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FRANCIA

(42) 2020

L. Bantigny-F. Gallot, *Un internationalisme pratique. La culture politique de la IV Internationale dans les années 1970*

Parmi les gauches révolutionnaires, la IVe Internationale accorde une place essentielle à la subjectivité, à la capacité d'agir des protagonistes, bref à un marxisme humaniste. Au cours de l'immédiat après-1968, dans les courants communistes révolutionnaires, la conviction est forte que la révolution est imminente ou en tout cas qu'elle surgira à moyen terme, dans cinq ou dix ans en Europe. Mais au fil des années 1970, cette espérance s'amenuise et se fragilise. À partir des archives de la IVe Internationale, peu ou pas explorées, cette contribution revient sur la culture politique d'une organisation internationale et ses pratiques militantes qui s'appuient sur l'examen de la situation sociale, économique et politique, la stratégie à mettre en œuvre et le programme pour une société alternative au capitalisme et à l'économie de marché

M. Lazar, *A propos du populisme*

À partir d'une lecture de sept ouvrages consacrés au populisme, l'auteur discute différentes approches de ceux-ci proposées par des philosophes, des politistes et des historiens. Il s'intéresse à la question épineuse de la notion de populisme et aux rapports qui s'établissent entre les populistes et la démocratie. Il examine le positionnement qu'adoptent les chercheurs en sciences sociales par rapport au populisme et plaide en faveur du respect de la neutralité axiologique.

N. Delalande-E. Monnet-L. Quenouelle-Corre-L. Warlouzet, *Que reste-t-il des «Trente Glorieuses»?*

Si les « Trente Glorieuses » ont été remises en cause par les historiens pour ses dégâts environnementaux, elles n'en restent pas moins une période de croissance exceptionnelle et de forte réduction des inégalités de patrimoine et de revenu. Or les ressorts de ce phénomène d'expansion et son délitement dans les années 1970 restent un sujet d'interrogation pour les historiens comme pour les économistes. Au croisement des deux logiques, le livre récent d'Éric Monnet, mêlant l'approche qualitative d'étude du processus de décision sur la base d'archives chère aux historiens, et la démarche quantitative propre aux économistes, propose son interprétation à travers une étude portant sur la politique monétaire de la Banque de France. Il est ici discuté par trois historiens de l'économie, qui remettent en perspective ses apports, d'abord dans une vision politique d'histoire de l'État par Nicolas Delalande, ensuite avec un regard plus institutionnel et financier chez Laure Quennouëlle-Corre, et enfin avec une perspective franco-européenne chez Laurent Warlouzet. L'auteur, Éric Monnet, conclut ce tour d'horizon par son propre éclairage.

(40) 2020

S. Momzikoff, *Jalons pour une nouvelle histoire de la sortie de la guerre froide*

Cet article a pour objectif de proposer des jalons pour écrire une nouvelle histoire de la sortie de guerre froide. Appréhendée comme un processus aux rythmes variés selon les échelles, les secteurs et les acteurs, la sortie de guerre froide dépasse les bornes chronologiques quelque peu figées de 1989, 1990 ou de la chute de l'URSS fin 1991. La mobilisation de ce concept permet en outre d'analyser la gestion faite par la nouvelle Russie de la sortie de guerre froide et sa réintégration au système international. Par là même, c'est également toute une histoire internationale du post-soviétisme qui reste à construire.

(3) 2020

Paul Boulland, Julian Mischi**, *«Une nécessaire opération de reclassement». Sociobiographie du Comité directeur de la SFIC (1920-1925)*

Combinant la biographie collective des cent treize membres du Comité directeur de la Section française de l'Internationale communiste (SFIC) avec l'analyse quantitative de leurs réunions entre 1920 et 1925, cette contribution analyse les logiques sociales qui travaillent de l'intérieur le collectif en train de se former. Dans cette période d'instabilité, l'établissement de la direction communiste résulte d'un double processus qui conduit divers groupes sociaux et militants vers un parti en cours de constitution, où ils trouvent ou non leur place. La parole paraît originellement monopolisée par les dirigeants présentant un profil intellectuel qui dominent initialement le groupe, alors caractérisé par une proportion élevée de femmes. L'étude met en avant l'affirmation progressive de militants jusque-là peu impliqués dans la Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière (SFIO) et ses courants, dont la légitimité se fonde sur leur jeunesse, leur expérience de la Première Guerre mondiale, et pour une part sur leurs origines ouvrières.

Adeline Blaszkiewicz**, *«Mieux vaudrait après tout se perdre avec Lénine que se sauver avec Albert Thomas». Construire une voie révolutionnaire face au socialisme réformiste (1917-1924)*

La naissance de la Section française de l'Internationale communiste (SFIC) résulte notamment de la condamnation de l'attitude d'une partie des socialistes pendant la Première Guerre mondiale. Ce discours, qui se construit au sein de la minorité de guerre, perdure et se reconfigure jusqu'à constituer l'une des matrices idéologiques de la SFIC naissante. Albert Thomas fait figure de personnalité honnie dans le discours communiste en cours de structuration dans la période consécutive à la révolution russe : il est le chef de file des réformistes de la Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière (SFIO), entré au gouvernement d'Union sacrée en 1915 au poste stratégique et symbolique de ministre de l'Armement, puis à partir de 1919 directeur du Bureau international du travail, considéré comme « l'agence réformiste de l'impérialisme mondial » par les dirigeants de la IIIe Internationale. L'article, fondé sur les articles de *L'Humanité*, la littérature grise des premiers temps du communisme et les archives personnelles d'Albert Thomas, explore l'opposition entre ces deux « frères ennemis » du socialisme mondial. La SFIC se constitue dans un cadre politique national et international hostile qui entraîne une radicalisation des discours, mais qui n'empêche pas le maintien de dialogues et d'observations mutuelles. Cette matrice idéologique se mue soit en une force mobilisatrice au cœur de la concurrence militante – partisane et syndicale –, soit en une forme de codépendance idéologique nécessaire à chaque courant pour construire sa légitimité politique.

Éloïse Dreure**, Entre Paris, Alger et Moscou. L'émergence du communisme en Algérie coloniale (1920-1925)

Le mouvement communiste algérien s'est retrouvé confronté aux problématiques qui ont accompagné la naissance de la Section française de l'Internationale communiste (SFIC). Le contexte colonial et le rapport des militants au colonialisme ont exacerbé certaines tensions qui existaient entre la SFIC et

l'IC, et ont eu un impact sur la façon dont s'est développée l'organisation communiste en Algérie, de 1920 à 1925. Durant les premières années de son existence, certains militants ont dû faire face à la difficulté de devoir rompre avec des pratiques réformistes. Dans un jeu d'échelle constant entre la direction de la SFIC à Paris et celle de l'IC à Moscou, le mouvement communiste algérien a ainsi radicalisé son action, pour, suivant les consignes de l'IC, revendiquer l'indépendance de l'Algérie et travailler au recrutement de ceux qu'on appelait alors les « indigènes ».

César Tcach, *El parto de un desencuentro: el duelo peronismo-comunismo en Argentina (1943-1955)*, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.82039

This article examines the roots of the divorce between Peronism and Communism in Argentina, taking into consideration four central aspects: the military matrix from which the construction of the Peronist movement began; the dispute over the collective identity of the workers; the type of repression exercised by the government; and the political orientation developed by the Argentine communists. The analysis of the matrix from which the relations between Peronists and Communists were built reveals the central role of the anti-communist repression that, unlike that which took place during the previous decades, was functional to an State willing to first dispute and later hegemonize the workers' sense of belonging, that is, it targeted its main competitor in the Argentine working class. It also offers a reconstruction of the positions assumed by the Communist Party in relation to all the attempts at coup d'état. In light of these considerations, it researches the roots of the disagreement between the two political forces and its consequences in the long term.

Silvia Sebastiani, *Cuando América entró en la "disputa del Nuevo Mundo": la escritura de la historia y la formación de las disciplinas a través del Atlántico (1770-1810)*, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.79176

This chapter focuses on the plural practices of history writing taking shape in a broad space between Europe and America – spanning from Edinburgh to Mexico City or Princeton, and through the Pontifical States in Italy –, in a period of major changes: 1770s-1810s. It takes the "dispute on the New World" between the Presbyterian reverend William Robertson, one of the leading historians of the Scottish Enlightenment, and the Mexican Jesuit Francis Javier Clavijero, exiled to Bologna, as case study. This debate is deeply entangled with the controversy about the "science of man" and the concurrent formation of anthropology, which counts, among its major American champions, the Presbyterian Principal of the University of New Jersey, Samuel Stanhope Smith, and Benjamin Smith Barton, who studied Medicine in Edinburgh and then taught Natural History, Botany and Medicine at the College of Philadelphia. It is within such a transatlantic and trans-imperial interactions, negotiations and competitions that Clavijero's History, as well as Smith's and Barton's essays, have to be placed.

José Carlos Chiaramonte, *"El antiguo constitucionalismo en la historia hispanoamericana del siglo XIX*, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.81983

The predominant criteria that Hispanic-American constitutionalism begins with early written constitutional texts has obscured the existence of ancient constitutional guidelines governing Hispanic-American societies before and after their independences. The weight of the old scheme of the predominance of an anarchic *caudillismo* and the fact that the term constitution is strongly associated with the written texts we know today, seems to difficult the recognition of the existence of unwritten constitutions – which, usually consisted in a collection of customary guidelines and written texts. The truth is that Hispanic-American societies, such as Anglo-American and European societies,

possessed at that time constitutional norms generally invoked with the statements "ancient constitution" or "fundamental laws".

Alejandro Kelly Hopfenblatt, *Exhibición y distribución de cortometrajes de propaganda de los Estados Unidos en Argentina en los años '40: el programa de 16 mm de la OCIAA*, https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.82441

In the 1940's, numerous countries throughout Latin America undertook activities related to the exhibition of propaganda short films. Working within the Good Neighbor Policy, the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA) developed an ambitious program that covered an extended institutional and territorial map. By reaching distant geographical spots, it aimed to present audiovisual materials related both to the World War and to the American Way of Life.This essay presents the main guidelines of the 16 mm Program by analyzing its organizational structure, the films it exhibited and the audiences' experience. While this program's operations have been studied in other countries such as Chile or Brazil, its activities in Argentina have yet to be considered. Therefore, based on documentation that refers to the organization and practice of OCIAA's screenings, this essay aims to reconstruct its history in Argentina and propose analytical frameworks for further and deeper studies.

(3) 2020

E. Droit, *De l'usage des « lois mémorielles » en Allemagne : le droit au service de la mémoire (1960-2016)*

L'Allemagne fait figure de pays modèle en Europe dans le traitement du passé national-socialiste. Elle fait partie des pays les plus engagés sur le plan juridique contre le négationnisme. L'article 130 du Code pénal occupe une place de choix dans le dispositif de lutte. Pourtant, cette croyance largement partagée selon laquelle le droit constitue une arme efficace de lutte contre le « mensonge d'Auschwitz » a été remise en cause par des historiens défenseurs du principe d'une société ouverte.

C. Cadot, *Le Parlement européen, une arène mémorielle secondaire ?*

Le Parlement européen s'affirme comme un acteur incontournable des politiques de mémoire, désormais discutées de façon indépendante des débats parlementaires supranationaux tenus initialement au sein de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe. Supposés moins conflictuels, les débats relatifs aux cadres normatifs adoptés par l'assemblée communautaire en matière mémorielle relèvent d'un rapport exclusivement négatif au passé. À la faveur de l'élargissement européen à l'Est de 2004, la Shoah n'en constitue cependant plus le paradigme unique.

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J.-L. Bourlanges, *Una certaine idee de la France*, pp. 5-16

L'action du général de Gaulle est déterminée par une certitude et portée par une conviction. La certitude, c'est que les États nationaux sont, en dernier ressort, les acteurs indépassables de la vie internationale et qu'ils sont par essence inaltérables, insécables et indissolubles. La conviction, c'est que la France a, dans ce concert des nations, vocation à jouer les premiers rôles et à retrouver par le verbe et par l'exemple la position hégémonique qu'elle a accidentellement perdue il y a deux siècles. La combinaison de cette rigidité et de cette chimère a fini par enfermer dans une impasse la démarche héroïque du fondateur de la France libre.

F. Turpin, *La France et ses colonies*, pp. 39-52

Charles de Gaulle a toujours considéré le processus historique de la colonisation à l'aune de l'intérêt supérieur de la France, qui ne pouvait pas être figé dans ses modalités. Considérant, au seuil des années 1960, qu'il était utile pour la France de décoloniser, il y a procédé avec pour objectif de pérenniser les anciens liens sous la forme d'une politique de coopération franco- africaine. Cinquante ans après la mort du Général, la déclinaison africaine de ce programme de puissance est-elle encore d'actualité ?

J. Jaffré, *De Gaulle face aux electeurs*, pp. 65-76

Le rapport du général de Gaulle aux électeurs et aux élections est complexe. Le Général considère la consultation des électeurs par référendum comme une manifestation supérieure de la démocratie. Mais il apprécie beaucoup moins les élections, soit parce qu'elles donnent trop de place aux partis politiques, soit parce qu'il accepte difficilement pour lui-même le statut de candidat et la compétition électorale.

J.-F. Sirinelli, *Le general et l'histoire*, pp. 77-86

Le général de Gaulle n'est pas seulement une figure majeure de l'histoire française, il y est doublement présent : non seulement, bien sûr, par la forte empreinte directe qu'il y a posée, mais aussi par la trace mémorielle très dense qu'il y a laissée. Ce sont donc bien deux strates, à la fois distinctes et imbriquées, qu'il convient de sonder pour rendre compte de cette place gaullienne dans notre histoire nationale.

Bernard Lachaise*, Les gaullistes: de la France libre a aujourd'hui*, pp. 97-110

Le vocable « gaullistes » – auquel de Gaulle préférait celui de compagnons –, d'abord utilisé pendant la Résistance, désigne, à partir de 1947, principalement mais pas exclusivement les membres des partis engagés dans le combat politique de Charles de Gaulle, dans l'opposition puis au pouvoir.

Après sa présidence, les pompidoliens et les chiraquiens se veulent les héritiers du Général, mais de fortes différences séparent gaullistes et néogaullistes. Depuis le début du xxie siècle, les gaullistes ne sont plus identifiables dans la vie politique : si l'image consensuelle du général de Gaulle peut faire croire que tous les Français sont désormais gaullistes, ils sont surtout gaulliens.

Christian Delporte*, Charles De Gaulle, le communicant*, pp. 111-122

De Gaulle présente un modèle accompli de communication contrôlée, ritualisée, personnalisée, dont l'objectif stratégique est à la fois la mise en place d'un dialogue direct avec les Français et la construction d'un imaginaire collectif de la Ve République. Efficace pendant la crise algérienne, la communication gaullienne nécessite, aux temps plus ordinaires, des adaptations, pas toujours comprises et acceptées par le Général. Reste que le modèle imprime durablement sa marque sur la communication présidentielle.

(1) 2020

Éric Schnakenbourg**,** *La géographie des diplomates : la mondialisation de la diplomatie à l'époque moderne*

La connexion des régimes de guerre et de paix entre puissances en Europe et dans le reste du monde est l'un des grands défis de la diplomatie de l'époque moderne. Il commence à être admis à partir du milieu du XVIᵉ siècle que les traités de paix signés en Europe ne s'appliquent pas dans les autres régions du monde. Dès lors, des lignes dites d'amitié établissent une division de l'espace mondial entre une partie régulée par les dispositions du droit des gens, et l'autre qui serait toujours dans une situation incertaine, en permanence entre la guerre et la paix. Au XVIIᵉ siècle, l'extension explicite des dispositions des alliances et des traités de paix hors d'Europe marque un changement significatif dans l'exercice d'une diplomatie réellement mondiale. Mais ses modalités d'application demeurent encore à définir. L'une des solutions fut de s'entendre sur un calendrier d'application des traités en fonction de la distance avec l'Europe. Au final, cet article vise à montrer que l'établissement d'une cohérence des régimes de guerre et de paix entre l'Europe et le reste du monde fut un long processus de construction d'un territoire diplomatique global passant, paradoxalement, par la reconnaissance de situations singulières.

(2) 2020

Michelle Zancarini-Fournel**,** *Écrire une histoire populaire de la France*

L'article retrace la généalogie de l'écriture de l'ouvrage *Les Luttes et les Rêves. Une histoire populaire de la France de 1685 à nos jours*, paru en 2016. Cette histoire populaire s'attache aux expériences individuelles ou collectives des subalternes (le quotidien, les pratiques, les conflictualités, les espoirs, les cultures des hommes et des femmes dans l'ensemble du territoire y compris ses périphéries et ses colonies). Même dominés, les individus sont dans des contextes spécifiques mus par la conviction de ce qui est juste et injuste. Écrire une histoire « vue d'en bas », une histoire « à rebrousse-poil » (Benjamin) qui prenne au sérieux les pensées et les actions des protagonistes, croisées avec les politiques des dominants permet, malgré les échecs, de rappeler les potentialités inaccomplies du passé, les espoirs non advenus incarnés dans des luttes et des rêves.

(2) 2020

C. Lévêque, M. Cavallaro*, Le Front national, une affaire de famille. Le recrutement des candidat.e.s durant les élections municipales de 2014*, pp. 181-207

Nous interrogeons les modalités de recrutement des candidat.e.s aux élections municipales en mettant l'accent sur le cas du Front national (FN) en 2014. La présence de nombreux individus avec les mêmes patronymes au sein des listes du FN semble indiquer un recours massif aux réseaux familiaux des candidat.e.s afin de les compléter. Nous expliquons cette observation en considérant les difficultés organisationnelles des listes du FN. Nos analyses confirment nos hypothèses sans toutefois exclure deux explications supplémentaires: un effet stigmate pénalisant le recrutement de candidats et une préférence des candidats du FN pour concourir en famille. Nos analyses nous font pencher pour la première explication.

(3 / 4) 2020

F. Faury, G. Letourneur, *Un culte du chef? Culture militaire et verticalité organisationnelle au Front national*, pp. 399-420

La structure verticale et le fonctionnement autoritaire du Front national (FN) sont régulièrement attribués à un « culte du chef » supposé animer ses membres, dont on peine à discerner les fondements. Dans une démarche sociologique, cet article propose d'analyser les soubassements socioculturels de la hiérarchie partisane frontiste. À partir de l'étude de milieux partisans dans des territoires contrastés, le texte montre que cette verticalité organisationnelle trouve une de ses conditions de possibilité dans une « culture militaire » dominante au sein du parti. La surreprésentation et la valorisation des mondes militaires au FN impliquent la diffusion d'un certain rapport à l'autorité qui vient légitimer le fonctionnement très hiérarchisé du parti. Cette culture militaire se traduit également par le peu de place accordé aux critiques internes de l'autorité du chef, et de ce fait par la récurrence, caractéristique de ce parti, des scissions et des exclusions militantes.

(6) 2020

L. Avril, *Pour une sociohistoire de l'Etat régulateur européen. Du gouvernement administratif à la régulation judiciarisée de la concurrence (1962-1982)*, pp. 773-791

Le champ politico-administratif européen qui se structure progressivement après la signature des traités de Rome, s'il prend des modalités inédites, n'en demeure pas moins l'héritier des compromis constitutionnels négociés historiquement dans les États membres. Dans la pratique quotidienne de ce gouvernement administratif de l'Europe, l'État européen connaît des reconfigurations importantes qui aboutissent dans les années 1980 à l'affirmation d'un État régulateur. Le présent article explore le glissement d'une gouvernementalité administrative à une gouvernementalité régulatrice, en interrogeant son assise sociale et professionnelle.

(4) 2020

Warren Wanner, *Jean Lecanuet maire de Rouen : le Centre introuvable (1953-1993)?*

Qui était Jean Lecanuet ? À travers une approche biographique centrée sur l'ancien sénateur-maire de Rouen, cet article éclaire ce que sont le centre et le centrisme en France sous la Cinquième République. Dans cette optique, les notions de pouvoir et de territoires jouent un rôle clé : l'ancrage politique local de Lecanuet, associé à sa renommée nationale, a grandement contribué à en faire l'une des grandes figures de la vie politique française du second 20ᵉ siècle. Pour autant, ce centrisme local, à Rouen, ne manque pas d'interroger : son système électoral, fondé très tôt sur les alliances politiques, ne renvoie-t-il pas aux grandes évolutions perceptibles à l'échelon national ? Qu'en est-il de son autonomie?

GERMANIA

1/2 2020, *Transforming Cities: Urbanization and International Development in Africa and Latin America since 1945*

Andra B. Chastain, *Rethinking Basic Infrastructure: French Aid and Metro Development in Postwar Latin America*, pp. 128-141

Postwar Latin America witnessed a remarkable wave of metro construction as eight new urban rail transit systems opened in Mexico, Brazil, Chile, and Venezuela in a span of less than twenty years. What explains this dramatic transformation in the built environment of Latin American cities? This article argues that French metro boosters played a crucial role in the Latin American transit boom between the 1960s and the 1980s. While international development agencies favoured what they considered more basic infrastructure projects such as ports or dams, France constituted a key source of aid for modernizing urban planners in Latin America. Relationships between Latin American planners and French funders benefitted French manufacturing interests, in addition to Latin American metro proponents. This article draws on sources in Spanish, Portuguese, and French, including archival sources from the French Company for the Design and Construction of Urban Transport (Société française d'études et de realizations de transports urbains, SOFRETU), local news articles, and official reports by Latin American metro agencies. It highlights the role of bilateral aid between France and Latin America, thus complementing work on multilateral organizations and US influence in the region.

3/4 2020, *Comparing Colonialism: Beyond European Exceptionalism*

Krishan Kumar, *What's in a Name? Should We Distinguish Colonialism and Imperialism?*, pp. 236-247

Though popular and much scholarly usage does not distinguish between colonialism and imperialism, some scholars have argued for a clear analytical distinction between the two. A prominent example is the classicist Moses Finley, who especially wishes to define "colony" in terms that would distinguish it from "empire". There are certainly some gains from attempting to do this, notably in emphasizing the distinctiveness of European "settler colonialism" from the fifteenth century onwards. But this article argues that there are also significant losses in trying to draw too hard and fast a line between colonialism and imperialism. It severely limits comparative possibilities, by excluding most of the empires of the ancient world as well as most non-Western empires, such as the Chinese Empire. There are considerable continuities and overlaps between empires across a wide swathe of space and time; modern colonialism is a sub-species of empires in general, not a separate experience requiring special treatment. Our accounts would be the poorer if we adopt too restrictive a definition of colonialism, blinding us to the many ways in which it fits into the larger and longer story of empire.

Wolfgang Reinhard, *Agency, Cooperation, and Oligarchy – The Origins of Colonialism*, pp. 327-338

There were plenty of necessary conditions for successful European expansion and control. But the sufficient condition for success involves a combination of agency, cooperation and oligarchy. Colonialism is almost never the consequence of a master plan formulated by a particular government, but, as a rule, results from the initiative of individuals, such as explorers, merchants, Missionaries – and bandits. Furthermore, for geographical, political and – last but not least – financial reasons colonial rulers had no choice but to recruit soldiers, administrators and servants from the indigenous population. Finally, in many cases, colonialism resulted in the combined domination of European and indigenous oligarchies at the expense of native subjects.

1 2020

Tim Verlaan, *The Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum: Urban Planners, Property Developers and Fractious Left Politics in West Berlin, 1963–1974*, pp. 113–132

During the early 1960s, elected officials and urban planners designated large swathes of West Berlin as redevelopment areas, most notably the district of Kreuzberg SO36. With the help of private developers, an underexamined group of stakeholders in urban planning, local residents were to be rehoused in spacious apartment blocks equipped with modern facilities. The construction history of the Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum housing complex is a classic yet understudied example of how public and private actors attempted to work together in the field of postwar urban planning. Soon after the plan was publicly announced, the public consensus on urban redevelopment altered. Criticism came from young professionals in the field of architecture and planning as well as neighbourhood action groups, who were eventually followed by public officials. This article investigates how and why the mood changed inside and outside the field of West German architecture and urban planning. Current historiography tends to neglect the role of private entrepreneurs in urban redevelopment efforts. By examining the politics leading up to the construction of the Neues Kreuzberger Zentrum, this article sheds a fresh light on the modus operandi of the West German welfare state on the local level and how it responded to bottom-up demands for democratization and transparency. The interaction between local authorities, commercial interests and the public is innovatively brought together into a single analytical framework by consulting a wide array of primary sources, most prominently articles by West Berlin's alternative and mainstream press, architecture and planning journals and minutes from official meetings.

2 (2020)

Marcus Colla, *Memory, Heritage and the Demolition of the Potsdam Garnisonkirche, 1968*, pp. 290–310

In 1968, the ruling Socialist Unity Party demolished Potsdam's Garnisonkirche (Garrison Church). This article analyses the way in which the demolition of the Garnisonkirche opened up a spectrum of reflections on the meaning of the Prussian and Nazi pasts in the GDR and the ways it ought to be mediated through the urban landscape. Using petitions sent by everyday citizens to the local political authorities as well as debates within the SED itself, this article demonstrates how the public discussion about the demolition of the church navigated the many problems posed by Potsdam's 'burdened' past in its urban spaces. While a number of individuals believed that this history could be transcended through the construction of a 'new' Potsdam, others believed that effectively handling the recent past required a direct confrontation with its architectural symbols.

Larry Frohman. *Network Euphoria, Super-Information Systems and the West German Plan for a National Database System*, pp. 311–337

Much attention has been devoted to planning as the key concept in political discourse of the Federal Republic from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. Much less attention has been paid to the closely related notion of information. At the turn of the 1970s, one of the most important initiatives of the West German government in the informational domain was a proposed national database network. The conception of politics that underlay this project bundled the utopian aspirations associated with the use of computers to integrate and analyse information with the conviction that more, better and different kinds of information would make complex, industrial societies like the Federal Republic more governable. The West German database network embodied two complementary modernist visions: the dream of total data integration and the antithetical but equally seductive documentarian belief that the problems of information management could be solved by reducing the symbolic field within which information was always embedded to stable, elemental units of meaning. However, the plan for a national database network collapsed before it could even fully make it onto the drawing board. This article argues that the project failed not because of privacy concerns, but because these modernist visions quickly ran up against limits that were as much political and conceptual as technological. In the end all that was left was a documentation system for the federal government in which the connections to social planning, which had provided much of the original impetus for the system, had all but disappeared.

3 (2020)

Hugo Service, *The Imagined Ethno-Racial Border and the Expulsion of Jews from Western Poland, 1939-41*, pp.414–439

Although the 'Jewish question' had always figured prominently in Nazi ideology and long-term objectives, the population policy to which Nazi German leaders and officials gave priority in practice in 1939–1941 was the relocation of ethnic-German 'resettlers' to annexed western Poland. Christopher Browning and other historians have argued that while in autumn and winter 1939 the Nazi leadership appeared to view the comprehensive removal of Jews from Germany's 'incorporated eastern territories' as a high priority, because they did not prioritize it in practice, it did not happen. This article shows that this interpretation does not fully reflect events. A detailed case study of the expulsion of Jewish residents from east to west within the province of Silesia's incorporated territory in May–June 1940 demonstrates that for Nazi German elites an ethno-racial boundary ran down the middle of the incorporated territories, north to south, and west of that boundary the comprehensive removal of Jews was prioritized in practice and very nearly realized.

Richard Millington, *State Power and 'Everyday Criminality' in the German Democratic Republic, 1961–1989*, pp. 440–460,

Friedrich Engels claimed that the removal of the perceived causes of crime in a society—capitalist economic and societal conditions—would automatically lead to the eradication of crime. This did not prove to be the case in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), where instances of everyday criminality such as theft, robbery and assault never fell below 100,000 per annum throughout the period of the state's existence, from 1949 to 1989. This article examines the ruling Socialist Unity

Party's (SED) perceptions of the causes of everyday criminality in the GDR. It shows that the SED concluded that crime persisted because citizens' 'socialist sense of legal right and wrong' (sozialistisches Rechtsbewußtsein) was underdeveloped. The regime measured this by the extent to which citizens supported and participated in socialist society. Thus, crime could be eliminated by co-opting as many citizens as possible into the Party's political project. The SED's ideological tunnel vision on the causes of everyday criminality meant that it dismissed hints about the real causes of crime, such as poor supply and living conditions, identified by its analysts. Its failure to address these issues meant that citizens continued to break the law. Thus, the Party's exercise of power contributed to the creation of limits to that power. Moreover, analysis of opinion polls on GDR citizens' attitudes to criminality shows that they accepted crime as a part of everyday life.

Joe Perry, *Opinion Research and the West German Public in the Postwar Decades*, pp. 461–487,

This article investigates the history of opinion research in West Germany in the decades following the Second World War, which witnessed the emergence of a dense network of research institutes, including the Institut für Demoskopie-Allensbach (IfD), Emnid and Infratest. It argues that 'opinion research'—a term used to encompass political polling as well as market research—helped consolidate an emerging West German consumer society based on liberal, free-market capitalism and offered West Germans new ways of imagining this new national collective. The opinion surveys and the subjectivities they measured were mutually constitutive of this reconfigured 'public', as exposure to survey results in countless media reports both reflected and shaped popular understandings of self and society. To make this argument, the article explores the US influence on German opinion research from the 1920s to the 1960s and the 'modern' language and techniques of survey research in the FRG. It offers an account of sex research as a case study of the same and concludes with a brief discussion of opinion research and its role in shaping contemporary understandings of the public sphere.

