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FRANCIA

Histoire, économie & société

(2) 2021

Hisao Kokubu, *'Tramway à deux sous', naissance d'une politique du transport public urbain: une tentative du premier maire socialiste de Marseille, Siméon Flaissières (1892-1902)*

Les réseaux de tramways en France se sont développés depuis les années 1890. À Marseille, le premier maire socialiste Siméon Flaissières commença dès le 1er janvier 1900 une politique du transport public urbain, introduisant le système du « tramway à deux sous » et l'électrification totale du réseau. Le système de la concession fut assez profitable à la municipalité afin de réaliser le « socialisme municipal » dans les services publics de transport. Cette politique de Flaissières a été relativement efficace sur le plan des résultats électoraux et lui a permis de gagner les élections municipales de 1900. Pourtant, son effet politique ne fut pas durable. En effet, dès l'année 1902, un grand nombre d'électeurs de quartiers ne lui avait plus donné leurs faveurs.

(3) 2021

François Dubasque, *Nouvelle organisation territoriale et idée européenne dans les milieux régionalistes français. Les exemples de la Fédération régionaliste française et de la Fédération*

Le régionalisme constitue un espace idéologique d'une grande plasticité dans lequel se reconnaissent des opinions très diverses. La Fédération régionaliste française, créée en 1900, présente ainsi un programme de réforme de l'État visant à mieux prendre en compte les particularismes locaux dans le respect de l'unité nationale. Très influencés, à la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale, par les concepts en vogue de solidarité internationale, ses animateurs incluent dans leurs projets de réforme un volet fédéraliste à dimension européenne, considéré comme l'expression ultime du régionalisme. Sous l'impulsion de Jean Charles-Brun, secrétaire général de la FRF, réseaux régionalistes et internationalistes s'entrecroisent fortement. Mais après 1945, la FRF peine à se renouveler. Cantonnée à la défense d'un régionalisme d'arrière-garde, elle ne participe en aucune manière aux débats relatifs à la construction européenne. D'autres mouvements prennent alors le relais et envisagent à leur tour le fédéralisme international comme le prolongement du régionalisme. Le mouvement Fédération, créé en 1944, défend ainsi l'idée d'un État décentralisé dans le cadre d'une France et d'une Europe fédérales. Ces deux organisations constituent un bon observatoire pour tenter de mesurer l'importance du lien entre idée régionale et idée européenne dans la pensée et l'action des milieux décentralisateurs français depuis le début du xxe siècle jusqu'aux années 1970.

Sébastien Carney, *Les nationalistes bretons face aux projets européens, des années 1920 aux années 2000: une stratégie de l'état?*

Parmi les militants bretons qui se caractérisent par leur engagement européiste, l'historiographie du nationalisme breton ne retient volontiers que deux noms : ceux de Maurice Duhamel et de Yann Fouéré. Le premier évoque une période courte, un moment particulier de l'histoire du mouvement breton, qui fut tenté par la gauche et le fédéralisme européen, à la fin des années 1920. Le second se singularise par la longévité et la constance d'une idée tout entière résumée dans le titre de son ouvrage le plus connu, *L'Europe aux cent drapeaux*. Si l'évocation de l'un permet d'esquiver les périodes qui fâchent, et notamment la Seconde Guerre mondiale, celle de l'autre a le mérite d'extraire le nationalisme breton de l'histoire par la vertu d'un programme presque hors du temps à force de permanence. Or, du fédéralisme des années 1920 à l'après Maastricht, en passant par l'Europe nouvelle, l'Empire nordique, la décentralisation et la mise en place des institutions européennes, la chronologie de l'intérêt des nationalistes bretons pour les projets européens peut être affinée, ses acteurs diversifiés, leurs réseaux mis en évidence. Il s'agit ici de préciser si leur engagement européiste vise bien, comme le suggère le sous-titre de l'ouvrage de Fouéré, à « servir à la construction de l'Europe », ou à servir à la destruction de la France, et ce dans quels buts.

Gilles Leydier, *Renouveau identitaire, critiques de la 'britannicité' et instrumentalisation de l'intégration européenne: le nationalisme écossais et le Scottish National Party*

L'Écosse est une vieille nation européenne appartenant à la périphérie des Îles britanniques et qui, depuis le xviii^e siècle, a lié son destin à celui de l'Angleterre au sein de la Grande-Bretagne et du Royaume-Uni, État multinational asymétrique. Le nationalisme identitaire écossais s'inscrit donc historiquement dans un cadre territorial et un imaginaire culturel à la fois britannique et européen, et son évolution récente est étroitement liée aux interrogations sur la « Britannicité » et le processus d'intégration en cours à l'échelle du continent. Cette contribution s'attachera à relier ces trois réseaux d'appartenance identitaire, en analysant comment les évolutions de la politique britannique et de la construction européenne depuis les années 1960 ont contribué à reconfigurer les relations entre le centre et la périphérie britannique, influencer le sentiment national dans l'opinion écossaise, et alimenter le débat sur l'autonomie politique. Il conviendra notamment de relier les revendications indépendantistes en Écosse sur la période récente à l'environnement géopolitique, en analysant l'instrumentalisation de l'enjeu européen par le Scottish National Party, force désormais dominante sur la scène écossaise.

Hélène Dewaele Valderrábano, *Le nationalisme catalan et l'enjeu européen aux XXe-XXIe siècles*

De l'intégration européenne de l'Espagne à 2012, la Catalogne était devenue l'une des références de l'action des régions à Bruxelles. Depuis lors, les nationalistes catalans ont pour stratégie de mettre à l'ordre du jour des chancelleries européennes le « droit de décider ». La fuite de Puigdemont à Bruxelles, à l'issue du référendum d'octobre 2017 et de l'éphémère déclaration d'indépendance, met l'UE dans l'embarras. La sentence de la Cour suprême d'octobre 2019 condamnant les indépendantistes a donné lieu à des violences urbaines. L'élection de Pedro Sánchez avec le soutien de la Gauche républicaine de Catalogne (ERC) permettra-t-elle de trouver une solution politique ? Rien n'est moins sûr car l'avenir institutionnel se joue à plusieurs échelles, entre Catalans, entre l'État et la Catalogne, entre les 17 communautés autonomes et les États-membres de l'UE.

Le Mouvement Social

(2) 2021

Aurélie Andry, *La lutte oubliée du mouvement syndical pour une réduction du temps de travail en Europe à l'heure du tournant néolibéral*

Cet article explore l'histoire oubliée de la lutte du mouvement syndical européen pour une « Europe des travailleurs » au cours des années 1970 et au début des années 1980, et en particulier ses efforts pour construire, à l'échelle européenne, un syndicalisme à même de soutenir ses propositions en matière d'emploi et de réduction du temps de travail. Il retrace tout d'abord l'émergence du projet alternatif d'Europe unie que les syndicats formulèrent au cours des années 1970, ainsi que le mouvement de construction d'un syndicalisme unitaire et combatif à l'échelle européenne. Dans un deuxième temps, il révèle la lutte du mouvement syndical européen pour une réduction généralisée du temps de travail en Europe occidentale, à travers un double effort de lobbying et de construction, bien que fragile et limitée, d'une mobilisation transnationale des travailleurs et des travailleuses. Enfin, il s'applique à examiner la mise en échec de cette lutte inédite et à en évaluer les principales raisons afin de mieux comprendre l'affirmation d'une autre Europe : une Europe de plus en plus néolibérale dans laquelle le plein-emploi, la solidarité économique et l'amélioration des conditions de travail et de vie du plus grand nombre devinrent, au mieux, un objectif secondaire.

(4) 2021

Le renouveau de l'histoire des campagnes, Dossier coordonné par Gérard Béaur

Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos

Julimar Mora Silva, *Los orígenes míticos de la Historia Atlántica: una propuesta de categorización*, Débats, mis en ligne le 05 octobre 2021, consulté le 02 avril 2022. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/85378> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.85378>

The present work proposes a reflection on the mythical narratives that have been built on Atlantic History in the 21th century and organizes their genealogies, theoretical budgets and issues to be treated based on four theses that demonstrate the richness and effervescence of their production. The first thesis places Atlantic History as a conceptual device of power aligned with American interests in the framework of the Great War and, subsequently, the Cold War; and defines the Atlantic World as a space for spreading liberalism as a political project. The second thesis understands Atlantic History as an abstraction of historical processes in dialogue; and defines the Atlantic World as a mixture of institutions, social behaviors and cultural traditions with dynamic borders. The third thesis reproaches the New Atlantic History for not accounting for European historical processes; and defines the Atlantic World as the creation and recreation of structures that cannot be separated from the long duration of the European experience. The fourth thesis locates Atlantic History as a combat narrative; and defines the Atlantic World a space of hybridization of identities.

Rebeca Viguera Ruiz, *Imágenes e identidades transnacionales en la prensa del siglo XIX. España y México en las páginas de La América (1857-1863)*, Débats, mis en ligne le 05 octobre 2021, consulté le 02 avril 2022. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/85890> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.85890>

In the mid-nineteenth century, both Spaniards and Mexicans tried to overcome some ancient stereotypes in order to initiate new processes of national and identity construction. Trying to understand how that process was, how they did it, and what symbols they used to counteract that past, this work seeks to study through the press – specifically in *La América* – the emergence and transmission of the national connections and identities that were developed within Spain and Mexico in the mid-1800s.

The press contributed to the evolution of national identities based on previous discourses and stereotypes. Newspapers and magazines expressed their points and ideas through different types of texts: travel articles, portraits of historical figures, historical articles, articles of customs or monuments, and so on. Thanks to this, the press consolidated itself as a mediator of the different collective approaches, analyzing the reality and the context of those years, creating networks of participation among various social sectors and, ultimately, building opinion. *La América* offered an alternative discourse to the official position of the Spanish government and crown in relation to the new Mexican politics of the mid-nineteenth century.

Iván Pablo Orbuch, *El deporte como un antídoto para la violencia juvenil en el tercer gobierno de Perón*, Questions du temps présent, mis en ligne le 29 mars 2021, consulté le 02 avril 2022. URL :

<http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/83591> ; DOI :
<https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.83591>

The third government of Juan Domingo Perón in Argentina presented various facets, but the studies on it mostly emphasized the violence between the youth and orthodox faction of the movement. One of those aspects on which little has been addressed is the implementation by the State of a sports policy as a necessary complement to the comprehensive education that citizens should have. This way of understanding sport, as a state authority, was the one that had prevailed in the first two Peronist presidencies between 1946 and 1955. It was during that period that infrastructure was created, children's tournaments and world championships were carried out. On his return to the post of president, Perón thought that a return to those sports promotion policies would put a stop to youth violence that was experienced on a daily basis. It was for this reason that he was in charge of expressing it explicitly in various speeches that he gave between January and May 1974. Those speeches sought to associate the high levels of existing violence with the lack of state policies to promote sport such the situation after his dismissal in 1955.

Roberto Colozza, *Une leçon à apprendre ? Le Parti Communiste Italien face au coup d'État chilien de 1973*, Questions du temps présent, mis en ligne le 05 octobre 2021, consulté le 02 avril 2022. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/85454> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.85454>

The article analyzes what impact had the coup d'Etat in Chile of September 1973 on the Italian communist party (PCI). Due to its similarity with Italy, Chile was a familiar case-study for the PCI as well as a country where the Italian party had significant interconnections. The *golpe* was a shock, but also a source of reflection for Enrico Berlinguer and his comrades. PCI's main goal was to prevent Italy from experiencing the conditions that have allowed a military government to seize power. The *Unidad Popular*'s worse error was particularly feared, which was its lack of collaboration with the Christian democrats, hence its isolation and vulnerability. PCI's reaction was a strategic proposal – the *compromesso storico* – to bring together Communists, Socialists and Christian democrats against rightist terrorism in Italy (strategy of tension). Moreover, the article examines the PCI's initiatives to help Chilean exiles and the fight against Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship.

Gabriel Piro Mittelman, *El Partido Comunista de Argentina y los orígenes del peronismo. Un análisis desde su estrategia de Frente Popular*, Questions du temps présent, mis en ligne le 05 octobre 2021, consulté le 02 avril 2022. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/85504> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/nuevomundo.85504>

The objective of this work is to analyze the political performance of the Communist Party of Argentina (CP) in the particular conjuncture of 1945, at which time, on the one hand, the crisis of the regime inaugurated in June 1943 deepens, and on the other, the formation of Peronism. From the analysis of various sources, we will observe the way in which the Popular Front strategy, which articulated the development of the CP since 1935, delimited the contours of its experience at this stage.

Parlement[s]

(1) 2021

Le travail en Europe occidentale des années 1830 aux années 1930, Dossier coordonné par Laure Machu

La crise sanitaire mondiale qui bouleverse en profondeur les mondes du travail nous incite à considérer avec d'autant plus d'intérêt la nouvelle question posée aux concours (CAPES et agrégation), qui interroge les mutations économiques, sociales, politiques, culturelles et environnementales entraînées par l'industrialisation de l'Europe occidentale des années 1830 aux années 1930. La désindustrialisation qui s'accélère depuis les années 1970 ne se réduit pas à un recul de la production industrielle. Elle signifie aussi l'effritement d'une civilisation industrielle ainsi que la disparition de la centralité du travail, qui érigeait la question ouvrière en enjeu politique et social majeur. Ce dossier réunit des spécialistes qui présentent et commentent des sources de natures variées – extrait de films, photographies, textes législatifs, pétitions, caricatures, etc. – produites tant en France qu'en Grande-Bretagne, Belgique, Allemagne, Italie et Espagne. Il permet d'éclairer les mutations de l'organisation du travail, leurs impacts sur les conditions de vie et de travail des mains-d'œuvre artisanales et industrielles, et la place de la question sociale dans la constitution du mouvement ouvrier et la formation des États sociaux.

Pouvoirs

(2) 2021

G. Bigot, *La théorie de l'État en France face à son histoire*

La théorie de l'État, qui date en France de la III^e République, a pour objet de caractériser juridiquement l'État afin que les rapports politiques trouvent leur résolution dans des rapports de droit. *A priori* anhistorique, elle supporte mal l'épreuve de l'histoire. La juridicité de l'État est en effet à peu près nulle avant sa réinvention par les universitaires. Depuis le Moyen Âge, c'est le souverain incarné (le roi) ou la souveraineté désincarnée (la Couronne) qui sont les lieux d'imputation de la souveraineté et du droit. En 1789, c'est la *Nation* qui capte seule la souveraineté tandis que les droits sont posés au fondement du politique. Parce que le constitutionnalisme libéral est ainsi un constitutionnalisme sans État, la théorisation de l'État ne saurait être une opération politiquement neutre.

P. Birnbaum, *La force de l'État à la française*

La force de l'État à la française réside dans sa différenciation des institutions religieuses comme des puissances de l'économie et des pouvoirs politiques. Devenu un acteur solidement institutionnalisé grâce à son armée de fonctionnaires, il a construit sa nation de citoyens et pris en charge sa régulation économique, ce qui le distingue nettement des États britannique, allemand et américain, par exemple. Face aux défis externes contemporains (globalisation, construction européenne, etc.) ou internes (nouveau management, corruption, etc.), l'État chavire mais demeure pourtant fidèle à sa logique.

Myriam Benlolo-Carabot, *L'Europe, contrainte ou renfort ?*

Le sentiment d'une érosion inexorable des pouvoirs de l'État face à l'Union européenne est désormais largement répandu. Il repose sur des éléments divers qui tendent à présenter le droit de l'Union comme un ensemble monolithique, mis en œuvre par un pouvoir centralisé habilité à imposer la norme européenne, y compris dans le champ des compétences régaliennes de l'État. De telles assertions négligent la complexité et la spécificité de la contrainte européenne, laquelle diffère en fonction notamment des caractéristiques et du processus d'élaboration de l'acte adopté, de la nature de la compétence attribuée à l'Union ou de l'étendue des dérogations accordées aux États. Finalement, ce sont les termes du débat lui-même, en particulier la notion de « souveraineté », qui sont redéfinis, l'État trouvant dans l'Union un cadre renouvelé d'exercice de ses pouvoirs.

(4) 2021

Olivier Rozenberg, *Clivage droite/gauche et V^e République : une longue tournée d'adieux ?*

En contradiction avec l'aspiration unanimiste de son fondateur, la V^e République, à travers ses règles constitutionnelles et électorales, a favorisé l'exacerbation du clivage droite/gauche. Cette partition s'est étendue au-delà la vie politique (qui ne s'est jamais résumée à cette seule alternative) et fut un vecteur puissant de politisation. Progressivement cependant, le clivage fut victime de la défiance généralisée vis-à-vis des dirigeants politiques. La présidentielle de 2017 a signifié que son dépassement était possible dans le cadre institutionnel spécifique de la V^e. Toutefois, les notions de droite et de gauche n'ont pas disparu avec l'élection d'un président « et de droite et de gauche ».

D. Reynié, *Un clivage fondamental mais sans lendemain*

La construction européenne agite la vie politique française depuis la création de la Communauté européenne de défense, le clivage qui oppose les pro- aux anti-européens débordant la confrontation droite/gauche traditionnelle. Omniprésent dans le débat national, en particulier lors des élections présidentielles depuis 1988, ce clivage est exacerbé par le recours au référendum, comme ce fut le cas en 2005. Cependant, le fait que le camp des anti-européens ne soit pas parvenu à bâtir une force alternative capable d'accéder au pouvoir montre que l'opinion publique est en réalité largement acquise à l'Europe et à l'euro. Là est le paradoxe. Pour être fondamental, le clivage européen n'en semble pas moins privé d'avenir politique.

Relations internationales

(1) 2021

Sylvain Schirmann, *L'Allemagne et sa politique économique extérieure (1981-1994). Marché unique, GATT et multilatéralisme*

Puissance commerciale majeure de l'espace européen, l'Allemagne entend profiter au lendemain du second choc pétrolier de la mondialisation économique, réponse aux dérèglements économiques des années 1970. L'ouverture des frontières économiques est d'une nécessité vitale pour la RFA. Bonn cherche à l'obtenir en amenant les partenaires européens à un projet de marché unique européen. Mais celui-ci n'est pas une fin en soi, tant il s'inscrit pour les dirigeants allemands dans un schéma global de libéralisation des échanges qu'il faut obtenir à travers l'Uruguay Round. La réunification ne remet pas en question cette perspective. Bien au contraire, au début des années 1990, une stratégie pour l'Asie souligne que la RFA ne limite pas son champ d'action à l'Europe, mais entend être présente dans les zones émergentes de l'économie-monde.

