on the issue of minority nationalisms. Through the travelogues and visa difficulties of nationalist claimants from Nagaland in Northeast India and Namibia in Southern Africa, this article makes visible this layer of politics. It considers the peoples for whom 1960s global decolonization did not mean national liberation, the unofficial individuals who spoke for them that were empowered by the UN’s inability to do so, and the symbiotic relationship between these two sets of actors. By showing the mutual, yet unequal dependence of nationalists and their advocates, this article argues that certain nationalist claimants achieved forms of pre-independence recognition from advocacy, but that this support came with strings—strings that constrained nationalist claims.

243 (1) 2019

Matthew S. Champion, *The History of Temporalities: An Introduction*, pp. 247-254

In recent years, and across multiple disciplines, temporality has become a focus of scholarly attention. Why is this the case? Haven’t historians always been concerned with temporalities? As the essays

gathered here suggest, the answer to this question has to be ‘yes and no’. Like all categories of analysis, time has provoked scholars to think in different directions across multiple disciplines for many years. But with increasing unanimity scholars are now emphasizing histories of ‘temporality’ and not simply of ‘time’. What does this shift imply?

242 (supplement 14) 2019

Giovanni Levi, *Frail Frontiers?*, pp. 37-49

The terms ‘microhistory’ and ‘global history’ have been the source of a deal of muddle: ‘micro’ and ‘global’, which originally indicated clear-cut historiographic domains, soon became umbrellas under which many different procedures took refuge. Their original intention was not, in fact, to talk exclusively, in the first case, about small things and in the second about broad areas, the first only about local history and the second about the history of spatially distant events. This simplistic view has obscured much of the innovatory momentum which they initially produced. To start talking now about global microhistory runs the risk of creating further misunderstanding; risks, in fact, appearing to promote a marriage between different people who do not know each other that well and have different objectives, even if enjoying a degree of consanguinity. Which is why I would like to put forward a few suggestions aimed at clarifying aims, affinities and divergencies.

John Paul A. Ghobrial, *Introduction: Seeing the World like a Microhistorian*, pp. 1-22

From its advent at the turn of the twenty-first century, global history has been a field in search of its soul. Reading Patrick O’Brien’s contribution to the inaugural issue of the *Journal of Global History* in 2006, one cannot but be struck by the optimism expressed in his vision of global history. Here, O’Brien called for the restoration of a ‘modern’ form of global history that promised to ‘construct negotiable meta-narratives, based upon serious scholarship that will become cosmopolitan in outlook and meet the needs of our globalizing world’.¹ Only a year later, Dominic Sachsenmaier — writing in the much older *Journal of World History*, founded at the University of Hawaii in 1990 — struck a cautionary note when he wondered whether global history could really become the sort of ‘ecumenical history’ envisioned by O’Brien. What hope was there for a truly global history, particularly if historical writing remained structured around a ‘nationally organised scholarly community’ that was ‘ill equipped to handle transnational or even global research agendas’? His prophecy still strikes a chord today: ‘The question of whose world history, what perspectives, and what historiographical traditions are being applied will become even more pertinent than in the case of more localized research’.² Anglophone scholarship was not alone in feeling this initial unease. In the pages of the French journal *Annales*, in May 2000, Roger Chartier posed an important question: ‘To think the world’, he wrote, ‘but who thinks it? Men of the past or historians of the present?’ Whatever the case, the editors of the *Annales* were sure of one thing: writing such a global history ‘would be very difficult’ indeed.

134 (566) 2019

Richard Vinen, *A War of Position? The Thatcher Government's Preparation for the 1984 Miners' Strike*, pp. 121-150.

It has sometimes been suggested that the government of Margaret Thatcher responded to the miners' strike of 1984/5 with plans that had been conceived long in advance. This article argues that Conservatives certainly discussed the prospect of a strike from the mid-1970s. However, they did not have clearly worked-out plans or much confidence in their ability to win such a dispute, and they became even more cautious after their humiliating retreat when faced with the threat of a strike in February 1981. Stockpiling coal was, initially, designed to deter a strike rather than to defeat one. Only slowly did some Tories reconcile themselves to the prospect that there was likely to be a strike and that 1984 was the least bad time to face it. Furthermore, Margaret Thatcher herself was not always keen to confront the miners and many of those who did the most to prepare and execute government strategy were not Thatcherites; some were civil servants rather than politicians.

134 (567) 2019

Emily Jones, *Constructive Constitutionalism in Conservative and Unionist Political Thought, c.1885–1914*, pp. 334-357.

A central concern of historical writing on the modern British Conservative Party has been that of adaptation and survival: to what extent, and in what ways, did the party appeal to new voters, in new areas, and on new terms? This article demonstrates, through an analysis of Conservative and Unionist intellectual culture, that the late Victorian and Edwardian period was a vital moment in which men and women, historians, novelists, journalists, MPs and peers were constructively re-envisaging what it meant to be a Conservative, or a Unionist, in the wake of the Third Reform Acts (1884–5) and the first Irish Home Rule Bill (1886). It argues that Conservative and Unionist intellectual culture evidences the constructive and imaginative ways in which the protection and 'maintenance' of the constitution was conceived both through the recognition and adoption of new modes of political legitimisation and argument – including the referendum, Lords reform and women's representation – and the construction of novel histories and genealogies. This was, therefore, a vital moment in the development of a modern 'C/conservative' tradition, as Conservatives and Unionists put pen to paper in order to express their C/conservative principles, as well as to inform and educate.

Christopher Moran, *Concealing Collusion: The Suez Crisis, Political Memoirs and Official Secrecy, 1956–1969*, pp. 358-389.

The Suez crisis in 1956 has long been recognised as a watershed in British history – precipitating the fall of Anthony Eden's government, accelerating the end of empire, and underscoring how weak Britain had become on the international stage, especially in relation to the United States, which emerged from the episode as undeniably the senior partner in the 'Special Relationship'. Less

understood is the important role that the crisis played in weakening the foundations of official secrecy in Britain, especially what might be described as the social underpinnings of secrecy. This article explores how sensitive details about Suez eventually came to light in the period 1956 to 1969, despite concerted and sometimes cunning efforts by the Whitehall machine to prevent disclosure. Contrary to conventional wisdom, which suggests that socialist parliamentary firebrands like Michael Foot proved the most difficult to control, it is argued that the greatest challenge to secret-keepers came from senior conservative politicians writing memoirs—chief among them Eden himself—who were headstrong, not easily intimidated, and unafraid to bypass rules and codes of discretion to vindicate their careers. Fascinatingly, memoir writers not only ignored legal mechanisms such as the much-feared Official Secrets Act, but, against the backdrop of profound social and cultural change, they also dismissed attempts by mandarins to exploit gentlemanly bonds and loyalties, which in the past had been an effective method of promoting self-censorship by members of the elite.

134 (568) 2019

André Keil, *The National Council for Civil Liberties and the British State during the First World War, 1916–1919*, pp. 620-645.

The First World War saw an unprecedented expansion of the executive powers of the British government that radically changed the relationship between individual citizens and the state. This article offers a new perspective on these developments by analysing the activities of the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL) between 1916 and 1918. It explores the emergence of civil liberties activism in Britain during the war and its impact on British political culture. The NCCL became an efficiently organised pressure group, campaigning against press censorship, political policing and the suppression of anti-war dissent. This article argues that the innovative campaigning and propaganda methods used by the NCCL mark a moment of innovation that can be described as a revolution in activism. It represents a shift from the grass-roots political associations of the nineteenth century towards more professional forms of political activism that foreshadowed the rise of modern pressure groups and NGOs. The article also explains the emergence of a new discourse about the relationship between civil liberties, democracy and socialism in Britain during the First World War. The NCCL became an important locus for the networks of protest and dissent that emerged in Britain in response to the expansion of the wartime state. The article thus presents a new perspective on the beginnings of civil liberties activism in Britain and the impact of the First World War on its political culture.

134 (569) 2019

Peter M Keeling, *The Armed Forces and Parliamentary Elections in the United Kingdom, 1885–1914*, pp. 881-913.

This article discusses the electoral position of the British Army and Royal Navy during the period between the Third Reform Act and the outbreak of war in 1914, offering a ‘bottom up’ perspective on the history of civil–military relations. Drawing heavily from contemporary newspapers and

electoral registers, it shows that in a number of constituencies soldiers and sailors held significant voting influence. Because soldiers were assumed to be natural Conservatives, the struggle between Tory and Liberal election agents over their registration sheds light on the nature of local party politics during this time, as well as the practical operation of what was a complex and unsympathetic electoral system. More broadly, it offers a case-study in ‘positive Unionism’, which challenges the view of the Conservative Party as an unbending opponent of franchise reform and, similarly, sheds light on the less democratic side of the Liberal Party. In terms of the armed forces themselves, the article argues that while the Army harboured a strong Unionist identity, the Navy was much less partisan in its voting habits; Irish soldiers proved themselves Liberal in sympathies. Overall, the article provides a fresh perspective on the position of the Army and Navy in British society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and, in its conclusion, adds context to the 1918 Representation of the People Act.

134 (570) 2019

Kathryn Gleadle, *Communities, and Educational Reform in Late Victorian Britain*, pp. 1169-1195.

This article argues for the importance of restoring girls’ aspirations and self-education to narratives of Victorian educational reform. Studies typically focus upon the efforts of professionals, politicians and campaigners in plotting the pioneering changes to girls’ education in the second half of the nineteenth century. Here it is contended that the success of these developments depended upon a new generation of girls with the confidence and ambition to take advantage of the new opportunities to sit examinations and attend university. To do this, the article excavates the neglected phenomenon of the manuscript magazine. It examines how young females used well-established periodicals to advertise their own amateur magazines. Inviting readers to contribute to their ventures, they constructed independent networks of collaborative cultural endeavour. Manuscript magazines, it will be suggested, need to be understood as part of a ‘magazine culture’ widely embraced by Victorian girls. To tease out the small but subtle ways in which magazine culture could enhance the aspirations of young women, the article focuses upon the extraordinary diary archives of Eva Knatchbull-Hugessen (1861–95). The educational career of Knatchbull-Hugessen, who was an early student at Newnham College in the 1880s, exemplifies the impact which engagement in girlhood culture could engender and the significant role played by magazines, both professional and amateur, in this process. Understanding teenage responses to educational reforms requires a recalibration of our analytical lens to focus not upon grand narratives of feminist awakening but rather upon the small subjective shifts which typically underlay young females’ decisions.

62 (1) 2019

M. Andrew Fearnley, *The Black Panther Party's Publishing Strategies and The Financial Underpinnings of Activism, 1968-1975*, pp. 195-217.

Historians of America's post-war social movements have said little about the financial underpinnings of activism, and this article aims to address this oversight. It focuses on the Black Panther Party, which was formed in Oakland, California, in 1966, and was soon one of America's most visible, and controversial, black power organizations. The article sketches the array of funding sources from which the party drew, and reconstructs the apparatus it fashioned to steward those resources. It condenses the discussion to one of the organization's most lucrative streams, that of book publishing, and relates this to the period's literary culture, which, in the US, witnessed a 'black revolution in books'. Between 1968 and 1975, members of the party published some ten books, which together raised \$250,000 in advances, and additional sums through their sale, serialization, and translation. The production of these works relied on the assistance of several freelance writers, and was guided by the party's commercial agency, Stronghold Consolidated Productions. By recovering the role of these groups and the infrastructure they fashioned, the article shows how publishing was connected to the wider financial structure of the organization, and prompts us to see that the Panthers' books were not just accounts of their activism, but examples of it.

Ryosuke Yokoe, *Alcohol and Politics in Twentieth-Century Britain*, pp. 267-287.