4 (2020)

Jane Freeland, *Gendering Value Change: Domestic Violence and Feminism in 1970s West Berlin*, pp. 638–655

Feminist domestic violence activists in 1970s West Berlin sought to create a community of women helping women. This was key to feminist work in challenging patriarchal citizenship norms and male violence against women. Tracing the evolution of feminist domestic violence activism in West Berlin, this article argues that feminist ideals and critiques were deradicalized as they were taken up in political and public discourse. Rather than being a political project of creating feminist community or challenging gendered concepts of citizenship, domestic violence activism was entrenched as a women's issue that women were responsible for addressing. Indeed, examining official public and media support for domestic violence projects exposes how the state leant on women as the drivers of gender equality, in ways that were often unpaid and unacknowledged. Far from contesting patriarchy, popular support for domestic violence initiatives went hand-in-hand with a reinscription of a deeply rooted sexual-moral order that entwined liberal development in Germany with paternal and patriarchal authority since the nineteenth century. In making this argument, this article demonstrates

that value change was both limited and functioned within normative boundaries. What change did occur was contingent on the labour of women and feminists, whose activism challenged the power structures and norms that left women vulnerable to abuse. Moreover, in the context of the global economic downturn of the 1970s, grassroots feminist activism held even more importance as it offered West Germany a cheap solution to a systemic issue that could no longer be ignored.

71 (1 – 2) 2020

Rudolf Jaworski, *Germania von außen gesehen. Streiflichter aus der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*

Al più tardi dal XIX secolo, le allegorie femminili - come Britannia, Marianna o Germania - fanno parte della simbologia di tutti gli stati e le nazioni europee. Nella ricerca che si occupa delle rappresentazioni pittoriche della Germania, l'attenzione si è concentrata soprattutto sul suo aspetto identitario per l'impero tedesco e per i tedeschi. Questo piccolo studio, invece, è il primo tentativo di esaminare in modo puntuale i diversi riflessi esterni di questa figura simbolica. Sulla base dei media visivi popolari dell'Austria-Ungheria, della Francia, della Gran Bretagna e dell'Unione Sovietica, si dimostra come essa abbia espresso ininterrottamente il sentimento della Grande Germania appena oltre il confine con l'Austria-Ungheria, mentre in Francia, per esempio, sia diventata un bersaglio primario della propaganda a carattere negativo.

71 (5 – 6) 2020

Dominik Geppert, *Die ungeschriebenen Regeln der repräsentativen Demokratie Neuere Ansätze in der historischen Parlamentarismusforschung*, pp. 237–244

Lo studio storico del parlamentarismo sta vivendo attualmente una notevole ripresa di fronte a una crisi della democrazia rappresentativa ampiamente discussa. Approcci più recenti, sensibili alla storia culturale, estendono la ricerca sul parlamentarismo oltre la Germania nel passato recente. Non offrono una revisione dei classici soggetti d'indagine della storia parlamentare, ma aprono nuove linee di visione mettendo in una nuova luce eventi precedentemente considerati marginali, mettendo criticamente in discussione ciò che finora è sembrato evidente, aprendo fonti trascurate e allargando la visione oltre il quadro di riferimento nazionale.

Andreas Biefang*, Parlament ohne Publikum Der „Journalistenstreik" von 1908*, pp. 245–261

I parlamenti moderni dipendono dal pubblico dei mass media per essere riconosciuti come "rappresentanze del popolo". L'esempio del Reichstag mostra cosa succede quando i giornalisti parlamentari smettono di riferire e "entrano in sciopero": l'attività parlamentare crolla. L'articolo tratta di come una disputa apparentemente innocua tra i parlamentari e la stampa possa degenerare in uno "sciopero", così come delle ragioni politiche che hanno forzato la sua risoluzione. Si occupa anche della percezione di sé dei giornalisti, che si sentivano sempre più su un piano di parità con il parlamento come "quarto potere".

Benedikt Wintgens*, Das Parlament im Roman Eine literarische Spurensuche seit 1848*, pp. 280–297
Nella letteratura di lingua tedesca ci sono romanzi che raccontano di parlamentari e di elezioni - più di quanto si sappia in genere. Come fonti storico-culturali, questi romanzi (indipendentemente dal

loro carattere narrativo) forniscono informazioni sulle aspettative e le delusioni che erano associate alla rappresentazione popolare nel rispettivo contesto storico. Il saggio intraprende una ricerca di tracce dalla Rivoluzione del 1848 attraverso l'Impero e la Repubblica di Weimar fino ai giorni nostri. Diventano visibili i modelli di un genere che, in forma critico-satirica, guarda al parlamento e al pubblico.

Bettina Tüffers, *Fernsehaufnahmen als historische Quelle Die Live-Übertragungen der Sitzungen der 10. Volkskammer der DDR*, pp. 298–314

La televisione è stata il mezzo di comunicazione di massa del XX secolo. Tuttavia, le registrazioni televisive dalla sala plenaria hanno ricevuto troppo poca attenzione da parte degli storici del Parlamento. Per loro, i rapporti stenografici o i verbali plenari sono ancora la fonte centrale. Utilizzando due esempi della decima Volkskammer della RDT nel 1990, questo articolo mostra il valore penetrante di tali trasmissioni televisive, soprattutto quando si tratta di capire la cultura politica di un parlamento.

Silke Mende, *Das „demokratische Europa" seit 1970 Zeithistorische Perspektiven auf den Zusammenhang von Demokratisierung, Parlamentarisierung und Europäisierung als Forschungsfeld*, pp. 315–329

L'articolo si occupa della connessione tra democratizzazione, parlamentarizzazione ed europeizzazione a partire dagli anni '70 sulla base dell'allargamento europeo verso sud e verso est. Secondo la tesi, questi avevano un significato centrale per la progettazione di un'"Europa democratica" come ordine immaginato. L'articolo si inserisce così in un campo di ricerca che finora è stato affrontato principalmente dalla scienza politica, e cerca di delineare ulteriori domande e prospettive per una storia contemporanea europea della democrazia.

71 (9 – 10) 2020

Philip Wagner, *Umkämpfte Werte Politische Bildung und die bedrohte Demokratie im Westdeutschland der 1970erund 1980er-Jahre*, pp. 537–554

Utilizzando l'educazione civica negli anni '70 e '80 come caso di studio, il saggio si chiede quali pericoli per la democrazia furono diagnosticati e quali progetti furono lanciati per stimolare modelli individuali di azione al fine di evitare queste crisi. Sostiene che l'educazione politica considerava la democrazia come un problema morale. Mentre le concezioni educative liberal-conservatrici cercavano di erigere confini etici, i liberali di sinistra cercavano di praticare modelli di pensiero democratico-morali con un approccio didattico specifico. Analizzando queste posizioni, l'articolo mira a gettare nuova luce su contraddizioni spesso sottovalutate nella storia della democrazia della Germania occidentale.

2 (2020)

Susanne Schregel, „*Extrawürste für die Elite?" Soziale Ungleichheit und Differenz in der bundesdeutschen Hochbegabungsdebatte (1980 – 1985)*, pp. 313–338

Questions of intellectual giftedness became a battlefield for controversies over social inequality in West Germany in the 1980s. Educational practitioners and politicians argued that strengthening special education opportunities for intellectually gifted children and teenagers might further entrench inequalities in income and education. Yet proponents and parents who suspected their child might be exceptionally talented or intelligent tended to interpret giftedness rather in terms of human difference. The issue of special education for intellectually gifted children was central to political struggles in which collective paradigms of inequalities could be challenged in the name of more individualized interpretations of difference. The ascription of specific abilities and inabilities played a formative role in this process.

3 (2020)

Stefan Rinke, *Sozialer Protest in Pandemiezeiten in Lateinamerika. Von der „Spanischen Grippe" zu Corona*, pp.481–493

Since March 2020, the corona pandemic has wreaked havoc in Latin America. Social and economic life has been curtailed and the political effects of the response are alarming. The pandemic has coincided with a wave of protests against corrupt governments. Almost exactly 100 years ago, Latin America faced a similar mixture of protest and pandemic. What insights can be gained, beyond the temporal coincidence of protest waves and pandemics, by comparing the situation of 1918 / 19 with that of 2019 / 20? What role does civil society play? Have the lessons from a century ago been learned? Can observations from the Latin American context be applied beyond the continent?

4 (2020)

Milo Probst, *Mit Klassenkämpfen ins Anthropozän, Naturverhältnisse im französischsprachigen Anarchismus, circa 1870 –1914*, pp. 606-633

This article describes how French anarchists conceived of human relationships to non-human natural surroundings. In line with their criticisms of human-nature relations within capitalism, anarchists in France sketched an alternative society where humans had non-instrumental relationships to their natural environment that were based on solidary. Bringing this historical example into a dialogue with contemporary anthropological theories, I argue that class struggle can also be understood as a set of conflicts over the way humans relate to their environment.

310 (1) 2020

Andreas Lutsch, *Gleichgewicht vor Westbindung. Die Regierung Schmidt und die „Neutronenbombe" (1977/78) – eine Neubewertung*, pp.52-89

Il quadro storico della controversia sulla "bomba al neutrone" nel 1977/78 è caratterizzato da una narrazione standard: nonostante varie difficoltà e grandi controversie, la Repubblica Federale di Germania alla fine approvò lo stazionamento di quest'arma nucleare nel suo territorio, mentre rimane poco comprensibile la decisione del presidente americano Jimmy Carter all'inizio di aprile 1978 di far produrre in un primo momento l'arma non pronta per lo stoccaggio. Questo articolo offre una rivalutazione basata sugli archivi che porta ad una più solida valutazione storica di una crisi della NATO e delle relazioni tedesco-americane di grande importanza storica. Questa rivalutazione può essere condensata in una tesi centrale: Il governo Schmidt ha lavorato con successo per rinviare lo stoccaggio di queste munizioni nucleari per l'artiglieria da battaglia nella Repubblica Federale alle calende greche, senza opporvisi apertamente, e per modernizzare evolutivamente le armi nucleari terrestri a raggio intermedio nella NATO. Nell'affare "bomba al neutrone" del 1977/78 divenne molto chiaro - anche se non nella sfera pubblica – quali fossero le priorità tedesche per la modernizzazione del TNF.

310 (2) 2020

Oliver F. R. Haardt, *Innenansichten des Bundesrates im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871–1918*, pp. 333-386

Questo saggio mira a riportare lo sguardo della storia politica e costituzionale dell'Impero tedesco sul Bundesrat, che è stato largamente trascurato fino ad ora. A tal fine, esamina le dinamiche interne del Bundesrat e chiarisce la loro relazione con i più ampi sviluppi del sistema di governo federale. La prima sezione del saggio descrive i compiti e i metodi di lavoro del Bundesrat. Diventa chiaro che la Costituzione imperiale le ha dato una posizione centrale nel processo di formazione della volontà nazionale. Presenta poi la base metodologica per un'analisi che, nelle due sezioni successive, esamina statisticamente i modelli di presenza delle delegazioni prussiane e dei piccoli stati al Bundesrat. La prima parte di questa rassegna mostra che nel corso degli anni il banco prussiano venne infiltrato dai rappresentanti dell'alta amministrazione statale e divenne così uno strumento di governo del Reich. La prova quantitativa di questo sviluppo fornisce la prima prova solida della statalizzazione della Prussia. La seconda parte dell'analisi statistica rivela un complesso sistema di rappresentanza tra i piccoli stati. Questo assicurava che una gran parte dei piccoli principati votasse sempre con la Prussia, fornendo così maggioranze affidabili per il banco del Bundesrat prussiano. Una volta che questo fu preso in consegna dai funzionari imperiali, il governo del Reich aveva quindi una salda controllo sul Bundesrat. La sezione finale del saggio mostra che questi sviluppi interni del Bundesrat erano direttamente collegati alla trasformazione della sua funzione nel sistema di governo, alla centralizzazione della struttura federale delle competenze e alla graduale espansione dell'influenza del Reichstag sul governo del Reich.

Dieter Gosewinkel, *Geschichtlichkeit des Rechts – Recht in der Geschichte. Zum Werk Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenfördes (1930–2019)*, pp. 569-579

Che importanza hanno la giurisprudenza e la storiografia l'una per l'altra? Questa era la domanda posta da Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, avvocato e storico costituzionale, nella sua opera giuridica, storico-costituzionale e filosofico-giuridica. Böckenförde si proponeva di riunire due discipline che avevano divergenze istituzionali a partire dal diciannovesimo secolo in un interesse comune per spiegare le interrelazioni nella "storia degli sviluppi politico-sociali". Così facendo, ha riunito prospettive metodologiche e approcci teorici che avevano separato molti storici: storia politica e storia sociale, storia del diritto e storia della società. Per lui, queste erano aree tematiche che dovevano essere collegate da un interesse epistemologico generale per le "strutture" e i "problemi di ordine". Seguendo Otto Brunner, Böckenförde ha posto a giuristi e storici il compito comune di comprendere la "struttura politico-sociale di un'epoca". Ha soddisfatto questa pretesa con un approccio ermeneutico al diritto costituzionale e alla storia costituzionale che era in anticipo sui tempi, così come con contributi fondamentali alla "Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe" e alla storia della filosofia del diritto e dello stato. Una delle eredità erudite dello studioso, scomparso nel febbraio 2019, risiede nella sua profonda intuizione della storicità e quindi della natura legata al tempo di ogni ordinamento giuridico statale: per questo i giuristi devono mettere in discussione la presunta sovratemporalità dei loro fondamenti normativi di lavoro e gli storici devono intendere il diritto come oggetto centrale della loro ricerca. Altrimenti, non capiranno né la loro storia né il loro presente.

Jasper M. Trautsch, *Vom „Abendland" in „den Westen"? Die Liberalisierung der Bundesrepublik in der Nachkriegszeit in begriffsgeschichtlicher Sicht*, pp. 633-666

Nelle ricerche sulla storia delle idee sulla prima Repubblica Federale, si suppone comunemente che gli atteggiamenti antidemocratici e antiamericani che continuavano ad esistere, specialmente nei circoli conservatori, erano legati all'"Occidente" dopo il 1945, come lo erano stati prima, e che la sostituzione di questo termine con quello di Occidente negli anni '60 rifletteva la progressiva liberalizzazione della Germania occidentale. Questo studio storico-concettuale, d'altra parte, sostiene che nell'uso dei democristiani, l'"Occidente" ha subito una trasformazione semantica nel periodo postbellico, diventando sempre più associato alla forma democratica di governo e reinterpretato come una comunità transatlantica. In questo modo, l'"Occidente" divenne un sinonimo piuttosto che un termine rivale per l'Occidente. Il significato di questa innovazione semantica non è solo che è storicamente impreciso dedurre atteggiamenti antidemocratici e antiamericani dall'uso del termine Abendland nel periodo postbellico, ma anche che fu proprio la democratizzazione e l'americanizzazione del termine Abendland alla fine degli anni '40 e negli anni '50 - e non la successiva adozione del termine dell'Occidente - a permettere alle classi sociali conservatrici della Germania occidentale di abbracciare valori liberali. Nel momento in cui si sono visti come parte di una comunità transatlantica democraticamente costituita, hanno anche dovuto aprirsi alle influenze ideologiche dei loro vicini occidentali e soprattutto degli Stati Uniti.

Iberoamericana. America Latina - España – Portugal

Amadeo Gandolfo, *Un intelectual de los márgenes: las historietas de Oski en el diario Noticias de Montoneros (1974)*, n. 73, pp. 173–201, https://doi.org/10.18441/ibam.20.2020.73.173-201

Analizamos una serie de historietas creadas por el dibujante argentino Oski [Oscar Conti] y publicadas durante 1974 en el diario Noticias, parte del proyecto editorial del grupo guerrillero peronista de izquierda Montoneros. Oski dibujaba "El Créase o No del Sudor (Ajeno)" que denunciaba y criticaba cáusticamente la explotación histórica de América Latina y el Caribe por parte de los españoles, portugueses, británicos y estadounidenses. Consideramos a Oski a partir de la figura del intelectual: nos preguntamos si podemos caracterizar a algunos dibujantes como intelectuales y comparamos a Oski con otras figuras intelectuales de América Latina. Finalmente, reconstruimos la historia de Noticias y realizamos una lectura minuciosa de las viñetas de Oski y su mensaje político y humorístico.

Ana C. Veiga de Castro, *Richard Morse e América Latina: circulação de conhecimentos, saberes múltiplos e a história cultural urbana (1960-1970)*, n. 74, pp. 83–100, https://doi.org/10.18441/ibam.20.2020.74.83-100

It can be said that Richard Morse (1922-2001) dedicated his career to the study of Latin American cities. Since his 1952 PhD thesis at Columbia, about the history of the city of São Paulo –published in English in 1958 as From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo–, he wrote articles and organized balances on urban themes. In this trajectory, begun in Princeton in the late 1940s and reaching its peak at Yale in the 1970s, Morse had important partnerships and produced relevant essays. He contributed to animate the debate about the Latin American cities, and more than that, to the consolidation of a field of studies. This paper explores the knowledge mobilized by the American historian in his texts of the 1960s and 1970s, recovering references and illuminating his perspective, which we would call Urban Cultural History.

Clément Orillard, *Entre influencia francesa y desarrollismo latinoamericano: el "urbanismo geopolítico" de los años sesenta y setenta*, n. 74, pp. 57–81, https://doi.org/10.18441/ibam.20.2020.74.57-81

En los años sesenta y setenta, la tradición francófila del urbanismo latinoamericano fue mutando. En Francia, el estado creó nuevos organismos públicos o parapúblicos encargados de realizar los diagnósticos urbanos y la planificación. Uno de los más importantes, el IAURIF, encargado de la planificación y el desarrollo urbano de la región de Paris desarrolló varias misiones de ayuda técnica para América Latina. El análisis de las primeras misiones del IAURIF en Argentina, Brasil y Bolivia muestra que sus intervenciones se situaban en el punto de encuentro entre dos movimientos: la nueva política de *soft power* y de expansión económica del gobierno francés y las nuevas políticas desarrollistas de planificación económica de los distintos gobiernos latinoamericanos.

18 (1) 2020

Boris Gehlen, Christian Marx, Alfred Reckendrees, *Ambivalences of nationality—Economic nationalism, nationality of the company, nationalism as strategy: An introduction,* pp. 16-27

18 (3) 2020

Henkte Velde, Anne Petterson, *What does it mean to be a politician? Introduction*, p. 231

In this Forum, we use the history of 'the politician' from the eighteenth century until the present to start a discussion about what it means to be a politician. According to the German tradition of Begriffsgeschichte, a new understanding of 'politics' manifested itself around 1800. The politician, as a consequence, turned into a professional who operated within the context of a 'modern' administration. The history of what is considered 'political' and who is considered to be a 'politician' thus became a history of modernization (see, for example, Weber's famous Politics as a Vocation). Recently, this narrative of modernization has been challenged. This raises the question of the extent to which the nature of 'the politician' has developed over time. Surprisingly, there have been few studies on this topic. This Forum aims to put the subject on the historian's agenda and offer an incentive for future research. The contributions discuss different historical forms of professionalization, public perceptions of professional politicians, the interaction with common citizens, and the question of when it was profitable not to be, or to pose as, a professional politician. They demonstrate how there might be continuities in the way that political professionals operate and the qualities that they need, but it also becomes clear that each time, the profession has had to adapt to the demands of society.

Special Issue: *"(Re-)Constituting the State and Law in the 'Long Transformation of 1989'". Guest Editors: Michal Kopeček and Ned Richardson-Little*, pp. 275-351

(1) 2020

T. Nentwig, *Ein Parteiensystem in Bewegung, eine Gesellschaft in Aufruhr: Neue Bücher zum politischen Geschehen in Frankreich*, pp. 1–18

The French political system is in a state of flux: Emmanuel Macron is the first President of France who has been elected without the support of the two traditional major parties, the Socialist Party and The Republicans. But in 2018/2019, his presidency was attacked by the so-called yellow vests movement. Against this background, the essay deals with the recent political developments in France.

S. Kunkel, *Globales Wissen und Science* Diplomacy *im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, pp. 19–43

In recent years, science diplomacy has become a hot topic in international affairs, and is now also emerging as one of the most vibrant subfields within International History. This article examines newer historical research that addresses the history of science diplomacy or offers fruitful avenues for such a history. The review identifies three broader trends in current scholarship: a focus on universities and foundations as transnational actors of science diplomacy, a shift of interest towards the ways transnational flows of knowledge were organized and managed politically during the Cold War, and an increasing overlap of global environmental history with the histories of science and knowledge.

O. Hidalgo, *Digitalisierung, Internet und Demokratie. Theoretische und politische Verarbeitungen eines ambivalenten Feldes*, pp. 77–106

In contemporary political, social, and communication research, it is a controversial question if digitisation and World Wide Web are going to strengthen and renew democracy or, instead, will undermine its main principles, characteristics, and preconditions. However, the hitherto debates, models and conceptualizations of digital democracy have predominantly proceeded from a rather classical idea of democracy insisting on the already established communication channels between government and citizens. In contrast to this, the following article contributes to the interdisciplinary discussion with an overview of recent publications concerning the mutual relations between democracy and digitization in an explicit or implicit manner. In this respect, it should be acknowledged whether there can be observed new approaches and innovative contents according to the perspective of democratic theory.

2 (2020)

F. Höntzsch, *Krise der liberalen Demokratie? Nein! Krise des individualistischen Liberalismus*, pp. 255–277

The current crisis of liberal democracy is actually a crisis of individualistic liberalism as recent literature shows by its analysis and more often by its example. Whilst social inequality by many authors is seen as main source of the crisis, it is only the consequence of a contradiction inherent in individualistic liberalism: Equal individual liberty leads to social and in the consequence to political inequality because of the inevitable differences in the use of that individual liberty. However, political equality is a necessary condition of individual liberty as a reciprocal right. Therefore, it is necessary to overcome a purely individualistic understanding of liberty that threatens not only democracy but individual liberty itself.

(3) 2020

B. Möckel, *Endtimes of Human Rights? Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte der Menschenrechte*, pp. 473–501

Human Rights have come under pressure in recent years. Some scholars have even argued that we are witnessing the "endtimes of human rights". This article analyses how recent scholarship in human rights historiography has responded to this challenge. It argues that the focus on questions of periodization has been transcended into a new awareness for the multiplicity of times, places, and topics of human rights history. The article highlights four emerging research fields: first, the relationship of human rights and economics, second, the history of humanitarian interventions, third, the role of media in human rights history, and fourth, the new challenges of a global history of human rights.

Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

100 (1) 2020

Reichard, Tobias , *Verfolgungsinstrument Schwarze Liste : Antisemitische Musikpolitik im Zeichen der ‚Achse Berlin-Rom'*

The article investigates the importance of ‚blacklists' as a tool of Fascist and National Socialist racial policy in the field of music. It critically examines the radicalizing effects that National Socialist antisemitism exerted on Fascist racial policy, which has often been described as yielding to German pressure. In fact, Fascist leaders demonstrated their will to cooperate on the ‚Jewish question' very early, though Fascist antisemitism never reached the exterminatory dimensions of the Nazi Holocaust. Already in 1936, cultural policymakers were working towards the goals of their German allies, taking initial steps to discriminate against Jewish musicians long before the Racial Laws were introduced in 1938. Various documents recently discovered in the historical archives of the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia in Rome also highlight the pivotal role of musical institutions and their rich documentation in the investigation of cultural policy under Fascist rule, especially since the vast majority of the official records belonging to central institutions like the Italian Propaganda Ministry must be considered lost.

(20) 2020

M. Becker, G, Oy, Gottfried, Ch. Schneider, *Die Welle als Muster. Sechs Thesen zur anhaltenden Bedeutung der „antisemitischen Welle" 1959/1960*, ‚', pp. 119-146

On Christmas eve of 1959, the newly consecrated synagogue of Cologne was daubed with antisemitic slogans and swastikas. While this act was strongly denounced throughout the political spectrum, it triggered a wave of anti-Semitic incidents in Germany and beyond during the beginning of the following year. The article argues that the sociopolitical discussions on anti-Semitism conducted 60 years ago established patterns of debate that still shape present discussions. Fundamental contradictions of post-fascist society become visible within these patterns of debate. We outline six aspects: the contradiction between the legacy of National Socialism on the one hand and the acknowledgment of Jewish life within Germany on the other; the authoritarian handling of expressions of anti-Semitism; the inferiorization of the perpetrators; the pedagogization of societal contradictions; the dethematization of anti-Semitism; and protest against anti-Semitism as a medium for the critique of society.

(1) 2020

Cas Mudde, *Populismus in Europa: Von den Rändern zum Mainstream*, pp. 13–34

Despite the enormous growth of academic interest during the past years, there is still significantly more known about the consequences than the causes of populism. This issue can be addressed by analyzing not only the historical developments of populism itself, but also the relationship between two core cornerstones of it's ideology: people and elite. Focussing the evolutionary changes of this antagonism unveils that populism arises due to a complex set of structural factors which reshaped the social framework for politicians and their voters. It's therefore very likely that populism, either as a correctiv or as a threat to liberal democracy, will continue to be relevant within European politics.

Philip Manow, *Welche Rolle spielen Wohlfahrtsstaatlichkeit und Globalisierung für die Ausprägungen des Populismus?*, pp. 35–44

The article interprets the rise of populism as an expression of protest against globalization. Globalization is here conceived - with Dani Rodrik – as manifesting itself either in the cross-border movement of goods and capital or in the cross-border movement of persons (aka 'migration'). If a globalization-shock manifests itself in the former variant, populist protest tends to be articulated on the political left, if a globalization-shock manifests itself in the latter variant, populist protest is to be found rather on the political right. Against the background of Europe's two recent crises – the financial and then Euro-crisis 2010 followed by the refugee-crisis 2015 – the article explains the striking north-south divide between right-wing and left-wing populism with the differing vulnerabilities of Europe's northern and the southern political economies vis-à-vis these two different variants of globalization.

Giovanni de Ghantuz Cubbe, *Lega und Fünf-Sterne-Bewegung: Rechts- und Linkspopulismus?* pp. 45–66

As a consequence of the parliamentary election of 2018, two political powers have come to dominate in Italy: the Lega, mostly successful in northern Italy, and the Five-Star-Movement, with its stronghold in southern Italy. In analysing the election results, professional observers have come to the conclusion that Italy has become a divided country with a successful right-wing type of populism in the north and a thriving left-wing type of populism in the south. This interpretation leaves several aspects out of the equation however, in particular the programmatic ambivalence of the Five-Star-Movement, the reach of the Lega into southern Italy, and the similarities amongst the broader voting public. Is the common differentiation nevertheless suitable in order to describe the Lega and the Five-Star-Movement and to explain the current political constellation of the country?

Tom Mannewitz, Isabelle-Christine Panreck, *Systemtransformatives Potenzial im deutschen Parteiensystem: Die rechtspopulistische AfD*, pp. 97–118

The Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) continues to captivate Comparative Politics: Whereas the party's right-wing populist nature is known to be widely undisputed, its potential to transform the democratic system remains highly contentious. In addition to analyses that focus on the populist and extremist character of the AfD, this contribution seeks to identify the antidemocratic potential of the party on the basis of Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt's "key indicators of authoritarian behaviour". The analysis is complemented by a critical examination of Levitsky and Ziblatt's call for a "distancing" strategy.

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B. Manthe, *Rechtsterroristische Gewalt in den 1970er Jahren*, pp. 63-94

In 1979, Neo-Nazis faced trial for terrorist activities for the first time in the Federal Republic. They had formed an underground group, the Kühnen-Schulte-Wegener-Group, in North Germany. As is true for much of West German right-wing terrorism before 1990, little is known about this case. Barbara Manthe examines the context of the emergence and the deeds of the group, which conducted robberies and bank raids as well as planning political assassinations. She also analyses the trial against the perpetrators in Bückeburg (Lower Saxony). What influence did the security discourse of the 1970s exert on the conduct of the trial, which was explicitly presented as a terrorist trial by the authorities in charge? Were the accused successful in staging their own terrorist show using propaganda and provocation in court?

68 (2) 2020

W. Knöbl, *After Modernization*, pp. 297-318

Since the 1990s, the term globalisation has become a central catchword for the diagnosis of the times. This reveals a changed self-perception of the Social Sciences, which requires reflection if one wishes to avoid problematic premises in the use of this term. The article initially highlights aspects of the early globalisation debate and asks for the reasons of the fast rise of the globalisation discourse. Subsequently it analyses the theoretical consequences of the new semantics. Finally it discusses the question, what follows from the increasingly vocal criticism of the term globalisation, i.e. what possibilities still exist for the use of possible macro-sociological or -historical terms at all.

68 (3) 2020

J. Eckel, *Politik der Globalisierung*, pp. 451-480

Instead of presupposing globalisation as a fundamental process of the late 20th century, contemporary history should investigate the idea of a globalisation as a historical product of the turn of the Millennium. Politically talk of globalisation received widespread importance. The governments of Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and Gerhard Schröder justified core reform projects in both domestic and foreign policy with the necessity to respond to a speedily interconnecting world. In doing so, policy in the name of globalisation was founded on fuzzy knowledge and oscillated between conviction and strategy, thereby promoting some of the interconnections, which had supposedly been the original necessities in the first place. As much as political opponents fought against these reforms, they nevertheless widely agreed with the underlying diagnoses.