Frédéric Bozo, *La France, la RFA et la marche vers l'union économique et monétaire, 1984-1989*

Cet article étudie comment et pourquoi, pendant la deuxième moitié des années 1980, la France de François Mitterrand en est venue à faire de l'avancée de l'Europe monétaire une priorité absolue du projet européen. Il retrace le cheminement qui a permis aux dirigeants français d'obtenir qu'une RFA à l'origine réticente à cette perspective consente à cet objectif au Conseil européen de Strasbourg en décembre 1989, lors duquel Helmut Kohl donna son accord définitif. Trois moments sont discernables dans ce qui fut, avant tout, une dynamique franco-allemande : le temps de la relance européenne (1984-1986), occasion de remettre la dimension monétaire à l'agenda ; celui de l'accélération du dossier sur fond d'une nouvelle dynamique franco-allemande (1986-1988) ; celui enfin de son aboutissement, du Conseil européen de Hanovre à celui de Strasbourg (1988-1989).

(3) 2021

Claude-Olivier Doron, *Le moment libéral de la race*

Cet article examine comment la doctrine des races, qui place la race au cœur de l'histoire et du destin des sociétés politiques, fut élaborée et promue, en France, entre 1815 et 1848, non par des courants réactionnaires ou défenseurs de l'esclavage, mais par des groupes libéraux, républicains et réformateurs sociaux, engagés pour l'émancipation, le progrès et la liberté. Après être revenu sur la manière dont ce lien entre la race et ces courants est manifeste dans les années 1830-1840, notamment via la composition de la Société ethnologique de Paris et l'examen des réseaux promouvant cette doctrine, l'article se concentre sur le groupe du *Censeur Européen* (Charles Dunoyer, Charles Comte et Augustin Thierry) qu'il identifie comme ayant joué un rôle clé dans la définition de la race comme objet et sujet fondamental du politique. Il décrit la manière dont ces auteurs sont inscrits au cœur des réseaux libéraux sous la Restauration, avant de revenir sur les raisons, complexes, pour lesquelles ils mobilisent la race dans leurs réflexions politiques. L'article montre comment cette mobilisation, loin d'être contradictoire avec leurs principes, est cohérente avec leurs manières d'envisager la liberté et le progrès. La race sert à la fois à penser les obstacles et les conditions de réalisation effective de la liberté. Elle sert de moyen pour penser les luttes qui traversent les sociétés entre races parasites et productives. Elle sert, enfin, de moyen pour donner un corps, une généalogie et une mémoire à des groupes dominés ou effacés de l'histoire et des institutions.

(4) 2021

Thomas Piketty, *Capital et idéologie : éléments pour une histoire des régimes inégalitaires*

Les rapports de force sont à la fois matériels et intellectuels. Il existe ainsi toujours une certaine forme d'indétermination idéologique et d'autonomie de la sphère des idées, au sens où les positionnements politico-idéologiques des uns et des autres ne sont que partiellement déterminés par les intérêts sociaux et les positions de classe en présence. Autrement dit, les conflits proprement idéologiques et programmatiques ont leur importance. Les rapports de force sont une condition nécessaire pour un changement historique émancipateur, mais ils ne sont pas une condition suffisante, en particulier s'ils ne s'appuient pas sur une base programmatique et institutionnelle réellement émancipatrice. Ces arguments sont étayés en répondant aux textes du dossier de la *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine* sur *Capital et idéologie* et en abordant ainsi l'histoire du rapport entre propriété, capital et mutations sociales dans la Chine des réformes (post-1979), Californie et Mexique au XIX^e siècle, la Révolution française et l'empire colonial britannique.

71 (4) 2021

P. Le Galès, *L'Etat britannique recomposé par le Brexit*, pp. 575-598.

À la suite de travaux comparatifs sur l'État en Europe, l'article vise à mettre en évidence, interpréter et parfois expliquer les dynamiques de recomposition de l'État britannique liées au Brexit. Elles se combinent avec une décennie d'austérité sévère et la crise de la Covid-19. Le départ de l'Union européenne (UE) pose des questions existentielles à l'État britannique. L'article vise tout d'abord à montrer les conséquences du Brexit sur l'organisation de l'État, ses institutions, son gouvernement et ses politiques car la sortie de l'UE conduit à une « dé-européanisation » de l'État ou, à tout le moins, à un autre type d'européanisation. Deuxièmement, ce processus conduit à une renationalisation de l'autorité politique, une centralisation anglaise aux dépens des périphéries et du système juridique. Le Brexit met enfin à mal la conception britannique de l'État et ouvre la porte aux entrepreneurs politiques conservateurs qui tentent d'esquisser un autre modèle d'État centralisé, anglais, néolibéral et globalisé.

O. Rozenberg, *Order...and Disorder. Le Brexit ou la victoire amère des études parlementaires*, pp. 599-621.

Sous une multitude d'aspects, le Brexit a donné à voir la place importante du Parlement britannique. La centralité préservée ou retrouvée de Westminster interpelle la science politique non seulement parce que de nombreux politistes souscrivent, même implicitement, à la thèse de la déparlementarisation mais également parce que les études parlementaires (*legislative studies*) ne sont pas à même de rendre compte des différents registres et logiques d'action manifestés durant la décennie 2010 par les parlementaires britanniques pour faire advenir ou repousser le Brexit. La focalisation sur l'agenda et les commissions des études parlementaires conduit en effet à négliger des éléments importants que peuvent éclairer d'autres secteurs de la science politique, de la sociologie des partis aux relations internationales. Par ailleurs, les séances chaotiques à la Chambre des communes en 2019 offrent une rare illustration de la pertinence de la théorie du choix social et invitent les politistes à s'appuyer sur les cadres conceptuels de l'économie politique pour comprendre, au-delà du Brexit, les multiples formes de dérationnalisation à l'œuvre dans les parlements contemporains.

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B. Dumons, *Le temps du catholicisme tridentin s'achèverait-il ? Réflexions sur la « fin d'un monde »*

Depuis plus d'un demi-siècle, les diagnostics posés sur l'avenir du catholicisme français sont des plus alarmants. Ils soulignent en particulier un abandon général de la pratique sacramentelle, de l'assistance régulière à la messe jusqu'à la confirmation et la confession. Parallèlement, s'observe un déclin du jeûne tandis que les processions n'attirent plus guère les fidèles. Certains analystes considèrent que « le catholicisme français est devenu une réalité festive », n'étant plus qu'un folklore du temps passé pour beaucoup de Français. De toutes parts, les pratiques liées à un catholicisme ordinaire et visible se sont effondrées. Une crise profonde s'est installée depuis les années 1960. Pour comprendre cette « crise catholique », il faut peut-être la replacer dans un temps plus long, celui du catholicisme tridentin. En effet, des historiens modernistes avaient émis l'hypothèse que l'éclatement des structures de chrétienté, observé dans le second XX^e siècle, correspondait à la fin du « cycle tridentin ». La reprise de cette hypothèse peut aujourd'hui permettre d'offrir une clef de lecture très pertinente sur ce moment de crise du catholicisme contemporain. Le cas français n'est ici qu'un exemple d'un vaste processus de « déconfessionnalisation » à l'échelle européenne et occidentale, qui signifierait davantage un profond renouvellement du christianisme que son extinction.

M. Le Verge, *La révision du Règlement intérieur de la Chambre des députés du 24 août 1830: rupture ou continuité?*, pp. 67-91.

Dans le prolongement de la Révolution de juillet 1830, la Charte constitutionnelle du 4 juin 1814 fait l'objet d'une révision constitutionnelle qui a pour principal objectif de manifester son caractère éminemment contractuel, celui d'un pacte conclu entre le peuple français et le nouveau Roi qu'il a lui-même choisi. Institutionnellement, cela se traduit principalement par la volonté d'un rééquilibrage des rôles respectifs des Chambres législatives et du Roi dans l'exercice de la prérogative souveraine par excellence : celle d'édicter la loi. À une époque où les dispositions théoriques des textes constitutionnels français ne déterminent qu'assez faiblement le fonctionnement des institutions, les Règlements intérieurs des deux Chambres législatives sont dès lors un moyen privilégié pour fixer les choses en pratique, en particulier celui de la Chambre des députés. Ce n'est donc pas un hasard, si dès le mois d'août 1830, cette dernière procède à une révision de son Règlement ; révision d'autant plus importante que, de son issue, allait dépendre la possibilité d'accentuer ou non la parlementarisation du nouveau régime. Or, si ce moment révisionnel semble, *a priori*, propice pour rompre définitivement avec les pratiques du régime déchu, dans les faits, force est de constater que la tradition et le conservatisme l'emportent largement dans les rangs des députés. Si une révolution politique était inévitable, dans leur esprit le désordre ne peut cependant se pérenniser et les solutions retenues lors de cette révision marquent justement un coup d'arrêt à cet élan libéral à l'œuvre depuis les Trois Glorieuses. À ce titre, cet épisode est annonciateur de l'avènement de cette politique de la « Résistance » qui, tout au long du régime de Juillet, ne cessera de repousser toute velléité de changement au profit d'un conservatisme qui mènera le régime à sa perte.

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M. André, *L'itinérance carcérale durant la guerre d'indépendance algérienne: entre logique de répression étatique et stratégie de résistance individuelle*, pp. 409-445.

La guerre d'indépendance algérienne s'est déroulée non seulement sur un front militaire, avec l'envoi du contingent et le recours aux appelés, mais aussi sur un front judiciaire. Résultat, en Algérie comme en France, des milliers d'individus, Algériens, Français, hommes, femmes, militaires, civils, ont été envoyés en prison. Au lieu d'examiner la situation dans les établissements pénitentiaires, cet article opte pour une démarche au plus près des trajectoires carcérales. Grâce aux archives de la direction pénitentiaire et notamment du bureau de l'application des peines, des dossiers de détenus et des registres d'écrou, comme à de nombreux entretiens oraux, à la collecte d'archives privées et à la lecture d'autobiographies d'anciens prisonniers, on constate que la prison, parce qu'elle est une peine, est mobile. L'itinérance carcérale conduit en effet les détenus à migrer d'un site à l'autre non seulement en France et en Algérie, mais aussi entre la France et l'Algérie (dans les deux sens). Cette itinérance, qui définit un espace transméditerranéen de répression et de migration forcée, s'explique à la fois par une stratégie de répression coloniale et étatique, dont les racines remontent à la conquête de l'Algérie, mais aussi par des stratégies de résistances et de subversions individuelles. Car, si chaque détenu dessine une cartographie carcérale singulière, le trajet donne la possibilité d'alerter l'opinion sur la situation, la traversée des prisons facilite la comparaison (donc la lutte) pour une uniformisation vers le haut des conditions de détention et, finalement, le transfert permet de piéger l'État à son propre jeu répressif.

699 (3) 2021

S. Lemny, M.I. Hariuc, *Dialogue historiographique et rapprochement diplomatique: le colloque franco-roumain d'histoire de Bucarest, 6-11 octobre 1969*, pp. 697-716.

Le Colloque franco-roumain d'histoire qui s'est tenu à Bucarest du 6 au 11 octobre 1969 est un événement remarquable dans l'historiographie roumaine de la période communiste, grâce à la présence de plusieurs noms prestigieux de l'École des *Annales*. Fondée sur les archives privées des principaux organisateurs – Alphonse Dupont, pour la France, Andrei Oțetea, pour la Roumanie – cette étude propose une analyse de cette page d'histoire de l'historiographie. Les relations durables entre les deux historiens, leur influence considérable dans la communauté scientifique de leurs pays et leur dévouement pour mettre en place ce projet ont concouru à la réussite de ce prestigieux événement. L'importance du colloque dépasse pourtant le domaine strictement historiographique. En effet, il a donné aux chercheurs roumains l'occasion de s'ouvrir au dialogue international, en particulier avec leurs confrères français, dans les conditions du dégel des relations entre les deux blocs. Cette aspiration était d'autant plus ardente qu'elle se trouvait en décalage par rapport à leurs collègues des autres pays de l'Est, en particulier de Hongrie : ces derniers, bien plus actifs dans le dialogue avec les historiens de l'Ouest, avaient eu déjà plusieurs occasions d'exposer leurs interprétations sur les questions litigieuses du passé. Cette situation semble d'autant plus paradoxale que la Roumanie réalise à ce moment un grand virage sur la scène politique internationale, se rapprochant de l'Occident plus que les autres pays du bloc communiste. Deux événements ont profondément marqué ce virage : la visite du président De Gaulle

en Roumanie, en 1968, et celle de Nicolae Ceaușescu en France, en 1970. Le colloque des historiens français et roumains s'inscrit dans ce processus de rapprochement diplomatique et culturel : il en est à la fois la conséquence et l'accélérateur de son développement. Il reste l'expression la plus prestigieuse de la collaboration historiographique franco-roumaine, bien que les résultats escomptés à plus long terme ne soient pas au rendez-vous, à cause de la nouvelle direction prise par une historiographie roumaine de plus en plus dominée par des impératifs idéologiques.

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Andrés H. Reggiani, *Le rugby argentin face au péronisme*

L'article examine l'évolution du rugby argentin sous le gouvernement de Juan D. Perón (1946-1955). Tout en analysant la volonté gouvernementale de politiser les pratiques sportives et les loisirs, il cherche à identifier les bénéfices que le rugby a pu tirer de la politique péroniste. D'une part, l'implication active de l'État dans les compétitions internationales a permis aux rugbymen argentins d'affronter pour la première fois des équipes étrangères de haut niveau. De l'autre, le rugby représente un cas unique de tentative de vulgarisation d'un sport d'élite, afin de le rendre accessible aux enfants de la classe ouvrière en l'incorporant au sein de l'encadrement idéologique de la jeunesse par le biais des « championnats Eva Perón ».

150 (2) 2021

M. Puren, *La propagande allemande par le livre. L'«aryanisation» des éditions Ferenczi (1941-1944)*

Entre 1941 et 1944, les éditions Ferenczi ont été sous contrôle allemand. « Aryanisées » et dirigées par un administrateur complaisant, elles ont été mises au service des desseins allemands, avec pour objectif de convertir les Français à la collaboration. L'histoire de cette maison d'édition pendant la guerre offre un aperçu complet des mesures utilisées par les occupants pour pénétrer et contrôler l'édition française et pour diffuser leur matériel de propagande. Mais les résultats ne semblent pas avoir été à la hauteur des efforts investis. Cet article tente de comprendre quelles ont été les raisons de cet échec, et plus globalement de celui de la propagande allemande par le livre, en examinant le fonctionnement de ces maisons d'éditions.

Marie-Bénédicte Vincent, *Le procès de l'Anschluss en 1947. Histoire croisée franco-autrichienne de l'épuration*

En 1947 s'ouvre devant le tribunal du peuple de Vienne le procès de Guido Schmidt, l'ex-ministre des Affaires étrangères de l'Autriche lors de l'*Anschluss* en 1938. Ce procès, dans le contexte de dénazification du pays, est l'occasion pour l'Autriche libérée de revenir sur le cours pro-allemand adopté depuis 1936 par le gouvernement du chancelier Schuschnigg. Paradoxalement, il aboutit à conforter la thèse du pays victime de Hitler. Le présent article tente une histoire croisée de ce procès, analysé par le représentant de la France à Vienne alors que débute la guerre froide, la France étant tout à la fois puissance occupante en Autriche, soumise elle-même à une épuration sur son sol et interrogée dans ses propres responsabilités diplomatiques face aux coups de force hitlériens.

M. Di Donato, *Au carrefour des internationalismes. Le socialisme d'Europe du Sud et l'« apprentissage de l'international » par le Parti socialiste français (1974-1976)*

À partir d'une étude de cas centrée sur le Parti socialiste français, cet article a pour but de contribuer aux débats sur l'histoire des internationalismes. En analysant l'expérience des rencontres des partis socialistes d'Europe du Sud convoquées par le PS de François Mitterrand en 1975 et 1976, il met en lumière les chevauchements et les entrelacements entre les différentes sphères et échelles de la coopération internationale : l'internationalisme des socialistes, la diplomatie des États, la coopération européenne et transatlantique. Il vise à démontrer que cet épisode représente un moment important dans un processus d'« apprentissage de l'international ». À sa suite, le PS est amené à mettre en question son approche fondée sur la primauté de la politique intérieure et à se poser de façon plus concrète le problème des compatibilités internationales de sa politique.

GERMANIA

Comparativ

(2021) n. 1 *Re-Education Revisited: Conflicting Agendas and Cross-Cultural Agency in the Early Cold War*

Fabian Schäfer, *Quizzes and Questionnaires: Learning to Play Democracy under US Occupation in Germany and Japan*, pp. 16-38

Re-educating “the Japanese” and “the Germans” after the war had ended was not merely a political or educational undertaking; it was also a cultural one. Directly influenced by the thought and therapeutic methods of rather new academic disciplines such as social psychology, psychotherapy, and anthropology, reeducation (or “reorientation”) was understood as the un-learning of (allegedly “pathological”) cultural or behavioural patterns. Besides the necessity to reform educational institutions, the mass media was assigned a pivotal role in purging these old totalitarian patterns, and instead teaching the new liberal-democratic and capitalist values. Acknowledging the paradox of training entire societies in liberalist values such as “freedom”, “fair play”, or “individualism” in times of a top-down military occupation, methods of mediated “participation” were considered an appropriate and “playful” way of training these new values. In particular, these methods included participatory broadcasting formats (e.g., street interviews and quiz shows) and opinion surveys commissioned by the military governments, conducted by newspaper companies or newly founded opinion research institutes in Japan and Germany.

Katharina Gerund, *Re-Education and the Construction of Whiteness in the US Military*, pp. 52-65

This article examines processes of re-education with regard to their racial regimes epitomized in discourses on race and racism in the US military toward the end of World War II and during the early days of the US-American presence in post-war Germany. It teases out the role of whiteness and white privilege, which is constructed via-à-vis a black Other, at the centre of the US military mission in Europe (and beyond) and shows how the war effort and the (planning of) the occupation and re-education/reorientation of Germany prompted a reflection on racial inequality within the US Army (and US society at large). This potential of internal reform and self-conscious re-education under the guise of managing manpower and bolstering efficiency abroad, however limited in its actual influence on mitigating racism and challenging white hegemony, bespeaks the (unintended) effects of re-education at home, even prior to the official programmes targeting the German population.

German History

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Caroline Rothauge, *Normal Times? (Pluri-)Temporality in Everyday Life in Imperial Germany around 1900*, pp. 222-237.