This review surveys recent developments in the historiography of the politics of alcohol in twentieth-century Britain. The 'drink question' has undergone a set of tumultuous shifts, beginning with the decline of the temperance movement after the First World War, diminished conflict in the interwar and post-1945 periods, and the revived concerns over consumption and harm in the late twentieth century. Historians have traditionally presented the drink question as a binary conflict between advocates and opponents of the liberal distribution of drink. Newer narratives question the assumed 'rationality' of modern approaches to alcohol, especially concerning the post-1970s public health model which has been increasingly understood as an indirect manifestation of the temperance movement. The concept of 'moral panics' has been frequently employed to frame the formation of public attitudes towards drink. The article argues that these multifarious developments illustrate how alcohol offers a unique vantage point into various social developments in modern Britain, including that of the changing role of the state, the contested nature of scientific knowledge, and the formation of public opinion. It also suggests that the historiography should overcome its narrow focus on alcohol in modern Britain by juxtaposing it with other substances, regions, and periods.

62 (2) 2019

Chris Vaughan, *The Politics of Regionalism and Federation in East Africa, 1958-1964*, pp. 519-540.

Recent scholarship discussing the ‘federal moment’ in world history after 1945 has re-examined alternatives to the nation-state in the years of decolonization, arguing against any inevitable transition from empire to nation. This article focuses on the case of East Africa, where federation seemed an attractive and likely prospect by 1963, yet never came to pass. Here, the politics of federation should be understood as a constitutive part of the contested nation-state-making process, rather than a viable alternative to it. For the leaders who initiated the politics of federation in the 1960s, regional unity promised the further centralization of power and a means of defeating ‘tribalist’ opposition. For their opponents, federation was seized on as a means of promoting the autonomy of provinces or kingdoms within a larger federal unit. Ultimately, regionalist aspiration was inseparable from national politics, and negotiations among the leaders of East African states demanded the definition of national interests which divided states rather than united them. Such conclusions suggest that historians of the federal moment might more productively focus on the functions of federalist discourse in the making of nation-states rather than debating the viability of federalist projects.

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Hannah Malone, *New Life in The Modern Cultural History of Death*, pp. 833-852.

This essay presents a critical overview of recent literature in English on the modern cultural history of death. In order to locate new developments, it charts the evolution of the field from the 1970s until today and distinguishes between French and Anglophone strands in the historiography. A selection of studies published between 2005 and 2015 exemplifies a revival in recent scholarship that hangs on four main innovations: the abandonment of grand narratives of modernization and secularization; an interdisciplinary integration of political, cultural, and intellectual history; greater attention to the individual; and the expansion of the field beyond Europe and North America. Thus, today, the history of death is both local and global, public and private, personal and universal.

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Stephanie Ward, *Labour Activism and the Political Self in Inter-War Working-Class Women's Politics*, pp. 29-52.

This article explores working-class women's experiences of political activism in the Labour Party in the 1930s. The article focuses upon the relationships formed with leaders, the bonds with fellow women, and the emotional fulfilment politics could bring, rather than considering the policies and campaigns which drew women into the party. It suggests how working-class women performed a political self which was shaped by but distinctive from a domestic self. Official political party materials from across Britain are drawn upon to uncover how working-class women in the years after equal franchise was won carved out a political space and the meanings of activism. Party members' private and public portrayals of women's activism are considered. Although the focus is upon working-class women's political experiences, the conclusions drawn here have implications for how the creation of a political self can be considered in studies of other political parties and voluntary organizations.

Emma Barrett, *King Caz: Cazenove, Thatcherism, and the 1980s Financial Revolution*, pp. 108-131.

This article shows how elite stockbrokers Cazenove and Co. responded to the 'Big Bang' deregulation of the financial sector in 1986, using social networks and inherited practices to navigate an ostensibly technical and modernizing revolution. The Thatcher administration's reform of the London Stock Exchange was an economic enterprise intended to end restrictive practices and open the City to competition. A more open meritocratic financial sector marked the 'death of gentlemanly capitalism' and coalesced with a political agenda for entrepreneurialism and popular capitalism. Yet this case study shows how Cazenove's culture drove its strategy, that privilege and hierarchy were sustained by influential cross-sector networks, and that there was resistance to change, even though technological change and new financial instruments were embraced as part of a strategy which mixed innovation with tradition. Essentially, elite networks persisted in the 1980s deregulated economy, as established relationships were used to optimum effect and became more important after Big Bang. A more mutually supportive relationship between finance and industry than has hitherto been imagined is also demonstrated. By showing how a modernizing revolution was navigated using social networks and traditions, this article restores the role of culture to financial history. It also contributes to a body of work in twentieth-century British history which challenges the perception that neoliberal ideas were consistently applied under Thatcherism and complicates the notion of a coherent Thatcherite project.

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Gary Love, *A 'Mixture of Britannia and Boadicea': Dorothy Crisp's Conservatism and the Limits of Right-Wing Women's Political Activism, 1927-48*, pp. 174-204.

Dorothy Crisp is known for being the militant Chairman of the British Housewives League (BHL) after the Second World War, but historians have failed to recognize that her views and actions were the culmination of over twenty years of right-wing journalism and political activism through which she tried to influence the Conservative Party. This article re-evaluates Crisp's Conservatism and her political career. It asks why such a powerful pro-Conservative female activist failed to secure a place within Conservative politics during the 1930s and the 1940s. In doing so, it shows that Crisp was not willing to conform to traditional gender roles inside the Party or the broader Conservative movement and that she was a vocal advocate for gender equality. It was the combination of her attitude towards women's issues and her older brand of imperialist, ultra-patriotic, anti-statist Conservatism that was unusual for a right-wing woman in this period. Crisp's views on women's issues did not fit the domesticity agenda of the BHL or that of the 'Tory women's tradition', which could not provide her with an opportunity to achieve her career goals. The article also explores how the Party handled challenges from independent right-wing activists, especially women, in a period when 'one-nation' Conservatism was dominant. It engages with recent debates about 'Conservative feminism' and argues that Crisp was also an important figure because she kept alive the model of the independent radical female Conservative, which would become the hallmark of Margaret Thatcher's politics a generation later.

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William Butler, *"The British Soldier is no Bolshevik": The British Army, Discipline, and the Demobilization Strikes of 1919*, pp. 321-346.

This article considers the breakdown in discipline in the British Army which occurred in Britain and on the Western Front during the process of demobilization at the end of the First World War. Many soldiers, retained in the army immediately after the Armistice, went on strike, and some formed elected committees, demanding their swifter return to civilian life. Their perception was that the existing demobilization system was unjust, and men were soon organized by those more politically conscious members of the armed forces who had enlisted for the duration of the war. At one stage in January 1919, over 50,000 soldiers were out on strike, a fact that was of great concern to the British civilian and military authorities who miscalculated the risk posed by soldiers. Spurred on by many elements of the press, especially the Daily Mail and Daily Herald, who both fanned and dampened the flames of discontent, soldiers' discipline broke down, demonstrating that the patriotism which had for so long kept them in line could only extend so far. Though senior members of the government, principally Winston Churchill, and the military, especially Douglas Haig and Henry Wilson, were genuinely concerned that Bolshevism had 'infected' the army, or, at the very least, the army had been unionized, their fears were not realized. The article examines the government's strategy regarding demobilization, its efforts to assess the risk of politicization and manage the press, and its responses to these waves of strikes, arguing that, essentially, these soldiers were civilians first and simply wanted to return home, though, in the post-war political climate, government fears were very real.

Peter Gurney, *'Co-operation and Communism cannot work side by side': Organized Consumers and the Early Cold War in Britain*, pp. 347-374.

This article contributes to a better understanding of labour anti-communism in Britain through an exploration of the evolution of ideas and attitudes within the co-operative movement during the early Cold War. It demonstrates that the period witnessed an increasingly rigid separation of co-operation from communism and argues that this separation made it harder for activists within the co-operative movement to imagine a total or utopian alternative to capitalism. Drawing particularly on a close reading of the co-operative press as well as other sources, the study is divided into three main parts. The first section discusses sympathy among co-operators for the achievements of the Soviet Union, which increased during the war against fascism. The article then moves on to consider the continuing dialogue between British co-operators and their counterparts in European communist states and how international tensions shaped co-operators' views. The final major section explores the hardening of attitude towards communism after Marshall Aid was declared in June 1947, and underlines the role played by figures such as A. V. Alexander and Jack Bailey who worked with the Information Research Department at the Foreign Office to spread anti-communism within the movement. The conclusion reflects, more speculatively, on what implications this shift may have had for the medium and long-term decline of co-operation and the hegemony of capitalist consumerism post-war.

30 (4) 2019

Lyndsey Jenkins, *Annie Kenney and the Politics of Class in the Women's Social and Political Union*, pp. 477-503.

This article argues that an analysis of Annie Kenney's public representation and private relationships offers a new way of evaluating how class was understood, experienced, and negotiated within the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Annie Kenney was a well-known suffrage activist from Lancashire, usually described as the only working-class woman to achieve prominence in the organization. This article analyses how the WSPU initially made much of Annie Kenney's social origins, attracting significant press attention. However, it also demonstrates that their assumption that she could effectively speak for all working-class women was problematic, since it assumed a homogeneity of working-class experience. As the WSPU shifted its focus to recruiting more middle-class women, it sought instead to celebrate Annie Kenney's commitment to the cause. Ironically, she was often more effective in building relationships with wealthier women, forming substitute families that provided significant support and benefits. Yet though the depth of these relationships was extraordinary in the context of contemporary class relations, they remained exceptional rather than typical. This article thus develops the work of scholars including Sandra Stanley Holton, Sue Thomas, and Laura Schwartz, who have analysed how class fragmented and shaped the women's movement. It demonstrates that the significance of class within the WSPU was fluid and shifting rather than fixed and static and indicates both the potential for, and barriers to, meaningful and lasting cross-class collaboration.

Stefan Ramsden, *First Aid and Voluntarism in England, 1945–85*, pp. 504-530.

First aid was the focus of growing voluntary activity in the post-war decades. Despite the advent of the National Health Service in 1948, increased numbers of people volunteered to learn, teach, and

administer first aid as concern about health and safety infiltrated new activities and arenas. In this article we use the example of the Voluntary Aid Societies (VAS, focusing in particular on St John Ambulance) to highlight continuities and change in the relationship between state and voluntary sector in health and welfare provision during the four decades after 1945. Though the state assumed vastly expanded health and welfare responsibilities after the war, the continuing vitality of the VAS suggests cultural continuities that the post-war welfare state did not eradicate. The article therefore builds on the insights of historians who argue that volunteering remained a vital component of British society across the later twentieth century, and that the state and voluntary sector were not mutually exclusive.

John Maiden, 'Race', *Black Majority Churches, and the Rise of Ecumenical Multiculturalism in the 1970s*, pp. 531-556.

At the beginning of the 1970s, relations between the historic British churches and the new black-led churches were usually non-existent or marked by prejudices or ambivalences. This article examines the emergence, development, and significance of a cross-cultural ecumenical dialogue sponsored by the British Council of Churches. It places this in a context of both growing white liberal interest in the 'multi-racial' society and the increasing public assertiveness of collective black Christian consciousness. In doing so, it contributes to our understandings of religious change in the twentieth century: both in terms of perceptions of 'secularization' and the complex relationship between Christianity and race relations in the decades after Windrush.

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Ángel Luis López Villaverde, *La Iglesia española ante la República (1931-1933)*, pp. 51-76.

El texto ofrece una visión de la Iglesia española ante la República (1931-1933) en torno a tres planos de análisis. La diversidad, en primer lugar, que recorría el mundo católico en cualquiera de los ámbitos que lo componían, dando lugar a la presencia de auténticos «provocadores»; la existencia, en el extremo contrario, de un verdadero proyecto católico, que partía del Vaticano y tenía alcance global —involucrando al clero lo mismo que a la prensa confesional o la Ceda— y, por último, una dinámica política general capaz de introducir modificaciones de alguna significación en el discurso oficial, que por ello mismo evolucionaría desde el inicial entendimiento hacia la simple coexistencia que se instaló tras aprobarse la Constitución y la desaparición de toda posibilidad de diálogo que llegaría una vez publicada la Ley de Confesiones y Congregaciones religiosas.

Eduardo González Calleja, *La violencia clerical y anticlerical en el primer bienio republicano en España*, pp. 77-104.