A. Wirsching, „Kaiser ohne Kleider"?, pp. 659-685

Globalisation is one of the most important concepts of our time and requires systematic analysis in order to become accessible for research. The relationship between the nation state and globalisation is particularly laden with tensions and thus poses a methodological challenge for contemporary historiography. Contemporary history should accept this challenge and enter into a dialogue with the social sciences about this important topic. The article pleads for a narrow concept of globalisation starting around 1970, which helps distinguish recent developments from those of earlier centuries. During this time, globalisation began as a political project of the Western industrialised countries, headed by the USA. Since the 1990s, it fundamentally changed the concepts of space of the nation states. The increasing fluidity of national borders was declared to be part of long-term national traditions, which led to considerable differences in the respective national attitudes to globalisation.

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Felix A. Jiménez Botta, *From Antifascism to Human Rights. Politics of Memory in the West German Campaigns Against the Chilean and Argentinean Military Regimes, 1973–1990*

This article reassesses the emergence of human rights advocacy in 1970s West Germany from the perspective of memory politics. Focusing on the campaigns against political violence in South America, the article first traces the boom and bust of antifascist activism against the Chilean junta in the early 1970s. It then analyzes the displacement of abstract antifascist discourses by a more humanitarian human rights talk closely intertwined with concrete references to National Socialist crimes. Taking the perspective of grassroots advocates, this article explores how and why activists referenced the crimes of Nazism to defend human rights in the present. Finally, the article moves beyond the claim that human rights politics were minimalistic and even anti-antifascist, by showing how some human rights activists continued to think of themselves as antifascists. They infused antifascism with entirely new meanings by recovering the 20 July 1944 assassination attempt against Hitler as an acceptable example of anti-government violence.

(2) 2020

Jutta Braun, *Politische Medizin. Ideologie und Gesundheitsökonomie im SED-Staat der 1950er- und 1960er-Jahre*

(3) 2020

Franziska Rehlinghaus, *Gegen Linke reden. Die Politisierung beruflicher Bildungsarbeit in der Bundesrepublik der 1970er-Jahre*

From the mid-1960s onwards, further education advanced in international discussions to become the key to a triad of social objectives: It promised economic prosperity, social justice and personal fulfilment. As a result, the differences between vocational and political education in the Federal Republic also dissipated. Particularly in the wake of the protests in 1968, further education became a battleground for divergent models of political order, where representatives of labour and capital fought vehemently for power and influence. This article analyses how companies and their interest groups embarked on political education for their employees as an instrument of human resources development for the purposes of their own ideals of society. The focus was on the practice of political communication as a form of self-empowerment against left-wing opponents. Using the example of seminars about Marxism and dialectics for managers, the article shows how these political training courses aimed to strengthen group identity and transform individuals' relation to self. As a complementary strategy, employers tried to depoliticise training courses for works council members by hindering courses offered by the trade unions.

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Christian Henrich-Franke, *Der KSZE-Prozess als Katalysator? Fernsehen und Eisernen Vorhang*, pp. 27-46

Questo articolo esamina gli effetti della Conferenza sulla Sicurezza e la Cooperazione in Europa (CSCE) sul flusso di informazioni tra Est e Ovest attraverso l'esempio della cooperazione tra stazioni televisive, collegando così la storia dei media a quella diplomatica e sociale. Come ha influito il processo CSCE nell'ambito specifico della televisione? Ha agito come un catalizzatore per il flusso di informazioni attraverso la cortina di ferro? Si possono identificare cambiamenti a breve, medio e lungo periodo nelle relazioni di scambio? Sulla base dello studio del caso, quali affermazioni si possono fare sull'impatto del processo CSCE nel suo complesso? A livello temporale, il processo CSCE viene esaminato fino ai primi anni '80, in modo da coprire i cambiamenti nel clima politico che caratterizzarono la "Seconda guerra fredda".

68 (2) 2020

Siegfried Suckut, *„Wir kommen näher dem, für das wir ein Leben lang gekämpft haben." Nachbetrachtungen zur Betriebsrätebewegung in der Sowjetisch Besetzten Zone Deutschlands (SBZ) 1945-1948*, pp. 122-144

L'articolo analizza il movimento dei consigli di fabbrica nella SBZ ritenuto dall'autore storicamente significativo perché non fu orchestrato dall'"alto", ma nacque dall'iniziativa dei lavoratori stessi, fu dunque – diremmo nel linguaggio odierno – un'iniziativa popolare. La SMAD e parti della direzione del KPD guardarono con sospetto alla sua rapida diffusione nei primi mesi del dopoguerra, in quanto temevano che se avesse preso la forma di un movimento consiliare avrebbe potuto compromettere il loro potere politico. Il fatto che i consigli di fabbrica siano rimasti in vita fino al 1948 è dovuto principalmente ai loro successi come portatori di ricostruzione economica nelle fabbriche stesse. Come argomento di ricerca, i consigli di fabbrica nella SBZ hanno ricevuto poca attenzione sia a Est che a Ovest. Questo è un peccato, scrive l'autore, in quanto esaminando la storia locale dei consigli di fabbrica e dei sindacati si possono ottenere informazioni importanti su come vivevano i tedeschi nella zona orientale nei primi anni del dopoguerra, nonché sulla loro vita lavorativa quotidiana.

68 (9) 2020

Tatjana Tönsmeyer, *Ausbeutung, Hunger, Bewältigungsstrategien. Europäische Erfahrungen mit deutscher Besatzung 1939-1945*, pp. 735-746

Questo articolo vuole mostrare in una prospettiva paneuropea che, come conseguenza dello sfruttamento realizzato dagli occupanti tedeschi, la penuria e la fame prevalsero in ampie regioni d'Europa, provocando migliaia, in alcuni casi centinaia di migliaia di vittime, per esempio nel

territorio dell'Unione Sovietica occupata, in Grecia, ma anche nei Paesi Bassi. L'attenzione posta dalla storiografia, soprattutto nel caso dell'Unione Sovietica, era per lo più sulle misure prese dagli occupanti tedeschi e meno sulle strategie di sopravvivenza delle persone colpite. Infatti, proprio perché la carenza di cibo, la sottoalimentazione e la fame erano considerate tra le conseguenze "classiche" delle ostilità, i modi in cui le persone sotto l'occupazione nazista affrontarono tali difficoltà furono a lungo ignorate. L'improvvisa carenza di rifornimenti ebbe un impatto decisivo sulla vita quotidiana sotto l'occupazione tedesca e l'articolo esamina anche i tentativi di far fronte alla scarsità e alla povertà, tra cui il mercato nero, il baratto e la prostituzione. Infine, mostra come la catastrofica situazione economica in gran parte dell'Europa ha avuto gravi conseguenze anche sul sostentamento degli ebrei costretti a vivere in clandestinità.

68 (10) 2020

Max Laube, *El Lumpen – Die Karriere eines Begriffs. Zu der zeitgenössischen Revolte in Chile*, pp. 803-818

L'ambiguità del concetto marxiano di "Lumpenproletariat" può essere vista come la condizione per la grande rilevanza e l'impatto che il concetto di *lumpen* ha assunto nel discorso cileno nel contesto delle recenti rivolte. Tale ambiguità ha fatto sì che *lumpen* sia diventato il termine di lotta politica centrale di entrambi gli schieramenti, sia quello dei politici conservatori del governo sia quello degli insorti radicali. Mentre la funzione del termine – svalutazione morale e delegittimazione politica – è la stessa nel discorso cileno, la sua direzione di visione varia: come strategia reazionaria guarda dall'alto verso il basso, come progetto progressista dal basso verso l'alto. Dopo una descrizione del concetto di "Lumpenproletariat" in Marx ed Engels, l'articolo risponde alla domanda su come questo concetto sia diventato così potente nel contesto latino-americano e quale ruolo discorsivo giochi nell'attuale lotta interpretativa politica sulla rivolta cilena. La risposta non solo riflette un pezzo di storia contemporanea, ma fa anche luce sulla dialettica propria delle pratiche di dominio.

Markus Meckl, *Lettland postheroische Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 848-859

Nella storiografia, il termine post-eroico è utilizzato per descrivere il "passaggio dall'eroicizzazione alla vittimizzazione" nella cultura della memoria della seconda metà del secolo scorso. Questo cambiamento, come afferma lo storico Martin Sabrow, può essere individuato nella pratica commemorativa a partire dagli anni '70 e si manifesta nel fatto che non sono più gli "eroi" a ricevere il riconoscimento pubblico, ma le vittime dei conflitti e delle guerre. Non c'è dubbio che la Lettonia abbia sofferto un gran numero di vittime durante gli anni dell'occupazione sovietica e nazista, che poterono essere ricordate pubblicamente solo dopo l'indipendenza. L'articolo analizza la transizione che si ebbe in Lettonia da una narrazione eroica come rimedio alla sofferenza che si ebbe a partire dal XIX secolo ad una narrazione post-eroica a cui si assistette invece verso la fine del XX secolo. L'autore mette in luce però come tale narrazione post-eroica concentrata sulle vittime abbia influenzato il rapporto del paese con le sue minoranze etniche, che sono escluse dalla narrazione nazionale. Se parlano russo, sono visti come parte del patrimonio dell'oppressore, e se appartengono a un'altra minoranza che ha sofferto sotto i regimi totalitari del XX secolo, sono visti come una

minaccia alla propria identità, perché percepiti come concorrenti nello status di vittima. In tal senso, l'identità post-eroica in Lettonia tiene paradossalmente vive le tensioni sociali e le divisioni tra le diverse comunità etniche.

GRAN BRETAGNA

Bram Mellink, *Towards the Centre: Early Neoliberals in the Netherlands and the Rise of the Welfare State, 1945–1958*, pp. 30-43

Although scholars have recently taken an increased interest in the history of neoliberalism, the 'breakthrough' of neoliberalism under Thatcher and Reagan still captures most of their attention. Consequently, the neoliberal project is primarily taken as Anglo-American, while its early history is mostly studied to explain the political shift of the 1980s. This article focuses on the early neoliberal movement in the Netherlands (1945–58) to highlight the continental European roots of neoliberal thought, trace the remarkably wide dissemination of neoliberal ideas in Dutch socio-economic debates and highlight the key role of these ideas in the conceptualisation of the Western European welfare state.

Ángel Alcalde, *The Transnational Consensus: Fascism and Nazism in Current Research*, pp.243-252

Transnational History emerged in the 1990s as a methodological perspective aiming to transcend the nation state as a prevalent unit of analysis. Akin to comparative history, transnational history focuses on transfers between countries and nations, cross-border exchanges and circulation of people and ideas, thus changing our understanding of modern historical phenomena and contributing to the development of global history. Today there is probably no modern historical subfield that has not heeded the new transnational insights. This review article argues that the history of fascism and national socialism have benefitted considerably from this epistemological advancement, and that this renewal has revolutionised our understanding of these ideologies, movements and regimes. Previously historians believed that fascism had emerged as a solution to the interwar crisis in different European nation states; 'native', 'home-grown' fascist movements, unique ultranationalist revolutionaries, spontaneously reacted to endogenous national problems and attempted a counterrevolution or national rebirth with different degrees of success. After the transnational turn, historians instead see fascism as a single transnational and global phenomenon that violently expanded throughout Europe and beyond by processes of transfer, mutual inspiration, hybridisation, interaction, entanglement and cross-border exchange.

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Idrit Idrizi, *Between Subordination and Symbiosis: Historians' Relationship with Political Power in Communist Albania*, pp. 66-87

Studies on Albanian historiography during communism have so far focused primarily on its main narratives. This paper shifts the research focus towards the actual conditions under which historiography was produced, paying particular attention to historians' relationship with political power. It shows that Albanian historiography went through five stages, each of which substantially shaped historians' positions, and that the relationship between the Party and historians was complex and bi-directional. The regime intimidated historians and strictly controlled their work, but also bestowed on them immense resources and high cultural authority. Historians, for their part, were interconnected with the regime in many ways and loyal to it, while simultaneously determined to make use of the conditions they found themselves in to advance their own interests. On the whole, historians' relationship with political power was multifaceted and predominantly shifted between subordination and symbiosis.

50 (2) 2020

Javier Moreno-Luzón, *'Seeds of Spain': Scouting, Monarchy and National Construction, 1912–1931*, pp. 226-247.

The official Spanish branch of the international Boy Scout movement, the Exploradores de España, offers an instructive example of a nationalist association in Spain in the first third of the twentieth century. This article adopts a comparative perspective and studies the Exploradores discourses and practices, the association's founders and leaders, the scouts' publications and activities, as well as the organization's internal conflicts and evolution between 1912 and 1931. As in Britain and many other countries, the movement was endorsed by the royal family and led by military officers and middle-class men – representatives of monarchist civil society. It shared nationalist and regeneracionista (from regenerationism) values, as an agent of nationalization throughout Spanish territory. Like other Boy Scout movements in Europe and the Americas, it pursued the goal of making good patriots, with a knowledge of and ready to defend their fatherland: young hidalgos, the Spanish equivalent of the British gentlemen. Hence this study also explores the gender aspects of Boy Scout ideals. Initially, the Spanish scouts were troubled by an intense religious conflict, which was won by Catholic sectors, so their nationalism became deeply conservative. During the 1920s, the movement was instrumental in the nation-building projects of different governments, especially under the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1923–1930). In short, it can be considered one of the main nationalizing agents during this key period in modern Spanish history, and belies the image of supposed passivity and a lack of interest in national construction among Spain's ruling elites.

Nerea Aresti, *A Fight for Real Men: Gender and Nation-Building during the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship (1923–1930)*, pp. 248-265

In 1923, the dictator General Primo de Rivera implemented an ambitious project to restore Spanish masculinity. I believe his efforts to be the response to both a growing instability in gender relations and what had become an enduring national crisis in masculinity. A call to action, as opposed to menacing passivity and a national lack of virile energy, permeated discourses and political practices during the course of his dictatorship. A significant number of men collaborated in this project and helped to nationalize Spanish society while defending social order. Organizations like the Somatén (national militia) created forums for the display of patriotic military masculinity. However, and ironically, the new political climate encouraged the participation of women in politics in a way that actually endangered Spain's gender order. Political rituals like flag-blessing ceremonies throughout the country opened an unexpected window of opportunity for women to play an important role in that movement of 'real men', as Primo de Rivera called it. The process and tensions involved describe a mutual construction of gender and national identities, where there was also a troubled coexistence of different models of masculinity. This study is based on the analysis of a wide range of primary sources, including newspapers, political essays, literature and propaganda.

Gaël Sánchez Cano, Miquel de la Rosa Lorente, *Immaterial Empires: France and Spain in the Americas, 1860s and 1920s,* pp. 393-411

Imperial expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been largely studied as a military and economic phenomenon. According to the widely accepted narrative, European empires expanded their power across the world following different 'formal' (direct) and 'informal' (indirect) strategies. This article argues that, beyond material forms of conquest and effective domination, empires also implemented their rule through the use of immateriality. We explore this phenomenon through a transnational and diachronic comparison of the cases of France in the 1860s and Spain in the 1920s. Both examples suggest that such notions as 'civilization', 'race', 'spirit', and 'greatness' not only underpinned the imaginary and the conceptualization of empire, but also actively produced powerful 'immaterial' means of domination, expansion, and influence. This work's methodological approach relies on the conviction that concepts and significations are an integral part of politics. France and Spain did not have empires in Latin America in the periods under study, but they were imagined as being imperial powers in the Americas. This crafted an imperial mind-set that complemented the formal and informal imperial practices that France in the 1860s and Spain in the 1920s were undertaking in other parts of the world. We focus on intellectual and political projects and on practices of cultural diplomacy as two manifestations of these immaterial empires. By virtue of these projects and policies, French and Spanish leaders managed to create an image of France and Spain as deserving their 'natural' important place in the global scene. Immateriality served as an instrument to counterbalance the growth of competing powers, namely the United States, which, in the 1860s as well as the 1920s, was seen as a dangerous competitor in the so-called Western hemisphere. In this way, notions of Latinity and Hispanity competed with each other and, at the same time, targeted the 'Anglo-Saxon', 'racial', and 'spiritual' competitor.

Dario Pasquini, *Longing for Purity: Fascism and Nazism in the Italian and German Satirical Press (1943/1945–1963)*, pp. 464-494

This article compares Italian and German memory cultures of Fascism and Nazism using an analysis of Italian and West- and East-German satirical magazines published from 1943 to 1963. In the early post-war period, as a consequence of the anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi policies in Italy and in Germany that had been put into effect by the Allied occupation authorities, a significant part of the Italian and German public felt anxiety regarding the Fascist and the Nazi past and feared these past regimes as potential sources of contamination. But many, both in Italy and Germany, also reacted by denying that their country needed any sort of 'purification'. This article's main argument is that the interaction between these two conflicting positions exercised different effects in the three contexts considered. In Italy, especially during the years after 1948, the satirical press produced images that either rendered Fascism banal or praised it, representing it as a phenomenon which was an 'internal' and at least partly positive product of Italian society. I define this process as a sweetening 'internalization' of Fascism. In East Germany, by contrast, Nazism was represented through images linking the crimes committed in the Nazi concentration camps, depicted as a sort of 'absolute evil', with the leadership of the FRG, considered 'external' to 'true' German society. I define this process as a 'demonizing' externalization of Nazism, by which I mean a tendency to represent Nazism as a 'monstrous' phenomenon. In the West German satirical press, on the other hand, Nazism was not only 'externalized' by comparing it to the East German Communist dictatorship, but also 'internalized' by implying that it was a negative product of German society in general and by calling for public reflection on responsibility for the Nazi crimes, including West Germany as the Nazi regime's successor. The demonization of the regime also played a crucial role in this self-critical 'internalization' of Nazism.

50 (4) 2020

Elena Bacchin, *Political Prisoners of the Italian Mezzogiorno: A Transnational Question of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 625-649

Through a case study of a group of Neapolitan political activists incarcerated in Naples after the 1848 Revolution, this article aims to rescue the Italian convicts' experience from its subsidiary status, presenting the prisons as a site of struggle and in particular highlighting the international, European dimension of political imprisonment in the nineteenth century. I argue that together with the exiled, political prisoners also acted as transnational actors of the Risorgimento; they aroused the interest of both public opinion and the world of diplomacy and were perceived as a humanitarian cause. Neapolitan political prisoners became spokespersons of their national and political cause abroad, had a clear agency and exploited European public opinion.

This study will thus explore the dynamics of the Risorgimento from a transnational perspective, as well as in relation to British and French imperialistic policies in the Mediterranean, the international de-legitimization of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and more generally in terms of foreign humanitarian interventions in the nineteenth century and the role of political prisoners. The

Neapolitan dungeons were not significantly different from those of other European states; however, they became the target of international diplomacy showing how Naples was considered somewhat in between European and non-European states.

Giulia Guazzaloca, *'Anyone who Abuses Animals is no Italian': Animal Protection in Fascist Italy*, pp. 669-688

This article examines the animal protection policies in fascist Italy, placing them in the more general framework of Mussolini's political and economic strategies and the history of Italian animal advocacy, which began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Focusing on fascist propaganda campaigns on animal welfare, legislation on animal experimentation and slaughter, state reorganization of animal protection societies, which were incorporated in 1938 into the Ente nazionale fascista per la protezione animale, the article aims to show the conceptual and political basis of fascist activism in the prevention of cruelty to animals. Far from being based on the recognition of animals as sentient individuals, it was determined by specifically human interests: autarky and economic efficiency, public morality, the primacy of 'fascist civilization', and the regime's totalitarian design.

Samantha Williams, *I poveri si comportano male: punizione nell'officina vittoriana*, pp. 764-792

La casa di lavoro deterrente, con le sue rigide regole per il comportamento dei detenuti e i limiti dell'autorità degli ufficiali della casa di lavoro, era un'espressione centrale del Poor Law Amendment Act del 1834, ampiamente conosciuto come New Poor Law. Questo articolo esplora per la prima volta l'esperienza quotidiana del potere e dell'autorità dei maestri del ricovero, delle matrone, degli altri ufficiali del ricovero e del suo Consiglio dei guardiani, e della resistenza e dell'agenzia dei detenuti risentiti. Nonostante le nuove serie di regolamenti per guidare i funzionari delle case di lavoro nell'imposizione uniforme della disciplina ai residenti, c'era un alto grado di diversità regionale non solo nei tipi di reati commessi dai poveri, ma anche nelle politiche di welfare relative alle pene inflitte per disordini e refrattari comportamento.

Ross Brooks, *Beyond Brideshead: the Male Homoerotics of 1930s Oxford*, pp. 821-856

Guardando oltre i famigerati esteti "Brideshead" e l'omoerotismo della Oxford degli anni '20, questo articolo esplora la sensibilità bizzarra degli studenti universitari e dei loro associati negli anni '30. Costantemente durante il decennio, il marchio unico di Oxford di estetismo queer e relazioni amorose tra persone dello stesso sesso è stato coinvolto in dibattiti più ampi sull'egemonia del socialismo e del comunismo e sulla presunta degenerazione degli standard a Oxford. Allo stesso tempo, l'assimilazione dei concetti medicalizzati di perversione e omosessualità ha reso sempre più gli esteti di Oxford e le relazioni amorose tra persone dello stesso sesso oggetto di esame critico, effeminofobia e omofobia. Per molti studenti universitari queer dell'università, la Oxford University Dramatic Society ha fornito un rifugio sicuro e una piattaforma per l'espressione queer sia a Oxford che oltre. Un gruppo di immagini del fotografo russo emigrato Cyril Arapoff fornisce ulteriori approfondimenti sugli omoerotici maschili della Oxford degli anni '30. Situate nel contesto della vita di Arapoff in città tra il 1933 e il 1939, le sue straordinarie fotografie di giovani uomini nudi e seminudi offrono scorci delle vite e degli amori queer a Oxford in un periodo in cui tali esperienze erano raramente articolate in forma scritta. Le immagini includono gli spazi che i giovani hanno abitato e le loro connessioni con la vivace scena queer di teatro e danza di Londra. Tali intuizioni aiutano a stabilire più saldamente tra le due guerre Oxford come un importante centro del modernismo queer, con un'importanza nazionale e internazionale per il corso della storia queer moderna. Situate nel contesto della vita di Arapoff in città tra il 1933 e il 1939, le sue straordinarie fotografie di giovani uomini nudi e seminudi offrono scorci delle vite e degli amori queer a Oxford in un periodo in cui tali esperienze erano raramente articolate in forma scritta. Le immagini includono gli spazi che i giovani hanno abitato e le loro connessioni con la vibrante scena queer del teatro e della danza londinese. Tali intuizioni aiutano a stabilire più saldamente tra le due guerre Oxford come un importante centro del modernismo queer, con un'importanza nazionale e internazionale per il corso della storia queer moderna. Situate nel contesto della vita di Arapoff in città tra il 1933 e il 1939, le sue straordinarie fotografie di giovani uomini nudi e seminudi offrono scorci delle vite e degli amori queer a Oxford in un periodo in cui tali esperienze erano raramente articolate in forma scritta. Le immagini includono gli spazi che i giovani hanno abitato e le loro connessioni con la vivace scena

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Richard J. Butler, *Il potere cattolico e la città irlandese: modernità, religione e pianificazione a Galway, 1944-1949*, pp. 521-554

Una grande disputa urbanistica tra la chiesa e lo stato a Galway negli anni '40 sulla posizione di una nuova scuola fornisce una lente per ripensare l'impegno distintivo dell'Irlanda con la modernità. Utilizzando obiettivi di pianificazione e governance urbana, questo articolo sostiene che la borsa di studio esistente sulla Chiesa cattolica irlandese del dopoguerra ne esagera il potere egemonico. Nell'analizzare la controversia, critica l'indebita attenzione all'interno degli studi urbanistici europei sullo stato e sulle presunte agende "razionali" degli urbanisti della metà del secolo, mostrando invece come le entità religiose abbiano forgiato percorsi paralleli di modernità urbana e governance urbana. Aggiunge quindi una dimensione irlandese e urbanistica ai dibattiti esistenti all'interno della storia religiosa sull'urbanizzazione e la secolarizzazione, mostrando quanto la Chiesa cattolica irlandese fosse adattabile all'alta modernità. Infine, con il suo focus su un edificio scolastico, porta un angolo di ambiente costruito negli studi di politica educativa in Irlanda. Nel tentativo di rivisitare i principali dibattiti storiografici nell'ambito dell'urbanistica, della storia religiosa e degli studi sulla modernità urbana, l'articolo fa ampio uso dei documenti aperti di recente del vescovo Michael Browne di Galway, un noto intellettuale pubblico della Chiesa cattolica irlandese ed esperto europeo sul diritto canonico.

Andrea Major, *Economia politica umanitaria britannica e carestia in India, 1838-1842*, pp. 221-244

Questo articolo esplora la natura e i limiti dell'economia politica umanitaria discutendo le risposte metropolitane britanniche a una grave carestia avvenuta nella regione di Agra, nell'India centro-settentrionale nel 1837-1838. Questo disastro ha svolto un ruolo significativo nel catalizzare dibattiti

più ampi sull'impatto della governance della Compagnia delle Indie Orientali e sul posto del subcontinente all'interno dell'Impero britannico post-emancipazione. Confrontando le risposte di organizzazioni come l'Aborigines Protection Society e la British India Society con quelle dei fautori del nuovo sistema di indenture emergente, il documento cerca di contestualizzare le risposte alla carestia in termini sia di storie più lunghe di carestia nell'Asia meridionale che di circostanze imperiali specifiche della fine degli anni 1830. In tal modo,

Vivian Kong, *Bianchezza, ansia imperiale e "Global 1930s": the White British League Debate in Hong Kong*, pp. 343-371

A cosa serve una colonia britannica e per chi è? Queste erano le domande al centro di un dibattito pubblico nel 1933 a Hong Kong, innescato da un residente britannico che affermava di aver formato un'organizzazione per la "protezione e il progresso" della "razza bianca britannica". Questo articolo esplora come le ansie per il fascismo, i privilegi dei bianchi e "altri" nell'impero abbiano permesso all'idea stessa di un tale movimento politico di essere elevata al tema di un acceso dibattito. La discussione sulla disoccupazione britannica, i bianchi poveri e gli "intrusi" europei nella colonia ci dice meno sulle effettive condizioni socioeconomiche che i britannici di Hong Kong hanno affrontato che sulla loro esperienza soggettiva di essere "britannici" in un contesto imperiale. L'articolazione dell'angoscia imperiale ci mostra anche come il fluido, confini ambigui di bianchezza e britannicità furono negoziati all'incrocio tra nazionalismo, etnia, classe e razza. Sottolineando le prospettive globali dimostrate nel dibattito e le varie reti transnazionali attraverso Hong Kong, questo articolo sostiene che il dibattito riguardava tanto le circostanze sociopolitiche globali quanto ciò che stava accadendo a Hong Kong. Offre quindi un'opportunità tempestiva per ripensare al modo in cui il locale, "nazionale", regionale e globale erano intrecciati negli "anni '30 globali", anche tra il pubblico di lettura inglese nella colonia britannica di Hong Kong. questo articolo sostiene che il dibattito riguardava tanto le circostanze sociopolitiche globali quanto quello che stava accadendo a Hong Kong. Offre quindi un'opportunità tempestiva per ripensare al modo in cui il locale, "nazionale", regionale e globale erano intrecciati negli "anni '30 globali", anche tra il pubblico di lettura inglese nella colonia britannica di Hong Kong. questo articolo sostiene che il dibattito riguardava tanto le circostanze sociopolitiche globali quanto quello che stava accadendo a Hong Kong. Offre quindi un'opportunità tempestiva per ripensare al modo in cui il locale, "nazionale", regionale e globale erano intrecciati negli "anni '30 globali", anche tra il pubblico di lettura inglese nella colonia britannica di Hong Kong.

59 (1) 2020

Miles Taylor, *Il bicentenario della regina Vittoria*, pp. 121-135

L'anno scorso, il 2019, è stato il bicentenario della nascita della regina Vittoria. Dal 2001, centenario della sua morte, molto è cambiato nella borsa di studio sulla regina britannica. Le sue riviste e la sua corrispondenza sono più disponibili per i ricercatori. Le monarchie europee vengono ora prese sul serio come argomenti storici. C'è anche meno accordo sull'era vittoriana come un periodo di studio distinto, lasciando la relazione di Victoria con l'era che eponimizza meno certa. Con queste mutevoli prospettive in mente, questo articolo esamina sei libri recenti su Victoria (quattro biografie, uno studio sul matchmaking reale e un volume modificato) al fine di rivalutare il suo regno. L'articolo è

incentrato su tre temi: la regina Vittoria come monarca donna, il suo ruolo nella costruzione di un impero dinastico, e la sua prerogativa - come ha influenzato la politica della chiesa e dello stato. L'articolo si conclude avvertendo che la biografia non è il mezzo più adatto per trarre vantaggio da tutti i nuovi contesti storici per comprendere la vita della regina Vittoria.