On an international level, temporal standardization was increasingly discussed in the last third of the nineteenth century, but how exactly it was defined and implemented in everyday life in late Imperial Germany has awaited investigation. This article comprises three examples that show how administrative attempts to denominate and institutionalize certain homogeneous concepts of time were dealt with in Germany on a practical basis around 1900. Drawing on both archival material and printed sources, the first example analyses temporal semantics in the public sphere and explains the boom in 'normal' times; the second example looks at how distributing normal time signals became a trade and, thus, a contested service; and the last example focuses on discussions and conflicts around the introduction of unified working times, especially in the industrial firm Siemens & Halske. The findings presented in this article show that, initially, introducing abstract concepts of normal times in different sectors of life paradoxically did not standardize the ways people understood and used time but rather further pluralized them. Thus, the processes of regulating and reforming pluritemporality in Imperial Germany were far from complete by the end of the century. The article offers a perspective on contemporaries as actors involved in a complex plurality of modernization efforts and projects, including temporal (self-)definitions and arrangements. By historicizing 'time' proper in late Imperial Germany, it contributes to the temporal turn, since it provides empirical evidence about how today's standard time regimes emerged.

(3) 2021

Timon de Groot, *The Criminal Registry in the German Empire: The 'Cult of Previous Convictions' and the Offender's Right to Be Forgotten*, pp. 358-376.

In 1882 the criminal registry, a bureaucratic tool used to assemble information about the criminal biographies of German citizens, was implemented in all territories of the German Empire. This article demonstrates that the registry, evidence that states were accumulating ever more knowledge about the population, was from the beginning surrounded by critical reflection on its functioning. Worried about the scale of the work involved, in the interests of administrative efficiency bureaucrats wished the use of the registry to be curtailed. Prussian officials stressed that private parties should be denied access to the registry, while scholars pointed out that the registry was not intended to support forensic investigation. Journalists and worried citizens argued that the use of the registry in German courts was responsible for a culture of excessive suspicion. By portraying the emotional effects of the registry on German citizens, critics therefore sought to mobilize empathy for the 'victims' of the registry and started to demand a 'right to be forgotten'. The Expungement Law of 1920 was designed as a solution to many of these problems and can be viewed as the endpoint of an important liberalizing process in German society. Yet, for many contemporaries the law was largely ineffective, for it did not combat social prejudices against citizens with a criminal record.

Stephen G Gross, *Global Moments and the Rise of Area Studies and Development Theory in Germany, 1914–1945*, pp. 400-418

Scholars have often portrayed development theory as a new discipline that grew out of America's rise to global power during and after the Second World War. This article adds to the complex origin story of development theory by showing how questions of population growth in agrarian countries, poverty and unemployment, and anxieties about supply chains led German economists in the interwar years to anticipate post-1945 theories of and strategies for the economic development of 'Third World' countries. It argues that development theory arose not only from discrete intellectual or political trends affecting a single country, but also from broader structural processes that were changing the nature of global relations, such as world war and the increased movement of refugees. More specifically, this discipline was an imperial tool used by German elites, then later by Americans, to try to manage the effects of population growth and global interdependence in their nation's favour by learning more about their less economically developed commercial partners. In contrast to American or British experts who saw migration as the best solution to the challenge of rural unemployment and 'overpopulation'—a term new to the post-1919 world—German economists crafted new agrarian development schemes. They saw the development of south-eastern Europe as a way to embed these smaller states in a larger, regional German bloc.

Udo Grashoff, *Political Taboos in the German Democratic Republic*, pp. 442-463

The article outlines a new framework for the study of communicative taboos in repressive political regimes such as the GDR. The concept goes beyond the somewhat reductive position that understands political taboos as mere silencing. The approach developed here aims at refining our understanding of discursive regimes in dictatorial regimes, where one dominant ideology has become deeply ingrained in most aspects of society. It starts with the observation that the discursive sphere in the periphery of the taboo, characterized by corrupted speech, and the silence in its core are complementary elements of the taboo. I develop my concept with reference to three political taboos: the official discourse on betrayal of members of communist resistance groups during the Third Reich, expulsions after the Second World War, and the uprising of 17 June 1953. The discussion shows that a precise conception of the general appearance of communicative taboos—including distinguishing between core and periphery, comprehensive analysis of the gamut of linguistic and semantic distortions, study of privileged speakers able to transgress taboos, and paying attention to the perceived taboo—provides a promising starting point for the historical study of tabooing, including its modifications and transformations.

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Frederik Frank Sterkenburgh, *Staging a Monarchical-federal Order: Wilhelm I as German Emperor*, pp. 519–541

This article argues that the German emperor Wilhelm I drew on self-staging, symbolic acts and monarchical federalism to establish himself as the new polity's figurehead after 1871. By drawing on cultural approaches to political history, this article demonstrates that because the imperial office was

embedded in a federal context and institutional and geographical dominance was therefore ruled out, Wilhelm used travel, ceremonial and speeches to appeal to the German population via their regional monarchs for popular support. In so doing, Wilhelm deliberately cultivated the empire's monarchical-federal political structure to accommodate the German states' differing responses to the king of Prussia now being German emperor and the nascent popular cult around his persona. In addition, this article argues that Wilhelm's aim was not just to generate popular support for himself, but also to provide a monarchical understanding of the polity and oppose other political centres of gravity, in particular the Reichstag and its parliamentary understanding of the German Empire. As such, this article demonstrates that self-staging and symbolic acts provided the first Kaiser with a distinct political agency, thereby challenging scholars' assumptions of Bismarck's personal and political dominance. It shows that Germany's composite nationhood was not a limitation to Wilhelm's establishing the Hohenzollern dynasty as Germany's imperial monarchy, but rather that his self-staging, symbolic acts and monarchical federalism were crucial for this purpose. It thus questions the historiographical notion that this shift did not happen until Wilhelm II's 1888 accession and his German-national conception of his public persona, the office and the German Empire.

Volker Prott, *A Stress Test for German Nationalism: Protective Custody in Alsace-Lorraine during the First World War*, pp. 542–559

When the First World War broke out, the French government declared the return of Alsace-Lorraine its only public war aim, arguing that the population was 'French in spirit'. In an age rife with claims of national self-determination, trapped in a protracted war of attrition and facing a nationally ambivalent population, the German state soon came under enormous pressure to ensure the loyalty and patriotism of the inhabitants of its western borderland. This article examines why Imperial Germany failed to meet this 'stress test'. It focuses on the crucial but hitherto neglected issue of protective custody (*Schutzhaft*), whereby police and military authorities were able to arrest and detain 'suspect' civilians without charge or trial. The article finds that protective custody, an emergency measure under martial law, played a central role in the failure of German policy in Alsace-Lorraine: it undermined the rule of law, shifted the focus onto national dissent and gave rise to an atmosphere of suspicion and fear. The article also demonstrates that the Reichstag successfully put limits on protective custody in the second half of the war. Yet leaving the authoritarian doctrine of enforcing national loyalty in place, the more lenient administrative approach had a disintegrative rather than a stabilizing effect, preparing the ground for widespread disaffection with German rule months before the war ended.

Simon Unger-Alvi, '*Leaders, not Lords*': *Führertum, Democracy and Nazism in the Weimar Republic*, pp. 560–584

This article examines the use of the concept of *Führertum* (leadership) in Weimar Germany. From a historical perspective, scholars tend to analyse the discourse on leadership through the lens of Nazi dictatorship. Yet the picture changes if we take the end of the old monarchy as the starting point. In particular, this article analyses how democrats and liberals developed their own ideas on *Führertum*. It argues that this concept was in vogue in Weimar because it signified a deviation from the hierarchical order of the traditional *Obrigkeit* and the established societal authorities of monarchical

institutions. A leader had no subjects, only voluntary supporters. In this sense, 'leadership' seemed to correspond to popular sovereignty and had populist, even democratic, connotations. This article draws on publications of both well-known political theorists and amateur authors such as high school teachers and civil servants. In Weimar, the term *Führertum* was used by a variety of political groups and led in multiple ideological directions. Simultaneously, this political contingency facilitated political communication between Nazis and democrats. I argue that seemingly participatory and 'democratic' definitions of leadership eventually invited democrats to take part in the 'national community' of Nazi Germany. Specifically, this article shows how authors of interwar media believed they were rediscovering democratic ideas in the Nazi Party and how their understanding of democracy influenced their reactions to constitutional changes such as the Enabling Act of 1933. Paradoxical as it may be, discourse on leadership allowed many democrats to identify with Nazi ideology.

Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht

72 (7-8) 2021

Miriam Rürup, *Wem gehört die jüdische Geschichte? Zur Institutionalisierung jüdischer Zeitgeschichte in der Bundesrepublik*

L'articolo si occupa delle prime ricerche sulla storia ebraico-tedesca sul passato, nate dal dialogo tra la nuova comunità ebraica della Germania occidentale, il giovane stato di Israele e una società tedesca che esitava a venire a patti con il nazionalsocialismo. Tali ricerche sono emerse prima all'estero, per esempio nell'ambiente del Leo Baeck Institute. In Germania inizialmente la ricerca è stata relegata principalmente al campo non accademico. L'approccio tematico e metodologico alla storia tedesco-ebraica (contemporanea) è stato controverso. L'esempio della fondazione dell'Istituto di Amburgo per la storia degli ebrei tedeschi mostra l'effetto politico simbolico del tema, che è stato osservato criticamente dai ri/emigranti ebrei, dagli amburghesi (non) ebrei e da una prospettiva sionista.

Stefan Vogt, *Otto Warburg zwischen Togo und Tel Aviv. Ein Jude und Zionist in der deutschen Kolonialbewegung*

Il sionista Otto Warburg, presidente dell'Organizzazione Sionista dal 1911 al 1920, era anche un attivista di primo piano nel movimento coloniale tedesco. L'articolo traccia le attività di Warburg nel movimento coloniale, esaminando il suo posizionamento come ebreo e come sionista all'interno di questo movimento. Sostiene che anche se la partecipazione al colonialismo può essere stato un modo per gli ebrei come Warburg per integrarsi nel progetto di costruzione della nazione tedesca, ciò è stato possibile solo nel disprezzo dell'ebraicità di Warburg, portando quindi ad un'integrazione con alcune riserve.

Inka Bertz, *Jüdische Museen in der Bundesrepublik*

L'articolo fornisce una panoramica dello sviluppo dei musei ebraici nella Repubblica Federale Tedesca. Riassume il loro emergere in una sommaria periodizzazione, dalla "riparazione spirituale" come motivazione per le mostre degli anni '60, ai tentativi di istituzionalizzazione negli anni '70, ai contrasti interpretativi degli anni '80 fino all'istituzione di musei come parte di una politica statale del ricordo negli anni '90. Vengono esemplificati problemi significativi che riguardano sia le condizioni di origine che i ruoli della società civile, della comunità ebraica e dei funzionari pubblici, così come la rappresentazione dell'ebraismo e della storia ebraica nelle mostre e infine la questione della rilevanza futura dei musei ebraici di fronte a una cultura globalizzata della memoria.

72 (9-10) 2021

Bernd-Stefan Grewe, *Koloniales Erben. Zur Einführung*, pp. 493 – 500

Anche le eredità del dominio coloniale fanno parte del nostro patrimonio culturale. Se si intende l'eredità culturale come una pratica sociale, per cui ogni nuova generazione deve relazionarsi con le

sue reliquie, allora diventa chiaro perché gli attuali dibattiti non possono riguardare solo la restituzione di singoli artefatti dalle collezioni dei musei, ma perché le idee coloniali in particolare devono essere rivalutate. Le università erano centrali in questo: gli studiosi raccoglievano il patrimonio di conoscenze, lo riordinavano secondo le categorie europee e davano autorità accademica alle idee di superiorità.

Geschichte und Gesellschaft

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Richard Hölzl, *Ostdeutsche Jugendliche nach 1989 im Blick der Jugendforschung, Wissensgeschichtliche Perspektiven auf die Vereinigungsgesellschaft*, pp. 260 – 289

The fall of the Berlin Wall precipitated an unprecedented surge in studies of young East Germans and comparative youth studies in in East and West. Researchers sought to discern the social consequences of the “great experiment” of transformation. The field of youth studies therefore provides a useful case for exploring a history of knowledge approach to contemporary German history. This articles focuses on “epistemes of unification” and identifies moments of knowledge circulation, traveling data, traveling concepts, and the “writing back” of self-proclaimed “former GDR researchers,” in order to move beyond diffusionist interpretations that see East German research taken over by Western models, practices and actors.

Kai Johann Willms, *Das Ende der Imitation oder ein neuer Klassenkonflikt?*, pp. 320-337
In light of global electoral successes of right-wing populists, over the past decade the idea of a linear progress towards liberal democracy as a globally dominant form of government has lost much of its credibility. Does the rise of illiberal political movements result from the decline of Western hegemony, that is, from a refusal of non- Western cultures to “imitate” the West? Or is it the expression of a global, open-ended conflict between the cosmopolitanism of a “new middle class” and the communitarianism of those who consider themselves the losers of globalization? This article argues that instead of replacing modernization theory with cultural essentialism, we should opt for a praxeological paradigm that acknowledges both cultural heterogeneity and historical contingency.

(3) 2021

Sebastian F. Bondzio, *Doing „Volksgemeinschaft“: Wissensproduktion und Ordnungshandeln der Geheimen Staatspolizei*, pp. 349-379.

When the National Socialists came to power, the Gestapo gained access to the card files of the Prussian Secret Police. The Nazis’ Secret State Police quickly recognized the potential of such repositories of knowledge for the regime’s mission to realize the “Volksgemeinschaft.” In the following years, it massively expanded its card indexes and developed them into a central resource for its relentless work, meticulously recording its brutal efforts to implement the National Socialist’s vision of a social order. This paper reconstructs the Gestapo’s doing of the ‘Volksgemeinschaft’ and emphasizes the complex dynamics of this process by digitally analyzing the card index of the Gestapo’s Osnabrück branch.

Lukas Grawe, *Sozialpolitik als nationalsozialistisches Propagandamittel während des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, pp 380–411

Historians largely agree that during the Second World War, the National Socialist regime tried to give the German population as little cause for discontent as possible. Since Hitler's assumption of power in 1933, the German government had used welfare measures as a means of legitimation. Later, in the course of the war effort, it no longer had the financial capabilities for such reforms. In order to conceal this lack of action and calm the "inner front," the regime instead resorted to large-scale welfare propaganda. Its instruments ranged from praising previous social "achievements" to sketching out social visions for the future.

Martin Wagner, *KPD-Verbot – KPÖ-Gebot*, pp 438–466

While the Communist Party of Germany was banned in 1956, its Austrian sister party continued to exist. In West Germany this was because of, and in Austria despite the fear of communism that had deeply permeated both political cultures. By differentiating anticommunism, a term that has so far been applied in the singular, into multiple and distinct anticommunisms, this article attempts to identify anti-Marxist, anti-Stalinist, and anti-Soviet motifs, among others, that resulted in different ways of dealing with the various communist parties. The external threat of Soviet communism that turned inward was crucial: whereas the Soviet Union and the KPÖ were seen to enable Austria's independence, the KPD endangered Germany's Westbindung.

Harald Kleinschmidt, *Plädoyer für eine kritische Historisierung des Nationenbegriffs*, pp 498–524

British political sociology has exercised a significant impact on the transformation of the concept of the nation, both in Europe and beyond. As its most vocal protagonist Anthony Smith has argued, the approach consists in the claim that so-called "ethnies" must provide "ethnic cores" that enable the institutionalization of national collective identities. Smith postulates that such "ethnic cores" have been rare outside Europe and that measures aimed at molding collective identities were feeble elite projects elsewhere in the world. The article examines the logic underpinning these positions in the light of colonial legacies and decolonization processes.

312 (2) 2021

Wolfram Pyta e Rainer Orth, *"Nicht alternativlos. Wie ein Reichskanzler Hitler hätte verhindert werden können"*, pp. 400-444

Questo articolo mira ad aggiungere nuove sfaccettature ad un evento centrale della storia tedesca, il 30 gennaio 1933. In primo luogo, sceglie un approccio metodologico che si interroga sulla cultura decisionale da cui nacque la nomina di Hitler a cancelliere del Reich. Nel fare ciò, si concentra in particolare sulla risorsa del tempo come fattore decisionale. In secondo luogo, l'articolo sviluppa criteri per testare la plausibilità delle ipotesi controfattuali su un corso alternativo della storia. Allo stesso tempo, questo sottolinea il carattere decisionale del 30 gennaio 1933: il presidente del Reich Hindenburg avrebbe potuto anche votare contro la cancelleria di Hitler perché aveva una consapevole linea d'azione alternativa che lui stesso considerava promettente. Questa alternativa consisteva in una rivalutazione politico di Gregor Straßer, così come era stato preparato non da ultimo dal cancelliere del Reich Schleicher e presentato al presidente del Reich come una soluzione alternativa. Sulla base di una base di fonti ampliata che valuta nuove fonti e getta nuova luce su fonti note, l'articolo collega per la prima volta in maniera sistematica le azioni delle due figure centrali Straßer e Schleicher. L'opzione Straßer-Schleicher era basata sul guadagnare tempo per calmare la situazione generale e per profilare Straßer come alternativa di governo a Hitler in modo tale che un partito Straßer avrebbe danneggiato irreparabilmente la pretesa di Hitler alla leadership politica quando sarebbero state necessarie nuove elezioni. Hindenburg alla fine rifiutò questa opzione perché voleva un cambiamento politico rapido e radicale che poteva essere realizzato solo con Hitler: non una soluzione provvisoria, ma una "soluzione finale".

312 (3) 2021

Alexander Mayer, *"„Freie Bahn dem Tüchtigen“ und „Aufstieg durch Bildung“ Soziale Mobilität als politisches Problem vom Vormärz bis zur Weimarer Republik"*, pp. 649-686

L'idea dell'avanzamento sociale promosso dallo stato attraverso l'educazione non è un prodotto del XX secolo, ma può essere fatto risalire al dibattito sul pauperismo degli anni 1830 e 1840. Questo articolo traccia la trasformazione dei modelli sociali meritocratici in Germania e mostra come è emersa la nozione di sistema educativo come motore della mobilità sociale. La mancanza di mobilità verso l'alto per le persone delle classi inferiori fu percepita per la prima volta come un problema politico dai liberali nel contesto del dibattito sul pauperismo. I lavoratori che si conformavano alle norme della rispettabilità borghese dovevano avere una via d'uscita dalla mancanza di proprietà e dalla dipendenza dai salari verso un lavoro autonomo borghese basato su un piccolo commercio o una professione istruita. Sulla base di un orizzonte di esperienza borghese colta e legata a limitate ma reali opportunità di avanzamento, emerse l'idea del sistema educativo come canale di avanzamento. Con il movimento della scuola unificata, il dibattito sulle opportunità di avanzamento verso la fine del XIX secolo si concentrò sempre più sull'apertura sociale dell'istruzione superiore. Dalla Prima guerra mondiale, lo sfruttamento delle riserve nazionali di talento è stato inteso come una necessità nella competizione economica e politico-politica tra le nazioni. Tuttavia, non appena sono stati fatti i

primi passi verso l'apertura sociale del sistema educativo, il problema della "selezione" è entrato in scena.