El artículo plantea una compleja apuesta metodológica en la que el reduccionismo inherente a los habituales estudios sobre anticlericalismo cede paso a una global e integradora consideración de la violencia religiosa que así se nutre de actores y manifestaciones verdaderamente plurales. El trabajo destaca, además, tanto por la utilización de fuentes diplomáticas, informes del cónsul británico H. M. Young depositados en The National Archives y documentación procedente del Archivo Secreto Vaticano, como por una asunción crítica de las interpretaciones culturalistas que hoy se hacen del anticlericalismo por considerar que minusvaloran «quizá en exceso» el peso de las circunstancias políticas.

114 (2) 2019

Rafael Vallejo Pousada, *Turismo en España durante el primer tercio del siglo xx: la conformación de un sistema turístico*, pp. 175-211.

Convencido de la posibilidad y de la potencialidad de estudiar, con un enfoque sistémico, la historia del turismo en España, al menos desde el primer tercio del siglo xx, cuando irrumpió el turismo moderno, el autor ofrece una aproximación al sistema turístico en construcción en España entre 1900 y 1936. Explica la conformación de las bases del sistema turístico español contemporáneo a través de sus cuatro etapas y presenta las cifras de la economía del turismo que prueban los avances de este «país de turismo» en su etapa formativa, que le sitúan como un país turístico emergente, entre los trece primeros países turísticos del mundo iniciada la década de 1930.

Jaume Valentines-Álvarez, *La ingeniería de la autonomía: catalanismo y tecnocracia en la Segunda República Española*, pp. 243-275.

Este artículo se centra en la participación política de los ingenieros industriales catalanes durante la crisis de 1929 y la Segunda República española. Los miembros de la Asociación de Ingenieros Industriales de Barcelona consideraron la autonomía política de Cataluña como una oportunidad de oro para desarrollar un proyecto nacional en el que la toma de decisiones políticas se guiara por consideraciones de eficiencia y competencia tecnológica. Antes de la Guerra Civil española (1936-1939), la amplia gama de ideologías políticas dentro del mundo de la ingeniería catalana se entrelazaron con la retórica sobre el apolitismo de las ciencias aplicadas.

Joaquim Sales, Agustí Nieto-Galan, *Exilio y represión científica en el primer franquismo: el caso de Enrique Moles*, pp. 277-309.

Este artículo revisa la biografía de Enrique Moles Ormella (1883-1953) prestando especial atención a su enjuiciamiento en los primeros años de la dictadura franquista. Al hacerlo, ayuda a refinar las tipologías del exilio en la Guerra Civil española, y arroja nueva luz sobre el papel de los científicos durante el conflicto y sus consecuencias inmediatas. La suerte cambiante de Moles durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera, la Segunda República española, la Guerra Civil y el franquismo temprano demuestran la compleja interacción entre ciencia e ideología, que debe analizarse cuidadosamente en un contexto histórico yendo más allá de las distinciones esencialistas entre ciencia y poder.

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Jens Ivo Engels, *La nueva historia de la corrupción. Algunas reflexiones sobre la historiografía de la corrupción política en los siglos XIX y XX*, pp. 23-49.

Durante las últimas décadas se ha desarrollado un nuevo enfoque historiográfico al problema de la corrupción. Este enfoque se caracteriza por tomar en consideración la noción de corrupción como concepto moral, por una parte, y, por la otra, las actividades clientelares y los favores políticos. Esta combinación que vincula la historia de las ideas, de los medios de comunicación y de los discursos con la historia de las prácticas, la historia social y la historia de las organizaciones permite una nueva visión de los procesos de modernización política.

Frédéric Monier, *¿Un «régimen honesto»? Soberanía y virtud en la República francesa (1870-1940)*, pp. 51-75.

Francia, entre los años 1880 y 1930, tuvo la reputación de ser el país europeo más castigado por la corrupción, con numerosos escándalos mediáticos. Promotor de una moral pública procedente de la Revolución francesa que vincula la soberanía a la virtud, el régimen de la Tercera República debería probar su honestidad para demostrar su legitimidad para gobernar. Como se demostrará en el artículo,

la frecuencia de escándalos tiene que ver con conflictos ideológicos muy duros —entre republicanos y nuevos actores críticos de derecha y de izquierda—, pero también con consensos sobre valores compartidos, el temor de la degeneración nacional y el derecho a la indignación cívica.

Borja de Riquer i Permanyer, *Francesc Cambó y la CHADE. ¿Qué hace un político «nuevo» presidiendo una multinacional corruptora?* pp. 105-130.

El político catalanista Francesc Cambó fue el presidente de la Compañía Hispano Americana de Electricidad (CHADE), la más importante inversión española en el extranjero y la principal empresa eléctrica de América Latina. El éxito económico de esta empresa, que permitió a Cambó enriquecerse de forma notable, se debió en gran medida a la influencia lograda en Argentina gracias a la corrupción política. Cambó, que conocía los procedimientos utilizados por su compañía - gastos confidenciales a periodistas y funcionarios, sobornos a políticos, ventajas fiscales, etc.-, nunca condenó estas prácticas, aunque le desagradaban. Consideraba que la corrupción era una enfermedad muy difícil de curar y que ante ella debía actuarse con discreción y prudencia, evitando siempre el escándalo público. Él mismo y sus biógrafos han ocultado que en 1945 fue acusado de cooperación con el cohecho y defraudación a la Administración Pública y que logró evitar ser procesado gracias a la intervención de Juan Domingo Perón. Sus responsabilidades en la gestión corruptora de la CHADE sin duda contribuyeron a que el ambicioso «político nuevo» de principios de siglo XX acabara convertido en un acaudalado conservador, incapaz de asumir ningún riesgo político.

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Pablo León Aguinaga y Esther M. Sánchez Sánchez, *Los programas de formación para la «Mutua Defensa» entre España y Estados Unidos en los años cincuenta*, pp. 49-76.

La asistencia militar fue uno de los elementos más polémicos de la acción exterior de Estados Unidos durante la Guerra Fría. Esta tomó múltiples formas, siendo una de las más representativas la instrucción de militares aliados, pertenecientes tanto a países democráticos como a dictatoriales. Desde la primera mitad de los años cincuenta cientos de uniformados españoles complementaron su instrucción en escuelas militares e instalaciones americanas situadas en Estados Unidos y Europa o a cargo de instructores norteamericanos desplazados a España. A partir de fuentes archivísticas, inéditas en su mayoría, el presente artículo analiza los objetivos, puesta en marcha y consecuencias iniciales de los distintos programas de training vinculados a la Mutua Defensa en los años cincuenta.

Carlos Sanz Díaz, *Aliado silencioso: Alemania Occidental y la modernización del sector de la defensa en España, 1945-1986*, pp. 105-132.

Este artículo reconstruye la lógica política, tecnológica y económica de las relaciones entre España y Alemania en el ámbito de la defensa entre 1945 y 1986 desde el punto de vista de las aportaciones alemanas a la modernización militar de España. La RFA fue una fuente destacada de transferencias tecnológicas a España, aunque muy por detrás de Estados Unidos y Francia. La década de 1945-1955 y el periodo democrático a partir de 1975 ofrecieron las condiciones más favorables para el

intercambio, primero esencialmente bilateral y privado, y después cada vez más oficial y multilateral en el marco de la OTAN.

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Xavier Ferré Trill, Fermí Rubiralta Casas, *Ara fa cinquanta anys: referents ideològics fundacionals del PSAN*

This paper establishes the ideological context that explains the emergence of the Socialist Party for National Liberation of the Catalan Countries [Partit Socialista d'Alliberament Nacional dels Països Catalans, or PSAN]. To this end, the paper pinpoints the political and theoretical framework according to which the new party was defined (Marxism and anti-colonial liberation) and influenced (the European federalist movement and the events of May 1968). Specifically, the paper looks in detail at the formation of the PSAN's theoretical line and the meaning given to this line through the activism of party members.

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Rosa Monlleó Peris, *Revolutionary women in the Spanish civil war. Combative, «milicianas» and feminist mothers*

This article aims to prove that during the Spanish Civil War women transgressed fields traditionally associated with men by fighting in the front lines as milicianas, working in munitions factories or developing their own autonomy without the supervision of men in organisations like Mujeres Antifascistas (Anti-fascist Women), Unión de Muchachas (Girls' Union) or Mujeres Libres (Free Women). These new activities were to make an important contribution to the emancipation of women. Nonetheless, the discourses and the jobs done by women in the rearguard appealed to social motherhood. The setting we have chosen is the cities of Madrid and Castellón, which were two areas of Republican resistance during the Spanish Civil War where women's capacity to mobilise themselves became apparent.

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Mónica Moreno Seco, *Mujeres en el FRAP. Género, militancia y violencia en España durante los años setenta*, pp. 11-24.

Este trabajo aborda la experiencia de mujeres en el FRAP (Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota), organización que recurrió a la violencia como estrategia política en los últimos años del franquismo. El compromiso político de estas militantes pretendía movilizar la sociedad contra la dictadura y el orden burgués, y también las condujo a legitimizar el uso de la violencia y en ocasiones a ejercerla, trasgrediendo los límites del ideal de feminidad de la época. El análisis de los discursos, las imágenes y las acciones de mujeres en un ámbito que se suele considerar exclusivo de la masculinidad puede ayudar a enriquecer el conocimiento del antifranquismo y de la violencia política en la España de los años setenta.

Cristina Scheibe Woff, *Razón y emoción. Mujeres militantes en las dictaduras del Cono sur*, pp. 75-87.

Este trabajo pretende reflexionar sobre la importancia de emociones como el amor, la amistad y la empatía en la participación de mujeres en los movimientos de izquierda y de resistencia a las dictaduras en los países del Cono Sur, en las décadas de 1960 a 1980. Al mismo tiempo, indaga también sobre la relación entre estas emociones, entendidas como parte de la agencia política, y las motivaciones y elecciones consideradas racionales, tales como "ideología", los conocimientos científicos y académicos, las lecturas y las cuestiones económicas y sociales. La investigación se basa principalmente en un fondo de historia oral, construido a partir del proyecto Género, feminismos e ditaduras no Cone Sul del Laboratorio de Estudios de Género e História de la Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, compuesto por más de 200 entrevistas realizadas en Argentina, Chile, Paraguay y Uruguay. En estas entrevistas, de manera comparativa y cruzada, se buscan las motivaciones para la implicación en los movimientos políticos y se destacan de manera muy clara los componentes emocionales, que están siempre matizados y legitimizados por motivaciones "racionales" que los justifican en el discurso elaborado por las entrevistas. El objetivo del texto es comprender la emoción como parte del proceso político e histórico del período.

María Isabel García García, *La movilización femenina en el integrismo islámico: motivaciones y el rol*, pp. 153-177.

Estudios han prestado escasa atención a los factores que llevan a las mujeres a unirse a grupos terroristas de corte yihadista. La investigación contribuirá a arrojar luz sobre el fenómeno llevando a cabo una comparación entre los factores que han conducido a mujeres a unirse a grupos yihadistas en Chechenia e Irak y los que han impulsado a mujeres a unirse a la yihad global desde Occidente, atraídas por Al Qaeda y Dáesh. El estudio aborda también una aproximación a las referencias clásicas acerca de la yihad femenina y a la evolución del mensaje que las organizaciones terroristas han transmitido sobre el papel que deben tener las mujeres.

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Juan Avilés, *El secuestro y asesinato de Aldo Moro en la ficción cinematográfica y en la investigación histórica (1978-2018)*, pp. 9-22;

Javier Gil Guerrero, *Sorpresa, confusión y parálisis: Estados Unidos ante la Revolución Iraní*, pp. 125-14;

Sergio I. Moya Mena, *El "espíritu de Allah". El Ayatolá Jomeini y los fundamentos políticos de la República Islámica*,
pp. 109-124.

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José Luis Ledesma, *La historiografía y los frentes populares en Francia y España: una mirada comparada*, pp. 33-61.