92 (2) 2020

Zbigniew Wojnowski, *The Pop Industry from Stagnation to Perestroika: How Music Professionals Embraced the Economic Reform That Broke East European Cultural Networks*, pp. 311-350

This article examines the history of the socialist camp's pop industry, focusing in particular on international Polish-Soviet concert tours between the 1970s and the late 1980s.3 International concerts were a consistent element of the cultural landscape in the socialist camp. Some coincided with major anniversaries or political events; others targeted very specific audiences, such as Polish workers in the Soviet Union (USSR); and the majority were simply a source of income for state-owned impresario agencies. Polish musicians toured the USSR for months on end, performing in large concert halls in Moscow but also in small houses of culture in far-flung corners of the country. Soviet pop tours of Poland were generally shorter, encompassing large festivals as well as performances in small, poorly equipped venues.

92 (3) 2020

Richard F. Kuisel, *The End of Americanization? or Reinventing a Research Field for Historians of Europe*, pp. 602-634

The Americanization of Europe has been an elusive and controversial topic for historians because it poses questions of definition, causation, development, and significance. This essay addresses these issues, reviews the historiographical record, reassesses the current paradigm, and presents an agenda for future research. A revitalized paradigm theorizes Americanization as a disruptive force on European society and culture rather than a process of benign appropriation or trivial imitation. It incorporates American corporate and political power limiting local agency, treats transatlantic exchange at multiple levels while retaining the filter of the national, and maintains that the process, rather than coming to an end, has become the new norm. I also argue that Americanization functioned as a stimulus and foil for self-assessment that illuminates basic concerns of Europeans. Most important, the phenomenon of Americanization represents the American phase of European globalization, identifying America's contribution to the interconnection and homogenization of the transatlantic community but also exposing resistance to transnationalism. Anti-Americanism, the twentieth-century opposition to Americanization, anticipated current challenges to globalization. My aim is to rescue this topic from critics who have disparaged it and to (re)establish it as a viable field of historical research. For Europeans, the twentieth century was the American century.

92 (4) 2020

William L. Patch, *German Liberalism and the Origins of Presidential Government in the Weimar Republic*, pp. 735-773

Most historians associate Germany's transition in 1930 to government by presidential emergency decrees based on Article 48 of the Weimar constitution with authoritarian conservatism, and there certainly were powerful conservative forces that advocated government by decree to cripple the power of the democratically elected Reichstag. Most leaders of Germany's two liberal parties also concluded by 1929, however, that parliamentary government suffered from paralysis, because each party had become dedicated to serving particular interest groups rather than the common good. They had anchored strong powers for the president in the constitution in 1919, urged Friedrich Ebert to make full use of those powers in 1923, and sought good relations with President Hindenburg after his election in 1925 and enhancement of his popularity. They hoped in 1929/30 that Hindenburg could make full use of his constitutional prerogatives and his great popularity as a war hero to influence the quarrelsome Reichstag delegations to seek reasonable compromises, and if necessary to appeal to the electorate in alliance with the chancellor he trusted to support moderate policies. These liberals influenced Hindenburg in 1929/30 both directly and indirectly through two of his closest advisers, Defense Minister Wilhelm Groener and State Secretary Otto Meissner. The utter collapse of the liberal parties at the polls from 1930 to 1932 deprived these liberals of influence, however, and left the authoritarian conservative concept of presidential government largely unchallenged within Hindenburg's inner circle. It would be a great mistake nevertheless to believe that everyone who supported the idea of a "Hindenburg cabinet" in 1929/30 advocated something resembling the harshly antidemocratic practice of the Papen cabinet in 1932.

David I. Kertzer e Roberto Benedetti, *Supporto della stampa cattolica italiana per la guerra dell'Asse*, pp. 469-507

All'interno del più ampio dibattito sull'atteggiamento degli italiani verso la decisione di aderire alla seconda guerra mondiale dalla parte della Germania, e il loro successivo atteggiamento verso il combattimento a fianco dei nazisti, la questione del ruolo svolto dalla Chiesa cattolica romana rimane controversa. Concentrandoci sui tre principali quotidiani cattolici italiani per gli anni dal 1939 al 1943, e sulle azioni dietro le quinte delle autorità fasciste, mostriamo qui uno dei modi principali in cui la Chiesa istituzionale comunicava ai cattolici italiani gli atteggiamenti appropriati nei confronti prendere verso la guerra. Viene chiarito il ruolo attivo svolto dai giornali e dai loro editori nel sollecitare il sostegno cattolico italiano alla causa dell'Asse. Esaminiamo il bolognese *L'Avvenire d'Italia*, la sede a Roma *L'Avvenire* , e il milanese*L'Italia* , insieme a una varietà di archivi governativi e religiosi.

Jacopo Perazzoli, *Woodrow Wilson, socialisti italiani e il principio di autodeterminazione durante la conferenza di Parigi*, pp. 508-527

L'articolo esplora la ricezione del wilsonianesimo nel Partito socialista italiano (PSI), concentrandosi sul concetto chiave di autodeterminazione - un concetto centrale non solo per la proposta di Wilson, ma anche per la dichiarazione programmatica del movimento Zimmerwald. Di conseguenza, dato il suo status peculiare rispetto agli altri partiti socialisti europei, il PSI rappresenta un promettente prisma attraverso il quale comprendere l'accoglienza del wilsonianesimo nelle discussioni socialiste. Il leninismo era stato considerato una via importante per i socialisti italiani. Tuttavia, il PSI ha considerato molto seriamente la prospettiva internazionalista liberal-democratica proposta dal presidente degli Stati Uniti tra il 1916 e l'inizio del 1918. Questa analisi si concentra su tre punti. Primo, traccia l'impatto dell'internazionalismo di Wilson sul socialismo italiano durante la fase finale del conflitto. In secondo luogo, valuta se il wilsonianesimo rappresentasse una fonte di ispirazione alternativa all'esempio della Rivoluzione d'Ottobre che sarebbe stato utilizzato dai socialisti italiani per criticare il colonialismo e gli imperi coloniali dopo la guerra. Infine, abbozza le modalità adottate dal PSI per adottare il principio di autodeterminazione dei popoli e la reazione all'evoluzione della Conferenza di pace, quando il piano dei mandati è stato preferito al processo di indipendenza delle colonie. valuta se il wilsonianesimo abbia rappresentato una fonte di ispirazione alternativa all'esempio della Rivoluzione d'Ottobre che sarebbe stato utilizzato dai socialisti italiani per criticare il colonialismo e gli imperi coloniali dopo la guerra. Infine, abbozza le modalità adottate dal PSI per adottare il principio di autodeterminazione dei popoli e la reazione all'evoluzione della Conferenza di pace, quando il piano dei mandati è stato preferito al processo di indipendenza delle colonie. valuta se il wilsonianesimo abbia rappresentato una fonte di ispirazione alternativa all'esempio della Rivoluzione d'Ottobre che sarebbe stato utilizzato dai socialisti italiani per criticare il colonialismo e gli imperi coloniali dopo la guerra. Infine, abbozza le modalità adottate dal PSI per adottare il principio di autodeterminazione dei popoli e la reazione all'evoluzione della Conferenza di pace, quando il piano dei mandati è stato preferito al processo di indipendenza delle colonie.

Amerigo Carus e Jens Späth, *Contenitori d'identità' nell'Italia e in Germania dell'Ottocento: un'introduzione*, pp.361-371

Questo numero speciale riconsidera il processo di costruzione della nazione nell'Italia e in Germania del XIX secolo prima che il nazionalismo costituisse, per la maggior parte delle persone, l'identità di gruppo dominante. Sosterremo che i "contenitori di identità" non nazionali e la loro interazione con il nazionalismo emergente erano essenziali per la creazione di sensibilità patriottiche tra italiani e tedeschi, sia prima che dopo la formazione di ogni stato nazionale. Il numero speciale include contributi che mettono in luce costruzioni di identità basate su classe, religione, genere, monarchia, impero, intrecci transnazionali, cosmopolitismo e particolarismo regionale. Confrontando i casi di studio italiani e tedeschi, affronteremo temi di politica alta e soft (pantheon, musei, opera), nonché sensibilità della classe operaia e minoranze religiose. Come interagiscono con le idee di indipendenza nazionale e identità etnica? Questo approccio ci consente di andare oltre le narrazioni nazionali e la loro visione incentrata sullo stato, ripensando l'ascesa del nazionalismo all'interno di una cornice più ampia di identità di gruppo non nazionali, multiple, ibride o marginali.

Gabriele B. Clemens, *Politica transnazionale di prestigio? Musei e collezioni d'arte negli stati tedeschi e italiani nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, pp. 387-401

Durante il periodo Koselleck chiamò il *Sattelzeit*(circa dal 1750 al 1850) le camere principesche delle curiosità divennero musei pubblici che le élite visitarono per scopi educativi. Il Louvre di Parigi è stato il modello principale. Qui, dopo il 1800, nacque una raccolta cronologica (e canonica) che sarebbe stata emulata da altri governanti europei. La pluralità degli stati territoriali ha fatto sì che musei e gallerie d'arte fossero ricostruiti o mantenuti in molte città italiane e tedesche, che sostenevano di rappresentare la rispettiva cultura nazionale. Ciò che è stato esposto nei musei europei dal 1840 in poi aveva lo scopo di aumentare la fama dei governanti e il prestigio delle loro capitali.

Axel Körner, *Oltre Nationaloper. Per una critica al nazionalismo metodologico nella lettura dell'opera italiana e tedesca dell'Ottocento*, pp. 402-419

Questo articolo sfida le narrazioni tradizionali che hanno avuto la tendenza a sottolineare il ruolo dell'opera come strumento del nazionalismo politico nell'Europa del diciannovesimo secolo. Invece, mostrerò come l'opera (sia la forma che il repertorio) sia servita come mezzo per creare connessioni culturali e intellettuali tra i popoli e come abbia partecipato all'emergere di un pubblico europeo. Le affermazioni secondo cui particolari opere hanno svolto un ruolo nel suscitare il sentimento nazionalista sono spesso metodologicamente errate, a causa dei limiti delle relative fonti di ricezione; oppure si basano su miti costruiti molto tempo dopo la produzione originale di queste opere. Inoltre, anche le opere scritte o descritte all'epoca come opere esplicitamente 'nazionali' spesso facevano affidamento su tecniche musicali amalgamate da diversi contesti nazionali, sollevando interrogativi sulla loro classificazione in termini di cultura nazionale. Invece, l'opera italiana in particolare ha assunto un ruolo centrale nella costruzione di ponti culturali tra e all'interno delle nazioni e dei sistemi politici. Questo era particolarmente il caso della monarchia asburgica, dove l'opera era intesa come un riferimento all'eredità umanista dell'Italia, basata su una lunga tradizione di lettura dell'opera come reinvenzione del dramma greco. Dopo il 1815 e per tutto il 1820, il trionfo delle opere di Rossini su quasi tutti i palcoscenici d'Europa mostra come l'opera abbia superato le

barriere tra i popoli, gli stati e le nazioni. Una semplice lettura "nazionale" di tali opere rischia di perdere il motivo per cui l'opera è diventata una forma d'arte europea di vero fascino globale. Questo è stato in particolare il caso della monarchia asburgica, dove l'opera era intesa come un riferimento all'eredità umanista dell'Italia, basata su una lunga tradizione di lettura dell'opera come reinvenzione del dramma greco. Dopo il 1815 e per tutto il 1820, il trionfo delle opere di Rossini su quasi tutti i palcoscenici d'Europa mostra come l'opera abbia superato le barriere tra i popoli, gli stati e le nazioni. Una semplice lettura "nazionale" di tali opere rischia di perdere il motivo per cui l'opera è diventata una forma d'arte europea di vero fascino globale. Questo era particolarmente il caso della monarchia asburgica, dove l'opera era intesa come un riferimento all'eredità umanista dell'Italia, basata su una lunga tradizione di lettura dell'opera come reinvenzione del dramma greco. Dopo il 1815 e per tutto il 1820, il trionfo delle opere di Rossini su quasi tutti i palcoscenici d'Europa mostra come l'opera abbia superato le barriere tra i popoli, gli stati e le nazioni. Una mera lettura "nazionale" di tali opere rischia di perdere il motivo per cui l'opera è diventata una forma d'arte europea di richiamo veramente globale. il trionfo delle opere di Rossini su quasi tutti i palcoscenici d'Europa mostra come l'opera abbia superato le barriere tra i popoli, gli stati e le nazioni. Una semplice lettura "nazionale" di tali opere rischia di perdere il motivo per cui l'opera è diventata una forma d'arte europea di vero fascino globale. il trionfo delle opere di Rossini su quasi tutti i palcoscenici d'Europa mostra come l'opera abbia superato le barriere tra i popoli, gli stati e le nazioni. Una mera lettura "nazionale" di tali opere rischia di perdere il motivo per cui l'opera è diventata una forma d'arte europea di richiamo veramente globale.

Ruth Nattermann, *Donne ed ebrei in comunità immaginarie: la loro situazione giuridica e politica nella costruzione della nazione tedesca e italiana*, pp. 420-434

Questo articolo discute lo status giuridico e politico delle donne e degli ebrei durante la fase di costruzione della nazione tedesca e italiana, affrontando sia la mancanza di partecipazione che le strategie di attori storici che speravano di essere accettati come membri alla pari della comunità nazionale. Si concentra su una serie di protagonisti esemplari le cui iniziative dimostrano le opzioni che le donne ebree in particolare avevano per partecipare allo sviluppo della coscienza nazionale. Il loro duplice status di outsider come donne ed ebrei ha portato a diversi modelli di identità tra lealtà nazionali ed ebraiche. In questo contesto verrà considerata l'importanza centrale delle identità ebraiche secolari, un approccio che consente un modo differenziato di guardare alle potenzialità e alle debolezze delle diverse ideologie di integrazione.

Christof Dipper, *Identità della classe operaia in Italia e Germania dal 1880 alla prima guerra mondiale*, pp. 435-450

Questo articolo esamina la formazione delle identità della classe operaia in Italia e Germania nei decenni intorno al 1900. I due stati nazionali "tardivi" variavano notevolmente nelle loro condizioni sociali, economiche e politiche. Mentre la Germania imperiale sperimentò una rapida urbanizzazione e un'industrializzazione su larga scala, l'Italia, al contrario, vide l'emergere di poche regioni altamente industrializzate entro la fine del secolo. Di conseguenza, e nonostante gli stretti contatti tra i due paesi, la formazione di uno stato sociale, l'ascesa del movimento operaio e lo sviluppo della coscienza di classe hanno avuto cronologie e intensità diverse. Questo contributo si concentrerà sull'emergere di

nuove affiliazioni in vista della società borghese circostante, il ruolo delle donne, le influenze delle tradizioni agricole e il livello di alfabetizzazione.

Steven C. Hughes, Onorevole omicidio: il *delitto d'onore* e il codice Zanardelli del 1890*, pp. 229-251*

Acclamato per il suo approccio progressista, il codice Zanardelli del 1889 eliminava la pena di morte, legalizzava gli scioperi e faceva riferimento alla riforma sulla punizione nei confronti dei criminali. Paradossalmente, però, il codice Zanardelli ha anche 'liberalizzato' i parametri del ' *delitto d'onore* ' o *delitto d'onore*che consentiva pene notevolmente ridotte per coloro che uccidevano (principalmente) membri della famiglia di sesso femminile sorpresi in flagrante adulterio o rapporti sessuali. Nonostante la costante preoccupazione delle élite italiane per la legge e l'ordine, il nuovo codice andava oltre le leggi pre-unitarie e con la sua adozione una donna poteva uccidere il coniuge con lo stesso `` diritto '' del marito, mentre padri, madri, sorelle, fratelli , e anche i nonni potevano allo stesso modo uccidere parenti ribelli con l'aspettativa di condanne estremamente tolleranti. L'articolo spiega questo apparente paradosso sottolineando l'importanza dell'onore individuale e familiare per i legislatori italiani come pietra angolare morale e sociale del loro paese di recente creazione; una mentalità evidente anche nella loro propensione al duello.

Edoardo Marcello Barsotti, *Razza e Risorgimento: un capitolo inesplorato della storia italiana*, pp. 273-294

Nella storia italiana, la razza è stata tradizionalmente esaminata nel contesto del colonialismo, del fascismo e della Shoah. Al contrario, il ruolo svolto dalle idee di razza nel Risorgimento - quando fu formulata l'idea di una nazione italiana - non è stato sufficientemente indagato. Questo articolo sostiene che le idee di razza hanno giocato un ruolo fondamentale nella costruzione dell'identità italiana e che il nazionalismo ha scatenato la diffusione di nuove teorie riguardanti il passato etnico e razziale dell'Italia. In questo periodo, le concezioni più antiche della razza come "stock" e "lignaggio" e concetti più recenti presi in prestito dalla storia naturale dell'uomo e la linguistica si intersecarono. Questo processo, "biologizzando" e razzializzando ulteriormente i tratti nazionali, ha reso la nazione italiana un concetto "concreto" e "tangibile".

Andrea Martini, *Sconfitto? Un'analisi della letteratura memorialista fascista e del suo successo*, pp. 295-317

In questo articolo l'autore analizza la capacità dei fascisti, dopo la fine della guerra, di presentare un ricordo del recente passato che ha raggiunto i suoi obiettivi almeno tra un numero significativo di italiani. Il successo della letteratura memoriale fascista fu aiutato dalla sua tendenza a replicare gli argomenti fatti nei tribunali del dopoguerra da persone accusate di collaborazionismo. Un altro fattore importante è stata la decisione delle autorità politiche di porre fine prematuramente al periodo delle epurazioni. Questa svolta nella transizione italiana neutralizzò i verdetti iniziali e legittimò la versione dei fatti fascisti.

Orazio Coco, *Rapporti sino-italiani raccontati attraverso le carte d'archivio della Banca Italiana per la Cina (1919-1943),* pp. 318-346

Gli archivi nelle istituzioni finanziarie possono spesso apparire distaccati dalla realtà, meno rilevanti nel riportare fatti politici ei documenti rivelano per lo più dettagli finanziari ridondanti. Eppure le istituzioni finanziarie detengono informazioni primarie affidabili e i loro file contengono intuizioni di rilevanza storica internazionale. Attraverso l'analisi dei documenti conservati presso l'Archivio storico della Banca Italiana per la Cina (ora Archivio Storico UniCredit) è possibile contestualizzare l'attività della banca nella prima metà del Novecento rispetto ai fatti storici della prima repubblica, Cina. In questo articolo, l'autore svela come la Banca Italiana per la Cina sia stata coinvolta in eventi finanziari e politici riguardanti i governi cinese e italiano. Nei documenti e nella corrispondenza redatti dal management della banca i fatti sono descritti con reale percezione delle situazioni. Rivelano, utilizzando fonti attendibili, aspetti significativi riguardanti le relazioni sino-italiane durante quel periodo storico.

Giovanni Mario Ceci, *The Origins of the Crisis of Christian Democracy: The End of Catholic Italy or the End of Cold War Italy?*, pp. 23-40

The article aims to provide a political reading of the phenomenon of secularization, examining, in particular, the relationship between the Christian Democracy (D.C.), the Italian Catholic world, and the process of secularization. It is divided in four different levels of analysis. First of all, it investigates: (1) *contemporary discussion*, reconstructing the *assessments* and *readings* most common in the circles of the D.C. and the varied world of Italian Catholicism. Then, it analyses: (2) the *reactions* of Christian Democrats and leading figures of the Catholic world, particularly identifying what *solutions* they proposed to respond to the challenges posed by the process of secularization. It seeks, then, to compare: (3) the perspectives of these leading figures, with some possible hypotheses of the *real effects* of secularization on the *political attitudes of Italians*, paying particular attention to its *consequences* on the identity of the Christian democratic membership and on the *electoral choices* of citizens. By way of conclusion, the article formulates: (4) some hypotheses to help reconsider a shared interpretation about the existence of a *causal relationship between 'secularization-crisis/end of the DC*', identifying instead in other processes (specifically the role the Cold War played in the sacralization/desacralization of political cultures) the key factors underlying the identity of the D.C., the support it gathered, and the party's collapse.

Rieke Trimçev, Gregor Feindt, Félix Krawatzek, Friedemann Pestel, *Europe's Europes: mapping the conflicts of European memory*, pp. 55-71

Debates about 'European memory' are frequent in public and political discourse. With the fundamental challenges the European project now faces, such debates exemplify changes in what Europe means and implies politically. Drawing on a large corpus of press articles from six EU member states and employing qualitative and quantitative methods of discourse analysis, the article examines the fields and logics of conflict about the meaning of Europe between 2004 and 2016. Intimately linked to national and post-national senses of identity, these conflicts take four different forms across different national public spheres: (1) perspectives from which 'European memory' underpins seemingly consensual conceptions of Europe; (2) conflictive conceptions of Europe along an East-West divide that present different attempts of setting rules; (3) memory conflicts establishing peripheries and boundaries of Europe; (4) a global framing of 'Europe' that understands Europe as a space of competition that mobilizes triadic patterns of conflict. The fits and misfits, and the degrees of entanglement on conflicts about 'European memory' help to understand the persistent and continuous struggles over the mental maps of Europe beyond the simplistic opposition of particularism and cosmopolitanism.

25 (1) 2020

Cecilia Brioni, *Shorn capelloni: hair and young masculinities in the Italian media, 1965–1967*, pp. 3-16

In the period between 1965 and 1967, a series of acts of violence took place against Italian capelloni (young men with long hair). These attacks frequently ended with an attempted or actual cutting of these young men's hair. This article analyses how these incidents were represented in newspapers, teen magazines, and in the short film Il mostro della domenica by Steno (Stefano Vanzina, 1968) featuring Totò. Drawing on literature about the shaving of French and Italian collaborationist women in the aftermath of the Second World War (Virgili 2002), it explores the potential gender anxieties caused by young men's long hairstyles, as represented by the media. The attacks on the capelloni are interpreted as a punishment for the male appropriation of a traditionally feminine attribute of seduction: the cutting of young men's hair symbolically reaffirmed an ideal of virile masculinity in a moment of 'decline of virilism' (Bellassai 2011) in Italian society.

Michele Monserrati, *Select Fascist Samurais: the Japanese race in the Italian imaginary during the Second World War and beyond*, pp. 63-77

Between 1938 and 1943, Fascist intellectuals debated the problem of how to create a racial policy that would encompass the Japanese within the Aryan doctrine. This article demonstrates how internal divisions in the Fascist party over racial issues generated alternative versions of pro-Japanese propaganda, which influenced the racial thinking of the Italian far-right even long after the Second World War. I show how Italian racial theories developed to underpin the alliance with Japan were transnational in scope, as they involved both German and Italian scholars in a common effort to lobby state racial policies. Specifically, I consider George Montandon and Julius Evola as two transnational actors engaged in building a case for the inclusion of the Japanese in the family of Aryan races, speaking either from a 'biological' or 'spiritual' perspective. While by the end of the Second World War the 'biological' thesis for the inclusion of the Japanese race had evaporated, the 'spiritual' thesis would continue to influence a generation of Italian far-right militants, especially during the 'Years of Lead'. To make sense of this legacy, I suggest that the foundational myth of Italian Fascism, based on the spiritual heritage of the multiethnic Roman empire, responded to the neofascist quest for transnational affiliations against Western materialism.

25 (2) 2020

Georgia Wall, Naomi Wells, *Emplaced and embodied encounters: methodological reflections on transcultural research in contexts of Italian migration*, pp. 113-129

This article explores the practical, ethical, and epistemological issues which arise when carrying out and sharing research in contexts of Italian migration, highlighting how greater reflexivity on our own geographic and historical location as researchers can productively inform and shape our understanding of sites of contact, exchange and confrontation in relation to contemporary Italy.

Specifically, we write as researchers informed by ethnographic theories and practices, and who through our research have engaged in emplaced and embodied cultural encounters in sites which are identifiable as both transcultural and Italian. Drawing on vignettes from research in Italy and the UK, the article highlights some of the particular contradictions, opportunities and responsibilities generated by our respective positions. We address how our positionings as white, English and female scholars located within nationally-defined Italian Studies structures have raised pertinent questions of power, privilege and voice, as we place our own biographies and bodies, themselves shaped by specific colonial, national and local histories, into critical dialogue with those on and with whom we research. Through a discussion of these 'irresolvable tensions' of our research, we seek to practically engage with the broader imperative of finding new ways of studying and writing culture.

Beatrice Spallaccia, *"Ideologia del gender": towards a transcultural understanding of the phenomenon*, pp. 131-145

The Italian debate over gender inclusivity has recently been dominated by a ubiquitous term: ideologia del gender. This expression has been used extensively by a galaxy of reactionary forces to thwart the implementation of gender-mainstreaming policies. Recent research has shown that similar anti-gender manifestations have mushroomed across Europe, with discursive elements which recall the Italian anti-gender narrative. This article first sets Italian anti-genderism within a broader transnational movement. Second, through a feminist critical analysis of Italian anti-gender discourse, it shows that ideologia del gender should be interpreted as a new rhetorical device used to reaffirm gender-based prejudice in Italy and other European countries. Third, drawing on the work of Wolfgang Welsch (1999), the paper discusses whether this movement can be interpreted as a transcultural phenomenon, and suggests a transcultural model of culture as the antidote to the anti-gender backlash.

25 (4) 2020

Federico Chiaricati, *Nationalism and nation-building in the dietary consumption of Italian migrants in the United States: a transnational perspective*, pp. 403-419

This article employs a transnational perspective to examine the relationship between food and drink consumption by Italians in the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and Italy's process of nation-building. The phenomena of emigration and colonisation were often interlinked, especially after Italy's defeat at Adua, Ethiopia, in 1896. This threw prime minister Francesco Crispi's form of colonialism into crisis and launched a different approach, based on the creation of a 'Greater Italy': a sort of Commonwealth based on cultural and economic ties between the Kingdom of Italy and Italian communities abroad. They were asked to be the bridgehead for Italy's economic and cultural expansion by consuming its exports, especially food and drink products. This required the development of shared feelings of national belonging among the emigrants, by breaking down the local identities that still prevailed and were particularly evident in the sphere of diet, as well as in religion, social life and language. The article analyses the promotional material that reflected the drive

to foster Italian national sentiment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and which helped to create an Italy both within and outside national borders.

Beatrice Falcucci, *'The issue of the Mediterranean and the colonies has now moved to the forefront of cultural life': curating museums and curating the nation in Fascist Italy's colonies*, pp. 421-437

The Fascist model of exhibiting power and placing it in museum settings had its origins in the Liberal exhibitions of the late nineteenth century, and in the first exhibitions devoted to the Risorgimento. However, the regime's museum initiatives were numerous, innovative and varied, and many of them have not yet been adequately investigated; those launched in Italy's colonies, in particular, remain largely unexplored. This article highlights the surprisingly extensive network of museums and temporary exhibitions that Fascism initiated in Italian possessions abroad, involving prominent figures from the regime and contemporary culture, and shows how science, culture and nation-building (in both the colonies and the mother country, and between them) were interwoven in the Fascist museological project for the colonies.

246 (1) 2020

Jennifer Lambe, *Il mezzo è il messaggio: la vita sullo schermo della rivoluzione cubana, 1959-1962*, pp. 227-267

Per decenni, l'immagine iconica della Rivoluzione cubana è stata ambientata nella "Piazza della Rivoluzione" dell'Avana, con migliaia di cubani che si affollavano per ascoltare Fidel Castro parlare. Questo ritratto è alla base di un presupposto fondamentale sulla Rivoluzione: che molti cubani siano arrivati ad accoglierla crogiolandosi nell'euforia della presenza viva di Fidel. Per i primi anni cruciali della Rivoluzione, questo articolo propone che dovremmo reimmaginare questa esperienza di conversione archetipica, mettendola non solo sotto il caldo sole di Cuba in un raduno di ore ma anche davanti a un televisore (o radio). Dal 1959 al 1962 e oltre, il dramma interattivo della conversione rivoluzionaria sarebbe stato costantemente messo in scena e attualizzato sul piccolo schermo. I primi anni della rivoluzione cubana offrono quindi una finestra convincente sulla vita politica vissuta con e attraverso la televisione.

Stefan Link, Noam Maggor, *Gli Stati Uniti come nazione in via di sviluppo: rivisitare le peculiarità della storia americana*, pp. 269-306

È stato recentemente suggerito che la partenza economica degli Stati Uniti dopo la guerra civile abbia segnato una "seconda grande divergenza". Rispetto alla 'Prima', l'ascesa della Gran Bretagna durante la Rivoluzione Industriale, questa Seconda Grande Divergenza è curiosamente poco compresa: poiché gli Stati Uniti rimangono il modello per le narrative della modernizzazione, la loro traiettoria è più facilmente accettata come preordinata che interrogata risultato. Ma perché lo sviluppo avrebbe dovuto essere problematico ovunque tranne che negli Stati Uniti? Questo punto di vista sostiene che manca una spiegazione robusta per l'ascesa degli Stati Uniti: non può essere trovata né in una letteratura di storia economica incentrata sulle dotazioni dei fattori né nella storiografia americanista internalista, che spesso riproduce resoconti sovradeterminati di modernizzazione ispirati da Max Weber. La via di indagine più promettente, sosteniamo, consiste nel chiedersi come le istituzioni politiche americane abbiano configurato quello che dovrebbe essere propriamente chiamato uno stato di sviluppo americano. Una tale prospettiva apre un ampio programma di ricerca comparativa che provincializza gli Stati Uniti dal punto di vista delle esperienze di sviluppo altrove.