313 (1) 2021

Lino Wehrheim, Tobias A. Jopp, e Mark Spoerer, *"Diskurs, Narrativ, Sonderweg, Hitler, Turn. Konjunkturen geschichtswissenschaftlicher Begriffe im „Clio Viewer“"*, pp. 129-154.

Seguendo il suggerimento di un sondaggio (non rappresentativo) su Twitter tra gli storici, vorremmo presentare in questo articolo un corpus di articoli che abbiamo compilato da undici riviste storiografiche e illustrare con alcuni esempi come l'uso di vari termini storiografici concisi (principali) sia cambiato dal 1950. L'obiettivo non è quello di presentare una "storia concettuale digitale" di vari termini o anche di trarre conclusioni sullo sviluppo della disciplina. Piuttosto, il nostro scopo è quello di presentare i termini proposti e le loro congiunture, integrati dai nostri propri candidati, al fine di gettare le basi per ulteriori discussioni sui metodi storici digitali e sull'utilità di un "Clio Viewer". Prestiamo particolare attenzione a discutere le insidie metodologiche associate all'uso di semplici ricerche per parole chiave.

Marcus M. Payk, *"Konstitutionalismus im „Systeme der coexistierenden Staaten“ Überlegungen zu einer internationalen Verfassungsgeschichte am Beispiel des Revolutionszeitalters (1776–1820)"* pp. 363-398.

Il saggio sostiene un'integrazione e un'espansione della storia costituzionale attraverso una maggiore considerazione delle prospettive internazionali. Utilizzando casi di studio dell'epoca delle rivoluzioni atlantiche - il costituzionalismo nordamericano e francese degli anni 1780 e 1790, il costituzionalismo napoleonico e la legge federale tedesca del 1815/20 - si dimostra che i processi di costituzionalizzazione difficilmente possono essere compresi senza i loro molteplici riferimenti esterni alla politica estera, al diritto internazionale e all'ordine interstatale. Su questa base, alcune considerazioni concettuali sono riunite e completate con riferimenti ad altre costituzioni moderne per accennare alle possibilità di una storia costituzionale internazionale. Si propongono due prospettive complementari: da un lato, i riferimenti interni, le dichiarazioni e le norme di una costituzione all'ordine internazionale e al diritto internazionale dovrebbero essere sempre più esaminati. D'altra parte, le influenze esterne sulla creazione della costituzione dovrebbero essere prese in considerazione, sia come requisiti di una potenza occupante, sia come sottili aspettative di autorità internazionali o attori esterni.

Iberoamericana. America Latina - España – Portugal

Rezende, L. (2021). O Futuro do Passado: A Representação da Primeira República Brasileira na Exposição Universal de Chicago, 1893. *IBEROAMERICANA. América Latina - España - Portugal*, 21(77), 71–95. <https://doi.org/10.18441/ibam.21.2021.77.71-95>

Four years after seizing power, the Republicans who founded the United States of Brazil mounted a representation at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Under the threat of a monarchist insurrection and in order to affirm their authority, the Republicans employed this exhibition to re-write the Brazilian imperial past and ascertain their political future. Relying on an analysis of design history, this article discusses exhibition displays –carriage from D. Pedro I framed as a bygone past, the installation of a golden pyramid to flaunt regional power, and a selection of Fine Arts that revealed the Republicans' desire for a particular social order– as points of access to unpack this first republican representation at World's Fairs, and the competing political and economic interests behind this show of order and progress.

Pulido Londoño, H. A. (2021). Diplomacia pública, Guerra Fría y relaciones Colombia-Estados Unidos: la exhibición Capitalismo Democrático en Bogotá (1956). *IBEROAMERICANA. América Latina - España - Portugal*, 21(77), 117–143. <https://doi.org/10.18441/ibam.21.2021.77.117-143>

A mediados del siglo xx los Estados Unidos desplegaron campañas globales de diplomacia pública para un doble propósito: desprestigiar a los competidores comunistas y persuadir a la opinión pública sobre las ventajas de su modo de vida. Varias llegaron a los países latinoamericanos, entre ellos Colombia, aliado que sufría violencia política y un creciente autoritarismo. Este artículo estudia la exhibición Capitalismo Democrático, parte de una estrategia de la administración Eisenhower (1953-1961) para publicitar una versión idealizada del capitalismo estadounidense: popular y sin conflictos de clase. Bogotá fue la primera capital latinoamericana donde se realizó en 1956, durante la dictadura militar de Gustavo Rojas Pinilla (1953-1957). Aquí se analizan los antecedentes de esta exhibición, los intereses de los dos países, sus contenidos y representaciones, y algunas reacciones de sus visitantes.

Journal of Modern European History

19 (1) 2021

Jan-Otmar Hesse, *Financial crisis and the recurrence of economic nationalism*, pp. 14-18

19 (2) 2021

Friederike Kind-Kovács, Machteld Venken, *Childhood in times of political transformation in the 20th Century: An introduction*, pp. 155-165

19 (3) 2021

Harm Kaal, *Boundary disputes: New approaches to the interaction between sport and politics in the postwar years*, pp. 362–379

Abstract: Although often framed as politics ultimate ‘other’, it is hard to ignore that sport and the political are intimately connected. Historians, however, have up until now hardly reflected on the nature of this connection in the postwar years, on how the politicisation of sport has actually taken shape, and how actors and institutions have delineated, navigated, and crossed the boundaries between the two. This article tackles these questions through an analysis of three vectors of politicisation: political communication, struggles over the use of space, and governance and policy making. Based on a discussion of recent work at the intersection of political history, sport history, political science, geography, and communication studies, the article unearths the relationship between sport and personalised modes of political representation, explores the role of sport spaces as sites of community building and conflict, and the instrumentalisation of sport in policy schemes of the welfare state. It shows how policy schemes and governance arrangements drew sport into the orbit of the state; maps the various actors and institutions at the intersection of sport and politics, ranging from local residents’ groups to international non-governmental organisations; and highlights the gendered, exclusionary nature of new, popular forms of political communication through sport. All in all, the article makes the case for sport as a highly relevant field to engage with for those who are interested in the postwar history of political power, representation, communication, and governance.

Neue Politische Literatur

(1) 2021

Ulrich Wyrwa, *1918/19. Markstein der deutschen Demokratie. Neuerscheinungen zum 100. Jahrestag der Revolution*, pp. 3–35

On the 100th anniversary the old legends of the betrayed or failed revolution are rejected. General works show this revolution born of war as the dawn of democracy, regional studies examine the particularities. A sting is still the division of the socialist movement. Other publications investigate the revolutionary engagement of intellectuals and artists. The concluding remarks discuss the democratic potentials of the revolution, the significance of the council movement, Bolshevism as the ‘great fear’, the turn of the peaceful revolution to violence, and the emergence of extreme antisemitism.

2 (2021)

W. Schieder, *Der anglo-amerikanische Feind. Hitler in neuer Sicht?*, pp. 165–173

This review essay critically evaluates Brendan Simms’ global biography of Adolf Hitler. While Simms’ hypothesis and methods are praised for their originality, the lack of empirical material to back them is highlighted. A mere history of ideas cannot grasp the full reality of Hitlers’ politics.

Rüdiger Bergien, *Nachrichtendienstgeschichte in der Erweiterung? Neue Publikationen der Unabhängigen Historikerkommission zur BND-Geschichte*, pp. 175-204

This review essay addresses publications of the Independent Commission of Historians to examine the history of the Federal Intelligence Service, 1946–1968 (UHK). It focusses on three areas: The Gehlen service’s organizational history, its collection of secret information by spying and technical reconnaissance, and its influence on the Federal Republic of Germany’s domestic policy in the 1950s and 1960s. The essay starts from the assumption that the UHK publications have not only freed intelligence history from its image as an exotic niche discipline, they have also expanded intelligence history in methodological terms.

Ewgeniy Kasakow, *Scheiternd voran: Aktuelle Literatur zu linken Werdegängen in Ost und West*, pp. 205–220

The essay deals with the literature on the biographical development of left-wing radicals in West Germany and post-Soviet Russia. The latest memoirs and studies focus on parallels in political careers.

Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken

101 (1) 2021

Simon Unger-Alvi, *"Introduction: The Political Ambiguities of Pius XII"*, pp. 3-13

This collection of essays evaluates the relations between Eugenio Pacelli and Germany from the beginning of his career as a papal nuncio in Munich in 1917 until his pontificate during the wartime and post-war periods. The contributions to this volume do not provide a complete overview of this topic. Instead, they should be understood as case studies on certain aspects of Vatican-German history. At the core of this work are the complexities and ambiguities of papal politics between four political systems from the Kaiserreich to the West German Federal Republic. Ultimately, this volume thus touches upon very diverse subjects ranging from Pacelli's 'concordat diplomacy' in the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich to his silence during the Holocaust and the German occupation of Italy, the anti-communism of the Cold War, and the Vatican's path towards reform in the post-war period.

Stefan Samerski, *Die Nuntiaturen Pacellis als internationale Drehscheibe des Heiligen Stuhls*, pp. 14-27

As nuncio in Munich and Berlin, Eugenio Pacelli had dealt with political issues far beyond the usual scope of his nunciatures. The Papal Secretary of State entrusted him with concordat negotiations with various European countries as well as with foreign policy issues of international significance. This was due not only to Pacelli's special expertise but also to the period of major upheaval during and after the First World War and Berlin's key geopolitical position as a hub linking the East and the West. It is therefore not surprising that in the papal representative's correspondence, the Soviet question, as well as the immediate consequences of the Paris Peace Conference, were the clear focal points of his international attention.

Camilla Tenaglia, *Il rumore delle onde. L'atteggiamento di Pio XII verso la Germania attraverso la radio. Il caso delle Opzioni sudtirolesi*, pp. 58-86

This essay addresses the relations between Pius XII and Germany at the beginning of his pontificate through the role of Vatican Media, especially Vatican Radio. During the interwar period, the Vatican media system (media ensemble) underwent major transformations, including the creation of a radio broadcasting station in 1931. Pacelli was one of the main agents of these improvements: as Secretary of State supporting Guglielmo Marconi's project, as Pope through his extensive use of the mass media at his disposal, from radio to cinema. At the end of the 30s the difficult diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Third Reich also had an impact on mass media, as shown by the election of Pacelli in March 1939. The role of Vatican Radio in Vatican diplomacy towards Nazi Germany was already clear during the events surrounding the Anschluss in 1938 and it became a tool for unofficial communication to convey more explicit stances on the regime during World War II. The same strategy was employed during the Option in Südtirol in 1939, when Catholics were able to deliver anti-Nazi propaganda thanks in part to radio in the attempt to avoid the voluntary resettlement of German-speaking Italian citizens from the area. The Holy See maintained a neutral position throughout the events, but at the same time Vatican Radio broadcast programmes in German about

the condition of the Catholic Church under the Nazi regime. These broadcasts supported the efforts especially of the Archbishop of Trento Celestino Endrici and his clergy, who opposed the resettlement. Once again Vatican Radio proved a crucial tool for conveying unofficial communications while maintaining the neutral stance typical of the Holy See's foreign policy.

Laura Di Fabio, *Storie di gesuiti, popolazione civile e truppe militari nell'Italia occupata (1943–1945). Nuove prospettive di ricerca*, pp.87-106

This piece of research aims to present a historiographical and methodological review of the history of the Jesuits, the civilian population and the military troops during the German military occupation in Italy between 1943 and 1945. The analysis of hitherto unexplored sources, accessible since 2 March 2020, allows historians to explore the archival heritage that was produced by the different religious communities of the Society of Jesus present in rural and urban territories, which carried out functions of education, pastoral care and assistance in the communities of reference. The analysis of the role and function of the religious orders as observers of 'Great History' to tell the story of the life of the civilian population in the years of the Second World War and under military occupation represents a privileged point of view that still awaits investigation.

Antonio Carbone, *Neue Perspektiven auf die questione meridionale. Das Beispiel des Centro per gli studi sullo sviluppo economico (1957–1967)*, pp. 533-559

Starting from the determination that the questione meridionale – the southern Italian question – has lost its former centrality in the Italian debate, this article suggests new avenues of research and gives an example of the results that such perspectives can provide. The first section of the article outlines some key positions in the political and historiographical debate on the questione meridionale and identifies the reasons underlying the decline of interest in the history of Italy's North-South divide in recent years. Based on this analysis, the second part presents new potential prospects for research on the history of Southern Italy, principally by connecting it to recent scholarship in global and international history. The final section of the article applies the proposed research methodology to the specific instance of the Centro studi sullo sviluppo economico, a research centre founded in the mid-1950s to disseminate the Southern Italian economic development model in the Mediterranean and Latin America. The analysis of the history of the Centro studi, born out of a collaboration between the Italian Svimez and the American Ford Foundation, illustrates the ambiguity of the relationship between Italian and American development economists and the way in which the knowledge acquired through economic intervention in Southern Italy became a tool to foster contacts between Italy and other 'southern' countries.

Totalitarismus und Demokratie

(1) 2021

Giovanni de Ghantuz Cubbe, *Die Geburtswehen des italienischen Antifaschismus (1920–1925)* (S. 11–32)

The development of anti-Fascism in Italy was a laborious and difficult process: whereas a few had grasped the true nature of Fascism, many others believed Fascism to be a temporary phenomenon or that it might be transferred into the frame of legality or ‘normalised’. What made a large part of Italian intellectuals wait and see? Why did anti-Fascism reach its turning point only as late as 1924–1925?

Emilio Gentile, *Der Antifaschismus und die Ursprünge des faschistischen Totalitarismus (1923–1926)* (S. 33–51)

The interpretation of Fascism as a kind of “totalitarianism” has been the subject of controversies lasting over many years. This contribution tries to consolidate our understanding of Fascist totalitarianism by discussing its interpretations by early anti-Fascism. The latter’s representatives – Liberals, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, Socialists – grasped the “totalitarian” features of a movement before it had established as a one-party regime, and they coined the term itself.

Uwe Backes, *Antifaschismus als Antitotalitarismus? Francesco Luigi Ferrari (1889–1933)* (S. 53–71)

Outside Italy, little is known of the anti-Fascism of Francesco Luigi Ferrari, one of the closest allies of Sicilian priest and Christian Democrat Luigi Sturzo. Based on his most important publications before and after his exile (1926), the contribution pursues this crucial question: Did Ferrari, in ways similar to Sturzo’s, combine anti-Fascism with anti-totalitarianism? How did he comparatively classify Italian Fascism as a movement and a regime? To which analytical categories did he reach back for this purpose? Did he change his attitude over time?

Ersilia Alessandrone Perona, *The Anti-Fascism of a “Liberal Revolutionary”: Piero Gobetti (1901–1926)* (S. 73–87)

Der Journalist und politische Schriftsteller Piero Gobetti ist eines der prominentesten Opfer des Faschismus. Der Beitrag unternimmt den Versuch, den Inhalt und die Instrumente seines (wesentlich kulturellen) Antifaschismus zu erfassen. Die zentrale These lautet: Gobetti bekämpfte den Faschismus im Namen seines politischen Projekts einer zivilen und ökonomischen Modernisierung des Staates. Seine zentrale Idee war die einer „liberalen Revolution“, entwickelt im Geist der Erneuerung der Jahre nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg. Da er Faschismus ausschließlich als italienisches Phänomen ansah, stand er an der Grenze zwischen dem Zeitalter des Liberalismus und dem des Totalitarismus. Dennoch sind die Stärke seiner „Rhetorik“ und die Effektivität seines kulturellen Antifaschismus von hoher Relevanz für die Gegenwart.

Eckhard Jesse, *Antifaschismus – gestern und heute* (S. 89–119)

The contribution analyses the historical and the present fundamentals of anti-Fascism. In present-day Germany there exist organisation-, action- and discourse-oriented kinds of anti-Fascism. Most of all the political party Die Linke champions anti-Fascism, as becomes obvious, among other aspects, from their support of including an anti-Fascism clause into the Basic Law and the constitutions of the Federal States. The author rejects anti-Fascism, yet he speaks out in favour of anti-extremism as an alternative.

Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte

69 (1) 2021

Ruth Nattermann, *Emanzipatorischer Aufbruch und antisemitische Verfolgung. Jüdinnen in der italienischen Frauenbewegung 1914 bis 1945*, pp. 25-53

On the basis of newly accessible sources, the article investigates the experiences of Italian-Jewish feminists between emancipatory awakening and antisemitic persecution. The focus lies on the phase between the beginning of the First World War and 1945. The examination reveals the rising tensions in emancipatory processes between participation, dissociation and anti-Jewish hostility. The marginalisation, the deprivation of rights and persecution during the Fascist dictatorship are explicitly viewed from the perspective of Jewish women. Despite their important influence on the development of the Italian Women's Movement and its distinctly transnational orientation, their emancipation as women as well as Jewesses remained incomplete.

69 (2) 2021

Kiran Klaus Patel, *Kooperation und Konkurrenz. Die Entstehung der europäischen Wissenschafts- und Forschungspolitik seit 1945*, pp. 183-209

The author investigates how the European Union (EU) was able to become the central actor in science and research policy at the European level. The initial thesis is that the predecessor organisations of the current EU were in no way predestined to achieve such a pre-eminent position when they were founded in the 1950s. Instead, the European Communities were late-comers in this area, in which other international organisations were already active – parallel to local, national and global actors. Against this background, the article describes the key steps of the EU's rise to prominence and analyses stages and reasons for the EU's increased importance in this policy field.

69 (3) 2021

Michael Schwartz, *Homosexuelle im modernen Deutschland. Eine Langzeitperspektive auf historische Transformationen*, pp. 377-414

The history of homosexual people in modern Germany not encompass persecution and discrimination, even if it is often remembered as such. Of course homosexual men did suffer massive persecution, and lesbian women were also exposed to many forms of discrimination. Yet the history of the last 200 years not only manifest those transformations in handling homosexuality, which since the 1990s have led to equality, but also a number of changes of a highly different nature. We neither encounter a continuum of repression nor a linear narrative of emancipation, but rather a highly contradictory long-term development.