Este artículo lleva a cabo una comparación historiográfica de la literatura académica sobre los periodos de Frente Popular de Francia y España. En concreto, el formato elegido es el de explorar la producción bibliográfica sobre el Frente Popular francés desde la del caso español en busca de elementos comparativos que permitan contemplar la generada por este último con una mayor perspectiva. La actualidad del Frente Popular en la historiografía contemporánea española y los debates y controversias que acoge su estudio justifican esta investigación. El objetivo es no solo buscar las similitudes y diferencias en el modo como han sido historiados los dos episodios, sino también los condicionamientos que para su estudio y representación historiográfica han supuesto coordenadas más amplias como la duración y naturaleza de esos episodios, los enfoques utilizados, la evolución y ritmos con que ambas sociedades se han acercado a sus dos frentes populares o el papel que estos desempeñan en las polémicas y «guerras de memoria» en los dos países.

Sergio Vaquero Martínez, *La autoridad, el pánico y la beligerancia. Políticas de orden público y violencia política en la España del Frente Popular*, pp. 63-92.

El presente artículo analiza la relación entre las políticas de orden público y el incremento de la violencia política que tuvo lugar en España entre febrero y julio de 1936. El restablecimiento inicial de una política reformista y menos represiva paradójicamente estimuló el desarrollo de cuatro catalizadores de la violencia: la deslegitimación gubernamental, la politización de la administración del orden público, la desautorización de los cuerpos policiales y la privatización del uso político de la fuerza. A partir de mayo, el Gobierno Casares intentó solucionar el problema intensificando la persecución del terrorismo falangista, desacelerando la republicanización de la Policía, restableciendo el principio de autoridad y recuperando el control de los resortes de orden público. Sin embargo, aunque estas medidas redujeron significativamente el número de víctimas mortales, la violencia política siguió siendo considerablemente elevada, los militares continuaron conspirando y el Estado no recuperó el monopolio de la coerción letal. Este periodo concluyó con el asesinato de Calvo Sotelo y la sublevación militar, que fue respaldada por al menos la mitad de las fuerzas policiales como una reacción no solo contra la grave situación del orden público, sino también contra unas políticas democratizadoras que habían socavado su autoridad y resquebrajado el monopolio estatal del ejercicio de la violencia.

José Miguel Hernández Barral, *La nobleza en la II República (1931-1936): la radicalización elitista*, pp. 211-239.

Durante la II República, la movilización política fue una cuestión central para la nobleza. Desde la pasividad a la conspiración, pasando por la militancia partidista, los nobles tuvieron distintas actitudes desde el nacimiento del nuevo régimen. El estudio de este grupo social permite poner en cuestión interpretaciones consolidadas sobre la actitud de las derechas, con implicaciones evidentes en su

papel en el bando sublevado, así como durante el franquismo. En este artículo se abordarán desde la perspectiva de la nobleza acontecimientos clave como la propia proclamación de la República, los sucesos del 10 de mayo o el golpe de Sanjurjo. Además, se hará una nueva lectura sobre la expropiación de los Grandes y su importancia en la movilización política de la nobleza. El estudio de las actitudes, estrategias e incoherencias de la aristocracia permite percibir una corriente elitista en las derechas en los complejos procesos de desliberalización, fascistización y captura nacionalista.

David Martínez Fiol, *El funcionario como experto. Profesionalismo y diletantismo en la función pública de la Generalitat de Catalunya (1931-1939)*, pp. 241-271.

La España de la primera mitad del siglo xx operó un intenso proceso de modernización política y económica que se tradujo en el crecimiento de las zonas urbanas y del sector de los servicios. Este fenómeno facilitó la expansión de una nueva clase media con estudios universitarios que optó, como medio de supervivencia económica y promoción social, por ofrecer sus servicios a las diferentes Administraciones públicas existentes en España. En el caso de Cataluña, la concreción de la Mancomunitat primero, en 1914-1924, y de la Generalitat después, en 1931-1939, abrió una ventana de oportunidades laborales a estas clases medias de formación universitaria. Sin embargo, en la construcción de la Generalitat republicana no siempre el mérito académico y profesional fue el requisito imprescindible en la contratación de funcionarios. La lucha contra la monarquía de Alfonso XIII y el régimen primorriverista sirvieron para algunos sectores del espacio político catalanista como carta de presentación suficiente para la obtención de un empleo público. Este artículo analiza cómo se construyeron, en la Cataluña de los años treinta, los diferentes discursos sobre cómo debía ser el auténtico profesional de la Administración pública de la Cataluña autónoma.

42 (2) 2019

Oscar Freán Hernández, *Ideas y vidas a través del Atlántico. El anarquismo americano en la prensa libertaria gallega*, pp.117-143.

En este artículo se analiza la presencia del anarquismo americano en la prensa libertaria gallega hasta 1936 desde la perspectiva de la historia transnacional. Las migraciones transatlánticas de los siglos xix y xx favorecieron el desarrollo de una densa red de relaciones y contactos entre Galicia y los países americanos. En esta red participan militantes anarquistas de ambos lados del océano. Los anarquistas gallegos mantienen una estrecha colaboración con sus compañeros libertarios americanos y muchos militantes gallegos participan activamente en el movimiento obrero de sus países de acogida. La prensa libertaria gallega muestra esta relación y participación de diferentes maneras (artículos, colaboraciones, noticias, iniciativas de apoyo y solidaridad, etc.). Esto prueba la existencia de una intensa circulación de ideas y de personas, así como de una militancia transnacional en el ámbito atlántico.

Javier Navarro Navarro, *Reforma sexual, control de natalidad, naturismo y pacifismo. La cultura libertaria trasatlántica en las décadas de 1920 y 1930* Estudios. *Revista Ecléctica (1928-1937) y su proyección y redes en América*, pp. 145-174.

Los redactores y principales colaboradores de la influyente revista cultural libertaria española Estudios (Valencia, 1928-1937) mantuvieron a lo largo de la vida de la publicación un interés permanente por conectarla, no solo con las principales redes del anarquismo global de entreguerras, sino también con campañas internacionales de aquellos años como la lucha por la difusión del control de natalidad y la eugenesia, la reforma sexual, el naturismo o el pacifismo. En este sentido, y continuando la labor de su predecesora, Generación Consciente (1923-1928), Estudios se vinculó a conocidos militantes, escritores, científicos y propagandistas en general de estas ideas y prácticas en Europa y América. A través de la propia revista, los contactos personales con estos individuos y su intensa labor publicística (con un activo servicio de librería y una muy fecunda actividad editorial), Estudios tejió redes a lo largo de estos años que contribuyeron a la difusión de esta nueva cultura anarquista internacional del período de entreguerras. América resultó aquí clave, tanto por la importancia que para la revista tuvo su distribución y venta en diversos países americanos, como por los vínculos que se establecieron con militantes, grupos, editoriales, etc., de aquel continente, afines de una u otra manera a las orientaciones ideológicas y culturales de Estudios.

Begoña Barrera López, *Emociones para una identidad compartida. La sección femenina de FET-JONS entre la guerra y los años grises*, pp. 241-268

Este artículo aborda la primera década de actividad de la Sección Femenina de Falange y se enmarca en un debate historiográfico abierto sobre la naturaleza del proyecto formativo de la organización falangista. El objetivo de esta propuesta es argumentar que la Sección Femenina trató de promover la educación de todas las españolas en un estilo o normativa emocional común; un estilo cuya invención se encuentra plenamente vinculada a la historia de la organización desde sus primeros años. Para demostrar esta hipótesis, se parte de un marco teórico que combina la historia de las emociones con la teoría de género y se emplean como fuentes los materiales instructivos y propagandísticos generados por la propia Sección Femenina. Las conclusiones obtenidas permiten comprender el alcance de esta educación sentimental y situar la construcción emocional de los sujetos en el centro de la reflexión sobre las identidades de género durante el franquismo.

Guillermo García Crespo, *La democracia del libre mercado. La intervención patronal en el sistema político de la Transición*, pp. 297-330.

Este artículo analiza la intervención de las principales organizaciones empresariales españolas, la CEOE y Fomento del Trabajo, en el sistema político de la Transición. El esquema propuesto parte del contexto económico —final de los Treinta Gloriosos y auge del neoliberalismo— y político —contrarrevolución conservadora— de la década de los setenta en Occidente para estudiar los fundamentos ideológicos que impulsaron al patronato español a inmiscuirse en la financiación irregular de los partidos y a poner en marcha un amplio dispositivo de carácter reservado con el fin de orientar el voto hacia las formaciones de centro derecha. Para conocer las características de la estructura reticular creada para influir sobre el voto en el ciclo electoral 1980-1982, así como la responsabilidad de los grupos de presión económicos en la crisis del partido gubernamental, la UCD, me he servido de una documentación hasta ahora inédita: el fondo personal de Carlos Ferrer Salat, primer presidente de la CEOE.

18 (1) 2019

José Luis Aqudín Menéndez, *Un rey viejo para tiempos nuevos: la construcción mediática del pretendiente Alfonso*, pp. 135-163.

En este artículo se pretende evaluar por medio de las páginas de diversas publicaciones adscritas a la red de prensa tradicionalista, a lo largo del período 1931-1936, la imagen que las mismas se encargaron de transmitir del nuevo, aunque octogenario, rey-pretendiente carlista, Alfonso Carlos (1849-1936), quien encarnó el nuevo viraje de la Comución Tradicionalista. Su presencia y la de otros componentes de la familia real legitimista aparecían una y otra vez en los medios periodísticos –al mismo tiempo que sus retratos presidían espacios de sociabilidad tradicionalista– con motivo de sus manifiestos como cabeza de la forma no estatal carlista, las festividades, santorales o cumpleaños. En último término, se atenderá el tratamiento del dilema sucesorio que enfrentó en el campo de la ideología y la propaganda a las reunificadas facciones de la “amalgama contrarrevolucionaria”. De entre las cabeceras asociadas a la red periodística carlista se analizarán, entre otras, por su importancia: los anteriormente diarios integristas *El Siglo Futuro* y *La Constancia*, el bisemanario jaimista *El Cruzado Español*, la revista santanderina *Tradición* o las cabeceras vitorianas *Heraldo* y *Pensamiento Alavés*.

Ángeles Lario, *Democracia y Monarquía en el debate constituyente de 1978*, pp. 165-191.

España se constituyó en 1978 como un Estado Social y Democrático de Derecho bajo una Jefatura de Estado monárquica. En ese proceso se enfrentó al conflicto doctrinal histórico sobre los términos y significados de la monarquía y su encaje con la democracia. Aunque no se legalizaron los partidos republicanos para las primeras elecciones, hubo enmiendas republicanas, y los partidos más grandes de la izquierda, el comunista y el socialista, mostraron su posición ante la cuestión de la monarquía y la república. Este artículo analiza el debate constituyente para descubrir las ideas de monarquía que se discutieron en 1978, así como su encaje en la democracia como alternativa a la república.

Giuliano Tardivo, Eduardo Díaz Cano, *40 años del secuestro y asesinato de Aldo Moro: la estrategia de la negociación de Craxi contra el muro de la firmeza*, pp. 345-365.

El objetivo de este trabajo es analizar la estrategia que aplicó el Partido Socialista Italiano, liderado por Bettino Craxi, contra el terrorismo de las Brigadas Rojas, durante el secuestro del político demócrata-cristiano Aldo Moro, que tuvo lugar en marzo de 1978. Para llevar a cabo este trabajo, se ha utilizado fuentes bibliográficas (revistas académicas, prensa de la época, y otras publicaciones) y también material audiovisual, procedente sobre todo del archivo audio de Radio Radicale. Los resultados demuestran que Bettino Craxi, por razones humanitarias y políticas, aplicó una estrategia distinta a la de otros líderes políticos: quería salvar la vida de Aldo Moro y a la vez reforzar a su debilitado partido.

José Luis Neila Hernández, *El “giro mediterráneo” de España en un mundo en tránsito*, pp. 51-77.

El Mediterráneo fue un eje determinante de la política exterior española desde comienzos del siglo XX, sin embargo, su vertiente mediterránea fue básicamente una política marroquí, con todos los componentes internacionales, coloniales y de seguridad. No sería hasta el tramo final del siglo – precisamente tras la normalización de la posición internacional de España desde sus anclajes atlánticos y europeos, entre 1982 y 1988, cuando realmente emergería una auténtica política mediterránea –el “giro mediterráneo” propiamente dicho. España ejerció como puente y como cabeza de puente desde su proyección hacia su frontera meridional, entonces también frontera geopolítica europea y atlántica. Asimismo, modelaría una política mediterránea con personalidad propia que cristalizó en el Proceso de Barcelona, y emprendió una ambiciosa rearticulación de la escala y las estrategias en sus relaciones con el Magreb.