63 (1) 2020

Fabien *Locher, Neo-Malthusian Environmentalism, World Fisheries Crisis, and the Global Commons, 1950s-1970s*, pp. 187-207.

The present article aims to analyse the role played by US neo-Malthusians in the construction of overfishing as a global environmental issue. Its main argument is that this group of thinkers and militants made decisive contributions, between the 1950s and 1970s, to the formulation and dissemination of the diagnosis of a global fisheries crisis threatening the planet's stocks. These warnings about a global fishing crisis paved the way for present-day concerns about a planetary decline of marine life. By assessing the role played by the neo-Malthusians, this article analyses the history of the post-Second World War debates on ocean productivity, 'unconventional' fisheries, and fisheries exhaustion, showing how they were marked by highly optimistic expectations regarding the exploitation of the 'ocean frontier'. For the neo-Malthusians, it was crucial to discredit this cornucopian vision of the ocean as a horn of plenty, itself a result of contemporaneous euphoria in the world of industrial fishing. In conclusion, this article sheds new light on the history of debates about (over)population and world resources, and on the rise of an 'environmentalism of the oceans' in the second half of the twentieth century.

63 (2) 2020

Christian K. *Melby, Empire and Nation in British Future-War and Invasion-Scare Fiction, 1871-1914*, pp. 389-410.

The British wrote and read a large quantity of fictional depictions of future wars and invasions in the period between 1871 and 1914, imagining the various ways in which a great war might look before the real conflict broke out. This article outlines the ways in which this form of literature described a British world united across time and space. The stories have traditionally been read as indicative of a societal fear of invasion, of imperial decline, or of the dangers of revolutionary upheaval. The article argues that the stories' popularity can instead be traced to the way they included their readers in the experience of invasion and conflict, and how they were well suited to the era of modern mass newspapers. The article therefore concludes that earlier interpretations of how readers engaged with such fiction has underestimated how a varied readership could view the stories as entertaining spectacles where they were invited to participate. As such, the article offers a new interpretation of an important literary genre as well as of British pre-war political culture.

63 (3) 2020

Alison Twells, *Sex, Gender, and Romantic Intimicy in Servicemen's Letters During the Second World War,* pp. 732-753.

This article explores sex and romance as under-examined aspects of wartime masculinities through a focus on letters from servicemen recipients of woollen 'comforts' to girls and women who knitted for them during the Second World War. It examines the tension between the cultural ideal of 'temperate heroism' that formed the hegemonic masculinity during the Second World War and evidence of predatory male sexuality and sexual violence, both in combat and on the home front. Servicemen's letters to anonymous knitters reveal many aspects of their emotional lives, including the widespread deployment of romance as a mechanism for maintaining morale. They also reveal that some men were able to manipulate their image as 'heroes' and make use of the comforts fund as a vehicle for engaging in sexually explicit correspondence and transgressive and deviant behaviours. A foregrounding of romance and sexuality suggests that we need to look again at arguments relating to the contiguity between military cultures and middle- and working-class civilian codes of respectable masculinity and male heterosexual expression. The article further engages with critiques in the history of masculinity of the neglect of working-class masculinities and the tendency to focus on cultural scripts about masculinity rather than what men actually did or felt.

Hannah Charnock, *Teenage Girls, Female Friendship and the Making of the Sexual Revolution in England, 1950-1980,* pp. 1032-1053.

How can we explain rising levels of pre-marital sex in post-war Britain? Focusing on the experiences of young women growing up in Britain between 1950 and 1980, this article argues that changes in sexual practice were brought about by shifts in the social value of sexual knowledge and experience. While the figure of the 'nice girl' was still central to understandings of respectable femininity, across this period social status and reputation became linked to demonstrations of attractiveness and sexual knowing. For girls of the post-war generation, discussions of sex were central to how they related to those around them, and the decisions that teenagers made about their own sexual practice were informed by their perceptions of what their friends and peers would think of them. The article argues that, by considering the history of sexuality at a 'local' scale between the macro-level of culture and the micro-level of individual sexual selfhood, we not only gain an important new perspective on the everyday sexual experience but also uncover new processes of socio-sexual change.

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William Mulligan, *Decisions for Empire: Revisiting the 1882 Occupation of Egypt*, pp. 94-126

The decision of Gladstone's government to invade and occupy Egypt in 1882 remains one of the most contentious in late nineteenth-century British political and imperial history. This article examines the decision-making process in June and July 1882, revisiting Robinson and Gallagher's influential study in the light of more recent historiographical research and previously unused sources. It looks at who made the critical decisions, what their preoccupations were, and how they were able to get Cabinet approval. Hartington and Northbrook were the two key figures, who co-operated to overturn Gladstone's and Granville's policy in June 1882. Yet their co-operation was momentary and they found themselves on different sides of the argument over the participation of Indian forces and international support. Although they shared a sense of Egypt's importance to British imperial security, they each had a distinctive approach, so that the decision to occupy cannot be reduced to a conflict between Whig pragmatists and Radical idealists. The article also shows how the Alexandria riot on 11 June altered the context of decision-making by shifting the mood in the parliamentary Liberal party towards intervention. Parliament, not the press, was the crucial site of 'public opinion' in the Egyptian crisis in June and July 1882.

135 (573) 2020

Jerome Greenfield, *The Origins of the Interventionist State in France, 1830–1870*, pp. 386-416

The historiography of the French state's economic interventionism has focused primarily on the Ancien Régime and the period from the 1850s into the twentieth century. This article argues that, though often overlooked, the French state embarked on a major expansion in the 1830s and 1840s, as government spending on public works grew sharply. Most notably, the government contributed to the financing of railways and urban improvements. Following the 1848 revolution, rising pressure for fiscal rectitude forced a reconfiguration of the interventionist Orleanist state. While the new Bonapartist regime remained committed to public works, it relied more heavily on private finance than its predecessor, benefiting from the 'great boom' of the 1850s. Still, private enterprise remained inadequate to sustain public works without the support of public money, particularly once economic expansion began to slow in the 1860s. As a result, government spending on public works continued to rise under the Bonapartists. In this respect, they sustained the conception of an interventionist state developed by the Orleanists.

135 (574) 2020

Gary Love, *Making a 'New Conservatism': The Tory Reform Committee and Design for Freedom, 1942–1949*, pp. 605-641

This article offers the first analytical overview of the political thinking and organisational history of the Tory Reform Committee (TRC). It is also a contribution to wider scholarly debates about the making of a 'New Conservatism' in the 1940s and the development of Conservative thought in the twentieth century. The TRC's leading members drew on the party's Disraelian one-nation tradition to free them from adopting doctrinaire positions. They wanted to emphasise the merits of either state intervention, planning and social reform, or private enterprise, individualism and freedom, depending on the country's economic and social position—and the party's electoral position. Most Tory Reformers imposed limits on the malleability of their Conservatism by rejecting laissez-faire individualism, socialism, and the earliest signs of neoliberalism. Although the group was replaced by the Design for Freedom Movement, which adopted a similar political outlook on a non-party basis between 1947 and 1949, its broader significance relates to how its support for the principles of 'design' and 'freedom' influenced Conservative debates about economic and social policy at a pivotal moment in the party's history. Continuities of thought suggest that we should be wary of interpretations which impose an 'origins of neoliberalism' or proto-Thatcherite framework on the 1940s. The TRC's 'New Conservatism' was meant to be adaptable, practical and Keynesian. It was a pitch for the centre ground and it was integral to the political thought of Conservative governments between 1951 and 1974.

David Craig, *Tories and the Language of 'Liberalism' in the 1820s*, pp. 1195-1228

This article reconsiders the problem of 'liberal Toryism' in the 1820s not by looking at the government's policies, but instead at the very 'liberal' language through which they were expressed. It argues that an existing domestic language of 'liberality' – which was associated with religious toleration and with freer trade – was quite distinct from the new political movements on the Continent. Canning and Huskisson used this well-established, and generally well-esteemed, language to enhance and extend their appeal to 'public opinion'. However, many Tories were coming to view this terminology with increased suspicion in the aftermath of the Revolutions of 1820. The article stresses the way that the Tory press popularised a negative typology of the 'liberal system' which ran together religious, economic and foreign affairs, and depicted Canning and Huskisson as 'theorists' content to ruin the moral fibre and economic health of the nation in quest of an abstract metaphysics. By 1826 'liberal' and 'illiberal' were increasingly seen as distinct positions that could not be bridged. Although Canning's brief ministry was not able to bring about a reconfiguration of parties, the final years of decade saw a clear sense among many Tories that 'liberalism' was a powerful threat to traditional religious, political and economic practices.

31 (1) 2020

David Thackeray, *An Age of Promises: British Election Manifestos and Addresses 1900–97*, pp. 1-26

This article explores the issue of electoral promises in twentieth-century Britain—how they were made, how they were understood, and how they evolved across time. It does so through a study of general election manifestos (issued by political parties) and election addresses (issued on behalf of individual candidates). The premise of the article is that exploring the act of making promises illuminates the development of political communication and democratic representation, and that considering the print culture and circulation history aspects of addresses and manifestos helps us understand the relationship between the process of pledging and actual policy outcomes. The article further argues that the Labour Party was an innovator that helped push changes in the ways in which policies were promoted to the electorate. It posits that the years 1900–97 saw an important but slow and contested shift towards a more programmatic form of politics. This did not always favour policies of state expansion, but it did favour promises of state action.

Tobias Harper, *Harold Wilson's 'Lavender List' Scandal and the Shifting Moral Economy of Honour*, pp. 79-100

Harold Wilson's resignation honours list of 1976 was almost universally condemned by politicians, civil servants, and the press because it contained a number of high honours to individuals who were seen as scandalously lacking in merit. Unknown officials leaked details to the press and used multiple internal mechanisms, including the Political Honours Scrutiny Committee, to try to block the list, but Wilson pushed it through. This article examines the controversy around the list in terms of how the various parties involved used ideas about scandal, honour, and merit to discredit Wilson, his secretary Marcia Falkender and the honours nominees. It shows that the scandal was shaped by three double standards: one of the main grounds for the disqualification of certain appointees was that they had not donated to Labour; in spite of their traditional prioritization of secrecy around honours, the civil service failed to uphold this tradition when it suited them not to; and critics of the list attacked Falkender's influence over the list even as they defended their own traditional place in determining who was selected for honours. The scandal also shows how the British establishment and British society was struggling to deal with broader questions about the value of exactly the kinds of service that Wilson honoured in the list, namely, capitalist entrepreneurship, popular culture, and contributions from traditional outsiders. While the list was universally condemned in 1976, these forms of service were to become more valued in honours lists from the 1990s.

31 (2) 2020

Stephen Colbrook, *Sectarianism, the Nonconformist Conscience, and 'British Pluralism': The Digital Humanities and the Language of Home Rule, c.1910–1914*, pp. 145-169

In recent years, historians have reassessed the political importance of the third Home Rule Bill. Important works by G. K. Peatling, Daniel Jackson, and David Thackeray have overturned the once-dominant view that the measure was a straightforward distraction from social reform. Yet, this scholarship has focused almost exclusively on the response of Unionists to Home Rule, and few works discuss the measure's significance for Edwardian Liberals. This article rectifies this historiographical oversight by comparing the Liberal and Unionist response to the third Home Rule Bill in Devonshire and Lancashire. Using techniques from the digital humanities, I have shown that the measure dominated the grassroots political discourse of both parties before the First World War.

Steven Fielding, *Socialist Television Drama, Newspaper Critics and the Battle of Ideas During the Crisis of Britain's Post-War Settlement*, pp. 220-251

Due to the difficult methodological issues it presents, political historians are wary of using television - the most important mass medium of the later twentieth century - as a means of exploring vernacular political thinking. Attempting to show how television audiences were encouraged to think politically, the article outlines a method generated through an engagement with the work of disciplines beyond history, to help political historians more systematically assess the medium's popular impact. The article takes as its case study Britain during the 1970s, one of the most ideologically contested periods in the country's history. It analyses how television critics employed by the Daily Mirror and Daily Express encouraged their millions of readers to respond to the dramas of socialist playwrights Jim Allen and Trevor Griffiths, thereby giving historians an insight into the shape of those conversations spawned by their work, such private dialogues being the place where the full political meaning of television was ultimately created.

Josie McLellan, *From the Political to the Personal: Work and Class in 1970s British Feminist Art*, pp. 252-274

How did British feminist art of the 1970s represent work and class, and what light does this shed on the women's movement more generally? This article discusses the work of artists, including Bobby Baker, the Feministo and Fenix collectives, the Hackney Flashers, and Mary Kelly. These artists were eager to connect feminist activism to other struggles on the Left and were thus initially drawn to document working-class women's paid work. Their political commitment to represent 'ordinary' working lives often led to lengthy periods of research, as well as attempts to make both the creative process and the finished product accessible to new participants and audiences. However, across this period, two changes took place. First, artists began to focus on women's unpaid work, drawing attention to the tension between domestic work and paid employment, and the lack of easy solutions to this problem. Secondly, most lost faith in art's power to represent the experience of work beyond the individual and the personal. Early political idealism gave way to sustained soul-searching about the intellectual, moral, and aesthetic difficulties of representing the experience of others, particularly those of a different class background. This article, then, shows that the early British women's movement was keen to engage with working-class experience and that it did so in a way that was self-reflective. In the end, it was this self-reflection, and the questions that it generated about the morality, politics, and aesthetics of representing others, that led to the personal and psychological turn of the later 1970s.

Charles Lockwood, *'Action Not Words': The Conservative Party, Public Opinion and 'Scientific' Politics, c.1945–70*, pp. 360-386

From the late 1950s, Conservative research and policy thinkers underwent a conscious intellectual adjustment, which had profound implications for how the party conceived the relationship between politicians and the public during Edward Heath's period as Conservative leader after 1965. In response to contemporaneous debates regarding 'modernization', and as a result of their engagement with the emergent social sciences, a new generation of Conservatives tended to repudiate the party's traditional preference for idealist and organicist philosophical assumptions in favour of a rationalistic approach to political administration. Their preoccupation with economic management was concomitant of their loss of faith in the formative role of rhetorical and moral appeals in shaping public opinion. This article, by focusing on debates within the party's research and political apparatus—the Conservative Research Department, the Conservative Political Centre and Swinton College—will contend that, far from being the last gasp of a post-war consensual Conservatism, Heath's period as leader marked a relatively unique period in the party's history, in which the conception of the nature of political leadership held by those at the top of the party differed from the conception held by both their predecessors and successors.

D -M Withers, *Enterprising Women: Independence, Finance and Virago Press, c.1976–93*, pp. 479-502

Virago Press were established in 1972 and became one of the twentieth century's most enduring publishing brands. As a women-led enterprise, articulations of independence have defined key moments in Virago's history. This article explores two moments when the company re-structured as independent, in 1976 and 1987. To become successful, Virago had to overcome barriers that have historically hindered women's participation in business, namely limited social capital and difficulties accessing finance. Virago founder Carmen Callil's friendship with publisher Paul Hamlyn and printing entrepreneur Robert Gavron embedded Virago in networks of male entrepreneurial knowledge that helped shape the evolution of the company. Such networks were vital to Virago securing investment from Rothschilds Ventures Limited in 1987 who were, at that time, leading figures in the UK's growing private equity industry. This article contributes to growing historical understanding of the synergies between financial, arts and culture industries in the 1980s. It argues that while this era offered new opportunities for women to participate in business, such participation was tempered by new forms of legal and financial discipline that re-calibrated existing gender inequalities within business cultures. Due to the time periods under consideration, this article also analyses how entrepreneurial practices and opportunities for women changed dramatically with the onset of Thatcher's 'Enterprise Culture'.

Erin Elizabeth Bramwell, *'She Used to Doctor Us up Herself': Patent Medicines, Mothers, and Expertise in Early Twentieth-Century Britain*, pp. 555-578

This article provides much-needed new insights into how patent medicines could enhance maternal power outside of clinical environments in the early twentieth century. While historians have considered the maternal management of domestic health, the role patent medicine products played in this complex equation of authority and expertise has yet to be the subject of sustained historical analysis. Using oral history archives, memoirs, social commentary, and advertisements, this article demonstrates how the expertise that mothers possessed was multifaceted, with powerful spatial, temporal, and even commercial connotations. This influence was especially significant at a time when clinical environments were still largely dominated by men, when the home was increasingly invaded by experts and expertise, and when dependants of wage earners were not covered by welfare provisions such as the 1911 National Insurance Act.

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Víctor Fernández Soriano, *Asociación y democracia? las dictaduras meridionales en el proceso de integración europea en los años sesenta,* pp. 47-73

En el relato histórico de la Unión Europea se suele afirmar que ser un Estado democrático siempre ha sido un requisito para la adhesión. Según esta lógica, Grecia, España y Portugal pudieron negociar sus adhesiones tras la caída de sus dictaduras respectivas a mediados de los años setenta, y su integración en la Comunidad Europea contribuyó a la consolidación de sus nuevas democracias. El objetivo del presente artículo es el de deconstruir este relato para demostrar que las relaciones con estas dictaduras, muy difíciles desde el punto de vista político, fueron controvertidas y acabaron por contribuir a la definición de una identidad política comunitaria.

Nerea Aresti, *La historia de las masculinidades, la otra cara de la historia de género,* pp. 333-347

Este ensayo bibliográfico recoge los principales avances y desafíos de la historia de las masculinidades en la España contemporánea. Este ámbito de investigación, aún incipiente, ha despertado un interés creciente en los últimos años. En buena medida, la historia de las masculinidades ha sido incorporada al proyecto de la historia de género, manteniendo también una relación estrecha con la historia política y cultural. En estas páginas se dirige la mirada al todavía corto camino andado, identificando los aspectos que han recibido una mayor atención historiográfica y señalando algunas de las muchas cuestiones que permanecen a la espera de futuras investigaciones.

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María del Mar Solís Carnicer, *Del acuerdo entre notables al acuerdo entre partidos. Prácticas e imaginarios sobre la vida política argentina en un periodo de transición. Corrientes (1909-1930),* pp.77-103

El acuerdo entre notables fue una forma tradicional de hacer política en la Argentina de fines del siglo xix que empezó a ser cuestionada por diferentes sectores que pretendían mayor transparencia en la competencia electoral y mayor protagonismo de los partidos políticos como mediadores en ese proceso. A pesar de dichas impugnaciones, en la provincia de Corrientes esta práctica se institucionalizó y se adaptó con éxito a las nuevas reglas planteadas por la política de masas; cuestiones que este artículo se propone analizar tanto desde las prácticas como del discurso que se construyó en torno a su instauración.

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Julien Vanhulst, Ana Patricia Cubillo Guevara, Adrian E. Beling, Antonio Luis Hidalgo Capitán

Los discursos políticos latinoamericanos sobre el buen vivir (1992-2017), pp. 163-193

En este artículo se hace un repaso histórico por los discursos latinoamericanos sobre el buen vivir entre 1992 y 2017, con el propósito de identificar los distintos significados que ha ido adquiriendo el buen vivir como significante con múltiples acepciones en América Latina. Del análisis de historia inmediata se concluye que existen cinco significados diferentes del buen vivir (primigenio, híbrido, indigenista, socialista y posdesarrollista) en los discursos latinoamericanos, correspondientes con tres momentos históricos distintos (emergencia y expansión, ensamblaje y dislocación) que estructuran una continua resignificación de dicho concepto durante este periodo.

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Carme Molinero Ruiz

Empresarios a la búsqueda de partido: las conflictivas relaciones entre la CEOE y el Gobierno de Suárez, pp. 257-282

Tras las elecciones de junio de 1977 el escenario político generó inquietud entre la cúpula empresarial en fase de organización. El Gobierno de Adolfo Suárez apostó por políticas reformistas de potencial calado para poner las bases de la salida de la crisis económica y dar estabilidad a la naciente democracia. Los dirigentes representativos de los grandes intereses económicos combatieron algunas de las reformas, rechazando la acción gubernamental en el ámbito económico. Este artículo aborda algunos de los puntos más conflictivos en la relación entre la CEOE y el Gobierno de UCD, así como la intervención directamente política de la organización empresarial que contribuyó a la dimisión de Adolfo Suárez.

Alfonso Calderón Argelich, *Sombras de Felipe II: la "Leyenda Negra" y los usos de la historia en la crisis del moderantismo (1867-1868)*, pp. 173-195

Este artículo contextualiza la polémica desatada en los años de 1867-1868 en torno a la figura de Felipe II. Los "neocatólicos" reivindicaron en clave nacional su reinado como un modo de generar adhesión a sus postulados anti seculares, lo que generó importantes tensiones en la cultura política del moderantismo. El análisis de la retórica parlamentaria y de las intervenciones en prensa permite recuperar el significado de las alusiones a la monarquía de los Austrias. La llamada "Leyenda Negra" pudo ser invocada con versatilidad por diferentes actores con intenciones políticas diversas.

Pedro María Egea Bruno, *La quinta columna y la derrota de la II República: la Base naval principal de Cartagena: una fortaleza minada (1936-1939)*, pp. 241-262.

La quinta columna arraigó con fuerza en la Base naval de Cartagena bajo el estímulo de su valor estratégico del enclave y la presencia de la Escuadra. Una actividad de enorme trascendencia que ha pasado desapercibida, incluso por la bibliografía más reciente. Al superior calado de las acciones emprendidas aquí, a tenor del peso militar del lugar, se superpuso la significación de sus integrantes, miembros de las fuerzas armadas en puestos relevantes. Contribuyó de forma decisiva a la derrota de la República, demostrando la eficacia de aquella guerra invisible.

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Thomas Cauvin, *Campo nuevo, prácticas viejas: promesas y desafíos de la historia pública*, pp. 7-51

Aunque la historia pública se está haciendo cada vez más internacional, el campo sigue siendo difícil de definir y permanece sujeto a un cierto grado de crítica. Sobre la base de prácticas públicas -en algunas ocasiones establecidas desde hace mucho tiempo- la historia pública refleja nuevos enfoques acerca de las audiencias, la colaboración y la autoridad en la producción de la historia. Este artículo ofrece una visión general de la historia pública, sus diversas definiciones, su historiografía, y aborda algunas de las críticas principales que ha recibido. La historia pública se compara con un árbol del conocimiento cuyas partes (raíces, tronco, ramas y hojas) representan las muchas etapas colaborativas e interconectadas que configuran este campo. La definición de la historia como un proceso sistémico (el árbol) plantea la necesidad de que colaboren los distintos actores -sean historiadores cualificados (formados en la universidad) o no- y se centra en la función desempeñada dentro del proceso en su totalidad. El futuro de la historia pública internacional requerirá un equilibrio entre unos enfoques basados en la práctica y unos debates más teóricos sobre el papel de los historiadores formados en la universidad, los públicos y los variados usos del pasado

Ester Alba Pagán, Miguel Requena Jiménez*, La recreación histórica como historia pública: reflexiones en torno a su inclusión en el debate* académico, pp.186-217

La recreación histórica se ha convertido en los últimos años en un referente fundamental de la Historia con enorme éxito popular al generar en amplios grupos sociales la ilusión de participar activamente, con los cinco sentidos, en el devenir histórico. Dicho éxito contrasta con el fracaso de la universidad para conectar con la sociedad. Pero este éxito de la recreación histórica presenta numerosos riesgos si no se establecen unas canales de comunicación y colaboración entre los grupos de recreación, la universidad y las instituciones públicas. En el presente artículo se analiza y reflexiona sobre el origen, potenciales y riesgos de la recreación histórica.

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José Luis Agudín Menéndez, *Una guerra civil incruenta: la polarización de la prensa y los partidos políticos alrededor de la Gran Guerra en Asturias (1914-1919)*, pp. 75-115

El objetivo de estas páginas es atender el impacto ideológico de la Primera Guerra Mundial en Asturias. Aprovechando una tesitura historiográfica eminentemente favorable en la proliferación de investigaciones sobre la Gran Guerra y la opinión pública al calor del centenario, este artículo aborda un hecho apenas trabajado en la historiografía asturiana. El apoyo documental se cimenta sobre la lectura de publicaciones periódicas como los diarios de gran circulación provinciales (El Carbayón de Oviedo, El Noroeste, El Comercio y El Pueblo Astur de Gijón o La Voz de Avilés) así como, de modo ocasional, rotativos nacionales (El Correo Español, El Siglo Futuro o El Socialista de Madrid).

Asimismo se nutre de fuentes literarias y de la consulta de las actas municipales. Son descritos aquí el inicio de la guerra, la llegada de las misiones culturales francesas, la recepción de la guerra submarina y los festejos aliadófilos al final de las hostilidades.

Raúl Mínguez Blasco, *Entre el hogar y la calle. La movilización política de mujeres católicas durante el Sexenio* Democrático, pp. 419-449

El Sexenio Democrático (1868-1874) fue un periodo convulso de la historia contemporánea española en el que la posición estable que la Iglesia española había alcanzado tras el Concordato de 1851 quedó en entredicho. Como consecuencia del proceso de feminización religiosa iniciado en las décadas anteriores, el debate público sobre la religión tuvo un importante componente de género. A pesar de las críticas de revolucionarios y secularistas, algunas mujeres que se presentaron a sí mismas como esposas y madres católicas se opusieron públicamente a las medidas gubernamentales que fueron en contra de los intereses eclesiásticos. Este artículo pretende reflexionar en torno a la agencia o capacidad de acción de las mujeres católicas y analiza la manera en que el antiliberalismo concibió la relación entre la esfera pública y la privada.

Aurelio Martí Bataller, *De la patria (más) pequeña al mundo: identidad nacional y socialismo español desde el País Valenciano (1931-1936)*, pp. 231-259

Este artículo analiza el discurso nacional del socialismo español durante la Segunda República. Su objetivo consiste en insistir en la identificación nacional española del Partido Socialista Obrero Español. Pero, además, mediante el enfoque en el caso del País Valenciano, se señalan algunos canales de expresión de aquella identificación: el local y regional. Es decir, se busca mostrar el rol del ámbito local y del regional en la interpretación de la identidad nacional del socialismo.

De este modo, el caso valenciano sirve para un acercamiento «desde abajo», mediante el estudio de los planteamientos políticos, discursos, ritos y prácticas contenidos en la prensa militante de la época. Según se argumenta, el discurso nacional español socialista encontró en el espacio local un firme punto de engarce, mientras que el internacionalismo proletario proyectaba la identificación nacional hacia el conjunto de la humanidad. Si lo local, nacional e internacional fueron ejes destacados, el espacio regional aparece más difuminado en el caso valenciano. Con ello, el socialismo iba diseñando un marco coherente para la combinación de identidades sociales, políticas y territoriales.

Sofía Rodríguez López, *Mujeres, agencia política y violencia contrarrevolucionaria en España (1934-1944)*, pp. 531-561

Este artículo trata de hacer un repaso por diez años de gran violencia política en España, para comprobar de qué modo las mujeres del bloque contrarrevolucionario participaron de la misma. En contra de lo que se había considerado hasta ahora, las ciudadanas de derechas no fueron meros actores secundarios ni víctimas pasivas de los altercados callejeros y las guerras que se sucedieron entre la insurrección de octubre de 1934 y la retirada de la División Azul del frente ruso. Gracias a una utilización pionera de fuentes de investigación de naturaleza jurídica y militar, como los tribunales de alta traición y espionaje, conservados con la Causa General en Salamanca, o los archivos del SIPM (Servicio de Información y Policía Militar), en Ávila, comprobaremos cómo las españolas formaron parte de la médula espinal del quinta columnismo que colaboró en la victoria franquista durante la Guerra Civil, desplegando un repertorio de lucha y desobediencia civil genuinamente femenino. Es decir, identificaremos qué puestos ocupaban las mujeres en las labores de sabotaje y boicot a la República y por qué se las escogió a ellas, atendiendo al rol de género de determinadas actividades que resultaron imprescindibles a los sublevados.

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Lázaro Montes, Julián André, *Los alemanes en el Caribe colombiano. Migración, sociabilidad y Nacionalsocialismo en Barranquilla, 1919-1945*, pp. 49-77

El presente artículo explora las dinámicas de migración y sociabilidad de los inmigrantes alemanes en la ciudad de Barranquilla, en el Caribe colombiano, durante un periodo que comprende la posguerra y la segunda guerra mundial. A través del análisis de distintas fuentes, como prensa, informes de inteligencia del gobierno colombiano y documentos generados por los mismos inmigrantes, entre ellos algunas publicaciones seriadas, se analiza la manera como estos extranjeros desplegaron toda una serie de dispositivos de sociabilidad que les permitieron una sólida conexión con la sociedad de acogida, y entre sí y su lugar de origen, elementos que estuvieron en la base del éxito de muchas de sus iniciativas empresariales y que los convirtieron en protagonistas de primer orden del desarrollo económico del puerto caribeño en la primera mitad del siglo XX. Se explora además el efecto de la llegada del Nacionalsocialismo a este grupo de inmigrantes, y la manera como los procesos políticos internacionales de finales de la década de los treinta y años posteriores, determinaron una profunda transformación en las condiciones de vida de estos extranjeros en el Caribe colombiano.