69 (4) 2021

Morten Reitmayer, *Populismus als Untersuchungsfeld der Zeitgeschichte. Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht*, pp. 573-606

The article discusses various definitions of populism from recent international political science and social science literature. It argues for caution in the unquestioning adoption of political science definitions of populism, especially since there are currently conflicting definitions of the term: On the one hand, there is an influential current that sees populism as a weak, “thin” ideology. On the other hand, populism is understood as a strategy for gaining power and mobilising the masses. In addition, there is hardly any empirically confirmed knowledge about one of the central assumptions of almost all populism definitions, namely that it is anti-elitism at its core. Finally, the article formulates fields and guiding questions for contemporary historical research on populism based on these and other conceptual problems.

Tanja Penter, Dmytro Tytarenko, *Der Holodomor, die NS-Propaganda in der Ukraine und ihr schwieriges Erbe*, pp. 633-667

Tanja Penter and Dmytro Tytarenko illuminate a hitherto neglected aspect in the history of German-Ukrainian relations connected to the Great Famine of 1932/33. They investigate how the hunger catastrophe in Ukraine was covered by the press issued under German occupation between 1941 and 1944, when the topic, which one could not speak about in public under Stalin, was first discussed publicly and instrumentalised for propaganda. Starting from an analysis of the press publications they inter alia ask what image the occupiers transmitted about the famine and whether the legacy of this propagandistic instrumentalisation of the crime has left any traces in Ukrainian commemorative culture.

Reitmayer, Morten, *Populismus als Untersuchungsfeld der Zeitgeschichte: Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht*, pp. 573-606.

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Zeithistorische Forschungen

1/2021

Stefan Berger, *Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Nostalgie. Das Kulturerbe der Deindustrialisierung im globalen Vergleich*

Abstract: The article develops a typology of deindustrialisation regimes in a global perspective and relates it to three different ways of remembering industrialisation and deindustrialisation: antagonistic, cosmopolitan, and agonistic memory. In what way and to what extent were and are nostalgic forms of remembering present in the different deindustrialisation regimes? Building on previous research, the paper argues that nostalgia is not merely a backward-looking, antiquarian sentiment, but has a potential for the construction of the future. At the same time, the article attempts to apply the theory of agonistic memory, as developed by the historian Anna Cento Bull and the literary scholar Hans Lauge Hansen, to research on deindustrialisation. This is an opportunity for discussion of how to investigate the memory of the industrial age in different world regions comparatively and in terms of the history of entanglement – whether in South Wales, in the Ruhr area or in eastern China.

Martin Sabrow, *Nostalgie als historisches Zeit-Wort*

69 (3) 2021

Benjamin Ziemann, *Die Reichskriegsflagge: Geschichte und politische Verwendung nach 1945*, pp. 211-223.

Il caso di studio qui presentato illustra che sia l'artista che gli avvocati del tribunale regionale di Aquisgrana avevano già capito la funzione pragmatica dell'uso pubblico della bandiera di guerra imperiale 30 anni fa. Tutti coloro che hanno esposto o ancora espongono la bandiera di guerra imperiale (1867-1918) dal 1949 non lo fanno con l'assunto o la motivazione che stanno rendendo omaggio a un emblema nazionale o a un simbolo dell'Impero tedesco. Piuttosto, l'hanno fatto e lo fanno nella consapevolezza dello scopo politico della bandiera, che continua ininterrottamente dal 1919, come simbolo di un rifiuto altrettanto radicale e fondamentale del sistema politico parlamentare-democratico. La bandiera di guerra imperiale rimanda a un duplice messaggio politico: nel suo uso nel presente, invoca sia il rifiuto radicale della Repubblica di Weimar che quello della Repubblica Federale. Coloro che la usano mostrano la loro convinzione politica di base: il rifiuto fondamentale dello stato costituzionale democratico.

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Karsten Linne, *Sozialpolitische Systemkonkurrenz im Krieg. Die Konferenz der Internationalen Arbeitsorganisation von Philadelphia 1944*, in «Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft», 5, 2021, pp. 424-443.

La Dichiarazione di Filadelfia (10 maggio 1944) riaffermò gli obiettivi tradizionali dell'Organizzazione Internazionale del Lavoro (ILO) e poi si mosse in due nuove direzioni: il ruolo centrale dei diritti umani per la politica sociale e la necessità di una pianificazione economica internazionale. Alla luce di tale impostazione, non c'è da meravigliarsi che la Dichiarazione rappresentasse una minaccia e una sfida al regime nazista che non dovrebbe essere sottovalutata. Come parte della pianificazione alleata del dopoguerra, era in diretta opposizione al progetto nazista di un'Europa dominata dal Terzo Reich, che in termini sociopolitici doveva seguire lo stato sociale nazista, il socialismo tedesco, che era basato sul razzismo. Dopo la fine della Seconda guerra mondiale e soprattutto dopo l'inizio del Piano Marshall, nel segno di una rapida rinascita economica in Europa - negli Stati Uniti e in Germania - le promesse sociopolitiche di sicurezza sono state inizialmente messe in secondo piano. Ma anche se l'impatto della Dichiarazione di Filadelfia deve essere messo in prospettiva alla luce della situazione attuale - la crisi finanziaria mondiale del 2008, il turbocapitalismo, etc. - le idee che ha proposto potrebbero ancora essere il punto di partenza per un ripensamento politico ed economico. Il lavoro dignitoso come prerequisito per la lotta contro la povertà e una configurazione sociale ed equa della globalizzazione dovrebbe essere al centro degli sforzi internazionali.

GRAN BRETAGNA

Contemporary European History

30 (1) 2021

Márcia Gonçalves, *The Scramble for Africa Reloaded? Portugal, European Colonial Claims and the Distribution of Colonies in the 1930s*, pp. 2-15

Situating itself at the crossroads of colonial history, international history and European history, this article examines the movement for colonial appeasement and the redistribution of African colonies in the 1930s from a frequently overlooked viewpoint: Portugal and its empire. Even though Portugal was not a principal actor in the discussion of colonial redistribution, the Portuguese empire was placed at the centre of these debates as a subject to be discussed. The article demonstrates that the great powers' perception of Portugal as an inadequate colonial power was central to their strategy of colonial redistribution in an international context that espoused guarantees of territorial integrity to great and small states alike. In addition, it shows how Portugal entered the debate on colonial appeasement to promote a rhetoric of victimisation and bolster support for the dictatorship.

30 (3) 2021

Eden McLean, *What Does It Mean to Be a(n Italian) Borderland? Recent Literature on Italy's 'New Provinces' of South Tyrol and the Julian March*, pp. 449-459

In the era of the Schengen Area (at least in the days before Covid-19), travel from Munich to Bozen/Bolzano or Ljubljana to Trst/Trieste is a decidedly unremarkable, albeit beautiful, adventure. Just as meaningful as the lack of border controls, travellers find all public signage in both Italian and German (and sometimes Ladin, too) upon arrival in Bozen/Bolzano. Signs in the streets of Trst/Trieste less reliably have Slovene alongside the Italian, but assistance with translation can be found with little difficulty. The Italian autonomous regions 'with special statutes' in which these cities reside – Trentino-Alto Adige (South Tyrol) and Friuli Venezia Giulia (the Julian March) – are multilingual territories that, at least on an official level, embrace a multiethnic heritage and reality. In fact, Trentino-Alto Adige's consociational democracy is widely regarded among political scientists as an international role model for how states can successfully protect and give voice to minority populations. Those unfamiliar with the more recent history of these regions might be surprised to learn of these avowedly multiethnic political and cultural structures. For much of the first half of the twentieth century, the regions' two states – Austria-Hungary until 1919 and thereafter Italy – employed the 'nationality principle' to define policies and populations in these territories. As in most of Europe at the time, sovereignty was increasingly predicated on the contemporary ideal of the nation state, in which borders, ethnicity, language and citizenship were all bound together. Of course, as a multiethnic empire, Austria-Hungary was much more concerned about centralising state authority (and then fighting a world war) than national homogeneity, while Italy's nationalisation campaign in the interwar period became fundamental to its presence in the

new provinces. Still, both states sought to classify and ultimately to control their border populations by privileging ethnolinguistic categories of citizenship.

European History Quarterly

Matteo Albanese, *The Italian Fascist Community in Argentina, 1946-1978*, «European History Quarterly», Vol. 51 Issue 1, 2021, pp. 122-140.

Argentina became a laboratory for a neofascist project. The country's long and deeply rooted tradition of Peronism, its Nazi and Fascist connections, and the authoritarian and totalitarian regimes that took hold in the country during the second half of the twentieth century all help explain why Argentina offered fertile ground for this neofascist project. This article explores how Italians who migrated to Argentina for political reasons, and in search of a new fatherland, as described by Federica Bertagna, Marco Tarchi and other scholars, shaped the political debate in Argentina during the period between 1946 and the beginning of the dictatorship. It also considers how this political community established relations with other neofascist actors, individuals and groups, around the globe and with former fascist and Nazi militants who lived in Argentina.

Joachim C. Häberlen, *Spiritual Politics: New Age and New Left in West Germany around 1980*, «European History Quarterly», Vol. 51 Issue 2, 2021, pp. 239-261.

In the late 1970s, an increasing number of West German 'alternative' leftist authors and activists turned to spiritual ideas. A milieu that had once been characterized by what Timothy Scott Brown called a 'scholarly-scientific imperative' now turned to magic and mystics, fairy tales and stories about American Indians. The article explores this turn to spirituality within the 'alternative left' in West Germany around 1980. Drawing on a close reading of several books, mostly published by Munich's famous left-wing publisher Trikont Dianus, the article argues that fairy tales, myths and accounts of American Indian shamans promised a deeper and more holistic understanding of the world that was beyond the grasp of rational scientific thinking, including Marxism. This holistic understanding of the world provided the basis for a form of politics focused on living in harmony: in harmony with oneself, not least in a bodily sense; in harmony with nature and the universe; and in harmony with the community and the past, which is why authors began to re-evaluate notions of Heimat (homeland), a notoriously right-wing concept. For leftists tired of the confrontational and often violent politics of the 1970s, such ideas proved appealing. The article suggests understanding the fascination with spiritualism as part and parcel of a moment when old, confrontational forms of politics were rapidly losing appeal and were replaced by a politics concerned with questions of selfhood. Spiritual politics were, to quote Michel Foucault, part of the struggles that attacked 'not so much "such and such" an institution of power, or group, or elite, or class, but rather a technique, a form of power', namely a power that determined 'who one is'.

Andrew G. Bonnell, *Anti-Semitism, Denunciation, and the Frankfurt Trial against Rosa Luxemburg*, «European History Quarterly», Vol. 51 Issue 3, 2021, pp. 345-354.

This paper examines the largely overlooked role of denunciation in initiating the Frankfurt trial of Rosa Luxemburg in early 1914 for inciting disobedience among German soldiers, and corrects errors that have entered the scholarly literature on the topic. This is then taken as the starting point for wider reflections on the connections between denunciation, anti-Semitism, and anti-socialism in Germany

in the ‘long nineteenth century’. It will be argued that the practice of denunciation, directed both against the political Left and against Jews, long preceded the now well-documented salience of denunciation in the Nazi dictatorship. Denunciation was thus an asymmetrical political weapon – it could be invoked against the political Left by their right-wing and conservative opponents in nineteenth-century Germany, but was not available to the democratic Left, nor would it have been palatable to them. The capacity of German anti-Semites to resort to denunciation of Social Democrats also highlights the extent to which anti-Semites could count on being regarded as among the ‘state-supporting’ parties in Imperial Germany.

Raffaella Sarti, *Open Houses from Etic to Emic Perspectives: Casa Aperta in Early-Modern and Nineteenth-Century Italy*, «European History Quarterly», Vol. 51 Issue 4, 2021, pp. 440-463.

What did early-modern and nineteenth-century Italians mean when they used the expressions *tener casa aperta* or *aver casa aperta*, literally to keep open house and to have an open house? In this article I will try to answer this question, which is far less trivial than one might imagine.

Before tackling the topic, a premise is necessary. In some previous works, I used an etic category of ‘open houses’, i.e. a category I elaborated to interpret the implications of the presence, in many households, of domestic staff from different classes, places, races than their masters/employers. Such a presence made those houses open. The border between different peoples and cultures was inside the houses themselves that were places of exchanges, confrontations and clashes.

In this article, I will develop a different approach: I will map the emic uses of the ‘open-house’ category, i.e. I will analyse how early-modern and nineteenth-century Italians used the expressions *tener casa aperta* or *aver casa aperta*. While some uses had to do with hospitality and sociability, others had legal meanings, referring to citizenship rights and privileges, the status of aristocrats, the differences between foreigners and local people and taxpaying. I will pay particular attention to the latter, also suggesting possible geographical differences and changes over time. This will present an opportunity to delve into the cultural and legal world of early-modern and nineteenth-century Italians, and to unveil the importance of houses for one's status.

60 (1) 2021

Sandra Trudgen Dawson, *Refugee Children and the Emotional Cost of Internationalism in Interwar Britain*, pp. 115-139

This article explores the complexity surrounding the politics and emotions of internationalism and humanitarian work in interwar Britain by using as a lens the public and official responses to assisting “refugee children.” Analysis of British responses to refugee emergencies after the First World War, the Spanish Civil War, and the Nazi persecution of Jews and other minorities suggests that attitudes shifted dramatically between the arrival of Basque child refugees in May 1937 and the Kindertransports in late 1938. Charities and refugee committees, many of them faith-based, had to negotiate the spaces between nation, ideology, and emotion to successfully raise funds for refugees. All appeals were to “save” children, and yet the responses and the amounts raised were vastly different. Campaigns to support almost four thousand Basque children proved politically polarizing and bureaucratic. In contrast, the immediate and widespread response to fund-raising to bring ten thousand children to Britain in 1938 suggests that a significant change in attitudes and fund-raising practices had taken place in a short time. Unlike the political divisions that hampered support for the Basque children, Britons from all walks of life appeared by 1938 to embrace the emotional and financial cost of internationalism in a way they had not only a year before.

60 (2) 2021

Stuart Middleton, *The Concept of “the Establishment” and the Transformation of Political Argument in Britain since 1945*, pp. 257-284

This article examines the formation and development of the concept of the Establishment in British political argument after its recoinage in a celebrated article by the journalist Henry Fairlie in 1955. The author argues that the term “the Establishment” did not have a stable referent but rather acquired a range of possible meanings and uses as part of a new political vocabulary within which the course and significance of recent political and social change was contested, and that ultimately transformed social-democratic and conservative politics in Britain. The article situates the formation of the concept of the Establishment within a prolonged contestation of social and political authority in Britain during the middle of the twentieth century and traces the recoinage of the term in conservative political commentary prior to Henry Fairlie's frequently cited 1955 *Spectator* article. From the late 1950s, it is argued, the concept acquired more distinctively contemporary meanings that enabled its adoption by Harold Wilson during the mid-1960s and its subsequent reappropriation by Margaret Thatcher in the mid-1970s. These usages registered and helped to accomplish fundamental political realignments, the understanding of which depends upon a close analysis of political and social concepts.

Alannah Tomkins, *Poor Law Institutions through Working-Class Eyes: Autobiography, Emotion, and Family Context, 1834–1914*, pp. 285-309

Histories of the English workhouse and its satellite institutions have concentrated on legal change, institutional administration, and moments of shock or scandal, generally without considering the place of these institutions, established through the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, in the emotional life course of poor inmates. This article uses working-class autobiographies to examine the register of emotional responses to workhouses and associated Poor Law institutions, and the range of narrative voices open to authors who recalled institutional residence. It also gives close attention to two lengthy narratives of workhouse district schools and highlights their significance in comparison to the authors' family backgrounds and the representation of each writer in the wider historical record. It suggests that a new affective chronology of the workhouse is needed to accommodate room for disparity between the aspiration of systematic poor relief and the reality of individual experience within local interpretations of the law.

Sam Brewitt-Taylor, *Notes toward a Postsecular History of Modern British Secularization*, pp. 310-333

This article argues that British historiography's secularization debate is largely misconceived, being enmeshed in secular ideological assumptions inherited from the West's secular revolution of the 1960s. It therefore introduces an alternative, postsecular paradigm for understanding British secularization, which conceptualizes secularity as an ideological culture in its own right, religion as secularity's othering category, and secularization as the positive dissemination and enactment of secularity. British Christianity declined gradually from around 1900, but widespread secularization in this positive sense could only happen once British public discussion had embraced secularity's ideological framework, which it did in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Before the mid-1950s, British discussion had routinely adhered to a "Christian civilization" metanarrative, which insisted that "religion" is essential to long-term social stability, such that "secularization" is a regrettable step backward in human development. Yet in the late 1950s and early 1960s British discussion abruptly embraced secularity's rival metanarrative, which states that "religion" is a primordial condition unnecessary in "advanced" societies, such that "secularization" is an irreversible step forward in human development. This conceptual revolution was contingent, culturally specific, and importantly influenced by radical rereadings of Christian eschatology. Nonetheless, it created both the secular revolution of the 1960s, and the ideological framework within which the British secularization debate continues to be conducted today.

60 (3) 2021

Troy Bickham, *Preparing for an Imperial Inheritance: Children, Play, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, pp. 658-688

In examining how children engaged with the British Empire, broadly defined, during the long eighteenth century, this article considers a range of materials, including museums, printed juvenile literature, and board games, that specifically attempted to attract children and their parents. Subjects

that engaged with the wider world, and with it the British Empire, were typically not a significant part of formal education curricula, and so an informal marketplace of materials and experiences emerged both to satisfy and drive parental demand for supplementary education at home. Such engagements were no accident. Rather, they were a conscious effort to provide middling and elite children with what was considered useful information about the wider world and empire they would inherit, as well as opportunities to consider the moral implications and obligations of imperial rule, particularly with regard to African slavery.

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(3) 2021

Matteo Millan, *Belle Epoque in Arms? Armed Associations and Processes of Democratization in Pre-1914 Europe*, pp. 599-635.

During the belle époque, many thousands of male European citizens joined military youth groups and paramilitary units, volunteer and private police forces, company defense groups, student battalions, civic militias, and shooting clubs throughout the continent. This article investigates the features, aims, and impact of armed associations in Europe in the approximately thirty years preceding the outbreak of the First World War. The legal context within which armed associations could prosper, their involvement in strikes and in the fight against crime, and the development of patriotic armed groups are the main lines of inquiry pursued in the article. Examination of armed associationism in pre-1914 Europe, a long understudied topic, has the potential to stimulate fresh thinking on crucial aspects of modern statehood, the balance between private rights and public prerogatives, crucial forms of nationalism and patriotism, and deep-seated fears and hopes, and possibly also to shed new light on the Great War and its aftermath. The article argues that armed associationism was a specific social phenomenon with a particularly European dimension and was a response to the profound reconfigurations in social and political balances that were taking place throughout the continent.