Magdalena Garrido Caballero, *España y la Unión Soviética a finales de la Guerra Fría*, pp. 105-125.

El presente trabajo revisa las relaciones entre España y la URSS desde 1977, año en el que se reanudan las relaciones diplomáticas hispano-soviéticas, hasta el final de la Guerra Fría. Si el restablecimiento de las relaciones diplomáticas permitió ampliar el marco de los acuerdos bilaterales suscritos en distintos campos entre ambos países, el ingreso de España, años después en la OTAN, y su permanencia tuvieron un impacto negativo en la Unión Soviética y así se reflejó desde la esfera política y la propaganda soviética. En 1985, la llegada de Gorbachov a la secretaría general del CC del PCUS implicó cambios en el interior de la URSS, con la puesta en marcha de la perestroika y una nueva política exterior, la novoe myslenie. Esta última se convirtió en protagonista de la propaganda desplegada por las delegaciones de las asociaciones de amistad hispano-soviética, presentes desde 1979 en España. Ello se debe a que hicieron de escaparate de la visión soviética de la política internacional. Sirvieron también para difundir mensajes en la línea de los movimientos sociales contrarios a la permanencia española en la OTAN y para concitar apoyo internacional al proceso de cambios que tuvo lugar en los compases finales de la guerra fría.

Emanuele Treglia, *Contra el nuevo orden mundial. El comunismo español ante la posguerra fría*, pp. 127-155.g

El presente estudio trata de ilustrar cómo el PCE abordó el escenario de la inmediata posguerra fría. Con tal propósito, analiza las actitudes adoptadas por los comunistas españoles, no solo respecto a la Perestroika y la crisis del sistema soviético, sino también a acontecimientos internacionales clave como la unificación alemana, la crisis del Golfo y el nacimiento de la Unión Europea. Se subraya cómo, bajo el liderazgo de Anguita, el PCE experimentó un viraje a la izquierda que le llevó a fundamentar su política en una lógica de neta contraposición al nuevo orden mundial, caracterizado este por la hegemonía estadounidense y la expansión del modelo neoliberal.

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[American Historical Review](#)

124 (2) 2019

Bathsheba Demuth, *The Walrus and the Bureaucrat: Energy, Ecology, and Making the State in the Russian and American Arctic, 1870–1950*, pp. 483–510.

This article traces how ecological context shaped the actions and ambitions of the United States and the Soviet Union, through a comparison of their use of the Pacific walrus. Based in the shared environmental context of the Bering Strait, it examines how the two countries implemented opposing ideological projects in the Arctic, expecting to increase production and by doing so make Indigenous peoples into capitalist or socialist citizens. In an environment impossible for agriculture and difficult for industry, walrus-harvesting became one of the few productive options for these ambitions. Between the 1870s and the 1950s, both the U.S. and the USSR experimented with massive harvests of blubber and ivory to feed ideas of economic growth, before adopting mirrored conservation policies. This article argues that the reason stems from the inherently metabolic nature of modern states, which function by ensuring flows of energy through their economies and citizens. In the Bering Strait, that energy came in part from walrus, making environmental management and the economic practices it supported dependent on the species' biological capacities. Not only do modern, growth-oriented states change nature; they function ecologically, emerging from and thus governed by the distributed agency of ecosystems.

124 (3) 2019

Heidi J. S. Tworek, *Communicable Disease: Information, Health, and Globalization in the Interwar Period*, pp. 813–842.

Globalization is classically defined as the increased movement of people, goods, and information around the world. Yet not all aspects of globalization and deglobalization happened simultaneously. This article uses the development of an international health information network to explore why information did not globalize concurrently with migration and trade. Nearly seven decades after states had understood disease as a cross-border problem, the League of Nations Health Organization (LNHO) brought together states, empires, and foundations in a voluntary exchange of health information that reached two-thirds of the world's population and outlasted the League itself. The LNHO organized an infrastructure based on new wireless technology around colonial networks, port cities, the sea, and the air. Singapore and Saigon were more central than Geneva. Health information was meant to prevent epidemics; it enabled the LNHO to justify its own existence as a neutral broker for standardized, technical information; it helped colonial powers like Britain and France to share the financial burden of empire; it provided others like Japan with military advantages; and it enabled Germany to participate in international endeavors to regain national prestige. Tracing such

infrastructures enables historians to overcome artificial divides between the national, international, imperial, and global.

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[Diplomatic History](#)

43 (1) 2019

Charles Kraus, *More than Just a Soft Drink: Coca-Cola and China's Early Reform and Opening*, pp. 107–129.

The beverage and cultural icon known as Coca-Cola returned to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in January 1979. The month prior, the Coca-Cola Company and the Chinese government had brokered a bombshell agreement, which ended a thirty-year ban on the beverage on the Chinese mainland.¹ Bringing the world's most popular soft drink back to the world's most populous country, the deal appeared telling of the positive state of Sino-American relations and China's political and economic trajectory.

43 (4) 2019

Heidi Morefield, "*More with Less*": *Commerce, Technology, and International Health at USAID, 1961–1981*, pp. 618–643

In the aftermath of the 1970s, the United States' foreign assistance program posed a particular challenge to free-market policymakers. For Peter McPherson, senior consultant to the presidential campaign of then-Governor Ronald Reagan in the spring of 1980, the question of how to optimize aid would be crucial to rethinking U.S. bilateralism. In a report envisioning "A Cheaper and More Effective Foreign Aid Program," he argued that "the U.S. foreign aid program should be changed to emphasize self-help and technology transfer rather than resource transfer. Studies have shown a higher 'rate of return' for 'investments' in the self-help/technology transfer programs."

43 (5) 2019

Michael Franczak, *Losing the Battle, Winning the War: Neoconservatives versus the New International Economic Order, 1974–82*, pp. 867–889.

In the early 1970s, Americans of both parties came to resent what they saw as their government's acceptance of the United States' declining global power and the Third World's rise. In speech after speech at the United Nations, Third World representatives denounced the postwar economic order as unequal and immoral, designed by and for the benefit of rich Western countries (above all the United States). On May 1, 1974—International Labor Day—the UN General Assembly adopted the "Group of 77" (G-77) developing countries' resolution calling for "economic decolonization" and a "right to development" through the establishment of a New International Economic Order

[Gender & History](#)

30 (1) 2019

Anna Lebovic, *'How to be in Fashion and Stay an Individual': American Vogue, the Origins of Second Wave Feminism and Mass Culture Criticism in 1950s America*

On 15 September 1955, the latest edition of US *Vogue* hit American news stands. The issue's simple yet striking cover loudly proclaimed its central purpose: to showcase 'The New Way: How to Be In Fashion and Stay an Individual'. Inside, articles were faithful to the premise by exploring the 'New Suit-Individualism' in Paris and America and profiling 'City Smartness – International, Individual'.

This editorial approach – to resolve the paradoxical impulse to both blend in with the crowd *and* stand out from it – was not an accident, nor was it an anomaly. It was the culmination of a broader editorial shift during the 1950s in response to mid-century American critiques of mass culture and mass society.

30 (2) 2019

Suzu Kim, *The Origins of Cold War Feminism During the Korean War*

In June 1953, just before a ceasefire finally halted the Korean War (1950–1953), the World Congress of Women convened by the Women's International Democratic Federation met in Copenhagen. The Congress produced two documents, an 'Appeal to Women of the Whole World' and a 'Declaration of the Rights of Women', indicting the Cold War for its detrimental effects on women's rights. While historians of the Cold War in the United States have argued that both feminism and pacifism receded in the 1950s with the rise of domesticity and McCarthyism, the Korean War galvanised international women to support and promote women's rights and launch the first global peace campaign during the Cold War. Cold War historiography has skewed our understanding of the international history of the women's movement and dismissed serious efforts against the Korean War as 'bogus peace ventures'. Situating North Korean women within the international women's peace movement, this article excavates buried histories of Cold War sutures to show how leftist women tried to bridge the Cold War divide through maternal strategies.

30 (3) 2019

Franca Iacovetta, *Emotions, Marital Conflict and Affect in the Multicultural Social Welfare Encounter*

In 1956, a complex case of marital conflict involving a couple from Communist Czechoslovakia came before the counselling staff of the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, a post-1945 multicultural social agency that served mostly non-English-speaking immigrants and refugees. In keeping with its liberal pluralist mandate to promote both the integration as – opposed to assimilation – of newcomers into Canadian society and the value of cultural diversity among Canadians, the Institute combined cultural and instructional programmes with casework services. Covering most of the 1950s, the casework file on the Czech refugee couple offers some insight into how institutions

involved in the incorporation of migrant subjects surveyed and intervened in their intimate lives. It also contains shifting narratives of the clients' emotional and mental health.

21 (2) 2019

Matthew Jones, *Prelude to the Skybolt Crisis: The Kennedy Administration's Approach to British and French Strategic Nuclear Policies in 1962*, pp. 58-109.

The speech delivered by U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara on 16 June 1962 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor is often cited for its significance in the enunciation of U.S. nuclear strategy, but the speech also featured passages decrying the existence of separate, national nuclear forces within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This article concentrates on the latter dimension of the speech by examining the context of McNamara's remarks and the reactions they provoked, particularly in Great Britain. A vociferous political debate erupted in the United Kingdom over the country's independent nuclear deterrent. The article presents new evidence about McNamara's thinking on independent nuclear forces during this period and shows that the speech had the unintended consequence of complicating Britain's attempts to enter the European Economic Community. The speech and the resulting debate were a crucial part of the sequence of events that produced the Skybolt crisis at the end of 1962.

21 (3) 2019

Sebastián Hurtado-Torres, *The Chilean Moment in the Global Cold War: International Reactions to Salvador Allende's Victory in the Presidential Election of 1970*, pp. 26-55.

This article discusses the reactions of governments and political leaders around the world to the victory of Salvador Allende in the Chilean presidential election of 1970—reactions that were shaped by a combination of ideological considerations, the diplomatic interests of particular states in the context of the Cold War, and an image of Chilean democratic exceptionalism purveyed by Chilean diplomats and largely assumed by a surprising number of people abroad. Reactions to Allende's victory in 1970 reflected the ideological divisions in Chilean politics as well as the tensions and anxieties of an international order that was then beginning to experience a series of significant changes as a result of the East-West détente. Paradoxically, Allende's ideological foreign policy, one of the main reasons for which his election was both dreaded and welcomed in different parts of the world, foretold some of the changes that would take place in the international system in the 1970s.

21 (4) 2019

Filip Pospíšil, *Inspiration, Subversion, and Appropriation: The Effects of Radio Free Europe Music Broadcasting*, pp. 124-149.

The music broadcasting operations of Radio Free Europe (RFE) are an underappreciated political and cultural phenomenon of the second half of the twentieth century, one that sheds light on key features

of the Cold War as well as on the essence of the most important cultural impulse of that time: the spread of Western popular culture, especially rock music.

This article's main focus is on RFE's music broadcasting to Communist Czechoslovakia, which was selected as an example of a former Soviet-bloc country in which Western culture and music gained broad popularity, particularly among young people. The article evaluates the impact of this type of broadcasting from several angles, including how it was perceived and responded to by official institutions and political elites on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The article also discusses the links and mutual influences that led to changes in the declared aspirations and policies related to this type of broadcasting. Finally, it demonstrates how the audience in Soviet-bloc countries was able to seize the opportunity presented by the RFE broadcasts to take an active part in cultural exchange and even to help shape the broadcasts.

31 (1) 2019

Milner, S. *Assuming Direct Control: The Beguiling Allure of Incomes Policies in Postwar America*, pp. 42-71.