Soraya Gahete Muñoz, *Los debates del movimiento feminista ante el proyecto constitucional y la Constitución: de la unión a la separación*, pp. 187-218

La muerte de Francisco Franco (noviembre de 1975) facilitó el desarrollo de una serie de cambios que venían gestándose tiempo atrás. En la nueva etapa que se abrió tras la muerte del dictador, el movimiento feminista luchó por que las mujeres fueran reconocidas como sujetos de derechos en igualdad con los hombres. En este artículo se analizarán, por un lado, las propuestas del movimiento feminista para que fuesen incluidas en la nueva Constitución y, por otro lado, la influencia o no que este movimiento tuvo en la elaboración del texto constitucional.

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David Jiménez Torres, *Hacia la Hispanidad, a través de Londres. La influencia de la estancia británica de Ramiro de Maeztu en la creación de un ideario hispanoamericanista (1905-1934)*, pp. 483-509

En su influyente ensayo "Defensa de la Hispanidad" (1934), Ramiro de Maeztu reivindicó la colonización española de América y argumentó que los rasgos culturales compartidos que resultaban de esa experiencia histórica debían vertebrar una colaboración entre las naciones de habla hispana. Pese a la creencia de que Maeztu desarrolló estas ideas en 1928-30, cuando era embajador en Argentina, sus textos periodísticos muestran que muchas estaban articuladas ya en 1911-12, cuando era corresponsal en Reino Unido. Esto nos anima a revisar el papel del Londres eduardiano en la génesis del ideario hispanoamericanista de Maeztu. Por un lado, le permitió entablar amistad con

intelectuales hispanoamericanos como los redactores de la revista Hispania; por otro, le expuso a los debates que los británicos libraban acerca de su propio Imperio. La Hispanidad aparece así como parte de un movimiento de revisión de la colonización europea y el devenir de los antiguos proyectos coloniales.

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Manuel Andrés García, *La conformación de un icono genérico y su contexto: Augusto César Sandino y la opinión pública española (1928-1934)*, pp. 919-952

El objetivo de este artículo es la revisión de la figura de Augusto César Sandino y su impacto sociopolítico en la opinión pública española. Partiendo de un análisis de los acontecimientos que impulsaron la figura del líder guerrillero a la escena internacional, examinaremos la repercusión de sus actuaciones dentro de una coyuntura intervencionista como la planteada por los Estados Unidos en Centroamérica y el Caribe en las primeras décadas del XX, al igual que la reacción de los países hispanohablantes respecto a las injerencias de Washington. Será a partir de dicho contexto que abordaremos la repercusión de Sandino en la intelectualidad y medios peninsulares, tomando como referencia diarios de todo el arco ideológico para confirmar cómo, aun desde perspectivas diferenciadas – y en un marco temporal de apenas siete años – el nicaragüense acabaría convertido en un icono compartido, pero de disímil significación.

Angela Pérez del Puerto, *"Eminentísimo Señor", "Querida amiga y hermana". La estrategia de protección de Acción Católica femenina a través de su correspondencia en la Guerra Civil y la posguerra*, pp. 1011-1043

Este trabajo hace una aproximación a las ramas femeninas de Acción Católica española a través de su correspondencia oficial durante la Guerra Civil y la posguerra. Mediante el análisis de sus cartas, se demuestra que las seglares se organizaron para para proteger la asociación ante las nuevas circunstancias bélicas y de posguerra. Las socias de Acción Católica aprovecharon estos intercambios epistolares para crear una plataforma de difusión de los principios de autonomía y apoliticismo que debían regir el funcionamiento de su institución. El objetivo final era preservar Acción Católica femenina como un espacio privilegiado y autónomo para las católicas, y protegerlo contra el intrusismo de autoridad del nuevo régimen franquista y la politización de Falange.

(35) 2020

Steven Forti, *¿Nacional-populismo a la catalana? Repensar el Procés en el contexto europeo,* pp. 69-90

Más allá de algunas excepciones, todos los estudios sobre el llamado procés catalán se han centrado en las dinámicas internas catalanas o españolas. Las razones principales serían la sentencia del Tribunal Constitucional sobre el Estatut de Catalunya de 2010 y las consecuencias de las crisis económicas. Sin quitar relevancia a estas explicaciones, en la gran mayoría de los casos se ha obviado el contexto europeo e internacional sobre todo en el intento de entender en clave comparada y transnacional el procés. Parecería que Cataluña viviera desconectada de lo que pasa afuera de sus fronteras y que lo que ahí ha pasado fuera algo inexplicable con categorías válidas para otros contextos. El objetivo de este artículo es el de plantear si el caso catalán puede inscribirse en el marco de la nueva ola populista: ¿podemos considerar el procés catalán como una expresión del populismo en boga en los años diez del siglo XXI en Europa? Y si es así ¿de qué tipo de populismo estamos hablando?

Jorge Garcés González

Las Leyes memoriales en Francia. Debates historiográficos, controversias públicas y demandas sociales, pp. 121-136.

El relato y la identidad nacional francesa se han visto modificados como consecuencia de la globalización de la memoria que tiene lugar desde la última década del siglo pasado. Desde entonces, la V República ha desarrollado una política institucional basada en la promulgación de un conjunto de leyes memoriales que generaron numerosas reticencias en el seno de la comunidad académica. En este estudio analizo la manera en la que Francia ha afrontado sus pasados traumáticos a lo largo del siglo XXI fijando mi atención en dichas leyes memoriales, pero también en los debates historiográficos, las polémicas públicas y las demandas sociales que subyacen en las llamadas guerras de memoria.

(43) 2020

Darina Martykánová, Juan Pan Montojo, *Los constructores del Estado: los ingenieros españoles y el poder público en el contexto europeo (1840-1900)*, pp. 57-86

En España, los ingenieros constituyen uno de los ejemplos más importantes de élites profesionales. Su ascenso está estrechamente ligado al proceso de la construcción del Estado. Este artículo primero establece los rasgos principales que han caracterizado la ingeniería como campo de conocimiento y como profesión desde el siglo XVIII. A continuación, ofrece una visión sintética de las paradojas del proceso lento y complejo de la construcción del Estado en España, prestando atención al papel ambiguo que los ingenieros desempeñaron en este proceso y a los límites de su acción. Por último, el texto debate el concepto del ingenierismo, que se entiende como: a) la tendencia de juzgar la intervención pública en términos de promover las obras públicas, y b) como las aspiraciones de los ingenieros al liderazgo socioprofesional y al reconocimiento público de tal liderazgo. El ingenierismo puede entenderse como una construcción social heredera de la representación social decimonónica de una relación estrecha entre las políticas públicas, el cambio técnico y la ingeniería en tal que profesión.

Maximiliano Fuentes Codera, *El giro global y transnacional: las historiografías de la Gran Guerra tras los centenarios*, pp. 389-417

Este artículo propone un análisis de la historiografía reciente sobre la Primera Guerra Mundial. El eje de la argumentación se centra en el auge de los estudios focalizados a partir del giro global y transnacional que ha dominado los trabajos más recientes. Esta renovación ha impulsado nuevas investigaciones sobre escenarios poco estudiados en las décadas anteriores y ha comenzado a mostrar las múltiples relaciones establecidas entre los continentes. Además, ha extendido la cronología de la guerra y ha propiciado una ampliación temática que ha dado lugar a numerosas investigaciones centradas en los países neutrales. En este marco, la tradicional frontera entre escenarios beligerantes y neutrales ha sido puesta en cuestión. Finalmente, el artículo plantea posibles perspectivas de investigación futuras a partir de una revisión de la historiografía cultural que ha dominado los estudios sobre la Gran Guerra a nivel mundial durante las últimas décadas.

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Guillermo A. Pérez Sánchez, *La Unión Europea a la luz de la historia. Un balance setenta años después (1950-2020)*, pp. 145-170.

Setenta años después de la «Declaración» de Robert Schumann del 9 de mayo de 1950 que ponía en marcha de forma fehaciente el proceso de integración europea, parece un momento muy adecuado para presentar un balance del mismo a la luz de la historia. Así las cosas, por lo que se refiere a dicho proceso, fundamentado en la paz entre los europeos, el bienestar socioeconómico de los pueblos y el buen gobierno democrático, después del Brexit ya no se puede seguir manteniendo su carácter de irreversible. Al mismo tiempo, tanto desde ciertos sectores de la academia como desde la política y

los medios de comunicación, los euroescépticos, por no mencionar a los más claramente antieuropeístas, y en relación con la incertidumbre en la que parece estar la Unión Europea, han comenzado a plantear sus dudas sobre la propia vigencia del proyecto de integración. Ante dichos planteamientos, y en función del balance positivo que, según el sentir todavía mayoritario se puede presentar setenta años después, se sostiene, parafraseando a los ilustrados, que si la Unión Europea no existiera habría que inventarla.

Gonzalo Capellán de Miguel, *Democracia. Iconografía política de los conceptos fundamentales de la modernidad,* pp. 173-217.

Los significados de algunos conceptos fundamentales de la política moderna no se fijaron en el imaginario colectivo exclusivamente a través de los distintos tipos de texto y los discursos. Las imágenes desempeñaron un papel esencial en la forma en la que se representaron los conceptos y fueron utilizadas estratégicamente en las luchas políticas por connotar y resignificar esos conceptos. Una tipología de imágenes que adquirió especial relevancia en ese proceso histórico en el que se conformaron las iconografías políticas de los conceptos fundamentales del discurso moderno fueron las caricaturas. Esta tipología de imágenes fue difundiéndose especialmente a través de la prensa, que enriquecida con ilustraciones tuvo una creciente popularidad en su combinación del humor gráfico con la sátira política. Este proceso de construcción histórica de los significados de los conceptos a partir de una narrativa visual, que conjugaba las ideas y sus símbolos, se ejemplifica con un estudio de caso: democracia. Concretamente, se reconstruye el uso de las imágenes de la democracia desde sus primeras alegorías modernas en los tratados de iconología del siglo xvii hasta la II Guerra Mundial, prestando especial atención a varios momentos históricos en los que la concepción de la democracia y su significado experimentaron cambios cruciales.

(20) 2020

Sara Martín Gutiérrez, *¿Católicas con conciencia de clase? Obreras y señoras de la Acción Católica Española en el franquismo: una historia de influencias y desavenencias en torno al género, la religión y la clase,* pp. 235-254

El presente artículo analiza el proceso de toma de conciencia de las trabajadoras de la Hermandad Obrera de Acción Católica Femenina (HOACF) en las primeras décadas del franquismo. Para ello, se aplica una perspectiva que pone en diálogo y tensiona las dimensiones de género, clase, y religión en el interior de la Acción Católica Española (ACE). Esta investigación explora la importancia de las identidades obreras católicas para comprender en profundidad las formas de participación social "desde abajo" desplegadas en el mencionado periodo y la actuación de las trabajadoras católicas en ellas. A través de memorias individuales femeninas, se esbozan algunas de las subjetividades que se hicieron presentes en la HOACF. Finalmente, se analizan algunas de las tensiones individuales –y colectivas– que surgieron entre obreras y señoras de Acción Católica, un aspecto que permite comprender mejor las narrativas comunes de la clase trabajadora.

Soledad Catoggio, Claudia Feld, *Narrativas memoriales y reclamos diplomáticos a la dictadura militar. Francia y Estados Unidos frente al caso de las monjas francesas desaparecidas en Argentina (diciembre 1977 – noviembre 1978)*, pp. 141-170

El presente artículo analiza los reclamos diplomáticos franceses y estadounidenses producidos en torno al caso de las monjas francesas, Alice Domon y Léonie Duquet, desaparecidas en Buenos Aires en diciembre de 1977. El análisis permite poner en cuestión el relato memorial más extendido que plantea la inacción, debilidad o connivencia de los gobiernos francés y estadounidense con la dictadura argentina en este caso específico. A partir de un estudio pormenorizado de los archivos diplomáticos desclasificados en ambos países, demostramos que la demanda fue continua, vehemente, al más alto nivel y con consecuencias en la alteración de las relaciones bilaterales. Se compara las modalidades de protesta, los interlocutores en juego y las "respuestas" obtenidas en cada una de las vías diplomáticas. Ello permite concluir que ambas iniciativas llevaron a situaciones "sin salida", cuya resolución exitosa dependió de un cambio en la conversación diplomática que pasó de un reclamo diplomático relacionado con casos concretos al problema de ámbito general de los derechos humanos.

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Javier Navarro Navarro, *Historiografía, memoria, silencios y conmemoraciones: la Valencia capital de la República (1936-1937)*, pp. 73-104.

Durante la tarde-noche del 6 de noviembre de 1936 comenzó el traslado a Valencia del gobierno republicano desde un Madrid asediado por las tropas sublevadas. La ciudad se convirtió así, y durante un año, en sede del gobierno legítimo y capital, en la práctica, de la República española. En el presente

artículo se analiza cómo se ha abordado todo ello desde dos perspectivas diferentes, aunque estrechamente interconectadas: la historiografía y la memoria pública. Se centra en los años más recientes, aunque se establecen también conclusiones sobre la producción historiográfica y las políticas de memoria en torno a esta cuestión en las cuatro últimas décadas. Finalmente, se aporta una reflexión sobre la influencia que en esos ámbitos han tenido tanto el contexto político como la conmemoración del episodio en sucesivas efemérides durante los últimos cuarenta años.

Raúl Moreno Almendral, *Teseo entre banderas: la reproducción de las naciones y el problema de la continuidad histórica,* pp. 269-291

El lenguaje cotidiano está plagado de presupuestos sobre la continuidad histórica de los grupos. El caso de las colectividades nacionales es particularmente recurrente. La noción de proceso que maneja gran parte de la historiografía reposa en una concepción de la nación en el tiempo demasiado influida por la forma de pensar el pasado que tienen los nacionalistas. Utilizando la paradoja de Teseo, el artículo plantea que la construcción de naciones (y de otras colectividades) puede entenderse mejor como una cadena de reproducciones sin hilo conductor, y que la noción clásica de continuidad no responde a propósitos epistémicos sino a una metanarrativa historicista. La depuración final de este relato de falsa coherencia que los historiadores del nacionalismo llevan tanto tiempo combatiendo mejoraría nuestra relación epistémica con el pasado, pero plantearía consecuencias incómodas en los ámbitos político y moral.

STATI UNITI

Vladislav M Zubok, *Stalin, Soviet Intelligence, and the Struggle for Iran, 1945–53,* pp. 22–46

The drama of the National Front in Iran in 1951–53 occupies an important place in international history. Although Iran never was a colony, its struggle against the United Kingdom for control of oil had a radical impact on the process of decolonization in the Eastern hemisphere. It was also in Iran where anti-colonial passions intersected with the Cold War and the agenda of three great powers: the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union. Last, but not least, the U.S.-British collaboration and joint overthrow of the Iranian nationalist leader Dr. Muhammed Mosaddeq in August 1953 set a model for... for Western approaches to radical nationalism in the Third World for at least two decades to follow.

Mark Eastwood, *Anti-Nuclear Activism and Electoral Politics in the 1963 Test Ban Treaty*, pp. 133–156

In the summer of 1961, President John F. Kennedy was sailing his yacht, the Honey Fitz, in the waters off Hyannis Port. His guests on-board that day included Adlai Stevenson and Harlan Cleveland, both of whom were there to discuss the United States' position on disarmament ahead of the reopening of the United Nations General Assembly. On the campaign trail the previous year, then-Senator Kennedy had repeatedly championed a new, more earnest approach to disarmament. Kennedy attacked President Eisenhower for his "lack of a concrete plan for disarmament," while telling the annual conference of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) that arms control would be "an obligation of the highest priority in the next administration." Speaking candidly to his guests that summer day, as president rather than candidate, Kennedy shocked both Stevenson and Cleveland by declaring, "Oh this disarmament. Well, that's really just a propaganda thing, isn't it?

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Conor Tobin, *The Myth of the "Afghan Trap": Zbigniew Brzezinski and Afghanistan, 1978–1979*, pp. 237–264

In an interview with French magazine Le Nouvel Observateur in January 1998, former U.S. National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski recounted that "according to the official version of history, CIA aid to the mujahideen began during 1980, that is, after the Soviet army invaded Afghanistan on December 24, 1979. But the reality, kept secret until now, is quite different: Indeed, it was on July 3, 1979, that President Carter signed the first directive for secret aid to the opponents of the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul." This admission—corroborating previous disclosures by the CIA's Charles Cogan and Robert Gates—was quite innocuous on its own, but Brzezinski was further quoted alleging that "on that day, I wrote a note to the president in which I explained to him that in my opinion this aid

would lead to a Soviet military intervention." He admitted that the administration had "knowingly increased the probability" that the Soviets would intervene militarily, and maintained that he had no regrets as the "secret operation was an excellent idea. It had the effect of drawing the Russians into the Afghan trap." He added that on the "day that the Soviets officially crossed the border, I wrote to President Carter, in essence: 'We now have the opportunity of giving the USSR its Vietnam War,'" and boasted that "for almost ten years, Moscow had to wage an unbearable war for the regime, a conflict that led to the demoralization and ultimately the breakup of the Soviet empire."

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Jason M Colby, *Conscripting Leviathan: Science, Cetaceans, and the Cold War*, pp. 466–478

In June 1974, U.S. Navy scientist Sam Ridgway stepped off an airplane in Moscow. It was his first trip to the Soviet Union, and he was excited. As head veterinarian of the Navy's Marine Mammal Program, he knew his Soviet counterparts were studying captive bottlenose dolphins, but Cold War tensions had long prevented the two sides from sharing much of their research. Months earlier, however, the Superpowers had signed an agreement to cooperate on environmental research, opening the way for this visit. At first, things went smoothly. Soviet handlers met Ridgway and his colleague, former Lockheed engineer Bill Evans, at the airport and whisked them to their hotel. Over the following days, they enjoyed access that would have been unimaginable a decade earlier. "We had free run of Moscow," recalled Ridgway, "and we met many Russian scientists." During those friendly conversations, the Americans were repeatedly surprised by their Soviet counterparts' knowledge of U.S. research publications, which extended to a number of "obscure" journals. Marine mammalogy, it seemed, offered a bridge across the Cold War divide.

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Ilnyun Kim, *The Vital Center for United States-China Relations in the 1950s*, pp. 609–635

On June 21, 1972, Zhou Enlai, Premier of the People's Republic of China (PRC), sat with U.S. President Richard Nixon's national security adviser Henry Kissinger at the Grand Hall of People in Beijing. Zhou began the conversation by broaching a name familiar to Kissinger: "You saw John Fairbank this afternoon?" A born diplomat, Kissinger instantly noticed that this unusual opening remark was not just an icebreaker. Indeed, throughout their four-day meeting, the premier frequently brought out the name of this Harvard professor who visited China at his invitation. At first, Kissinger tried to fend Zhou off. Fairbank was "a very single-minded man," said Kissinger, whose only concern was to bring some talented Chinese students to Harvard. The evasion did not work. Zhou returned, time and again, to Fairbank and other "American friends." "You probably know," he said to Kissinger, "the majority I met were in support of Senator [George] McGovern." The PRC premier knew that the United States was a democratic country currently in the presidential election. And his U.S. friends told him that in most diplomatic issues, including arms reduction, the unification of Korea, and the armistice in Vietnam, the Democratic candidate was more willing than Nixon to

cooperate with China.1 At the onset of U.S.-PRC rapprochement, the Democratic Party, pushed by Fairbank and others, had already been moving in that direction.

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Danielle Thyer, *'The Evil of the Age': The* New York Times *and the Politicisation of Abortion, 1871*

In August 1871, the *New York Times* published the findings of an undercover investigation undertaken by one of its reporters into the abortionists who operated in the city. This coincided with the discovery of the body of Alice Bowlsby in a travelling trunk at a railroad depot, who had died as a result of surgical abortion. For the *New York Times*, abortion was a great 'evil of the age' that flourished due to its hidden nature and public indifference towards it. Its pervasiveness was aided by newspaper advertising – particularly in the *New York Herald* – alongside legislation that failed to prevent untrained physicians from risking women's lives. This paper uses the undercover investigation to historicise the early American anti-abortion movement. Rather than agitate for foetal rights or personhood as later twentieth-century anti-abortion activists would, this article argues that the *New York Times* politicised the practice through its sustained campaign by connecting abortion with a range of social concerns. This included the role of women in society, the nature of class distinctions and the advancement of medical professionalisation. Further, this article revises our understanding of the close relationship between the press and abortion in nineteenth-century America.

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Susana Salvaterra Trovão, Sandra Araújo, *Ambivalence, Gender and National Identity Imaginings on Indian Otherness in Mozambique during the Estado Novo (1933–1974)*

Contemporary research stresses how gender and familial relationships are constitutive of a wide set of social categories and power dynamics at the root of different forms of state-building, nationalist projects, governance strategies and conceptionsof citizenship in colonial and postcolonial societies. This article addresses the dynamic intersection of gender, familial and imperial identity representations, focusing on the processes of subjectivation deployed by the Portoguese colonial discourse, especially throughout the authoritarian political regime known as the Estado Novo (New State, 1933-1974), established by Oliveira Salazar. The intent is to explore a differential model of governance through which the Portoguese imagined their own national identity as an imperial people in competition with other imperial nation-states.

Caroline Jordan, Diane Kirkby, *'An Undesirable Type of Fulbright Grantee': Women, Gender and Transgression in the Cold War Asia–Pacific Region*

The Fulbright Program has, since it was established in 1946, facilitated international scholarly exchange to and from the United States on an unprecedented scale. (…) The programme's stress on the personal attributes of candidates created opportunities for gendered intepretations of merit. Selection committees in participating countries were strongly advised to give 'as much weight to character and personality as you do to academic standing'.

Peter Gurney, *Redefining 'the woman with the basket': The Women's Co-operative Guild and the Politics of Consumption in Britain during the Second World War*

Over recent decades, historians of gender have transformed our understanding of the impact of total war on British society. Feminist scholars in particular have been drawn to this field of research because, as Margaret and Patrice Higonnet suggested in an influential essay, war 'crystallizes contradictions between ideology and actual experience'. Mass mobilisation necessitated by total war blurred boundaries between military and home fronts and between men and women. Dominant conceptions of gender roles were put under intense pressure, making possible greater awareness of their constructed and hence malleable nature.

Cassia Roth and Ellen Dubois, *Feminism, Frogs and Fascism: The Transnational Activism of Brazil's Bertha Lutz*

In 1975, the United Nations (UN) declared the first International Women's Year (IWY). For two weeks in June, 2,000 official governmental delegates from 133 member states met in Mexico City for the IWY conference. In a radical break with gender ratios at past UN events, 73 per cent of the delegates were women. Another 6,000 representatives arrived at the parallel NGO tribune held at venues across the city. Among the delegates to the intergovernmental conference was eighty-one-year-old Brazilian feminist Bertha Lutz, whose presence represented the cumulation of over five decades of national and international women's organising.

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Andrea Scionti, *"I Am Afraid Americans Cannot Understand": The Congress for Cultural Freedom in France and Italy, 1950–1957*, pp. 89–124

This article examines the nature and significance of the activities carried out in France and Italy by the Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), an international organization that was secretly funded by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency to support anti-Communist intellectuals, including those on the left end of the political spectrum. These two West European countries, with their large and politically influential Communist parties, were central to the CCF's work in Europe. The organization's task was complicated by domestic concerns and traditions that forced local intellectuals to stress their autonomy from the CCF International Secretariat and its U.S. patrons. The article uses the cultural Cold War and the competing interpretations of anti-Communism and cultural freedom within the CCF as a lens to explore the limits of U.S. influence and persuasion among the intellectual classes of Europe. By repeatedly asserting their independence and agency, the French and Italian members of the CCF helped redefine the character and limits of U.S. cultural diplomacy.

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Jan Uelzmann, *Building Domestic Support for West Germany's Integration into NATO, 1953–1955*, pp. 133–162

Konrad Adenauer's government in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) engaged in a large-scale media campaign to create political consent for the FRG's integration into the West, a policy that rested to a large extent on rearmament and entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. To counter public criticism of rearmament, the West German authorities used Mobilwerbung, a company that maintained a fleet of moble film screening vans. Clandestinely financed by the government, Mobilwerbung brought government-commissioned films and political speakers into the FRG's remotest areas. Based on archival records on deployments in Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia, this article traces Mobilwerbung's role as a government unit that reacted dynamically to competing events. Through highly detailed reporting on audience reactions, Mobilwerbung served both as a public relations vehicle to foster consent and as an analytical tool that allowed the mapping of public sentiment regarding rearmament.

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Simon Miles, *The War Scare That Wasn't: Able Archer 83 and the Myths of the Second Cold War,* pp. 86–118

Did the Cold War of the 1980s nearly turn hot? Much has been made of the November 1983 Able Archer 83 command-post exercise, which is often described as having nearly precipitated a nuclear

war when paranoid Warsaw Pact policymakers suspected that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was using the exercise to launch a preemptive nuclear strike. This article challenges that narrative, using new evidence from the archives of the former Warsaw Pact countries. It shows that the much-touted intelligence effort to assess Western intentions and capabilities, Project RYaN, which supposedly triggered fears of a surprise attack, was nowhere near operational at the time of Able Archer 83. It also presents an account of the Pact's sanguine observations of Able Archer 83. In doing so, it advances key debates in the historiography of the late Cold War pertaining to the stability and durability of the nuclear peace.

Toby Matthiesen, *The Cold War and the Communist Party of Saudi Arabia, 1975–1991*, pp. 32–62

The Communist Party of Saudi Arabia was a pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninist party that existed from 1975 until the early 1990s. Its roots lay in the labor movement of the 1950s in the oil-producing Eastern Province. The history of this province is a hitherto almost unknown aspect of modern Saudi history, Arab Marxism, and the broader Cold War. The Saudi Communist Party helped to launch an uprising in 1979 in the Eastern Province and was particularly active in propagating its ideas throughout the 1980s as the Soviet Union and Saudi Arabia fought a proxy war in Afghanistan. Despite opposing the monarchy's use of Islam as a tool of legitimacy and a propaganda instrument against Communism in the Cold War, the party called for a common front with Islamic groups opposed to the monarchy at home. After the dissolution of the party in 1991, former party members became key actors in the reformist petitions of 1990–1991, 2003, and 2011. This article is based on fieldwork in Saudi Arabia, interviews with veteran leftists from the region, and hitherto unexamined primary sources in Arabic, German, and English, including party publications and archival sources.

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Ethan B. Kapstein, *Private Enterprise, International Development, and the Cold War,* pp. 113–145

This article sheds light on the role of foreign direct investment as an instrument for economic development and, in turn, for the advancement of U.S. foreign policy goals during the Cold War. From the earliest days of the Cold War, and especially after the U.S.-Soviet competition for influence in the developing world began in the 1950s, the United States sought to promote private enterprise on behalf of U.S. goals. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, U.S. officials believed that foreign investment would suffice to fuel international development, obviating the need for official development assistance. These hopes, however, were largely disappointed. On the one hand, U.S.-based multinational companies preferred to invest in the industrial world; on the other hand, some Third World governments were uninterested in promoting private enterprise rather than state-led development. In part because foreign investment did not meet expectations, the U.S. government ended up elaborating an official foreign aid program instead.

32 (1) 2020

Jaime Sánchez, JR, *Revisiting McGovern-Frase: Party Nationalization and the Rhetoric of Reform*, pp. 1-24.

The Democratic Party faced a crisis of political legitimacy in the late 1960s as distrust and protest permeated its electoral base. In response, the Democratic National Committee established the Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, tasked with restructuring the party's presidential nomination process. Contrary to the conventional historical narrative of the McGovern-Fraser Commission that has focused on a supposed displacement of the party's old guard by radical insurgents, this article instead argues that the main impetus for reform came from national party leaders seeking to build up the legitimacy and authority of the National Committee. Commission Chair George McGovern and the DNC used a particular reform rhetoric that charged state parties with the corruption of the political process, necessitating rescue by an empowered national party. This focus on the nationalizing impulses behind McGovern-Fraser serves to shift our attention away from ideological struggles and toward institutional motives.

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Josh Mound, *Stirrings of Revolt: Regressive Levies, the Pocketbook Squeeze, and the 1960s Roots of the 1970s Tax Revolt*, pp. 105-150.

In most accounts, the modern American "tax revolt" begins with Proposition 13, passed by California voters in June 1978. In this telling, the revolt represents an antigovernment, antiliberal shift among white homeowners instrumental in the "rise of the right" and the fall of the "New Deal order" that culminated in Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 and his subsequent tax cuts. This article challenges that account by demonstrating that the revolt began more than a decade before Prop 13 as approval rates for local levies and bonds reached all-time lows. This local revolt was not limited to whites, nor did it portend rising conservatism. Instead, it was rooted in lower- and middle-income Americans' frustrations with steep rises in unfair, regressive taxes during the post–World War II decades. The Kennedy-Johnson "Growth Liberals," who were busy cutting progressive federal taxes at the same time that regressive state and local taxes were soaring, missed this pocketbook squeeze, thereby setting the stage for later events like Prop 13.

Youn Ki, Yongwoo Jeung, *Ideas, Interests, and the Transition to a Floating Exchange System*, pp. 151-182.