(4) 2021

Michelle Tusan, *The Concentration Camp as Site of Refuge: The Rise of the Refugee Camp and the Great War in the Middle East*, pp. 824-860.

The refugee camp today has been naturalized as a product of failed international idealism and political expediency that serves as a timeless reminder of the plight of displaced peoples. This article explores the refugee camp's origins as a product of a late Victorian imperial and military legacy and the contingencies of World War I. The use of the concentration camp as a tool to provide refuge and control displaced populations began during the war as a humanitarian measure. Part of a larger world of camps that interned civilians, prisoners of war, and refugees during World War I, the refugee camp in the Middle East existed at the crossroads of Allied military objectives and the Western-led humanitarian movement. In the wake of victory in the east, the army of occupation, aid workers, and local actors fashioned the concentration camp as a site of refuge as part of an emerging international order. American relief efforts led by Near East Relief and later the League of Nations have been well studied. Less understood is how and why Britain, due to the central role it played in combat operations and eventually in dividing up the Middle East with its French ally, guided and shaped norms and conditions for dealing with displaced peoples. Ultimately, the experience of total war shaped Allied war strategy regarding civilian populations during the humanitarian crisis that engulfed the east. It produced the refugee camp as an ostensibly temporary solution to what became for many a permanent problem of statelessness.

Robert Gerwarth, *The Sky beyond Versailles: The Paris Peace Treaties in Recent Historiography*, pp. 896-930.

26 (2) 2021

Filipa Lowndes Vicente, *India in Florence: Angelo de Gubernatis and the shaping of Italian Orientalism (1860-1900)*, Pages: 186-207

Capitale dell'Italia appena unita, Firenze divenne, seppur per un breve periodo, un fiorente centro di studi indiani. Questa esperienza si intrecciò con la biografia e l'attività di Angelo de Gubernatis, tanto da perdere questo suo ruolo quando l'intellettuale si trasferì a Roma. La decisione di lasciare il suo ricco e abbondante archivio alla Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, significò, comunque, che De Gubernatis tornasse a Firenze, fissando così la città nella mappa degli studi orientali del XIX secolo. Attraverso congressi, esposizioni, musei, una fitta rete internazionale di corrispondenti, riviste, corsi universitari, scritti di viaggio e l'attività di Angelo de Gubernatis, "Oriente", "India" e "Sanscrito" divennero parole ricorrenti nella città rinascimentale e luoghi di incontro fisico e intellettuale fra ricercatori di varia origine. Questo articolo analizza inoltre anche come l'investimento negli "studi orientali" sia divenuto parte della strategia di affermazione dell'Italia come nuova nazione sia in Europa sia in un contesto geografico più ampio, dove la circolazione della conoscenza avveniva attraverso forme scritte, visuali e materiali.

Rolando Minuti, *China and world history in Italian nineteenth century thought. Some remarks on Giuseppe Ferrari's work*, pages: 208-219

La Cina e l'Europa di Giuseppe Ferrari, pubblicata nel 1867, non è stata a lungo considerata una delle opere di maggior rilievo di questa eminente figura nella storia del pensiero politico italiano del XIX secolo. Nell'analisi comparativa della storia della civiltà europea e di quella cinese che propone emergono in realtà molti motivi di interesse, se osservati in una prospettiva volta ad esaminare la varietà degli orientamenti di studio della storia mondiale nella seconda metà del XIX secolo. Basata su una grande quantità di fonti primarie e secondarie, nonostante il fatto che Ferrari non fosse sinologo, l'opera offre un'indagine parallela della storia cinese ed europea che si oppone alle rappresentazioni denigratorie della politica e della cultura cinese diffuse nell'epoca dell'imperialismo europeo. Evitando, al tempo stesso, un approccio caratterizzato da una sinofilia ingenua, Ferrari cerca invece un equilibrio in cui le varietà e la comparabilità delle civiltà, in un contesto mondiale, stanno alla base della sua originale indagine.

Silvana Patriarca, *Italian uses of Orientalism from the Risorgimento to fascism*, Pages: 220-226

26 (3) 2021

Andrea Carati, Mariele Merlati & Daniela Vignati, *Freer when constrained? Italy and transatlantic relations during the cold war*, Pages: 314-332

A partire dalla fine della seconda guerra mondiale, l'atlantismo ha costantemente rappresentato una delle principali direttrici della politica estera italiana. Malgrado la centralità del rapporto con gli Stati Uniti non sia mai stata posta in discussione, il grado di autonomia da Washington è però mutato nel corso degli anni. Questo saggio indaga questi mutamenti muovendo da una cornice teorica contro-intuitiva, basata sulla teoria neo-realista delle Relazioni internazionali. Proprio questa prospettiva può infatti aiutare a comprendere l'inaspettato grado di autonomia che la politica estera italiana ha manifestato in alcune fasi della guerra fredda. Alla luce di questa impostazione, il saggio riesamina due eventi storici: la condotta elusiva da parte italiana durante i negoziati del Trattato di Non Proliferazione Nucleare e la crisi di Sigonella del 1985.

26 (4) 2021

Marie Tavinor, *'God save Antonio Fradeletto': Anglophilia and the consumption of British Art at the Venice Biennale, 1895–1914*, Pages: 382-399

Antonio Fradeletto (1858-1930), primo segretario generale della Biennale dal 1895 al 1914, viene generalmente descritto, insieme a Riccardo Selvatico, sindaco di Venezia e presidente dell'istituzione, quale figura determinante nella definizione della direzione artistica e commerciale dell'esposizione. Durante i primi anni, denominati 'eroici', il segretario generale concentrò il potere nelle sue mani, occupandosi tanto di curare alcune esposizioni, quanto di gestire le sedi e promuovere le vendite. Oltretutto Fradeletto venne eletto deputato presso il Parlamento di Roma, cosa che non gli impedì di trovare il tempo di impegnarsi in attività intellettuali e letterarie. Il testo intende dunque indagare Antonio Fradeletto come un caso studio 'egocentrico' capace di estendere oltre i confini nazionali il ruolo di agente della Biennale di Venezia. In particolare, attraverso la sua riconosciuta anglofilia, che portò Fradeletto a supportare la sezione Britannica, l'indagine mette in luce le trattative e i compromessi avvenuti dietro le quinte, e il modo in cui Fradeletto abbia realizzato la propria idea di Biennale, facendo prevalere le sue preferenze personali. Più in generale questa specifica prospettiva consente di indagare fino a che punto pregiudizi politici e culturali possano influenzare lo sviluppo di un'istituzione culturale come la Biennale.

26 (5) 2021

Stefano degli Uberti, *Unveiling Informality through Im/mobility. Conceptual Analysis of Asylum Seekers and Refugees at the Margins of the Reception system in Italy*, Pages: 528-551

Dal 2015, il progressivo inasprimento dei controlli alle frontiere e l'attuazione di misure politiche volte a scoraggiare l'insediamento dei richiedenti asilo nei territori italiani, hanno progressivamente aumentato il numero di migranti che, raggiungendo cifre senza precedenti, sono rimasti ai margini del sistema di accoglienza ufficiale. Sebbene la ricerca sociale abbia variamente esplorato la loro esperienza di insediamento informale interrogandosi sulle dinamiche di potere in relazione agli individui e ai processi di categorizzazione, una minor attenzione è stata rivolta alla loro dimensione di mobilità. L'obiettivo di questo articolo è portare in primo piano il rapporto tra mobilità e informalità

per esaminare il contributo analitico che offre la prospettiva concettuale degli studi sulla mobilità nella comprensione della realtà dei richiedenti asilo e dei rifugiati al di fuori del sistema di accoglienza in Italia, e non solo. L'articolo contribuisce a far luce sulle molteplici dimensioni di mobilità e immobilità che informano le loro traiettorie geografiche e sociali e sostiene il superamento di una loro rappresentazione come “pedine passive” delineando un'analisi più precisa dell'esperienza di informalità vissuta dai migranti.

Davide Filippi, Luca Giliberti & Luca Queirolo Palmas, *From Lampedusa to the Susa Valley: solidarity networks in two border battlegrounds*, Pages: 608-626

Dal 2015, inizio della cosiddetta 'crisi dell'accoglienza', il termine solidarietà è stato usato diffusamente in Europa dalle reti che supportano i migranti in transito. Queste reti - sebbene sempre più importanti nell'Europa contemporanea - sono ancora poco studiate e solo di recente hanno interessato i migration studies. La ricerca è stata sviluppata in due luoghi di frontiera cruciali: da un lato l'Isola di Lampedusa, frontiera in entrata dell'Europa attraverso l'Italia; dall'altro, la Valsusa, frontiera in uscita dall'Italia verso la Francia. Come interagiscono le diverse reti della solidarietà? Come queste si connettono con le pratiche di mobilità dei migranti in transito? Come le pratiche di solidarietà si confrontano con le forme di controllo delle autorità agite al confine? Il campo di ricerca etnografico è stato sviluppato durante la pandemia di COVID-19 e si pone l'obiettivo di rispondere a queste interconnesse domande di ricerca.

Gaia Cottino, *'Vertical mobility'. Migrants' trajectories within/between the western Alps and southern Italy*, Pages: 627-643

Negli ultimi vent'anni un nuovo flusso migratorio verso le Alpi Italiane ne ha invertito l'andamento, sino ad ora caratterizzato dall'abbandono di questi luoghi. I nuovi abitanti di queste montagne, una popolazione eterogenea che spazia da ex-residenti urbani che hanno scelto di abitare le terre alte ai richiedenti asilo forzatamente ivi ricollocati in attesa dei documenti, si sono adattati ad un ambiente socio-ecologico che impone mobilità. Il contributo analizza in primo luogo la doppia mobilità degli abitanti delle montagne, verticale in altitudine e latitudine, sottolineando, da un lato, come diseguaglianze e sfruttamento siano alla base della mobilità latitudinale, e, dall'altro, come i migranti dispongano di un potere e di un capitale n/della mobilità che agentivamente esercitano in questo regime di mobilità. Inoltre, nell'interrogarsi su quanto la mobilità possa influire sui multipli e mutevoli progetti migratori, il contributo discute lo strumento giuridico del contratto di rete che si rivela essere, nell'ambiente agricolo alpino, un mezzo per il radicamento e il miglioramento della mobilità sociale della popolazione migrante.

26 (1) 2021

Aristotle Kallis, *'Counter-spurt' but not 'de-civilization': fascism, (un)civility, taboo, and the 'civilizing process'*, pp. 3-22

Norbert Elias described the rise of fascism and the violent spasm of the Holocaust as examples of extreme 'counter-spurts' towards 're-barbarization' in his overall schema of recent human history as a 'civilizing process'. But the shift towards the normalization of uncivility and extreme violence that became trademarks of fascism in the interwar years was in fact far less at odds with assumed mainstream values than it actually appeared or was assumed to be. In this article, I argue that fascist uncivil ideology, discourse, and praxis need to be placed along a continuum of mainstream acceptability that rendered them broadly desirable or tolerable to mainstream society at the time in spite of their radical deviation from an assumed liberal canon. I focus on two examples of fascist uncivility – attack on the liberal framework of minority protection promoted by the liberal powers post-WW1; and violent anti-semitism. I argue that, while fascist uncivility represented a violent, extreme 'counter-spurt' in its cumulative dynamics and effects, it was underwritten by a number of facilitating impulses and behaviours that were deeply embedded in interwar mainstream societies and thus did not constitute qualitative regressions from the 'civilizing process', as Elias claimed afterwards.

26 (3) 2021

Blake Ewing, *Conceptual history, contingency and the ideological politics of time*, pp. 262-277

Over the past two decades or so there has been a fruitful collaboration between conceptual historians and theorists of political ideologies concerning ways of better understanding the contingency of linguistic meaning. Often neglected in this conversation, however, is the more specific relationship between language and the contingency of temporal experience, on the level of historicity, about which Reinhart Koselleck, conceptual history's most well-known theorist, wrote a great deal. By revisiting his theorizing on historical time, this article argues that political theorists can profit from his wider scholarship to establish the political contestation of time as a core feature of ideological politics, thereby pushing against characterizations of ideology as atemporal blueprints anathema to the contingency of political activity. Following a discussion on the relevance of Koselleck's empirical and theoretical observations, this article draws attention to three common areas of temporal contestation – the framing of time, the temporality of movement and the meaning of historical moments – upon which political actors frequently attempt to influence and instigate action.

Alain Noël, Jean-Philippe Thérien, Émile Boucher, *The political construction of the left-right divide: a comparative perspective*, pp. 317-334

How universal and effective is the left-right opposition? We use public opinion data collected in 83 societies between 2008 and 2014 through the World Values Survey and the European Values Study, to look at the relationships, in each society, between individual ideological self-positioning and attitudes towards a set of eleven issues that capture the standard dimensions of the left-right political distinction. We observe varying levels of national ideological reach – the predictive power of left-right self-positioning on other attitudes – and ideological density – an index of the strength of the relationships between all the survey questions that we examine. These different levels of ideological reach and density can be explained by economic development, secularization, and democratic experience. A lasting experience with democracy, in particular, accounts best for the variations. When citizens have the capabilities and the possibilities of making political choices, they respond better to the elites' tendency to structure political debates in left-right terms.

Modern Italy

Omar Mazzotti, Massimo Fornasari, *Agricultural Education and Italian Primary School Teachers: the Romagna in the Late Nineteenth Century*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 1, 2021, pp. 51-66.

This article examines the dissemination of agricultural education in primary schools in the Romagna, an important rural area in post-unification Italy. The topic is explored within a wider perspective, analysing the impact of institutional changes – at both the national and local levels – on the transmission of agricultural knowledge in primary education during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. Two particular elements of the process are examined: students, as the intended beneficiaries of the educational process; and teachers, who as well as having a key role in reducing the extent of illiteracy were sometimes also involved in disseminating agricultural knowledge. The transfer of that knowledge appears to have been a very challenging task, not least because of the scant interest that Italy's ruling class showed towards this issue. However, increasing importance seems to have been given to agricultural education in primary schools during the economic crisis of the 1880s, when the expansion of this provision was thought to be among the factors that might help to prepare the ground for the hoped-for 'agricultural revolution'.

Daniele Valisena, Antonio Canovi, *A Tale of Two Plains: Migrating Landscapes between Italy and Argentina 1870-1955*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 2, 2021, pp. 125-140.

This article offers an analysis of the encounter between the two natural environments of the Italian Po Plain and the Argentinian Pampa Gringa through the migration of Italian rural workers. Notably, we focus on the migration micro-histories of Emiliano-Romagnoli, who moved from Italy to Argentina during Italian Great Migration Era (1870–1955). Building on oral histories gathered in Italy and Argentina between 2005 and 2007, these micro-histories show how place-based landscapes of Italianness hybridised with the local landscape of the South American plains through Italian migrants' embodied memories, labour, and socio-environmental transformation practices. By focusing on Po Plain migrants' memories and experiences of the lowlands of northern Italy and the Argentinian pampas, we aim to offer a micro-historical perspective on the environmental history of migration.

Roberta Biasillo, *Socio-ecological Colonial Transfers: Trajectories of the Fascist Agricultural Enterprise in Libya (1922-43)*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 2, 2021, pp. 181-198.

This paper intertwines the two historiographical concerns of migration and colonialism by exploring the case of Italian rule in North Africa from 1922 to 1943 and by adopting the analytic ground of the environment. The role played by the environment in targeting and shaping specific social groups, forming and grounding specific policies, creating and preventing social and natural transfers, has been overshadowed until now, particularly in relation to Italian colonialism. This study articulates the Fascist agricultural enterprise in Libya around the watershed event of the colony's 1932 pacification. To illustrate its development, it looks at the environment-making processes and transfers entailed in the transformation of the Italian colonial project. This reconstruction contributes to the environmental

history subfields of migration and colonialism and invites historians to further explore the first decade of Italian rule in Libya and not to limit historical explorations to the lens of settler colonialism.

Gilberto Mazzoli, *Italianness in the United States Between Migrants' Informal Gardening Practices and Agricultural Diplomacy (1880-1912)*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 2, 2021, pp. 199-215.

During the Age of Mass Migration more than four million Italians reached the United States. The experience of Italians in US cities has been widely explored: however, the study of how migrants adjusted in relation to nature and food production is a relatively recent concern. Due to a mixture of racism and fear of political radicalism, Italians were deemed to be undesirable immigrants in East Coast cities and American authorities had long perceived Italian immigrants as unclean, unhealthy and carriers of diseases. As a flipside to this narrative, Italians were also believed to possess a 'natural' talent for agriculture, which encouraged Italian diplomats and politicians to propose the establishment of agricultural colonies in the southern United States. In rural areas Italians could profit from their agricultural skills and finally turn into 'desirable immigrants'. The aim of this paper is to explore this 'emigrant colonialism' through the lens of environmental history, comparing the Italian and US diplomatic and public discourses on the potential and limits of Italians' agricultural skills.

Stephanie Malia Hom, *On Italian Mobilities and Ecological Fretwork*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 2, 2021, pp. 223-228.

This invited commentary explores the ecological fretwork binding people and nature, and, specifically, how Italy and Italianness serve as critical frames for envisioning an environmental history of migration. It examines how each contribution in this special issue adds rigorous archival research to the growing body of academic literature on Italy and the environmental humanities. It also comments on the future research directions, which are connected to this emerging history. Situating these contributions in the wider context of climate change and planetary transformation, this article illuminates how mobilities, understood as an Italian phenomenon, have shaped the globe on a scale previously unknown.

Francesco Vizzarri, 'No Longer Exiled, but Protagonists'. *The FILEF (Italian Federation of Migrant Workers and Families) and European Human Rights Discourse in the 1970s*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 3, 2021, pp. 331-351.

This article examines the contribution of the FILEF (Federazione Italiana Lavoratori Migranti e Famiglie) to the European debate on the human, social and civil rights of migrant workers during the 1970s. Through the project of an 'International Statute of Migrant Workers' Rights', presented to the European Parliament in 1971, FILEF submitted a proposal for the reform of the 1968 Community Regulation on the Free Movement of Migrant Workers in Europe in order to extend to workers from non-European countries the same rights and protections accorded to those from the EEC area. The analysis is focused on the discussion around the proposal in the committees of the European Parliament as well as on the debate that developed within the transnational network of the FILEF during the international conferences organised by the Federation from the mid-1970s until the early 1980s.