Histories of American economic policymaking after World War II often describe a “Fiscal Revolution,” in which Keynesian macroeconomic tools replaced the microeconomic regulations and reforms of the New Deal. This article challenges that narrative by demonstrating how the Keynesian economists responsible for the Fiscal Revolution relied upon incomes policies to ensure that inflation would not sabotage efforts to achieve full employment. In the 1960s, the White House Council of Economic Advisers pressed the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to enforce “wage-price guideposts” in order to realize the potential of the Fiscal Revolution. Yet incomes policies also encouraged policymakers to deflect responsibility for inflation onto the private sector’s behavior as an alternative to adopting the painful but necessary fiscal and monetary restraint. As a reliance on the microeconomic control of inflation persisted into the late 1970s, this approach ultimately undercut the Keynesians’ macroeconomic promises and prolonged the misery of stagflation.

Andelic, P. *“The Old Economic Rules No Longer Apply”: The National Planning Idea and the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act, 1974-1978*, pp. 72-100.

The campaign to pass the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act has been misunderstood by many historians. Rather than a failed attempt to resuscitate New Deal Keynesianism by an exhausted Democratic Party, it represented a radical effort to reconfigure the political economy of the United States by embracing national planning ideas that were enjoying a revival in response to the economic crisis of the 1970s. The fact that this bill proved politically viable challenges historians’ assumptions that this decade saw the American people turn away from “big government” and toward pro-market solutions for social and economic problems. This episode also forces us to reassess our understanding of the Democratic Party in this decade. It suggests that historians have erred in drawing a sharp distinction between the party’s “New Deal” and “New Politics” factions and that the policy goals of those factions dovetailed more often than has been appreciated.

Baltz, M. *Navigating the Globalization Dilemma: Democratic Pressure and the Making of U.S. Inward Foreign Direct Investment Policy in the 1970s*, pp. 101-125.

The tension between democratic institutions and the project to integrate international markets for trade and investment has been an enduring feature of the contemporary era of globalization. This article analyzes how officials in the executive branch navigated this tension in the making of inward foreign direct investment policy during the 1970s. Based on recently declassified archival sources, it traces how top officials in the Ford administration decided to establish a new interagency committee in order to appear responsive to congressional pressure and still leave its “open door” investment policy intact. Yet this measure only marked the first step in resolving their political dilemma. Lower-level functionaries then had to manage the problem of how to give the new committee the appearance

of strength while also maximizing its discretion to be weak. Overall, this article contributes the first comprehensive account of both phases of the policy-making process using new archival evidence.

31 (3) 2019

Threlkeld, M. *“The War Power Is Not a Blank Check”: The Supreme Court and Conscientious Objection, 1917-1973*, pp. 303-325.

This article examines the Supreme Court’s role in the development of federal conscientious objector policy in the twentieth century. Focusing on two key periods—the three years following the end of World War II, and the era of the Vietnam War—I argue that the policy’s evolution was more complex than previous studies have indicated, and that the Court’s changing attitudes toward conscientious objection can be traced to the justices’ increasing but irresolute concern for civil liberties. By the early 1970s, the Court was interpreting federal statutes much more broadly than Congress ever intended, but the justices remained divided over just how broad those interpretations should be. While the end of the draft rendered the question of compulsory military service moot, the Court’s failure to arrive at a clear position on conscientious objection has had lasting implications on other issues.

McLay, M. *A High-Wire Crusade: Republicans and the War on Poverty, 1966*, pp. 382-405.

During 1966, the Republican Party launched a largely successful challenge to Lyndon Johnson’s “War on Poverty.” Republican candidates pursued an anti-War on Poverty midterm strategy, which made antipoverty programs the symbol of Great Society liberalism, rather than its more popular programs, such as Medicare or the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Moreover, in Congress and on the campaign trail, Republicans offered well-crafted alternatives—such as their “Opportunity Crusade”—to offset charges of negativism and elitism that had dogged the Grand Old Party (GOP) since the creation of the New Deal in the 1930s. Significantly, while the War on Poverty survived the year, the Republican minority was unexpectedly successful in making important changes to the Economic Opportunity Act during the antipoverty legislation’s renewal. Overall, the Republican challenge to the War on Poverty in 1966, boded ill for the program’s longevity when the GOP finally secured the levers of power.

31 (5) 2019

Hart, J. *The National Environmental Policy Act and the Battle for Control of Environmental Policy*, pp. 464-487.

In 1969, a public debate between President Nixon and Congress took place during the legislative passage of the National Environmental Policy Act and centered on two very different and competing conceptions of how presidential advice should be organized in the Executive Office of the President. It focused on the proposed establishment of the Council on Environmental Quality. The outcome of the ensuing battle represented a complete victory for congressional interests against the expressed wishes of the president. The nature of the debate has been overlooked in the literature on the presidency, but it highlights fundamental issues about agency design and presidential control of the

institutional presidency. It also highlights broader concerns about the degree of congressional involvement in shaping the Executive Office of the President.

30 (1) 2019

Regula Ludi, *Setting New Standards: International Feminism and the League of Nations' Inquiry into the Status of Women*

In 1937, the League of Nations decided to undertake an international inquiry into the status of women and nominated an expert committee to conduct the research. This was the result of interwar feminist agitation for an international equal rights treaty. The work of the experts, however, was interrupted by the beginning of the Second World War. The survey was never completed. Preliminary results nonetheless influenced the international understanding of inequalities between men's and women's status. By analyzing the epistemic premises of the inquiry and its methodological design, this article argues that the League's engagement with the status of women constituted gender as an organizing principle of the global order and recognized women's rights as a legitimate objective of international cooperation. The knowledge production on the nature of gender difference impacted the future framing of gender relations in the activity of international organizations after the Second World War.

Robert Kramm, *Sexual Violence, Masculinity, and Agency in Post-Surrender Japan, 1945*

In the immediate post-surrender period in late summer 1945, thousands of American servicemen entered Japan. Despite Japanese authorities' tactical planning of a "female floodwall" with brothels and other recreational facilities to distract the occupiers from the Japanese population, especially from Japanese women, and the occupiers' demonstration of military power, the first physical encounter of occupiers and occupied in the "militarized peace" of occupied Japan was nevertheless accompanied by violence—sexual violence in particular. Contrary to the often-portrayed peaceful image of the American occupation of Japan, this article highlights sex and violence as significant markers for the asymmetrical power relations during the occupation period. It analyzes the arena of sexual violence in which Japanese police officers and administrators, as well as Japanese civilians, struggled to prevent and control, but also to articulate and instrumentalize, the occupiers' sexual assaults.

30 (2) 2019

Brandi Townsend, *The Body and State Violence, from the Harrowing to the Mundane: Chilean Women's Oral Histories of the Augusto Pinochet Dictatorship (1973–1990)*

This article analyzes group interviews with three women from Valparaíso, Chile, who were imprisoned together under Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship (1973–1990). Sylvia, Alicia, and Oriana's oral histories reveal that they frequently spoke about their bodies to convey their experiences of state violence. Sylvia and Alicia constructed narratives of rebellion against the regime and challenged long-standing notions of men's domination over women's bodies. Oriana's account, however, uncovers the complexity of learning to live with the enduring effects of sexual torture, while at the same time defying conventional ideas about sex and motherhood. The article also emphasizes how these women spoke about structural and subtler forms of violence, including denying basic

hygienic conditions, constraining freedom of movement, and restricting the right to control birth. It demonstrates how these oral histories were mediated by historical discourses of gender, maternity, sexuality, class, and race.

Nurfadzilah Yahaya, *Class, White Women, and Elite Asian Men in British Courts during the Late Nineteenth Century*

British imperial politics was profoundly affected by class alongside gender and race. This article probes how legal courts situated white women who were involved in interracial relationships with powerful Asian men from the perspective of law and press reports of two cases during the period of high empire in the late nineteenth century. These cases occurred in the metropolitan imperial cities of London and Singapore that highly valued merchants' and foreign rulers' contributions to imperial coffers. Class ultimately played a huge factor in the outcome of both cases, which involved two prominent men whose wealth, fame, and high status made their subordinate status within the British Empire ambiguous. Reports of trial proceedings demonstrate that class tended to unsettle notions of "whiteness," "subjecthood," and "jurisdiction." This meant that the colonial elite formed an unstable category that was highly complex, flexible, and, as a result, potentially fragile.

30 (3) 2019

Ellen Cain, *"We used to be patrons—now we are pickets!": The League of Women Shoppers, the Picket Line, and Identity Formation, 1935–1949*

During the 1930s, members of the League of Women Shoppers (LWS) marched in a number of picket lines to support striking workers. Labor disputes like the 1937 National Pants strike in Washington, DC, gave LWS members an opportunity to explore their conviction that volunteering on the picket line could be simultaneously an expression of wise consumerism, a courageous act of citizenship, and an affirmation of traditional values. Fighting for labor justice could help all American citizens gain the resources to create healthy homes and become productive consumers. In pursuit of these ideals, however, the LWS confronted accusations of disloyalty by anticommunist crusaders. LWS members themselves disagreed about what constituted proper conduct on the picket line. LWS picketing endeavors, therefore, illuminate the complex interplay of identity formation and public protest for activist women negotiating the treacherous terrain between liberalism and conservatism during the first half of the twentieth century.

Stephanie J. Richmond, *Race, Class, and Antislavery: African American Women in the Transatlantic Antislavery Movement*

African American women were active participants in the antislavery efforts of the early nineteenth century, but they were not fully accepted by their white counterparts. Through the experiences of three women, this article examines the intersection of class, race, and gender in the lives of African American women abolitionists and their efforts to negotiate the racism that permeated American society. African American women sought white allies to fight racism and sexism within the

antislavery movement, but those allies often held prejudicial views themselves. The wealth and connections that middle-class or elite status provided some African American antislavery women generated wider options for negotiating barriers to employment and acceptance but could not fully ameliorate the discrimination they faced.

Ruth M. Alexander, *In Defense of Nature: Jane Jacobs, Rachel Carson, and Betty Friedan*

Jane Jacobs's *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) are regarded as critical texts of the early 1960s because they provoked the rapid growth of three momentous reform movements—new urbanism, environmentalism, and feminism. The three authors have been celebrated for their concurrent roles in stimulating activism and societal change in the United States (and abroad), but scholars have just begun to explore commonalities among the three, preferring to study their distinct contributions to thinking about cities, the environment, and women. This article reorients our view, arguing that the three authors' shared experiences of gender positioned them to become acute observers of relational dynamics and power imbalances in a myriad of settings. It finds, too, that the three women, although concerned with strikingly different problems, were similarly committed to revealing deep flaws in the nation's understanding of, and approach to, nature. They found distortions of human and non-human nature at the heart of the crises they uncovered—in misguided urban planning, the overuse of pesticides, and men's oppression of women. Their thinking resonated across the movements of the New Left, shaping its varied claims and perspectives. Jacobs, Carson, and Friedan thus invite a new interpretation of the sixties, one that finds nature-centered critiques of the status quo, providing intellectual coherence to a seemingly fragmented left and simultaneously inciting counter arguments about nature in the emerging New Right.

Faye E. Dudden, *Women's Rights Advocates and Abortion Laws*

For decades, a group called Feminists for Life (FFL) has insisted that the founders of the women's rights movement, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, opposed abortion and worked to make it illegal. In fact, most early feminists expressed decided skepticism about outlawing abortion. This article revisits the sources and context to show that the early feminists condemned abortion but also predicted that anti-abortion laws would not work because they did not consult women's interests. The theories of sexuality on which these feminists premised their ideas about abortion soon became outdated, but their insight about the laws was prescient. A fuller understanding of this piece of women's history offers little support to anti-choice activists; indeed, it calls their whole project into question.

30 (4) 2019

Kazushi Minami, *"How Could I Not Love You?": Transnational Feminism and US-Chinese Relations during the Cold War*

This article explores how American women reshaped US-Chinese relations in the 1960s and 1970s. The first section discusses the activities of the League of Women Voters to challenge hostile US policy toward China in the 1960s. The second section analyzes Chinese gender propaganda toward American guests after the resumption of bilateral contacts in the early 1970s, which highlighted the liberation of Chinese women after the Communist Revolution. The third section examines a delegation of ordinary American women in 1973 led by the actress Shirley MacLaine, which aroused controversy at home due to its quixotic depiction of Chinese society. This article concludes that although American women had little impact on policymaking, their activism facilitated the rise of a new discourse on Chinese socialism and feminism characterized by what the historian Judy Tzu-Chun Wu calls "radical orientalism"—a tendency among activists at the time to idealize the East and criticize the West.