Milton Friedman's idea of flexible exchange rates was heresy for Americans until the mid-1960s. However, by the late 1970s the idea became embedded in academic thought, policymaking, and business practices. This article analyzes how floating currencies, once eschewed, became embraced as legitimate in the US through the late 1960s and early 1970s. It demonstrates how business leaders' economic interests and laissez-faire economists' framework for causes of and solutions to business

hardships contributed to society's acceptance of currency flexibility. Increasing societal support of flexible currencies strengthened the power of float-advocates within the US government, facilitating the transition of the international monetary system from fixed exchange rates to floating. This study highlights how material interests and policy discourses contributed to America's new policy orientation. It also addresses the origins of the neoliberal international financial order by documenting how American elites reconstituted the state-market balance in global finance while navigating monetary crises.

Bryant Etheridge, *Contesting the Great Compression: The National LAbor Relations Board and Skilled Workers' Struggle to Control Wage Differentials, 1935-1955*, pp. 183-213.

This article argues that federal labor policy was a factor in causing the Great Compression, the dramatic compression of skill-based wage differentials that occurred in the 1940s, and in bringing it to an end. By giving the National Labor Relations Board the power to determine the appropriate collective-bargaining unit, New Dealers gave industrial unions the means with which to build a more egalitarian wage structure. Unskilled and semiskilled workers seized the opportunity and voted themselves big pay raises. Skilled craftsmen responded by petitioning the NLRB for permission to form their own craft bargaining units, a process known as "craft severance." As conservatives gained influence in Washington in the 1940s, the board adopted a bargaining-unit policy more favorable to craft unions. By the early 1950s, skilled craftsmen had regained control of their wage demands and thereby helped bring the Great Compression to a halt.

Jonathan Bartho, *Reagan's Southern Comfort: The "Boll Weevil" Democrats in the "Reagan Revolution" of 1981*, pp. 214-238.

In 1981, around fifty conservative southern Democrats in the House of Representatives, the so-called Boll Weevils, played a crucial role in the enactment of President Ronald Reagan's economic agenda. The significance of this episode has thus far been underappreciated. This article illustrates the importance of the Boll Weevils' support to the early success of Reagan's presidency, as well its implications for both the South's political landscape and for the national Republican Party.

Though short-lived, this coalition would prove to be a significant rupture in the Democratic Party's superiority in the South at the congressional level and highlighted the partisan fragmentation the region was undergoing. As this article will demonstrate, the events of 1981 returned southern conservatism to the center of power in Washington for the first time in over a decade and acted as a catalyst for a number of southern Democratic congressmen to move toward the GOP.

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Mark Ellis, *T.J. Woofter Jr. and Government Social Science Research during the New Deal, World War II, and the Cold War*, pp. 241-272.

The work of southern sociologist Thomas Jackson Woofter Jr. (1893–1972) is frequently cited by American historians, but his contribution to government policy on agriculture in the New Deal, Social

Security in the 1940s, and demography in the Cold War remains underappreciated. He left the University of North Carolina to direct government research on rural relief in the 1930s, Social Security enhancement during and after World War II, and foreign population and manpower projections during the Cold War. Contributing to the delivery of essential programs in key agencies, he participated in internal and external debates over policy and social attitudes between 1930 and 1960. Woofter worked for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the Farm Security Agency, the Federal Security Agency, and the Central Intelligence Agency, improving data-gathering and assisting transitions in federal policymaking. This article assesses his role in those agencies, using official records, other primary materials, and secondary sources.

Teresa Sabol Spezio, *"An Inevitable Consequence:" Changing Ideas of Prevention in the Wake of Catastrophic Events*, pp. 412-438.

In the face of technology failures in preventing oil from reaching beaches and coasts after catastrophic oil spills in the 1960s and early 1970s, the oil industry and governmental officials needed to quickly reconsider their idea of prevention. Initially, prevention meant stopping spilled oil from coating beaches and coasts. Exploring the presentations at three oil-spill conferences in 1969, 1971 and 1973, this idea of prevention changed as the technological optimism of finding effective methods met the realities of oil-spill cleanup. By 1973, prevention meant stopping oil spills before they happened. This rapid policy transformation came about because the oil industry could not hide the visual evidence of the source of their technology failures. In this century, as policymakers confront invisible pollutants such as pesticides and greenhouse gases, considering ways to visually show the source of the pollution along with the effects could quicken policy decisions.

Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *The Nineteenth Amendment and Its Outcome for African American Women*

African American women were not promised inclusion in the Nineteenth Amendment. The ratification was achieved at a time when segregation and racial discrimination characterized American institutions. Although Black women had been woman suffrage advocates since the movement began in the post-Civil War years, their inclusion in the Nineteenth Amendment was not a given. This was a struggle that took considerable effort, primarily among African American women who set out to educate Black people about strategies for change. Nonetheless, like Black men a generation earlier, the majority of African American women—those living in the South—were disenfranchised, or lost the right to vote, soon after the amendment was ratified in 1920. Not until the civil rights movement of the 1960s, which led to the 1965 Voting Rights Act, did Black women and men living in the South regain their lost right to vote.[1]

Cathleen D. Cahill, *"Our Democracy and the American Indian": Citizenship, Sovereignty, and the Native Vote in the 1920s*

Two key events in suffrage history parallel important moments in Native history. In 1890, national suffrage organizations reunited to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) during the pinnacle of federal assimilation policies that aimed to destroy the cultural and political structures of Indigenous nations and to assimilate them into the citizenry of the United States. The year 1920 fell amid what is often called the nadir of Native history, characterized by poverty, disease, massive land dispossession, and little to no political power, all of which were the direct result of federal policies. These concurrent developments are rarely discussed in tandem, but some Indigenous feminists engaged in debates over Indian citizenship and voting rights and were in conversation with mainstream suffragists.[1] While the Nineteenth Amendment did not enfranchise the roughly one-third of all Native adults who were not US citizens in 1920, Indigenous feminists loudly and directly called upon newly enfranchised white women to address "the Indian situation as it is today" upon ratification.[2]

Joy Damousi, *Humanitarianism and Child Refugee Sponsorship: The Spanish Civil War and the Global Campaign of Esme Odgers*

Spanish Civil War. Odgers's story highlights the child sponsorship program as a humanitarian This article explores the humanitarian work of the Australian Communist Esme Odgers during the technique, which has yet to be fully discussed within the history of Spanish humanitarian aid. Odgers's detailed letters written during the war offer unique insights into the material, social, and psychological conditions under which humanitarian workers labored, suggesting that such an activity was a multifaceted and unpredictable experience. An examination of this dimension allows for an exploration of emotions that are expected to be repressed by humanitarian workers, where the expression of individual emotions in the context of life and death is perceived as an indulgence. Further, a study of Odgers's humanitarian efforts during the civil war sheds light on the impact of

these endeavors beyond Europe, extending our understanding of the global impact of the Spanish Civil War.

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Michelle Staff, *Women's Rights on the World Stage: Feminism and Internationalism in the Life of Chrystal Macmillan (1872–1937)*

This article seeks to explain how and why feminists engaged with internationalism during the first half of the twentieth century by exploring the life of the Scottish feminist Chrystal Macmillan (1872–1937). Adopting an understanding of "personal history" as a form of microhistory, it explores the development of her internationalist approach by focusing on her campaigns for women's suffrage, peace, economic equality, and nationality rights. Macmillan initially saw cross-border cooperation between women as a way to buttress local efforts. Yet during the interwar period, she came to see the new intergovernmental institutions as sites of both opportunity and additional contestation. Through building a transnational women's movement, Macmillan brought a feminist vision of internationalism into dialogue with state-led internationalism, aiming to challenge and shape the fledgling norms of interwar international political life. The evolution of her approach illustrates how internationalist feminism at this time was characterized by innovation, reaction, hope, and disillusionment.

Michelle Chase, *"Hands Off Korea!": Women's Internationalist Solidarity and Peace Activism in Early Cold War Cuba*

Recent scholarship on transnational left-feminist activism during the Cold War often focuses on north-south or east-west connections, more rarely exploring transpacific, south-south forms of engagement. This article unearths a revealing episode in internationalism and south-south solidarity by studying the Cuban left's Hands Off Korea campaign (1950–1951), a protest movement against the Korean War in which women played crucial roles as both intellectual authors and foot soldiers. In particular, the article explores the important role played by two members of the Cuban affiliate of the pro-Soviet Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), Edith García Buchaca and Candelaria Rodríguez. Their experiences traveling to China and North Korea (respectively) and their insertion into global left-feminist networks, facilitated by the WIDF, helped them cast war, revolution, and decolonization as "women's issues." These conceptual links inspired the Hands Off Korea campaign and help to explain its surprising success.

Ashley D. Farmer, *"Abolition of Every Possibility of Oppression": Black Women, Black Power, and the Black Women's United Front, 1970–1976*

This article analyzes the intellectual development and organizational activities of a nationalist, feminist, and socialist collective called the Black Women United Front (BWUF). Charting the rise

and fall of the group from 1970 to 1976, the article begins with an analysis of the collective's origins in the Congress of African People (CAP), a cultural nationalist organization. It then documents the BWUF's organizational and ideological evolution, offering an assessment of how the group's intersectional platform and programs caused CAP and other major Black Power-era leaders to adopt more gender-conscious approaches to Black liberation. By reinserting the BWUF into histories of the Black Power era, the article complicates long-held assumptions about the intractable nature of Black Power sexism and the incompatibility of feminist and Black Power thought. It also illustrates how, through groups like the BWUF, Black women developed intersectional approaches to liberation within major Black Power organizations.

Elisa Camiscioli, Jean H. Quataert, *Imperial Alliances: Women, Power, and Precarity in Colonial South Asia and New Zealand*

This issue showcases the work of four young scholars of empire. Articles by Rochisha Narayan, Satyasikha Chakraborty, Caitlin Cunningham, and Archana Venkatesh explore the strategic alliances and tacit bargains forged in colonial South Asia and New Zealand (Aotearoa) between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. While imperial ideology primarily served the interests of white European rule, it developed in a matrix nourished by liberal and patriarchal ideals, along with family metaphors of domination. This facilitated collusions of class, caste, and gender in a world structured by racial hierarchy. For example, some "imperial alliances" benefited upper-caste women and men to the detriment of their lower-caste compatriots. Others promoted male privilege broadly speaking, at the expense of both indigenous and European women. In addition, the family metaphors prevalent in colonial and anti-colonial discourse sanctioned the hierarchical relationship of mothers to daughters and foregrounded motherhood as a site of competing aspirations. The most precarious women of all—lower-caste, "outcaste," and indigenous Māori women—received the least protection from the colonial state.

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Jeffrey Drew Reger, *Baʿathist State Feminism: The General Federation of Iraqi Women in the Global 1970s*

Recent scholarship has emphasized the centrality of gender to nation-building projects in the modern Middle East, particularly in constituting the legal rights of citizens and behavioral norms that shaped the relations of men and women to one another and defined their public roles, particularly in the workforce. The example of post-independence Iraq under the Baʿath Party demonstrates—using official publications—how women's organizations were consolidated under state control within a framework of official feminism. The Iraqi woman became crucial both symbolically to the Party's ideology, as well as instrumentally in the name of economic progress. Elite women in Iraq attempted to negotiate the constraints of the patriarchal bargain and push for progress through the avenues available via state feminism. Simultaneously, the sole legal organization constrained women's activities through coordination and surveillance, and co-opted women's labor on behalf of the state, the Party, and its leading personalities (which became increasingly commensurate).

Kelly O'Donnell, *The Activist Archive: Feminism, Personal-Political Papers, and Recent Women's History*

Throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s, journalist and women's health activist Barbara Seaman, like many of her feminist contemporaries, donated her extensive collection of personal papers to Harvard University's Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America. Unlike most of her peers, Seaman also left corrective notes, messages to future researchers, and critiques of historians' handling of her and her friends' pasts. This article examines Barbara Seaman's curated archive as a means to discuss feminists' historical consciousness-raising in the late twentieth century, and its consequences for researchers. By showing how archival collections are both personal and political, this discussion advocates for the proper understanding of archives as historical acts in themselves. The archive of women's experience has changed significantly since the 1970s as individuals have come to routinely advocate for themselves as historical subjects worthy of study.

Sarah J. Seidman, *Angela Davis in Cuba as Symbol and Subject*, pp. 11-35

This essay examines how gender facilitated the encounters between Angela Y. Davis and the Cuban Revolution in the late 1960s and 1970s. Davis's multifaceted identity as a black woman and communist shaped both her representation and reception in Cuba. Cubans supported Davis by participating in the global campaign for her freedom and welcoming her to the island several times, often with delegations from the Communist Party, beginning in 1969. The Cuban state propagated an iconography of Davis that cast her as a global signifier for both repression and international solidarity. Furthermore, at a transitional moment when Cuban leadership advocated institutionalization of the revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women provided highly visible opportunities for Davis to speak and be seen not afforded to men in the black liberation movement. Davis's time in Cuba proved transformative and foundational in shaping her view of global liberation.

Emily *Snyder, Internationalizing the Revolutionary Family: Love and Politics in Cuba and Nicaragua, 1979–1990*, pp. 50-74

This article argues that Cuban ideas about gender, sexuality, and the family shaped Cuban internationalist collaboration with Nicaragua in the 1970s and 1980s. It demonstrates that collaboration sprang from a gendered political discourse, and in turn the dynamics of gendered relationships between Cubans and Nicaraguans affected the internationalist campaigns. First, the essay argues that state discourse expanded the idea of the New Man to include volunteering abroad, and cast female participants as moral agents of internationalism. Second, it analyzes the idea of revolutionary love and how it related to internationalism. Then, the article demonstrates how internationalism created transnational relationships. Finally, it examines the experiences of Nicaraguan students who went to boarding schools on the Isla de la Juventud. Throughout, the article centers the notion of family and shows how internationalist mobility created space for personal experiences, love within revolution, and new family dynamics.

Chelsea *Schields, Insurgent Intimacies: Sex, Socialism, and Black Power in the Dutch Atlantic*, pp. 98-110

This article examines the intertwined arguments for sexual revolution and decolonization in the Dutch Atlantic in the 1960s and 1970s. In this period, Antillean activists in the Netherlands and the Netherlands Antilles celebrated aspects of the Cuban Revolution and the US Black Power movement for their purported ability to regenerate romantic love. Activists contended that socialism and antiracist activism could forge new bonds of erotic equality to explode the ongoing effects of colonialism, slavery, and the regimes of sexual violence that maintained both. Considering the centrality of sexual politics to Antillean radical imaginaries, this article argues that Antilleans viewed sexual liberation as a primary rather than ancillary component of self-determination. Illuminating the Atlantic currents that informed Antillean arguments for insurgent forms of intimacy—from

revolutionary Cuba to black struggle in the United States—this article reconceives of both the substance and geography of the sexual revolution.

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Gagan Preet Singh, *Property's Guardians, People's Terror: Police Avoidance in Colonial North India*, pp. 54–74

This article explores why victims of cattle theft in colonial north India avoided the police and courts, whose very purpose was to apprehend thieves and to restore stolen property. Throughout colonial rule, victims recovered stolen cattle themselves and with the help of khojis (trackers) and panchayat (indigenous systems). From the mid-nineteenth century onward, however, the British colonial government introduced criminal laws, like the Indian Penal Code and the Indian Evidence Act, and relied on colonial police to enforce those laws. These colonial laws and policing systems proved not only highly ineffective at dealing with theft, worsening the plight of victims while protecting thieves, but they also eroded the authority of indigenous institutions. By revisiting an important case, the Karnal Cattle Lifting Case (1913), the article shows how the institution of colonial police and courts oppressed rural Indian people and how and why Indian people, in turn, avoided colonial justice systems.

Andreia Beatriz Silva dos Santos; Fábio Nascimento-Mandingo; Amy Chazkel, *React or Be Killed: The History of Policing and the Struggle against Anti-Black Violence in Salvador, Brazil*, pp. 157–176

This conversation places a historian from the Brazilian political organization Reaja ou Será Morto / Reaja ou Será Morta (React or Be Killed) in dialogue with other members of that group to reflect on how the study of history on the one hand and the struggle against racist police brutality and the possibility of creating a world without such violence on the other might inform each other. The interlocutors explore historical continuities in policing Black communities, and in what they have identified as genocidal violence against Black Brazilians, as well as in anti-Black racist notions of public safety that have become imbricated in the way the state functions. With their Pan-Africanist community school, Escola Winnie Mandela, with their militant commitment to autonomy, and in the face of persistent neglect by the state, members of Reaja suggest that theirs is already a world without police.

Samuel Fury Childs Daly, *Policing and the Limits of the Political Imagination in Postcolonial Nigeria*, pp. 193–198

Nigeria's police forces are famously ineffective and unpopular. Police agencies carry the dual stigma of having colonial origins and close connections to the military dictatorships that ruled Nigeria in its first forty years of independence. Despite their poor reputation, there is little political will to reform policing and virtually none to abolish it. This piece traces how the police are embedded in Nigerian

society and politics, in order to understand why widespread dislike of a police force does not necessarily lead to calls for its dissolution.

(138) 2020

Antonino Scalia, *The Manifold Partisan: Anti-fascism, Anti-imperialism, and Leftist Internationalism in Italy, 1964–76*, pp. 11–38

This article examines how the Italian Communist Party and the Italian revolutionary Left connected internationalism to anti-fascism in the main internationalist campaigns that marked the high point of internationalist mobilizations between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s, and considers to what extent this tradition is still relevant today. In particular, this article focuses on the movements of solidarity with the Vietnamese and Palestinian national liberation struggles and against the Greek and Chilean dictatorships. At various moments in time and depending on the particular campaign, multiple leftist actors bridged the gaps between anti-fascism and anti-imperialism in a variety of ways by relying on their peculiar relationships with the anti-fascist tradition. Furthermore, the actions of international and foreign individuals and organizations, the activities of anti-fascist veterans and neofascists, and the specific context of Italian and international political conjunctures influenced the nature of such "bridging" and the resonance between these frames of anti-fascism and anti-imperialism.

Michael Staudenmaier, *"America's Scapegoats": Ideas of Fascism in the Construction of the US Latina/o/x Left, 1973–83*, pp. 39–59

In the 1970s and 1980s, Puerto Rican and Chicana/o/x radicals from across the United States developed a sophisticated theory of fascism as part of a broader effort to defend themselves against government repression and apply the lessons of the rightward trajectories of many Latin American countries. In the process, they built panethnic alliances that helped spur the emergence of Latina/o/x identity as it is commonly understood in the twenty-first century. This article uses the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (National Liberation Movement, or MLN) as a case study of this broader process because of its binational character and its persistent willingness to grapple with both the theory and practice of fascism and anti-fascism in the United States and in Latin America. While the MLN abandoned its own panethnic structure in the early 1980s, its legacy of Latina/o/x struggle against far right and white nationalist forces persists into the present moment.

Rosa Hamilton, *The Very Quintessence of Persecution: Queer Anti-fascism in 1970s Western Europe*, pp. 60–81

This article argues that a uniquely queer anti-fascism emerged in the early 1970s led by transgender and gender-nonconforming people and cisgender lesbians against postwar fascism in western Europe. In Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, queer anti-fascists drew on influences from Black Power, Women's Liberation, and Marxism to connect fascism to everyday oppression under capitalism, white supremacy, and heteropatriarchy. Using oral histories, private collections, and against-the-grain archival research, this article is the first transnational study of queer anti-fascism

and the first to view it as a discrete phenomenon. Queer anti-fascists showed what a radical and inclusive anti-fascism should look like, while their structural analysis of everyday fascism demonstrated why anti-fascism must mean social revolution. For them, queerness was necessarily antifascist: queer people's common experience of oppression enabled them to understand and overthrow fascism and the existing order. Although they never disappeared, their marginalization by cisgender-heterosexual antifascists should warn antifascists today.

Cole Rizki, *"No State Apparatus Goes to Bed Genocidal Then Wakes Up Democratic": Fascist Ideology and Transgender Politics in Post-dictatorship Argentina*, pp. 82–107

This article forms part of an emerging body of scholarship on the sex/gender politics of authoritarian regimes in Latin America, turning specific attention to Argentine trans and travesti politics and rights claims as these articulate with legacies of authoritarianism. On March 24, 1976, the Argentine military staged a coup d'état and established a dictatorship, perpetrating mass civilian murder until democratic transition in 1983. Drawing on state intelligence archive surveillance documents, the artist-activist intervention Campaña DESAPARECER, and travesti and transgender testimony, this article argues that the enduring social and political legacies of interwar fascism not only persisted into the years of dictatorship, but that they also continue to animate and mediate post-dictatorship transgender politics. That is, in democracy, the enduring afterlife of fascism creates conditions of possibility for activists to mobilize the language of anti-fascism and shared memories of fascist state violence in the service of contemporary transgender rights claims. Such rights claims reveal illiberal state violence's deadly imbrications with the politics of sex and gender during dictatorship and, at the same time, challenge present-day liberal narratives that relegate state violence to a distant illiberal past.

Benjamin Bland, *Global Fascism?: The British National Front and the Transnational Politics of the "Third Way" in the 1980s*, pp. 108–130

In the early 1980s, British fascism was reeling from the failure of the National Front (NF) to build on the brief swells of support it attracted in the 1970s through its crude ethnic populism. Enter a group of young radicals who, via a series of splits, gained control of the party and pushed it in a startlingly new direction. As the decade wore on these radicals embraced ideas that would have confused or even horrified their (essentially neo-Nazi) predecessors, promoting a global "Third Way" vision that borrowed heavily first from esoteric continental influences and then, increasingly, from radical Islamic ideologues like Louis Farrakhan and Muammar Qathafi. This article explains how this unusual variant of neofascism emerged in the political context of the 1980s and interrogates its transnational credentials in order to understand the extent and sincerity of this reinvention, so as to find the Third Way NF an appropriate place in the history of contemporary fascism(s).

48 (1) 2020

Joanna Cohen, *Seeing Worth and Worth Seeing: Capitalism, Race, and Visual Culture in Nineteenth-Century America,* pp. 27-35

Opening with Emerson's observation that his was an "an ocular age," (p. 1) Peter John Brownlee's The Commerce of Vision: Optical Culture and Perception in Antebellum America identifies the early nineteenth century as a moment of profound change for theories of sight and the understanding of the observer. Yet Brownlee argues, urban white-collar Americans who daily faced the visual assaults of the marketplace—broadsides, shop signs, accounting columns, and newspaper advertisements—were quick to see that sight was a crucial requirement for navigating commercial life. The Commerce of Vision begins by building on the influential insights of Jonathan Crary, who argues in the Techniques of the Observer (1992) that the early nineteenth century was a moment in which perceptions of vision altered, paving the way for modern visual culture.[1] As new experiments in sight proliferated, scientists and philosophers revised their understanding of vision: shifting it from an objective, stable sense to one that was "relocated in the human body," a subjective and idiosyncratic mode of perception.[2] This recognition enabled men and women to think about sight differently: now a fallible and embodied sense, it could be subjected to techniques of improvement and discipline. [...]these scientists and philosophers helped to create a new modern subject, that of the observer. Interpreted within a sophisticated theoretical framework and an almost immersive knowledge of urban history, literary theory, and art history, Brownlee demonstrates how vision came to dominate and structure capitalist relationships and subjectivity in antebellum America.

48 (3) 2020

Catherine McNeur, *Epidemics of Fear,* pp. 380-385

The goals of animal rights activists, journalists, politicians, physicians, scientists, loose dogs, and dog bite victims collided as New Yorkers and the world tried to understand how the disease worked and how they might take control of the situation. While COVID-19 appears to have come from infected bats or pangolins at a Wuhan market and dogs transmitted rabies by biting humans and other animals, those are only a few of the animals who have caused public health panics.[3] Joanna Dyl has shown, in Seismic City (2017), how when the plague broke out in San Francisco, chickens owned by Chinese Americans were targeted because of coops' tendency to attract rats.[4] In Pests in the City (2013), Dawn Biehler gives us a pests'-eye-view of twentieth-century urban American housing, demonstrating how rats, cockroaches, bedbugs, and the like thrived in the dense, neglected built environment alongside humans. Unlike other zoonotics, including COVID-19, that get passed between humans after initially jumping the species barrier, rabies involves a bite from an infected animal, reminding victims of their connection to dogs or other rabid creatures. Wang's main focus is on the transformation of medical understandings of rabies so, for the most part, famed physicians and laboratory scientists take center stage.

Paul Musgrave, *Bringing the State Police In: The Diffusion of U.S. Statewide Policing Agencies, 1905-1941*, pp. 3-23.

Policing is a prominent but understudied part of American politics. This article asks: Why did some, but not all, American states adopt a state police force in the early twentieth century? The state police force—a statewide policing agency with general jurisdiction over crimes throughout a state—was a prized progressive policy reform for decades. Yet many states declined to adopt the innovation. That puzzle becomes even more interesting given that all forty-eight states adopted the closely related innovation of a state highway patrol during the same period. This article applies diffusion theory to explain the origins of a familiar feature of American policing. Using a multimethod research design, I found that labor-capital struggles and regional pressures for diffusion were most important in shaping the adoption of state police forces. By contrast, adoptions of highway patrols appear to have been influenced by factors such as urbanization and fiscal capacity.

Boris Heersink, Jeffery A. Jenkins, *Whiteness and the Emergence of the Republican Party in the Early Twentieth-Century South*, pp. 71-90.

In the post-Reconstruction South, two Republican factions vied for control of state party organizations. The Black-and-Tans sought to keep the party inclusive and integrated, while the Lily-Whites worked to turn the GOP into a whites-only party. The Lily-Whites ultimately emerged victorious, as they took over most state parties by the early twentieth century. Yet no comprehensive data exist to measure how the conflict played out in each state. To fill this void, we present original data that track the racial composition of Republican National Convention delegations from the South between 1868 and 1952. We then use these data in a set of statistical analyses to show that, once disfranchising laws were put into place, the "whitening" of the GOP in the South led to a significant increase in the Republican Party's vote totals in the region. Overall, our results suggest that the Lily-White takeover of the Southern GOP was a necessary step in the Republican Party's reemergence— and eventual dominance—in the region during the second half of the twentieth century.

David Brian Robertson, *Leader to Laggard: How Founding Institutions Have Shaped American Environmental Policy*, pp. 110-131.

The U.S. led the world in environmental policy in the 1970s, but now lags behind comparable nations and resists joining others in tackling climate change. Two embedded, entwined, and exceptional American institutions—broad private property rights and competitive federalism—are necessary for explaining this shift. These two institutions shaped the exceptional stringency of 1970s American environmental laws and the powerful backlash against these laws that continues today. American colonies ensured broad private rights to use land and natural resources for profit. The colonies and the independent state governments that followed wielded expansive authority to govern this commodified environment. In the 1780s, Congress underwrote state governance of the privatized environment by directing the parceling and transfer of federal land to private parties and of

environmental governance to future states. The 1787 Constitution cemented these relationships and exposed states to interstate economic competition. Environmental laws of the 1970s imposed unprecedented challenges to the environmental prerogatives long protected by these institutions, and the beneficiaries responded with a wide-ranging counterattack. Federalism enabled this opposition to build powerful regional alliances to stymie action on climate change. These overlooked institutional factors are necessary to explain why Canadian and American environmental policies have diverged.

Lindsay Schakenbach Regele, *Guns for the Government: Ordnance, the Military "Peacetime Establishment," and Executive Governance in the Early Republic*, pp. 132-147.

During the 1810s and 1820, officials in the War Department engaged in military state building, which transcended partisanship and contributed to the development of executive autonomy. The process revealed the ability of the executive to shape national security, while also foreshadowing Progressive Era trends toward expertise-based bureaucratic autonomy. The activities of the Ordnance Department suggest that the connection between war and early American state building was forged in the efforts to bolster the armaments industry. Ordnance officers established autonomy partly through arms expertise, and they were not necessarily coalition builders like the late nineteenth-century Post Office and Department of Agriculture bureaucrats, especially because they generated more hostility. Thus, there were different routes by which autonomy was and is established, but in the first decades of the nineteenth century, this autonomy depended on national security and war preparations. This article uses War Department papers, armory records, and congressional debates to show how certain bureaucrats developed the ability to work against congressional limits to their functionality. Ordnance ultimately succeeded because its leaders executed a nonpartisan military agenda and demonstrated an ability to effectively manage the nation's security apparatus, especially in times of peace.

Mario Chacón, Jeffrey Jensen, *Direct Democracy, Constitutional Reform, and Political Inequality in Post-Colonial America*, pp. 148-169.

The ratification of constitutional changes via referendum is an important mechanism for constraining the influence of elites, particularly when representative institutions are captured. While this electoral device is commonly employed cross-nationally, its use is far from universal. We investigate the uneven adoption of mandatory referendums by examining the divergence between Northern and Southern U.S. states in the post-independence period. We first explore why states in both regions adopted constitutional conventions as the primary mechanism for making revisions to fundamental law, but why only Northern states adopted the additional requirement of ratifying via referendum. We argue that due to distortions in state-level representation, Southern elites adopted the discretionary referendum as a mechanism to bypass the statewide electorate when issues divided voters along slave-dependency lines. We demonstrate the link between biases to apportionment and opposition to mandatory referendums using a novel data set of roll calls from various Southern state conventions, including during the secession crisis of 1861.