Andrea Bonfanti, *'From Zionism to Communism': Emilio Sereni and the Consiglio di Gestione in Postwar Italy*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 4, 2021, pp. 363-385.

This essay demonstrates that it is impossible to appreciate the actions of the Italian communist Emilio Sereni without considering his Zionist background. Anyone who is interested in understanding the complexities of communism in the past century and to avoid simplistic conclusions about this ideology will benefit from the study. The problem at stake is that researchers often approach communism in a monolithic manner, which does not adequately explain the multiform manifestations (practical and theoretical) of that phenomenon. This ought to change and to this extent this essay hopes to contribute to that recent strand of historical research that challenges simplistic views on communism. More specifically, by analysing the Management Councils that Sereni created in postwar Italy, we can see that many of their features in fact derived from, or found their deepest origins in, his previous experience as a committed socialist Zionist. The study, then, also relates Sereni to and looks at the broader experiences of early twentieth-century Zionism and Italian communism in the early postwar years.

Gianmarco Mancosu, *Amnesia, Aphasia and Amnesty: The Articulations of Italian Colonial Memory in Postwar Films (1946-1960)*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 4, 2021, pp. 387-408.

This article aims to expose the political and cultural processes that contributed to the eradication of problematic memories of the Italian colonial period during the national reconstruction following the Second World War. It offers a systematic examination of newsreels and documentaries about the Italian former colonies that were produced between 1946 and 1960, a film corpus that has largely been neglected by previous scholarship. The article first dissects the ambiguous political scenario that characterised the production of this footage through the study of original archival findings. The footage configured a particular form of self-exculpatory memory, which obstructed a thorough critique of the colonial period while articulating a new discourse about the future presence of Italy in the former colonies. This seems to be a case of aphasia rather than amnesia, insofar as the films addressed not an absence, but an inability to comprehend and articulate a critical discourse about the past. This aphasic configuration of colonial memories will be tackled through a close reading of the voice-over and commentary. In so doing, this work suggests that the footage actively contributed to spread un-problematised narratives and memories about the colonial period, whose results still infiltrate Italian contemporary society, politics and culture.

Andrea Tarchi, *Mabruchismo: Concubinage and Colonial Power in Italian Libya (1911-1932)*, «Modern Italy», Vol. 26, Issue 4, 2021, pp. 409-424.

This article assesses the Liberal and Fascist administrations' shifting attitudes towards colonial concubinage during the years of the repression of the anti-colonial resistance in Italian Libya (1911–32). Also known as mabruchismo, concubinage in Libya closely resembled its counterpart in Italian Eastern Africa, as it involved middle- to upper-class Italian officers coercing colonised women into engaging in often exploitative intimate relationships. During the first 20 years of colonisation of the territory, the colony's military administration employed an ambiguous stance regarding the practice,

condemning it discursively to ingratiate itself with the local elites while unofficially allowing it to provide safe sex to its officers. When the resistance was defeated in the early 1930s, and the Fascist administration began its demographic colonisation plans, colonial concubinage was prohibited as out of place in a racially segregated settler colony. This article employs an analysis of official archival sources to trace the regulatory framework that shaped the lives of the Libyan women and Italian officers engaged in concubinage in a shifting colonial society. The colonial administrations' regulatory efforts toward colonial concubinage testify to the crucial role that Libyan women and racially "mixed" relationships played in shaping categories of race, class, and gender relative to the Italian colonial context.

Past & Present

251 (1) 2021

Edward Gillin, Fanny Gribenski, *The Politics of Musical Standardization in Nineteenth-Century France and Britain*, Pages 153–187

This article examines mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-French relations through the prism of musical standardization. Bringing together perspectives from musicology, history of science, and political history, it demonstrates the holistic value of musical practices for the study of processes of political integration. In 1859, Napoléon III's government determined a national pitch to which musicians should tune their instruments. The following year, Britain's Society of Arts attempted to emulate this standard. Amid tense Anglo-French relations, British audiences interpreted the French pitch as a measure of the country's autocracy, and these political anxieties materialized through a redefinition of the standard. The challenges of introducing a musical pitch within a liberal political framework encountered in 1859 were subsequently echoed in debates over the reform of weights and measures following the 1860 free trade treaty between Britain and France. Both the economic and artistic integration of these countries involved the problem of how to regulate society within a laissez-faire state. Musical standardization has received little historiographical attention, but the regulation of this art offers insights into mid-nineteenth-century Anglo-French political culture. Entangled within complex network of industrial, institutional, and social structures, musical pitch demonstrates how problems of economic and social integration were inseparable from international and socio-political contexts.

252 (1) 2021

James Vernon, *Heathrow and the Making of Neoliberal Britain*, Pages 213–247

How might we understand neoliberalism and its history differently if we trace its emergence and operation in a particular place? As the first airport in the world to be privatized in 1986 Heathrow is a paradigmatic neoliberal space. And yet for decades before it was sold the airport's services — catering, cleaning, retail and security — had been steadily deregulated and outsourced in ways that force us to reconsider neoliberalism as discrete from, or emerging from a rupture with, welfare capitalism. The precarious and cheap outsourced forms of labour at Heathrow were performed by Commonwealth citizens of colour, often women, who had paradoxically arrived in Britain through an increasingly hostile immigration regime at the airport. The racialized forms of neoliberal capitalism at the airport depended upon and reproduced a post-imperial social formation that was no less marked by postcolonial crises and a new biopolitics of immigration control designed to restrict their diasporas in the metropole. Seen from Heathrow, neoliberalism is less about the global flow of ideas and capital than the local social formations and labour regimes engendered by changing forms of accumulation.

253 (1) 2021

Vladimir Hamed-Troyansky, *Ottoman and Egyptian Quarantines and European Debates on Plague in the 1830S–1840S*, Pages 235–270

In the 1830s, plague, which had been all but forgotten by most Europeans, was on everyone's lips again. Shortly after the Ottoman and Egyptian governments instituted their first permanent quarantines, the disease broke out in the Levant and the Nile delta, and the global medical community watched anxiously to see whether these new western Mediterranean-style quarantines would be able to contain it within the eastern Mediterranean. By tracing two Russian medical expeditions from the Black Sea port of Odessa to the Ottoman empire and Egypt in the 1840s, this article examines the world of European medical practitioners who engaged in vigorous debates about plague and its prevention. Did the disease have a 'birthplace' somewhere in the Middle East? Did it spread through contact with its victims, or was it omnipresent in the bad air? Russian, French, British and other medics questioned old assumptions about plague and its contagiousness, while testing out their hypotheses in Ottoman and Egyptian domains. By the 1840s, the Middle East had become a global site for epidemiological research, driving the internationalization of prevention against epidemic. Meanwhile, Ottoman and Egyptian quarantines, and the elusive nature of plague, became entangled with European political ambitions and commercial interests in the Middle East.

[The English Historical Review](#)

Brendan Maartens, *For ‘Common Christianity’: War, Peace and the Campaign of the Irish Recruiting Council, 1918*, «The English Historical Review», Vol. 136, Issue 579, 2021, pp. 364-394.

Established towards the end of the Great War, the Irish Recruiting Council was responsible for one of the largest military recruitment campaigns ever waged on Irish soil. Tasked with raising 50,000 volunteers, it produced a wide array of promotional material which included posters, newspaper advertisements and a fortnightly magazine entitled *The Irish Soldier*. Its work has attracted a measure of scholarly attention, but little is known about its origins, its dealings with authorities in Westminster and Dublin Castle, and the operational difficulties it encountered when attempting to mobilise the public. Even less is known about its newspaper campaign and the reasons behind the continuation of the body in peacetime, when the need for recruits had apparently subsided. This paper addresses these shortcomings by examining the IRC in more detail than has hitherto been achieved in the historiography. In so doing, it calls for a revision of existing understandings of the Council, suggesting that it was not just a recruiting body per se, but a major propaganda agency which portrayed enlistment as a means of uniting a divided country and encouraged Irishmen to mobilise to help resolve long-standing tensions between nationalists and unionists.

James Taylor, *‘Distrust all Advice ... and Make No Exception in Favour of our Advice’: Financial Knowledge and Knowingness in Late Victorian Britain*, «The English Historical Review», Vol. 136, Issue 580, 2021, pp. 619-650.

Over the past two decades, our understanding of the development of financial markets in the nineteenth century has been transformed by scholars working in two broad areas. Economic sociologists and literary scholars have explored the discursive underpinnings of the institutions of modern finance, deftly tracing the ways in which stock markets were legitimised through a growing association with science and statistics, and a simultaneous distancing from gambling and chance. From a very different perspective, quantitative analysis of shareholder registers and other archival records by economic historians and historical geographers has provided rich data giving a more precise picture of who invested and what they invested in. Valuable though this work has been, the gulf between the two approaches has resulted in a dearth of empirically grounded studies of the social and cultural dimensions of investment. An area particularly in need of greater exploration is the booming late Victorian print culture which purported to explain finance to new investors. This article offers a close reading of the financial journalism of Henry Labouchere, better known for his subsequent political career as a Liberal MP. Labouchere’s writings are deliberately riddled with contradictions, simultaneously legitimising and questioning the stock market, and switching between the roles of moral crusader and self-interested speculator. This carefully crafted performance encouraged an attitude of ‘knowingness’ towards finance among his readers which helps to explain why the stock market was able to grow in popularity even when it remained so closely associated with fraud.

Matthew Roberts, *Women and Late Chartism: Women's Rights in Mid-Victorian England*, «The English Historical Review», Vol. 136, Issue 581, 2021, pp. 918-949.

This article revisits the relationship between women and Chartism, the British mass movement for democratic rights that dominated popular politics from the late 1830s to the 1850s. It argues that the opportunities for women to participate in the movement were more varied, extensive and enduring than has often been appreciated. Particular attention is paid to late Chartism (1843–52) by documenting in full, for the first time, the number of female Chartist bodies in existence. By presenting new material, based on a combing of the press and the Home Office files, the article moves on to consider the role played by Chartist women in 1848, the year of European revolution when the movement revived. It then builds on the theme of late Chartism by offering a case-study of the Women's Rights Association (WRA). This body was established in 1851 by a group of Sheffield Chartist women to campaign for votes for women, which, it is argued here, represented the culmination of a women's rights discourse within early Chartism. The article concludes by comparing the women's rights discourse in early Chartism and other contemporary feminisms with that deployed by the WRA.

Conor Morrissey, *Protestant Home Rulers and Constitutional Nationalism in Ireland, c.1900-1914*, «The English Historical Review», Vol. 136, Issue 582, 2021, pp. 1224-1256.

This article assesses the role played by Protestants in the constitutional nationalist (or home rule) movement between the reunification of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) in 1900, and the end of the third home rule crisis in 1914. The IPP leadership took a favourable view of Protestant members, viewing them as a means of demonstrating that the movement represented the whole of Ireland, and intending that upper-class and professional Protestants would play a leading role in a future Irish parliament. However, the advance of exclusively Catholic organisations, most evidently the Ancient Order of Hibernians, challenged this policy. Protestants forged their own associational culture, in which their conception of Irish self-government was promoted. This article explores the tensions within the constitutional nationalist movement between those activists who viewed home rule as an irrepressible national demand, and the Protestants and 'Redmondites', who sought a close connection between Ireland and the Crown and Empire.

64 (1) 2021

Pablo Ariel Blitstein, *A Global History of the 'Multiple Renaissances'*, pp. 162-184.

Many scholars claim that the world has had many 'renaissances' in its long history: they advocate what we could call the 'multiple renaissances' thesis. In this article, I will focus on the history of this idea. Where and when did the 'multiple renaissances' thesis emerge? What intellectual exchanges and historical conditions made it possible? To answer these questions, I will first draw up a short genealogy of the idea that the European/Italian Renaissance is a 'culture' or a 'social type'; then, I will show that such typological use of the renaissance made it possible to apply this concept to different historical and social configurations, not only within, but also outside Europe; finally, through an analysis of the relation between Arnold Toynbee and Hu Shi, I will show that the uses of the renaissance category in the non-European world, especially in East Asia, contributed to shaping the 'multiple renaissances' thesis and, through it, to redefining the perception of the renaissance in Europe proper.

64 (2) 2021

Henry Miller, *The British Women's Suffrage Movement and the Practice of Petitioning, 1890-1914* pp. 332-356.

Through an examination of the women's suffrage movement, this article reassesses the place of petitioning within late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British political culture. While critical of their Victorian predecessors' reliance on petitions, the Edwardian women's suffrage movement did not abandon petitioning, but reinvented it. Rather than presenting a polarized view of relations between suffragettes and suffragists, the article shows how both operated on a spectrum of direct action politics through petitioning. Militants and constitutionalists pioneered new, although different, modes of petitioning that underpinned broader repertoires of popular politics, adapting this venerable practice to a nascent mass democracy. The article then situates suffrage campaigners' reinvention of petitioning within a broader political context. The apparent decline of petitioning, long noted by scholars, is reframed as the waning of the classic model of mass petitioning parliament associated with Victorian pressure groups. The early twentieth century was a crucial period for the reshaping of petitioning as a tool for political participation and expression through myriad subscriptional forms, rather than primarily through the medium of parliamentary petitions.

Mika Suonpää, *Swedish Counterintelligence Operations Against British Economic Warfare in Scandinavia, 1939-1940*, pp. 410-431.

This article examines the Swedish security establishment's counterintelligence measures directed against British preparations for economic warfare in Scandinavia in 1939–40. Although Stockholm was an intense spying location, there exists a gap in the historiography concerning the topic. At the beginning of the war, the British government regarded economic warfare as an efficient tool for shaking the foundations of the German war economy. Economic warfare included blockades,

sabotage, psychological warfare, and diplomatic threats. The present study explores Swedish operations against George Binney, who worked for the British government in war-trade-related issues. The article shows that the Swedish security service had difficulties in obtaining intelligence on Binney because of the reliance on casual informants, whose information was imprecise and sometimes misleading. The British succeeded in uncovering some of the Swedish counterintelligence tactics and this led to problems in capturing significant information, for example, via communication monitoring. The Swedish archival sources have added considerable new empirical details regarding British preparations for blockade running in July 1940. The study also shows that British officials operated on very dangerous ground, as some of the individuals they worked with were enemy agents or in a position to forward information in several different directions.

64 (3) 2021

David Saunders, *Pacifism, Infection, and 'Somatic Citizenship' in Wartime Britain, 1940-1943*, pp. 727-749.

This article explores how marginalized groups navigated the everyday politics of citizenship in Britain during the Second World War through a case-study of the Sorby Research Institute in Sheffield, a site in which pacifists and conscientious objectors participated in medical experiments as an alternative to military service. Examining the experiences of volunteers who were infested with parasites in a study of infectious disease transmission, this article traces the emergence of 'somatic citizenship' at the SRI: a distinctive kind of wartime service that was rooted in the everyday sensations, routines, and practices of the body. Ultimately, this article argues that the somatic labours of medical research offered a way of partially reconciling the conflicting demands of pacifism and national duty, allowing volunteers to reposition themselves as heroic wartime citizens. However, this was not a straightforward path to social rehabilitation, with various political, moral, and hygienic anxieties disrupting the pursuit of community acceptance. While contributing to ongoing work on citizenship, subjectivity, and emotion in wartime Britain, these findings also demonstrate how unconventional sources – in this case, medicalized descriptions of the body – can be redeployed to illuminate the politically saturated nature of everyday life under the conditions of total war.

64 (4) 2021

Ángel Alcalde, *Wartime and Post-War Rape in Franco's Spain*, pp. 1060-1082.

By examining the experience of rape in Spain in the 1930s and 1940s, this article explains how the Spanish Civil War and Franco's dictatorship dramatically increased the likelihood of women becoming victims of sexual assault. Contrary to what historians often assume, this phenomenon was not the result of rape being deliberately used as a 'weapon of war' or as a blunt method of political repression against women. The upsurge in sexual violence was a by-product of structural

transformations in the wartime and dictatorial contexts, and it was the direct consequence, rather than the instrument, of the violent imposition of a fascist-inspired regime. Using archival evidence from numerous Spanish archives, the article historicizes rape in a wider cultural, legal, and social context and reveals the essential albeit ambiguous political nature of both wartime and post-war rape. The experience of rape was mostly shaped not by repression but structural factors such as ruralization and social hierarchization, demographic upheavals, exacerbation of violent masculinity models, the proliferation of weapons, and the influence of fascist and national-Catholic ideologies. Rape became an expression of the nature of power and social and gender relations in Franco's regime.

32 (1) 2021

Liam J Liburd, *Thinking Imperially: The British Fascisti and the Politics of Empire, 1923-35*, «Twentieth Century British History», Vol. 32, Issue 1, 2021, pp. 46-67.

This article sets out to examine what fascism actually meant to its earliest British adherents focusing on Britain's first self-proclaimed fascist group, the British Fascisti (BF). Drawing on material from the BF's newspapers, the popular press, and archival sources, it argues that its members conceived of British fascism as an imperial solution to a crisis imagined in imperial terms. They envisioned British fascism in practice as the metropolitan extension of repressive imperial violence—that is, the ability to take whatever steps deemed necessary to safeguard the law, order, and the status quo, whether on the streets of Britain or those of the Punjab. In this sense, the article maintains, the BF formed part of a broader British political tradition, one that saw the 'ethos' of Empire as a means of averting Britain's decline. It begins by introducing the BF and their ideology, moving to a discussion of how the Jewish-Bolshevik plot against the British Empire imagined by BF members reflected the colonial experiences of their leading personnel. It then interrogates the BF's proposed antidote to this anti-imperial conspiracy. By emulating the qualities and behaviour of Britain's imperial heroes and living an 'imperial' way of life, they hoped to restore Britain to greatness. It concludes with a call for further research into the overlapping histories of British fascism and the British Empire.

David Vessey, *Words as well as Deeds: The Popular Press and Suffragette Hunger Strikes in Edwardian Britain*, «Twentieth Century British History», Vol. 32, Issue 1, 2021, pp. 68-92.