Kristin Celello, *Politics and Parenting in the 1930s: Red-Baiting, Child Custody, and the Strange Case of Mrs. Eaton*

This article uses the 1936 custody battle between Warren P. Eaton, a New Jersey salesman, and Mabel Eaton, a housewife, and the ensuing public reaction to their case in order to explore the contested politics of parenthood in the 1930s United States. At issue was the divorce court's decision to award custody of the couple's two young children to their father, rather than their mother, based on allegations that she was an atheist and communist. Following the case through the legal system, media, and Mabel Eaton's rocky relationship with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the article analyzes how the undercurrents of domestic and international politics interacted with competing ideas about the rights and duties of American parents in this era. It also considers the complex and elastic gender terrain that influenced ideas about motherhood and masculinity during the Great Depression.

133 (1) 2019

Jeong Min Kim, *From Military Supplies to Wartime Commodities: The Black Market for Sex and Goods during the Korean War, 1950–53*

This article examines the global and social processes that turned subsidized US war supplies into South Korean black market commodities during the Korean War. The widespread circulation of army supplies to the local black market has been often considered a natural result of the scarcity in the occupied country. Counter to this conventional account, I show how sexual transactions between Korean women and American GIs served as a crucial medium in the circulation process. I conceptualize army supplies as a quasi currency whose exchange value was realized on the black market through the commodification of women's bodies and sexuality. This article situates the black market in wartime Korea at the intersection of close encounters between local women and American GIs, the political economy of sexuality, and a global history of war, base, and empire.

Patrick Chung, *From Korea to Vietnam: Local Labor, Multinational Capital, and the Evolution of US Military Logistics, 1950–97*

This article provides a prehistory of the “container revolution” that occurred during the Vietnam War. It situates containerization in Vietnam within the broader history of US military-led capitalist globalization, demonstrating how US military contracting influenced the development of labor relations and business practices around the globe. Starting in Korea, US military leaders implemented a range of policies to promote cost savings and efficiencies in the construction and operation of its supply chains. Of most consequence was its promotion of racialized labor practices and privatization. These distinct but interrelated processes spoke to the US military's complicity in the exploitation of workers in the pursuit of cost savings. Further, they ultimately led to the US military's embrace of containerization. Though the negative impact for workers was abundantly clear even at the time of Vietnam, the US military rigorously promoted the technology and helped make the “box” the standard in the shipping industry.

134 (2) 2019

Andrew Phemister, *“The Surging Tide of Pauper Democracy”: Irish Boycotting and Anglo-American Liberalism*

Named and developed during the Irish Land War, boycotting quickly spread beyond Ireland and became a favored tactic for labor organizers in Britain and the United States. This article traces its emergence and growth, as well as the reaction generated by the novel aspects of the practice. It argues that boycotting constituted an intellectual challenge to late Victorian-era liberals, and had profound implications for the conceptions of freedom, rationality, and individual autonomy that underpinned Anglo-American liberalism. By examining the difficulties faced by British and American legislatures

and political thinkers in proscribing the practice, the boycott can be more clearly conceptualized both as a political philosophy and as democratic praxis.

Abdel Razzaq Takriti, *Before BDS: Lineages of Boycott in Palestine*

Boycotts have a persistent presence in the world of anticolonialism in general, and Palestinian history in particular. Whereas they are often associated today with the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement (BDS), this article shows that they have been consistently utilized in Palestine since 1908, responding to a long continuum of colonization. The article accounts for their varying origins, instrumental functions, contextual relationships to other tools of struggle, and modes of articulation. It examines shifts in Palestinian boycott practice and discourse, emphasizing the importance of considering this tactical form not in the abstract terms of social movement theory, but in light of its concrete relationship with broader anticolonial structures and strategies. Drawing on lessons from boycott's long history in Palestine and other anticolonial contexts such as South Africa, it further reflects on its position in contemporary Palestinian politics. It argues that, in the post-Oslo environment, boycott shifted from a tactic serving a revolutionary strategic vision to a tactical solidarity response addressing the absence of a comprehensive national strategy. Boycott plays a crucial role in the global war of position in which the Palestinian solidarity movement is currently engaged, but this does not alter the need for a rejuvenation of representative national structures that are capable of deliberating and implementing broader anticolonial strategies.

Michael Bueckert, *Boycotts and Revolution: Debating the Legitimacy of the African National Congress in the Canadian Anti-Apartheid Movement, 1969–94*

This article explores the debates in Canada over the call for Boycotts, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) against apartheid South Africa, and demonstrates how the African National Congress (ANC) became a significant reference point for both supporters and critics of the anti-apartheid movement. Through close engagement with Canadian civil society, the ANC built its status as the exclusive voice of South Africans, a position that allowed it to influence the movement's demands, including its support for armed struggle. Friends of South Africa, unable or unwilling to defend apartheid itself, instead focused their efforts on demonizing and delegitimizing the ANC as terrorists and agents of the Soviet Union—but this failed to significantly damage the reputation of the ANC or weaken the call for boycotts. This article is based on extensive new archival research from sources including the Canadian Mission of the ANC and the Canadian-South African Society (an affiliate of the South Africa Foundation).

135 (3) 2019

Treva Ellison, *From Sanctuary to Safe Space: Gay and Lesbian Police-Reform Activism in Los Angeles*

This article focuses on how the trajectories of gay and lesbian police-reform efforts in Los Angeles model a transition from a politics of sanctuary to the production of safe space. The production of safe

space is conditioned by the multiplication of discourses of race, gender, and sexuality emblemized by the rise of identity-based neighborhood politics throughout the postwar period, and how these politics interface with the reterritorialization of the welfare state and the advent of community policing. The article historicizes several Stonewall-era gay organizations, showing how activists enacted a politics of sanctuary that helped to decriminalize gay and lesbian identity, and then arguing that this politics of sanctuary was drawn into the production of safe space. This writing invites possibilities for abolitionist organizing by demonstrating the life cycle of law and order that circumscribes urban, identity-based, antiviolence, and neighborhood-based politics.

Carla Hung, *Sanctuary Squats: The Political Contestations of Piazza Indipendenza Refugee Occupiers*

This article details the political contestations of refugee occupiers after they were violently evicted from their home, colloquially called Piazza Indipendenza. Participant observation as a friend of the Eritrean refugees who occupied Piazza Indipendenza during the time of their eviction brought to light the way refugee occupiers both demand rights to subsidized housing and care for each other. Refugees confront the discriminatory distribution of integration resources in Italy by establishing autonomous structures, like housing occupations of abandoned buildings, to both approximate their entitlement to subsidized housing and assert their rights. For many Eritrean refugee occupiers in Rome, it is the Habesha community itself that provides the most reliable form of care, shelter, and protection, such that migrant-occupied housing projects (squats) act as sites of sanctuary. Sanctuary squats act as shelters from which to contest repressive governmental policies.

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47 (1) 2019

J. Michael Butler, *Racial Repression, Power and Continuity: The Post-1960s Black Freedom Struggle*, pp. 119-124.

Chavis, eight black male students, and a white female activist were arrested on arson charges related to the grocery destruction. [...]the defendants were found guilty of all counts and sentenced to over two hundred and eighty years in prison. Groups such as "religious and secular black nationalists, the Communist-affiliated National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Amnesty International," labor unions, student organizations, elected officials at the state and national levels, pan-Africanists, Amnesty International, and traditional civil rights organizations all "utilized the contradictions inherent in the Cold War and President Carter's human rights foreign policy to build international pressure to free the Ten" (pp. 9–10). De Jong argues convincingly that a complete understanding of the civil rights movement necessitates acknowledgement of "the transformation in class relationship that occurred with the conversion of black southerners from cheap labor to unneeded labor," as their continued economic dependence upon whites severely limited any political independence they may have obtained due to the Civil and Voting Rights Acts (p. 11).

47 (3) 2019

David Mislin, *Change Agents: The Unlikely Religious Actors Who Reshaped the Twentieth-Century United States*, pp. 404-409.

[...] for those Americans raised on the ideology of doing good in the world, the Civil Rights movement provided a domestic outlet for the missionary commitment to fostering equality across racial and ethnic lines. Stahl examines how this tri-faith ideal took root after World War I, arguing that the military's efforts to manage religious diversity signaled a broader acceptance of it. [...]Americans connected with the chaplaincy brought the tri-faith model into the wider realm of U.S. life through organizations like the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps camps. The induction of Japanese Americans into the military prompted debates about Buddhist chaplains. [...]the plight of African American chaplains like Luther Fuller, who was dismissed after preaching against racism, demonstrated that promises of free rhetoric in the religious realm did not transfer to categories of race. Hollinger is not the first scholar to note the influence of the missionary enterprise on American foreign policy or on the nation's domestic life, but his emphasis on missionary children highlights the wider, more lasting significance of missions beyond the explorations in earlier works such as Ian Tyrell's *Reforming the World* (2010) or Andrew Preston's *Sword of the Spirit, Shield of the Faith* (2012). [...]both authors deftly use their particular actors to clarify broader themes in the history of U.S. religion.

47 (4) 2019

Mark Whalan, *The Culture of Fear in World War One*, pp. 613-621.

Few events in history have been seen as having such an immediate and wide-ranging impact on cultural imaginaries across media and genre; there is a huge body of scholarship examining the war's impact on the modernist movement, for example, or how it transformed memorial architecture and commemorative practice. Zachary Smith's more historically focused *Age of Fear* examines how fear of a German racial and/or religious other in the United States saturated the political rhetoric, religious ideology, and popular culture of the war, a discourse that framed conflict with Germany less as a selfless and idealist battle to make the world safe for democracy and more as an existential struggle to stave off racial annihilation. The foundational film in this tradition is Abel Gance's *J'accuse* (1919), in which a legion of dead French soldiers (played by actual French soldiers on leave during the summer of 1918) rise from the dead and terrorize a nearby village, refusing to stay dead in protest at the supposed ignorance of the local civilian population to their suffering. The cultural critic Siegfried Kracauer famously indicted German expressionist horror movies for enabling Hitler's rise to power; its imagery had accustomed the German population to blame its social ills on threatening and monstrous outsiders, he argued, and those films also suggested that order could only be re-imposed through the violent actions of strongmen.

33 (1) 2019

Chapin, C. *Business Interests and the Shape of the U.S. Welfare State: From the Insurance Company Model to Comprehensive Reform*, pp. 4-16.

Peter Swenson's excellent article is a welcome correction to the consensus argument so often found in welfare state literature. That interpretation depicts a never-ending, dualistic struggle between capitalists and “the people,” as represented by welfare reformers. Swenson sorts through the evidence surrounding post-1960 health care debates, particularly Medicare, to demonstrate that “business” is not a fixed, homogeneous group that conforms neatly to class-based analysis. He finds significant business backing for federal programming and also shows that where trade associations took conservative, anti-reform stands, they often did so without strong member support.

Mizruchi, M. *Corporations and the American Welfare State: Adversaries or Allies?*, pp. 17-25.

One of the most widely held views about American political life is that business is hostile to the welfare state. In the 1970s, David Vogel asked why American businessmen “distrusted their state.” Kim Phillips-Fein has written of the “businessmen's crusade against the New Deal.” Jane Mayer and Nancy MacLean have recounted the efforts of the Koch Brothers and their wealthy allies to remake American politics in a more conservative direction. What could be more uncontroversial than the view that American business is broadly opposed to government social policies?

Broockman, D. *Ascertaining Business's Interests and Political Preferences*, pp. 26-35.