Daniel J. Galvin, Jacob S. Hacker, *The Political Effects of Policy Drift: Policy Stalemate and American Political Development*, pp. 216-238.

In recent years, scholars have made major progress in understanding the dynamics of "policy drift"—the transformation of a policy's outcomes due to the failure to update its rules or structures to reflect changing circumstances. Drift is a ubiquitous mode of policy change in America's gridlock-prone polity, and its causes are now well understood. Yet surprisingly little attention has been paid to the political consequences of drift—to the ways in which drift, like the adoption of new policies, may generate its own feedback effects. In this article, we seek to fill this gap. We first outline a set of theoretical expectations about how drift should affect downstream politics. We then examine these dynamics in the context of four policy domains: labor law, health care, welfare, and disability insurance. In each, drift is revealed to be both mobilizing and constraining: While it increases demands for policy innovation, group adaptation, and new group formation, it also delimits the range of possible paths forward. These reactions to drift, in turn, generate new problems, cleavages, and interest alignments that alter subsequent political trajectories. Whether formal policy revision or further stalemate results, these processes reveal key mechanisms through which American politics and policy develop.

Sarah Staszak, *Privatizing Employment Law: The Expansion of Mandatory Arbitration in the Workplace*, pp. 239-268

This article examines the institutional, political, and legal development of employment arbitration as it shifted from a Progressive Era form of justice enhancement to one co-opted by business-friendly conservatives arguably more concerned with protecting employers from litigation. While arbitration has a long history in the United States, the expanding use of mandatory, employer-promulgated arbitration clauses has more than doubled since the 2000s. In examining the nature of the shift, this article argues that it occurred through a gradual process of conversion in three institutional realms (1) legislative conversion, (2) private-sector conversion of public regulation, and (3) judicial conversion. Facilitated by a growing divide among Democrats on the value of arbitration, conservatives began to promote it in the 1970s and 1980s as backlash to the expansion of statutory employment rights. I argue that they did so by converting the institutional infrastructures of labor and commercial arbitration, a process continued by the private sector and Supreme Court. As such, this article argues that conversion is the product of multiple actors targeting multiple institutions, over decades, and with consequences for both the literature on institutional change and conceptions of equality under the law.

John D. Griffin, Grace Sager, *Democratic Representation of all "the People": Antislavery Petitions in the U.S. Senate*, pp. 269-291

In keeping with the demands of political philosophers, America's constitutional design harnesses elected officials to the mass public's prevailing views, but also provides avenues for the opinions of disenfranchised groups and numerical minorities to be reflected in policy. We seek to shed light on this constitutional balancing act by studying U.S. senators' decisions on thirty-six roll call votes related to the practice of slavery between 1835 and 1847. These voting decisions are modeled using the prevalence of antislavery petitions sent to Congress over the same period from each state's

residents. We observe considerable and systematic senator representation of perceived majority opinion on antislavery petitions, despite the presence of nineteenth-century institutions buffering senators from the public. We also report evidence that the representation of disenfranchised women's views (as expressed in petitions) relative to those of men varied by party, and in ways that are predictable. Finally, we observe that senators sometimes represented perceived minority viewpoints, seemingly motivated by their political ambitions. These findings not only hold important implications for our understanding of democratic representation, but also for the processes of American political development.

125 (2) 2020

Rebecca Herman, *The Global Politics of Anti-Racism: A View from the Canal Zone,* pp. 460–486

During World War II, when Axis theories of racial supremacy became purported antonyms to Allied values, leaders of "non-white" countries gained a new framework for challenging a global order grounded in racialized notions of fitness for self-government. But the story is more complex than a sole focus on the international sphere allows, as those leaders who adopted anti-racist rhetoric to challenge their disadvantaged position in international politics were sometimes architects of racial hierarchy at home. This article examines how anti-racist struggles within Panama and the Canal Zone mapped onto the anti-imperialist project of a racist Panamanian state. Scholars of race and international relations have highlighted the challenges that anti-imperialist struggles posed to racialized criteria for international legitimacy, on the one hand, and the impact of geopolitical conflict on domestic struggles for racial equality, on the other. The view from the Canal Zone reveals the interplay between those two phenomena. Foregrounding Latin America in a history of the global politics of anti-racism precludes escape into binary visions of a world divided between colonizers and colonized, a racist Global North and an anti-racist Global South, or a tidy color line that splits humanity in two.

125 (3) 2020

Hillary Kaell, *Renamed: The Living, the Dead, and the Global in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Christianity*, pp. 815–839

Over the nineteenth century, thousands of North Americans and Europeans paid to sponsor and rename foreign children in mission stations across the world. This popular fundraising model has been largely unstudied to date. When the extant records are pieced together, it becomes evident that U.S. Protestants commonly renamed foreign children after their own beloved dead. As a result, these programs offer important insight into how Americans who never traveled abroad still cultivated global subjectivities—in this case, through their connections with other-than-human presences. By nurturing relations with what they viewed as globally active agents, such as God, angels, and the dead, U.S. donors cultivated a sense of themselves as subjects who were Christian, American, and globally active. For mourning families, renaming also seemed to impress their dead's "qualities" onto foreign children, creating what they viewed as opportunities to collaborate with the dead and reconstitute some aspect of ruptured domestic relations. Focusing on a group often assumed to be the most disenchanted of nineteenth-century moderns—U.S. Protestants in the rising middle class—this article calls for more attention to the "otherworldly" in histories of global relations.

Julia Gaffield, *The Racialization of International Law after the Haitian Revolution: The Holy See and National Sovereignty*, pp. 841–868

The Haitian state shaped international definitions of sovereignty and national legitimacy after the Declaration of Independence in 1804. Haiti's nineteenth century was not a period of isolation and decline; its first six decades were globally connected because the country's leaders challenged their postcolonial inequality with diplomacy and state formation. This strategy aimed to establish Haiti's membership in the "family of nations," a central metaphor in European and American diplomatic, legal, and religious decision-making. In doing so, the Haitian state forced the Atlantic powers to redefine the boundaries of international relations. Haiti's decades-long negotiations with the Catholic Church were tied to the racialization of the global hierarchy. After its Declaration of Independence, the Haitian state began clearing a theoretical path toward recognized sovereignty based on the dominant narrative that a society must be considered "civilized" on the world stage. But, as it cultivated internal policies and practices that rejected the dominant racist assumptions, these discriminatory ideologies became increasingly more explicit in international law.

125 (4) 2020

Malgorzata Fidelis, *Tensions of Transnationalism: Youth Rebellion, State Backlash, and 1968 in Poland*, pp. 1232–1259

This article looks at Polish students who attempted to challenge the communist state's hegemony with their own alternative interpretation of leftist politics during the pivotal era of the global sixties. This challenge culminated in student and youth demonstrations in March 1968 and the state's violent reaction. In contrast to dominant narratives that depict 1968 in Poland and Eastern Europe as primarily shaped by the domestic political context, this article shows Polish students not simply as protesters against a "totalitarian" regime, but as active participants in a contemporary global search for a new kind of leftism. This quest involved turning away from the state as a potential vehicle for a socialist transformation, reformulating ideas of justice and solidarity, and engaging in leftist conversations across borders. The concept of transnational imagination is central to this discussion as both the young people and the state projected different visions of transnational solidarities and were influenced by crises happening elsewhere, including the Vietnam War and the Six-Day War in the Middle East. In Poland, the communist regime deployed and weaponized the transnational imagination against the protesters by launching a powerful antisemitic campaign. Stigmatizing protesters as Zionists and foreign agents alien to the Polish national community, the campaign solidified the racialized understanding of the "Polish nation," which had lasting political consequences, including the shape of oppositional politics in the 1970s and 1980s.

125 (5) 2020

Merle Eisenberg, Lee Mordechai, *The Justinianic Plague and Global Pandemics: The Making of the Plague Concept,* pp. 1632–1667

This article explores how plague—as an idea—became an ahistorical independent agent of historical change. It focuses on the case of the Justinianic Plague (ca. 541–750 C.E.), the first major recorded plague pandemic in Mediterranean history, which has increasingly been used to explain significant

demographic, political, social, economic, and cultural change during late antiquity (ca. 300–800 C.E.). We argue that the Justinianic Plague retains its great historiographic power—namely, its supposed destructive impact over two centuries—because it evokes a terrifying myth of what plague should do rather than because of conclusive evidence of what it did. We define this historiographic power as the plague concept. It includes three key features: extensive chronology (lasting for two centuries), mortality (catastrophic death toll), and geography (global). The plague concept is built on three interdisciplinary types of evidence (here termed truisms): rats, climate, and paleogenetics. Our article traces how scientists constructed the plague concept in the first half of the twentieth century, and how historians entered the discussion in the last third of that century. As historians engaged in Justinianic Plague research, they used the plague concept to frame their arguments without problematizing its presence or contesting features that scientists had constructed decades earlier.

42 (2) 2020

Elina Sopo, *Securitising Culture During the Cold War: The Geopolitical Aspect of Culture in European Discussions, 1949–1974*, pp. 391-409

Most of the existing academic analysis contend that culture and identity—as a security policy—appeared in the political discussions of European institutions as late as after the Cold War. While adopting a historical and contextualist approach, this paper challenges this account, analysing the geopolitical aspect of culture inside the triangle of political union, beside foreign policy and defence, identifying culture as an independent factor that influences foreign policy and its management. Analysis of the political documents of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe from 1949 to 1974 demonstrates that notwithstanding the CoE's character as being neutral and maintaining its distance from pure military functions, culture became security policy, an extension of the 'political aspects of the defence question' from the early 1950s on. Culture was lifted as a necessity above normal politics and as a question of survival, that is, it was securitised.

42 (5) 2020

Ben Clements, *Salience, Valence, Positions and Voting: International Affairs and British Electoral Politics in the 1960s*, pp. 891-912

This article provides a detailed study of the British public and foreign policy issues in the context of electoral politics in the 1960s, a time when the country had to adjust to the shifting geopolitical realities and economic constraints affecting its international role. It analyses several key areas of electoral politics: the general and electoral salience of external and domestic issues; valence evaluations of the parties' competence on international affairs; and the bivariate and multivariate associations between foreign policy attitudes and voting behaviour in 1964 and 1966. Undertaking detailed analyses of data from quantitative sources relating to public opinion and electoral behaviour, it shows that positional and valence considerations relating to foreign and defence policy were associated with voting for or against Labour at these general elections, even though more generally foreign policy issues were of lower salience than domestic issues during this period of flux and uncertainty in Britain's international role. The findings contribute to psephological debates concerning the nature of the electoral landscape in the 1960s and the role of external issues at post-war elections. It also extends the scope of scholarly research on the foreign policies and related party politics of the 1964–70 Labour governments.

42 (6) 2020

Giusi Russo, *Freedom of Choice is a Western Concept": Equality, Bodily Rhetoric, and Feminist Fears 1964-1974*, pp. 1210-1228

This article discusses the challenges of promoting women's rights during the development era of the United Nations. The process of decolonization created a fertile terrain to test theories of equality and development for the women of the newly created countries. The UN and its agencies imagined the post-colonial state as one in which development and gender equality were strictly interconnected but such interconnections happened through conflicts over defining women's rights. The sensation of second wave feminism alarmed some of the constituencies involved in designing international policies for the new states. Women delegates from newly independent countries challenged the western-based category of women's rights and welcomed conceptions of rights that were based on the pre-colonial history and the anticolonial resistance period. They had to navigate a goal of equality as well as avoid new western interferences in the constructions of the newly born nation-state.

107 (1) 2020

Steven Ruggles, Diana L. Magnuson, *Census Technology, Politics, and Institutional Change, 1790-2020*, pp. 19-51.

A census is a political construct that reflects the ideological orientation of its creators. Legislators, intellectuals, and the public have contested the content and purposes of the U.S. census for 230 years. In each period, the meaning and uses of the census reflected the politics and priorities of the moment. In the 1850s, census planners suppressed information about slavery at the behest of southern legislators; in the 1880s, the census director promoted nativist theories of race suicide; and in the 1940s, census officials helped plan Japanese internment. The census is inherently political: its original purpose was reapportionment of political representation

Lily Geismer, *Agents of Change: Microenterprise, Welfare Reform, the Clintons, and Liberal Forms of Neoliberalism*, pp. 107-131.

In February 1997, Hillary Rodham Clinton delivered the keynote address at the inaugural Microcredit Summit to more than 2,900 people from 137 countries gathered in Washington, D.C. "Although it is called 'microcredit,' this is a macro idea," Clinton asserted. "Whether we are talking about a rural area in South Asia or an inner-city in the United States, microcredit is an invaluable tool in alleviating poverty, promoting self-sufficiency and stimulating economic activity." And, more importantly, it had helped policy makers jettison "the conventional … thinking about the poor, about economic opportunity, about partnership between the public and private sector."

107 (2) 2020

Joanne Meyerowitz, *180 Op-Eds: Or How to Make the Present Historical*, pp. 323-335

Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought. The book cataloged what Fischer described as "explicit historical errors" made by professional historians. And the list of errors was long. The book ended with an actual index of more than a hundred fallacies: anachronism, circular proof, false extrapolation, insidious generalization, quibbling, and much more. One of those fallacies was presentism. For Fischer, presentism was a fallacy of narration.

David Austin Walsh, *The Right-Wing Popular Front: The Far Right and Americn Conservatism in the 1950s*, pp. 411-432.

The days when Alan Brinkley could call the study of American conservatism a historiographical problem are long over. Since the mid-1990s, there has been an explosion of scholarly interest in the American conservative movement. We now have a deep and incredibly diverse literature on post–World War II American conservatism from a multitude of different focuses and methodological aspects. At the same time, a smaller, albeit also robust, literature has been produced on what is

variously described as the "lunatic fringe," "radical," or "extremist" wing of the American political Right.

107 (3) 2020

Michael A. Blaakman, *The Marketplace of American Federalism: Land Speculation across State Lines in the Early Republic*, pp. 583-608.

"My dear Constable," Alexander Macomb wrote on a December day in 1792, "this moment as it relates to Land, is the most interesting possible: the same opportunity will never again occur." Land prices were booming. Macomb deemed it a "certainty" that land values would soon double again, "nay perhaps treble or quadruple." Carpe diem, Macomb urged, and "you will be most assuredly enabled to enjoy Otium cum dignitate"—leisure with dignity—"all the rest of your days, provided always that you do not act the fool as I have done."

Nicole Etcheso, *"WHen WOmen Do MIlitary Duty": The Civil War's Impact on Woman Suffrage*, pp. 609-635.

The antebellum era saw the elimination of many religious, property, and taxpaying requirements for suffrage that had been standard during the colonial period. Race and gender, however, came to supplant class as the dividing line between voters and nonvoters. No women appear in the three paintings that compose the antebellum artist George Caleb Bingham's election series, depicting campaigning, voting, and announcing the results. The solitary African Americans in the paintings do not participate in the politicking and appear at the physically marginalized edge of the canvas

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D. Staliunas, *The Identification of Subjects according to Nationality: In the Western Region of the Russian Empire in 1905–1915*, pp. 33-68

Darius Staliūnas studies the Russian imperial regime's attempts after the 1905 Revolution to reclassify the population in the Western Region into national groups in several spheres, including population surveys, the regime of landownership, the school system, elections to the State Duma and local zemstvos, and admission to the civil service. Surprisingly, the criteria for determining nationality altered from one sphere to another: spoken language, current residence and territorial origin, confession, legal estate, and self-identification, separately or in various combinations, were applied differently in different contexts and periods of time. Staliūnas argues that this variability reflected not just the changing idioms of nationhood but also the pragmatic nationality policy of the imperial regime in the Western Region, which was perceived as nationally Russian in a historic, ethnic, and confessional sense.

I.W. Campbell, *Nationalizing Violence in a Collapsing Empire: A View from the Steppe*, pp. 98-113

Ian Campbell argues that the large-scale resettlement of peasants from Russia's European provinces to the Kazakh steppe as part of the Stolypin reforms was clearly a policy of settler colonialism and national Russification of the region. Its immediate result, however, was producing a socially and economically mixed society. This hybrid and dynamic arrangement was radically disrupted by genocidal violence unleashed by the imperial authorities against the Kazakhs, in response to the 1916 uprising in the steppe. The combination of the failed state with a readily available nationalizing worldview structured the indiscriminative application of force as intentionally genocidal, to the effect of differentiating the entangled Turgai society into clearly bound national compounds.

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Andrea Lluch, Fernado Rocchi, *Vendiendo la economía: las marcas comerciales, el "marketing" y la publicidad en Argentina (1876-1930)*, pp. 59-87.

This article seeks to examine the role of brands and trademarks in Agentine firms' marketing strategies until the Great Depression. To that end, it studies the evolution of trademark registration in Argentina from 1876 to 1930, and its relationship with the expansion of the local market and with the formation of a consumer culture based on mass production and branding. The research also analyzes the role of brands in the evolution of the Argentine advertising industry, from the creation of the first agency in 1898 to the analysis of the 1920s, when Argentine advertising agencies began to hire creatives and designers. By then, advertisement and brand promotion were their main objectives. Finally, this paper shows that brands and advertising were two complementary sides of the modernization process that the country went through between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

(229) 2020

Roy Hora, *Trabajadores, protesta obrera y orden oligárquico. Argentina, 1880-1900*, pp. 329-360

Studies on the origins of the Argentine labor movement argue that the late nineteenth century working class faced exclusion and high levels of repression. The growing infl uence of Anarchist and Socialist agitators within the nascent unions, it is said, was a response to reactionary governing elites and harsh, abusive forms of capitalism. Based on the study of the most signifi cant labor confl icts, protests and public rallies of the 1880-1900 period, this essay suggest that this approach requires revision. It shows that Argentina's liberal political framework played an important role in channeling workers collective action. Furthermore, it suggests that both government and opposition, as well as the press, regarded strikes and mobilization as legitimate means to further labor's interests. In sum, workers' demands were negotiated through, not against, the institutional forms of Argentina's liberal, capitalist republic. Integration into the political order, rather than resistance, was the most signifi cant aspect of worker's politics.

Guillermo V. Alonso, *Transiciones desde el bismarckismo*, pp. 387-418

The objective of this article is to analyze what were the factors that led to the approval of universal healthcare system reforms, in the context of systems organized on the predominant basis of Bismarckian social insurance, by comparing positive cases (Spain and Brazil) and negative cases (Argentina, twice). We fundamentally consider the policy formulation phase, that is, the processes that led to the approval of the reforms. Our analysis will begin by briefly considering different approaches that help explain under what conditions the reforms aimed at implementing national health systems are feasible. Then, we will present the different cases and specifically consider the historical legacies of the respective Bismarckians, which, by conditioning the configuration of the reformist coalitions, largely explain the very different courses of the reform projects.

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53 (1) 2020

Marcelo Casals, Mariana Perry, *De la democracia revolucionaria a la democracia posible. Trayectorias políticas y conceptuales de la democracia en la izquierda marxista chilena, c.1950-c.1990*

During the twentieth century, democracy became a central concept when grounding and legitimizing political action. The Chilean Marxist Left was not alien to this phenomenon. Based on periodical, doctrinal journals, memoirs and public discourses, in this article we study the political and conceptual trajectories of democracy in the doctrinal and strategic elaboration of the main left-wing parties and movements between the 1950s and the 1980s. In that period, democracy and revolution became conceptually decoupled. While the conflictive construction and application of a transition project to socialism incorporated the democratic ideal, the 1973 defeat forced a general restructuring, marked by the choice to reconstruct a representative democracy rather than aspire to revolutionize social structuress.

Marcelo Sánchez, Enrique Riobó, *Griegos, latinos y germanos en algunos escritos racistas y eugénicos chilenos de la primera mitad del siglo XX*, pp. 183-210

Regarding a corpus of chosen works published in Chile that belongs to the racist and eugenic in literature from the first half of the twentieth century, this article elaborates on the types of relationships these works established between Chileans and the people and civilizations of Western antiquity. Through the modalities of continuity, parallelism and canonical constitution, the article analyzes in detail the way in which authors such as Ni-colás Palacios, Luis Bisquertt, Sara Rojas and Hans Betzhold among others elaborated a link between their racial concerns and antiquity.

53 (2) 2020

Octavio Avendaño, María José Henríquez, *"Nacional y Popular": vínculos y transferencias entre la Revolución boliviana y el ibañismo, 1952-1956,* pp. 337-374

The article addresses the Chilean receptiveness to the Bolivian revolution during Ibáñez's second administration (1952-1958) based on the histoire croisée approach and the concept of transfer. It shows that the Bolivian revolution, which erupted in April 1952, exerted influence and aroused interest in the main organizations that supported the Ibáñez's administration. The revolution was characterized by the massive participation of various sectors of Bolivian society, as well as by the nationalization of tin mining and the agrarian reform. At the same time, Ibañista organizations in Chile attracted by the national-populism underlying the Bolivian revolution, even proposing the need to try implementing procedures and initiatives adopted by the government of Víctor Paz Estenssoro.

Rafael Pedemonte, *La Democracia Cristiana chilena ante el "dilema cubano": una historia de seducción y rupturas en clave transnacional (1956-1967)*, pp. 561-629

Seen in 1959 as an additional piece within the larger democratization process in Latin America, the Cuban Revolution arose general enthusiasm within the Chilean Christian Democratic Party. But its unanimous acceptation declined in the coming years be-cause of the Cuban authorities' decision to radicalize their revolution and establish an alliance with the Soviet Union, although not all Christian Democrats turned away from the Island. With the beginning Eduardo Frei Montalva's presidential term in 1964, his "Revolution in Liberty" was showcased as an alternative agenda to the radical Cuban path, which engendered concerns in La Habana. Forced to take sides, some Christian Democrats defied Frei's political line and brandished a more determined and transformative route, vindicating the Cuban example. Debates regarding the appropriateness of Castro's model crystallized inner tensions within the PDC and the announced the rupture that would follow. We claim that through a global and connected approach we can better seize the complex articulation of local transformations and international influences that shaped this process of seduction and ruptures.

Julio Pinto Vallejos, *¡La cuestión social debe terminar! La dictadura de Ibáñez en clave populista, 1927-1931*, pp. 591-630

This article explores the feasibility of including the military dictatorship of General Carlos Ibáñez del Campo (Chile, 1927-1931) among Latin America's "classic" mid-twentieth century populist experiences. To that end, it focuses on its policies of labor legislation and working-class appeal, aimed at mitigating social conflicts through institutional co-optation and the expansion of State functions, invoking the restoration of a compromised "national unity." It uses administrative and journalistic sources from the time and concludes that ibañista strategies managed to attract considerable popular support, thus making them comparable, in terms of both its aims and its results, to more extensively studied cases of "classic populism".

A reader even casually acquainted with the study of Soviet history since 1991 will have encountered the "archival revelation" genre, which presents the so-called "secret Soviet archives"—such as the Communist Party collections, unavailable to Western researchers before the fall of the Soviet Union—as the royal road to an accurate understanding of the Soviet social, political, and economic order.[1] The importance of these revelations appears almost self-evident in light of the regime's manifest obsession with secrecy and of the conspiratorial norms that shaped Bolshevik culture from its earliest days, and there can be no doubt that previously inaccessible documents have fundamentally reshaped the field.[2] Yet most historians have abandoned the notion that even the resealed KGB archives contain high-level smoking guns that reveal unknown dimensions of the regime; instead they have embraced the new questions that reams of day-to-day documents have opened up. For the wider public, in contrast, rhetoric about archival secrecy remains irresistible. Implications that Vladimir Putin is either on the brink of shutting down all archival access or has already done so out of a desire to suppress evidence of Stalinist crimes surface frequently in the press, even from professional historians.[3]

In fact, the trope of Russian archival secrecy is not just the product of Bolshevik paranoia but also a long-standing feature of West European and American discourse about Russia, whose roots extend deep into Muscovite history. Its function has been to legitimate outside observers' interpretations of Russian actions and motives, particularly in their global dimensions, by grounding them in the external authority of real or fabricated high-level sources. Two essential shifts have shaped its deployment since the early modern era. The first was the 18th-century turn to imperial archives as an imagined locus for such documents; the second was the 19th-century transformation of archives into theaters for the performance of public sovereignty. Archival access and openness came to be seen as hallmarks of liberal governance that Russia lacked, while secrecy became evidence of malevolence. In the end, when the Bolsheviks arrived at their world-historical moment at the end of 1917, they would find the trope of secrecy and revelation readymade and easy to adapt to the purposes of the global proletarian revolution.

The formation of administrative bureaucracies in early modern Europe made secrecy and leaks generalized features of the political landscape in both monarchical and republican regimes; as Max Weber put it, "bureaucratic administration always tends to exclude the public, to hide its knowledge and action from criticism as well as it can," although the nature of the public to be excluded changed greatly over time.[4] Institutions like the Vatican Secret Archives were created to be storehouses of *arcana imperii*, above all materials related to foreign affairs; closed to the public in principle, in practice they could be quite porous.[5] Just as Europeans debated the significance of secrecy internally, they also sought secrets from other states. This "insatiable quest for information" rebuilt diplomacy around the need to procure as much information as possible about one's rivals and allies, whether by stealing documents or recruiting confidential informants.[6] The *relazioni* of Venetian ambassadors about other countries, like similar texts by diplomats elsewhere, were nominally secret yet circulated widely in manuscript and sometimes eventually in print. They offered both an empirical and a

normative assessment of a particular state and the ambassador's experiences there. Disseminating them could be politically advantageous for either the diplomat or his enemies, if done judiciously.[7]

Outside of embassies, secrecy became a lens through which to understand neighboring societies perceived to be culturally alien. European travelers in the Ottoman Empire purported to reveal the "inner workings of the sultan's harem" and promised that their accounts would make them privy to knowledge hitherto concealed from Europeans. This "language of concealment" was commercially successful to the extent that it met the audience's expectations about the Ottomans.[8] Unlike intelligence reports—which were specific in time, place, and application—travel literature turned the revelation of secrets into a generalized trope...

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K. Sakul, *From Mare Clausum to Mare Liberum: Black Sea Diplomacy in the Era of Russo-Ottoman Duopoly*, pp. 701-732

The central thesis of this article is that conventional historiography misrepresents the transformation of the Black Sea as an internationalization of a closed sea through great-power diplomacy (i.e., the "Eastern Question paradigm") and the incorporation of an isolated space through the conquest of European capitalism. The Black Sea has also not received due attention from global historians, who tend to reduce changes in the Black Sea region to the perennial question of the Straits as part of the Eastern Question and their inevitable incorporation into the world economy through Russian grain exports.[1] Since the 1970s, historians have tended to avoid using the term "Eastern Question," considering it a Eurocentric reduction of the Ottoman Empire and its peoples to passive recipients of power politics conducted by the great powers. A glance at the list of potential catalysts of the Eastern Question—ranging from the Turks' penetration of the Balkan Peninsula to the French expedition to Egypt—reveals that the term has been stretched to its limits in an attempt to explain the entire history of the relations between Europe and the Turks. By the centenary of World War I, however, there is an increasing interest in the legacies of the Eastern Question paradigm.[2] These legacies are becoming ever more perceptible in recent Russian interventions in Georgia and Crimea, recurrent ethnic conflict, and occasional debates over the status of the Straits. Such legacies prompt historians to reevaluate the problem as one originating in the Russian-Ottoman borderlands.[3]

The emergence of Russia as a great power in the 1770s after it stripped the northern shores of the Black Sea from the Ottoman Empire and initiated the partitions of Poland-Lithuania accounted for much of the Eastern Question as understood over time. Writing in 1897, Max Choublier "found the root of the problem in the eighteenth-century 'decline' of the Ottoman Empire in the Black Sea," and explained other "questions" in the Ottoman Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt as spiraling outward from this core; he warned his readers to expect a potential Muslim reaction in the near future.[4]

This article attempts to understand Black Sea history in its own terms as a zone of human interaction and explains its place in the global rivalries of the age. The focus is on Russia's importance in the erosion of Ottoman domination of the Black Sea and Ottoman control of the so-called capitulations. The article thus challenges the view that the capitulatory regime of the Ottomans lasted without

interruption until 1914 because of the introduction of the principle of irrevocability in the Franco-Ottoman 1740 capitulations. The Ottomans followed Byzantine precedence in the capitulation agreements regarding foreign navigation in the Black Sea, but the relevant clause remained effectively defunct for most of the early modern era. Gradual elimination of foreign navigation made the Black Sea an Ottoman preserve for centuries, although it is misleading to view it as a "Turkish lake." The idea of *mare clausum* (closed sea), however, denoted a policy (effective control of a space) rather than a physical reality (physical isolation of a space). Following Brătianu's Braudelian approach to the Black Sea, discussed below, one may claim that "the Russians play the role of the Mongols (a strong political entity established on the northern shore of the Black Sea and its hinterland); the Ottomans play the role of the Byzantines (a stable empire established on the straits of the Bosporus and Dardanelles); and the British, French, and Austrians play the role of the Italian city-states (European states engaged, politically and economically, in the Black Sea region)," as succinctly observed by Robarts.[5]

The relations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire on the northern tier after 1774 resulted in the creation of "a 60-year Ottoman-Russian duopoly" shaped by as much cooperation as competition across the Black Sea.[6] The Black Sea trade was a top priority for the riparian powers. By contrast, the capitulatory powers' quest for rights of navigation in the Black Sea aimed at...