Medicare is one of the largest social programs in the world. Did organized industry favor Medicare's passage in 1965? If it did, this would represent powerful evidence in favor of the theory that social programs typically require cross-class alliances to pass, such as alliances between business and labor. However, in a previous article in this journal, I argued that answering questions about political actors' preferences—such as whether organized industry favored Medicare's passage—can be surprisingly difficult due to the “problem of preferences”; that is, political actors might misrepresent their true policy preferences for many reasons. For example, when their ideal proposals are not politically feasible, political actors may wish to bolster support for a more politically viable alternative to a disliked proposal—even if they do not truly support this alternative to the status quo. To better understand political actors' true policy preferences, I argued, scholars should trace how those actors' expressed preferences change as a function of their strategic context—just as scholars seeking to understand the impact of any other variable trace the effects of changes in it.

Galvin, D. *From Labor Law to Employment Law: The Changing Politics of Workers' Rights*, pp. 50-86.

Over the past several decades, a new kind of labor politics has emerged in new venues (state and local levels), focusing on new governing institutions (employment laws), involving new strategies by labor

unions, and featuring new organizational forms (“alt-labor”). The timing, form, and content of these developments have been powerfully shaped by the persistence of the increasingly outmoded but still authoritative national labor law, which has constrained and channeled the efforts of workers and their advocates to respond to growing problems. While the new institutions and organizations provide new substantive rights for workers and alternative vehicles for voice and collective action, the layering of these new forms alongside the old—without displacing the latter—has generated new problems without solving the problems produced by the ossification of labor law in the first place. Using novel empirical data and analysis, this article documents these changes, explores their causes, and considers their consequences for the changing politics of workers’ rights.

33 (2) 2019

Bateman, D. *Transatlantic Anxieties: Democracy and Diversity in Nineteenth-Century Discourse*, pp. 139-177.

This article reconstructs a set of widely disseminated nineteenth-century ideas about the relationship between diversity and democracy and details how these informed state-building and political action. An emerging argument in nineteenth-century discourse held that representative governments in diverse societies would degenerate into anarchy without “amalgamation,” extermination, expulsion, or enslavement: Only in societies where there was sympathy across the entire community, constantly renewed through intercourse among social equals, could free institutions be sustained. This argument gave support for state-builders to regulate diversity either through an imperial politics of “moving people” or by interposing the state in intimate encounters of sexual and social intercourse. The intimate and imperial dimensions of state-building were thereby conceptually linked. This account helps explain important features of nineteenth-century politics, including the frequent criticism of abolitionists that by supporting racial civic or political equality they were encouraging “racial amalgamation.” In responding to this charge, American antislavery discourse contributed to a distinction between political and social equality that would fundamentally shape state-building after the Civil War. The article shows scholars of American political development how our accounts might be revised by situating debates and developments within a transnational perspective.

Sparrow, B. *The Other Point of Departure: Tocqueville, the South, Equality, and the Lessons of Democracy*, pp. 178-208.

Democracy in America has greatly influenced not only how political scientists think of democratic government, political equality, and liberalism in general, but also how we think of the United States as a whole. This article questions Tocqueville's interpretations of Americans’ habits and beliefs, given how little time Tocqueville actually spent in the South and the near West and given that he all but ignored the founding of Virginia and the other colonies not settled by the Puritans and for religious reasons. Contrary to Tocqueville's emphasis on the Puritan “point of departure,” I use historical evidence from the U.S. Census, state constitutions, and historical scholarship on slave ownership, tenant farming, political participation, and the American colonies and the early United States to show the existence of hierarchy among white Americans, rather than the ubiquitous social and political

equality among European Americans described by Tocqueville. His writings actually indicate an awareness of another American culture in the South and near West—one that disregards education, condones coarse manners, tolerates aggressive behavior, and exhibits unrestrained greed—but Tocqueville does not integrate these observations into his larger conclusions about Americans' *mœurs* and institutions. Because of the existence of these important, non-Puritan habits, the political institutions Tocqueville sees as facilitating democracy in America and hopes to apply to France and Europe may not have the effects he believes they will have.

Hackett, U. & King, D. *The Reinvention of Vouchers for a Color-Blind Era: A Racial Orders Account*, pp. 234-257.

Historically, vouchers, which provide a sum of money to parents for private education, were tools of racist oppression; but in recent decades some advocates claim them as “the civil rights issue of our time.” This article brings an analytic-historical perspective rooted in racial orders to understand how education vouchers have been reincarnated and reinvented since the Jim Crow era. Combining original primary research with statistical analysis, we identify multiple concurrent and consecutive transformations in voucher politics in three arenas of racial policy alliance contestation: expansion of color-blind policy designs, growing legal and political support from a conservative alliance, and a smorgasbord of voucher rationales rooted in color-blind framing. This approach demonstrates that education vouchers have never been racially neutral but served key roles with respect to prevailing racial hierarchies and contests.

105 (4) 2019

John Craig Hammond, *President, Planter, Politician: James Monroe, the Missouri Crisis, and the Politics of Slavery*, pp. 843-867.

Historians have long sought to assess the role of President James Monroe in forging and then negotiating the passage of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Their assessments have been written within a historiographical tradition that praises statesmanship over sectionalism, celebrates southern statesmen's invocations of union and nationalism, and elevates compromise to the loftiest of American political values. Within that historiographical paradigm, interpretations of the politics of slavery focus on how sectional extremists exploited the fragility of the Union for their own purposes, and how moderate unionist statesmen intervened to save the Union from sectionalsists...

106 (2) 2019

Claudio Saut, *Financing Dispossession: Stocks, Bonds, and the Deportation of Native Peoples in the Antebellum United States*, pp. 315-337.

The cotton grown by Mississippi slaves, insured by New York and Boston financiers, and spun by Manchester wage laborers germinated in soil that had belonged, only a few months or years earlier, to Native Americans. For a brief five decades, the U.S. South dominated global cotton production, a result of the transformation of the region from indigenous farms to slave labor camps. Scholars have recently traced the network of financial capital that yoked mortgaged slaves and impoverished mill workers to planters, bankers, and consumers around the world...

106 (3) 2019

Beth Bailey, *The U.S. Army and "the Problem of Race": Afros, Race Consciousness, and Institutional Logic*, pp. 639-661.

In late summer 1969 an assistant secretary of the army dispatched a team to investigate a portion of the "war which was being fought every night" in soldiers' barracks and bars, at army posts and in the towns that surrounded them, and within the U.S. military presence throughout the world. Racial conflict in the U.S. Army was not new, and violence had accompanied racism and racist practices through the history of the American military.

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Darius Staliunas, *Massive Anti-Jewish Violence in Lithuania: Place and Time*

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52 (2) 2019

Samaniego López, Marco Antonio, *No eran socialistas, patriotas, reformistas, ni sindicalistas: Eran anarquistas del Partido Liberal Mexicano (1911-1918)*

La perspectiva desde la cual se analiza a los anarquistas del Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) los ha ubicado solo en el contexto de la Revolución mexicana. Esta circunstancia ha derivado en que se les haya calificado de socialistas, reformistas, patriotas e, incluso, como base del sindicalismo. En el texto se demuestra cómo las intenciones del PLM no coinciden con la tesis nacionalista donde la historiografía oficial y hagiográfica los ha ubicado.

Sustentados en afirmaciones publicadas en *Regeneración*, se establece que ellos no pretendían luchar por el socialismo, no eran patriotas ni pugnaban por las reformas que se les atribuyeron en los años siguientes. Su lucha por lograr la anarquía quedó marginada de los discursos oficiales o se diluyó en la pretensión de “limpiar” la imagen, sobre todo, de Ricardo Flores Magón, a quien se proyectó erigir como patriota.

Matus Gonzalez, Mario. *Posición y trayectoria de los salarios chilenos en el cono Sur y sus efectos relativos en conflictividad laboral e inmigración (1886-1928)*

Este trabajo estandariza los salarios chilenos entre 1886 y 1928 a un formato de Paridad de Poder Adquisitivo (PPA) que permite su comparación con los salarios de Argentina, Uruguay y Brasil durante el mismo periodo. Con ello, se posibilita la identificación del nivel y la trayectoria de los salarios chilenos frente a sus símiles del Cono Sur de América Latina. Además, intenta identificar el impacto que pudo haber tenido ese desempeño salarial en los episodios más identificables de conflictividad laboral, como en la constitución de Chile como una plaza relativamente atractiva para la inmigración de trabajadores europeos. Los resultados muestran de forma inequívoca que el crecimiento económico de Chile hasta 1914 no fue acompañado por el surgimiento de un entorno favorable para los trabajadores chilenos ni para el asentamiento de trabajadores inmigrantes en relación con Uruguay, Argentina e, incluso, Brasil.

52 (1) 2019

Casanova-Rojas, Felipe. *Marcas de guerra. La Ley de Recompensas Militares y el surgimiento de la identidad entre los inválidos y veteranos de la Guerra del Pacífico, 1881-1905.* .

En este artículo se analiza el surgimiento de la identidad entre los inválidos y veteranos chilenos de la Guerra del Pacífico. Se estudia la promulgación y aplicación de la Ley de Recompensas Militares de 1881, que otorgó pensiones a los soldados incapacitados mediante una tipología de invalidez. Se conjetura que dicha legislación influyó en la formación de identidades entre excombatientes discapacitados, primero, e ilesos, después, a través de la fundación de sociedades mutuales. La

acumulación de experiencias históricas compartidas articuló una praxis política cotidiana que permitió la inclusión de los veteranos en los escenarios políticos y burocrático.

Donoso-Rojas, Carlos. *“Asentados sobre verdaderos lagos subterráneos de riqueza”*: Propiedad, fomento y regulación del petróleo en Chile (1914-1945).

Entre 1914 y 1945 se establecieron en Chile las bases de una política petrolífera que, en una primera etapa, buscó ratificar el dominio del Estado sobre los yacimientos existentes en el país y, en una segunda, definir su participación en la importación, distribución, procesamiento, distribución y venta de petróleo y derivados. La injerencia en la actividad, implementada con éxito en otros países de América Latina, fue excepcional en el caso chileno, considerando que la legislación antecedió al hallazgo de los primeros yacimientos y a la implementación de la infraestructura necesaria para producir refinados. La singularidad del tema radicó, sin embargo, en las peculiares iniciativas adoptadas ante su existencia supuesta. Estas oscilaron desde la especulación bursátil y la creación de un monopolio para rentabilizar los beneficios del recurso, hasta la protección dada al carbón para consolidarlo como la principal matriz energética nacional. Con una demanda creciente por su uso industrial y el aumento del parque automotriz, la dependencia de combustibles importados no fue acompañada con lineamientos políticos y económicos definidos en la materia. Esto tiene directa relación con los graves problemas derivados de los prolongados ciclos de desabastecimiento experimentados y el difícil proceso de recuperación productiva posterior a la crisis salitrera. La dependencia de la importación de hidrocarburos, y las consecuencias de su irregular provisión, condicionó la puesta en marcha de una política industrial a largo plazo, considerando tanto la importancia del factor energético como la limitada capacidad de absorción de bienes industriales y de consumo del mercado nacional durante el ciclo en estudio.

Navarro-Lopez, Jorge. *Fiesta, alcohol y entretenimiento popular. Crítica y prácticas festivas del Partido Obrero Socialista (Chile, 1912-1922)*.

Con el objetivo de ampliar el enfoque sobre la politización obrera y de aportar a la historia cultural de los trabajadores, en este artículo analizo, en primer lugar, la posición crítica del Partido Obrero Socialista respecto al consumo de alcohol entre la clase obrera. Como su crítica buscaba modificar las pautas culturales que entendían como obstáculos para la emancipación de los trabajadores, en segundo lugar se examina el despliegue de las prácticas de entretención alternativa que implementó este partido entre 1912 y 1922 con la intención de proveer de experiencias festivas a las familias obreras para superar las condiciones de explotación. Sostengo la hipótesis que entre la cultura popular y la cultura socialista existía una relación conflictiva debido a las contradicciones entre las costumbres populares y el discurso obrero ilustrado, propuesta que se analiza a partir de la revisión de los periódicos partidistas.

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Oleg Budnitskii, Aaron Hale-Dorrell, *The Great Terror of 1941: Toward a History of Wartime Stalinist Criminal Justice*, pp. 447-480