This article considers how national newspapers reported, portrayed, and narrated the militant suffragism of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). Using three popular newspapers, the Daily Mail, the Daily Express, and the Daily Mirror and the specific case study of hunger strikes and the government's response of forcible feeding, it evaluates the various tropes that characterized press coverage of the suffragettes. It investigates how militancy, an approach that prioritized spectacle, was covered in an emerging medium that sought to recast politics in a new and spectacular fashion, thereby extending understanding of how the style and content of popular newspapers evolved in the first decade of the twentieth century. In doing so, it expands existing research into the dynamics of the nascent popular press and its function as an 'arena' for fostering extra-parliamentary political debate. The WSPU attempted to take advantage of this opportunity to promote its own arguments on forcible feeding and female suffrage, using correspondence columns and prisoner testimony to elicit empathy, albeit with only sporadic success in receiving a sympathetic hearing from a hostile press, with enmity a consistent feature of editorial argument. Nevertheless, the article concludes that responses to hunger strikes and forcible feeding in the popular press were multifaceted, and whilst the WSPU was unable to reframe patriarchal narratives of political activism, it persisted with words as well as deeds in seeking to co-opt newspapers into its campaign and garner publicity for its cause.

Lindsay Aqai, Michael Kenny, Nick Pearce, *'The Empire of England': Enoch Powell, Sovereignty, and the Constitution of the Nation*, «Twentieth Century British History», Vol. 32, Issue 2, 2021, pp. 238-260.

The 50th anniversary of Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech brought back into public debate one of the most controversial figures in modern British political history. Powell remains indelibly linked to the stances he took on race and immigration in the 1960s and 1970s, but in recent years there has been a widening of the lens through which his politics and public arguments are viewed. This article contributes to this reappraisal, arguing that central aspects of his thinking were shaped by his highly distinctive reflections on sovereignty, representation, and the nation state in the early 1950s. It demonstrates that Powell's positions on both the internal configuration of the nation state and its external relations were intertwined, and were applied by him on a fairly consistent basis throughout his career, informing the stances he took on the contentious issues of Europe and Ulster in the 1970s, as well as immigration. Our account of his thinking challenges both the tendency of his interpreters to treat his views on international relations and the internal politics of the United Kingdom as thematically distinct, and the accusation of political opportunism that has been a central motif in commentary on his political career.

Theo Williams, *Collective Security or Colonial Revolution? The 1938 Conference on Peace and Empire, Anticolonialism, and the Popular Front*, «Twentieth Century British History», Vol. 32, Issue 3, 2021, pp. 325-349.

The 1938 Conference on Peace and Empire was emblematic of the deep divisions within the British socialist movement over the inseparable issues of fascism, war, capitalism, and colonialism. One grouping, around the Communist Party, the Labour Left, and the India League, espoused a reformist anticolonialism tied to a Popular Front of socialists and liberals and the collective security of the democratic powers against the menace of fascism. Another grouping, around the Independent Labour Party (ILP) and the International African Service Bureau (IASB), believed distinctions between 'democratic' and fascist colonialism to be flawed and instead advocated anticolonial revolution while rejecting what they saw as pleas to support colonialist policies under the guise of antifascism. This article advances three overlapping arguments. First, that the Popular Front strategy led Communists to promote antifascist alliances that necessarily diminished their anticolonialist activism. Secondly, that the IASB-ILP coalition was the most consistently militant anticolonialist force in Britain during the second half of the 1930s. Thirdly, that we need to more thoroughly integrate both the history of anticolonialism and the ideas and activism of people of colour into our understandings of inter-war British socialism.

Alexander Zevin, *New Liberalism and the City of London: Reassessing Empire, Finance, and Politics in Francis Hirst's Economist, 1906-16*, «Twentieth Century British History», Vol. 32, Issue 3, 2021, pp. 350-370.

The influence of the City of London on British politics has been a focus of controversy among historians. Likewise, the 'death of liberal England', during the years in which Liberals governed in the run-up to the First World War. The Economist, as the City's leading liberal weekly, allows us to explore the connection between these themes, in ways that challenge scholarly assumptions about

both. Under Francis Hirst, its editor and an influential New Liberal thinker in his own right, *The Economist* acted as a bridge between the realms of finance capital and political practice, at just the moment that a serious conflict appeared to divide them—over the new taxes and social reform measures in the People’s Budget of 1909–10. This article deploys Hirst and his tenure at *The Economist*—including his ejection in 1916 for supporting a negotiated peace during the First World War—to argue that finance and politics were deeply intertwined in liberal understandings of free trade, empire, and social reform by the turn of the twentieth century; in addition, it suggests that the conflicts that emerged at this time, over the interests of the City and how and if these were compatible with other economic, social, or political aims or actors, prefigured later, better-known clashes that have recurred in Britain down to the present.

Jim Tomlinson, *The Strange Survival of ‘Embedded Liberalism’: National Economic Management and Globalization in Britain from 1944*, «Twentieth Century British History», Vol. 32, Issue 4, 2021, pp. 483-508.

This article examines the fate of national economic management in Britain in the face of the growing economic international interdependence, which initially grew in the context of the ‘Bretton Woods institutions’, and continued apace up until the crisis of 2007–8. It frames the argument with the concept of ‘Embedded Liberalism’, which allows to examine in detail the evolution of key elements of the Bretton Woods settlement, their subsequent development, and how far these shifts led to a ‘race to the bottom’ in national policies. On the basis of arguments about the continuing viability of national economic management, it questions how far we should accept a story of ‘the short life of social democracy’ as a wholly accurate account of Britain since the 1970s.

Richard Dunley, Jo Pugh, *Do Archive Catalogues Make History? Exploring Interactions between Historians and Archives*, «Twentieth Century British History», Vol. 32, Issue 4, 2021, pp. 581-607.

Archival research is foundational to the writing of most works of academic history and is a central part of the professional identity of historians. Despite this, we know very little about what historians do in archives, and how it shapes the process of writing history. This article uses quantitative data from The National Archives of the UK to analyse one part of this puzzle, namely how historians choose what to look at in an archive. It explores the nature of archive catalogues, and their relationship to the collections they describe. It goes on to assess how catalogues shape what historians choose to view when they visit an archive, and concludes by looking more widely at historians’ information seeking practices. Through this analysis the article will argue that external factors have a far greater impact on archival research, and through it the writing of history, than is traditionally acknowledged, and as such historians need to pay considerably more attention to the ways in which their access to archives is shaped by these factors.

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Marta del Moral Vargas, *El miedo a la emancipación. La disolución de la militancia segregada en el socialismo madrileño (1906-1927)*, pp. 79-105.

Este artículo analiza la decisión de disolver la Agrupación Femenina Socialista de Madrid en 1927, tras más de veinte años de militancia segregada en el Partido Socialista Obrero Español. Se ofrece una interpretación histórica «de geometría variable» al valorar la influencia de factores en tres ámbitos: en el internacional, los avances en relación con los derechos de las mujeres y la instrumentalización del voto femenino influyeron en la estrategia socialista de formas diversas y, en ocasiones, contrapuestas; en el nacional, la escisión comunista provocó la salida de las defensoras de los grupos femeninos, y por último, en el local, la transformación de la identidad colectiva de la Agrupación en favor de postulados feministas planteó una amenaza para la observancia rigurosa del proyecto socialista.

Paula Canelo, *La «cuestión política» de la última dictadura argentina. La Secretaría General de la Presidencia de la Nación (1976-1978)*, pp. 285-315.

El artículo analiza el origen, la evolución y el fracaso de la «cuestión política» de la última dictadura militar argentina a través del estudio riguroso de la Secretaría General de la Presidencia de la Nación, el órgano gubernamental encargado de la agenda política de la primera presidencia del general Jorge Rafael Videla (1976-1978). A través de la observación de fuentes novedosas, el texto explica las funciones de esta secretaría en la estructura del gobierno cívico-militar, las trayectorias de sus miembros, sus vínculos con la dirigencia partidaria, su propuesta política y su destino en la interna dictatorial.

(122) 2021

Andrea Giuntini, *La batalla de la energía. Gas y electricidad en las ciudades italianas durante la era liberal (1861-1920)*, pp. 43-66.

A partir de la década de 1880 se inició una verdadera batalla en Italia en el campo de la iluminación entre el gas y la electricidad, una tecnología que ya estaba madura y que se estaba estableciendo. La historia forma parte de una época de gran transformación de los servicios urbanos, que se combinaría con el nacimiento de la sociedad de masas. El gas abandonó de forma gradual el campo de la iluminación para encontrar espacio para otros usos, contribuyendo de manera significativa a la modernización de la sociedad italiana en la era liberal. El fenómeno de la municipalización, que tuvo su edad de oro en los primeros años del siglo xx, también afectó al sector del gas, dando lugar a una

serie de episodios importantes tanto desde el punto de vista económico y tecnológico como sociopolítico.

(123) 2021

Pau Casanellas Peñalver, *Evitar «caballos de Troya». Las estructuras provinciales de poder del franquismo ante el resurgimiento del nacionalismo subestatal en Cataluña y el País Vasco (1960-1975)*, pp.135-161.

La instauración del franquismo dio lugar al intento probablemente más resuelto de la historia española de anodación de las lenguas no castellanas y de los nacionalismos subestatales. Con todo, a partir de los años cincuenta y, especialmente, sesenta, tanto el catalanismo como el vasquismo adquirieron un notable impulso. La principal respuesta de la dictadura fue la represión, pero algunos de sus sectores propugnaron una política de otro tipo que pudiera atraer y capitalizar ambos movimientos en beneficio propio. Se analizan en este artículo las propuestas sobre la cuestión emanadas de los órganos provinciales del Movimiento y de los gobiernos civiles tanto en Cataluña como en el País Vasco.

(124) 2021

Diego Checa Hidalgo, *Una historia en construcción resistencias no violentas al colonialismo en Palestina durante el siglo XX*, pp. 163-189.

Este artículo realiza un análisis sobre los procesos de resistencia no-violenta que la población palestina ha desarrollado para enfrentarse a las dinámicas coloniales implantadas en la región tras la caída del Sultanato Otomano. Para ello, se estudiarán los actores implicados en las resistencias y sus estrategias de lucha a lo largo de todo el siglo xx, comparando en especial los dos momentos donde esta resistencia ha tenido una mayor intensidad: la Gran Insurrección Árabe (1936- 1939) y la Intifada (1987-1990).

(43) 2021

Xavier Andreu Millares, *Nación y masculinidades: reflexiones desde la historia*, pp.121-143.

El texto analiza la relación entre nación y masculinidad en el mundo contemporáneo a partir del diálogo con una serie de debates teóricos recientes. En primer lugar, reflexiona sobre la conexión entre nación, masculinidad y “modernidad”. Seguidamente, se interroga sobre el concepto de “masculinidad nacional”. En tercer lugar, plantea la necesidad de rehuir una interpretación rígida de la relación entre ambas categorías. Finalmente, el texto concluye que para estudiar de forma compleja la relación que se establece en el mundo contemporáneo entre la nación y la masculinidad es necesario introducir la perspectiva histórica y atender a la acción de los sujetos históricos.

Soraya Gahete Muñoz, *Ser homosexual durante el franquismo. Su rastro en los expedientes del Juzgado Especial de Madrid para la aplicación de la Ley de Vagos y Maleantes (1954-1956)*, pp.185-200.

En 1954 la Ley de Vagos y Maleantes sufre una pequeña, pero importante modificación: los homosexuales son considerados como sujetos peligrosos y sobre ellos va a recaer un control institucional. A este control se le sumará una represión policial y médica con el fin de evitar que “estos comportamientos se contagien al resto de los hombres”. En este artículo se analizarán una serie de expedientes abiertos a hombres acusados de “actos homosexuales” en Madrid (aunque en algunos se recogen también detenciones en otros puntos de España) con el fin de analizar los distintos motivos por los cuales estos sujetos pasaron a ser detenidos y en qué casos la detención derivó en una condena. Gracias a estudios ya existentes en otros puntos como Barcelona, País Vasco o Canarias se podrá comparar si existieron diferencias en cuanto a los criterios de detención y condena en diferentes puntos de la geografía española.

Rafael Ángel Simón Arce, *Falange Exterior (1936-1945) Estado de la cuestión y líneas de investigación*, pp. 351-374.

Desde enero de 1936 hasta diciembre de 1945 el Servicio Exterior de Falange se extendió por Europa, América, Asia y África, llegando a englobar a varias decenas de miles de emigrantes españoles. Pese a lo cual ha merecido un tratamiento tangencial y puntual por parte de la producción historiográfica. Este artículo lleva a cabo una revisión de la historiografía al respecto y un análisis de cuáles deben ser las líneas de investigación y propuestas para un estudio global y en profundidad de esta sección de Falange, analizando como fue su establecimiento y desarrollo tanto en los servicios centrales, la Delegación Nacional del Servicio Exterior de Falange, el Servicio de Intercambio y Propaganda Exterior, etc., y como se produjo su extensión en las distintas secciones territoriales por medio mundo.

Numero extra 1, 2021

David González Vázquez, Ricard Conesa Sánchez, Jordi Guixé Corominas, *Del patrimonio al testimonio: el proyecto “in between?” y la memoria del exilio republicano*, pp.81-121.

El continuo desarrollo de las nuevas tecnologías, una política patrimonial focalizada en los lugares de memoria del exilio republicano español y el desarrollo de nuevas redes internacionales que promueven proyectos vinculados a la memoria colectiva en Europa, ha permitido que surjan nuevas experiencias colaborativas como el proyecto “In Between?”.

Impulsado por la European Network Remembrance and Solidarity (ENRS) y dirigido a jóvenes estudiantes de toda Europa, una de las ediciones de este proyecto fue realizada en la frontera franco-española. Distintos estudiantes de diferente nacionalidad compartieron una experiencia de investigación y recogida de datos de varios espacios memoriales y testimonios del exilio republicano español, una memoria que ha marcado para siempre diferentes municipios alrededor de la frontera, creando una identidad singular.

Yolanda Guasch Marí, *Las artistas exiliadas en México y sus descendientes en las bases de datos. Análisis y propuesta*, pp. 122-151.

En este artículo analizamos las bases de datos existentes en la red sobre mujeres artistas y la presencia en ellas de las exiliadas en México tras el conflicto español; justificando la necesidad de crear una base de datos en línea; en acceso abierto; que visualice de igual forma su trabajo y se convierta en otro espacio que permita el acercamiento a las publicaciones sobre las mismas; la ubicación de las obras más representativas o la biografía; entre otros aspectos; con el fin de generar nuevas miradas que contribuyan; en definitiva; a su conocimiento.

(19) 2021

Eduardo Abad García, *Viento del este. La URSS en la cultura militante de los comunistas españoles (1917-1968)*, pp. 196-228.

Este artículo rastrea las principales características y manifestaciones de la influencia soviética en la cultura y la memoria comunista española. Para ello, se realiza un repaso general a través de su evolución histórica desde 1917 hasta 1968. Unas décadas en las que los comunistas sufrieron importantes transformaciones y en las que la visión que tenían de la URSS fue modulándose paulatinamente en función de las distintas coyunturas. La fidelidad a los valores que encarnaba la Unión Soviética se encontraba directamente vinculada a su repertorio cultural y a su propia autopercepción como militantes comunistas.

Mónica García Fernández, *Sexualidad y religión en el tardofranquismo. La recepción de la Humanae Vitae en España y la crisis de autoridad de la iglesia*, pp. 255-290.

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar el contexto en el que se publicó la encíclica *Humanae vitae* (1968) de Pablo VI y su recepción en España. Se trata de explorar sus antecedentes e impacto en el marco del Concilio Vaticano II y también del llamado “desenganche” de la Iglesia en el tardofranquismo. La controversia que se generó cuestionó la propia autoridad moral de la Iglesia. Además, se inserta en un contexto en el que se estaba produciendo una importante transformación en la concepción católica de la sexualidad, ligada asimismo a un vivo debate sobre el control de la natalidad en el que la popularización de la “píldora” tuvo gran peso.

(267) 2021

Alfonso Calderón Argelich, *¿Un historiador progresista? La evolución del liberalismo católico de Antonio Ferrer del Río*, pp. 101-128.

El escritor Antonio Ferrer del Río (1814-1872) ha sido considerado tradicionalmente como un exponente paradigmático de la historiografía progresista por sus obras dedicadas a las Comunidades de Castilla y al reinado de Carlos III. Sin embargo, en el marco de las recientes aportaciones sobre culturas políticas liberales y las relaciones entre nacionalismo y religión en España, se hace necesario revisar esta adscripción ideológica. Un análisis que vaya más allá de las etiquetas simplificadoras revela, en cambio, la complejidad de la aportación de este historiador. Para ello, se ha recurrido a la correspondencia que mantuvo con los archiveros Manuel y Prósper de Bofarull y a otras producciones menos conocidas, además de sus publicaciones en prensa. Así pues, a través de la contextualización de este material se revela un liberalismo cambiante, que a principios del régimen isabelino se situaba cercano al moderantismo, para luego evolucionar hacia posturas abiertamente progresistas. La rehabilitación historiográfica que este autor emprendió del reformismo dieciochesco ofrece una oportunidad para ahondar en las contradicciones y límites del liberalismo católico hispánico.

Marcela García Sebastiani, *Diplomacia, turismo e identidad nacional. La celebración del 12 de octubre en España durante la Guerra Fría*, pp. 195-226.

Las conmemoraciones y celebraciones patrióticas han sido atendidas en recientes estudios sobre el nacionalismo y las identidades territoriales. El 12 de octubre es día de fiesta nacional de los españoles desde 1987. Fue día de la raza desde 1918 y día de la hispanidad desde 1958. Perdurable y adaptada al cambio político, discrepancias regionales y coyunturas internacionales durante el siglo XX, la celebración hace referencia al pasado imperial para la identificación de los españoles, entre ellos y con el mundo. Este trabajo estudia cómo el turismo, en plena expansión durante el franquismo desarrollista, se incorporó a la puesta en escena y moldeó la dimensión internacional de la celebración itinerante por la geografía española, difundiendo paisajes, territorios y significados de la fecha para identidades nacionales, regionales y transnacionales. El análisis se centra en el despliegue de actores públicos y asociaciones civiles en las fiestas de 1957 y 1963 para demostrar cómo el símbolo fue un instrumento de diplomacia cultural y expresión de una idea de España en el mundo durante la Guerra Fría.

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Sergio Vaquero Martínez, *Defender el Estado: militarización del sistema de orden público en el segundo bienio republicano, 1933-1936*, pp. 683-711

El objetivo del siguiente artículo consiste en analizar la militarización del sistema de orden público durante el segundo bienio republicano. El corpus de fuentes consultadas incluye la Gaceta de Madrid, el Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes, memorias, revistas policiales, prensa histórica y documentación archivística. Se defiende que su evolución dependió básicamente de cinco factores: los discursos gubernamentales sobre el orden público y la cultura profesional de guardias civiles y policías; el aparato legal y organizativo de seguridad; la presión sobre el Gobierno de partidos políticos, organizaciones patronales, grandes terratenientes, periódicos nacionales, cuerpos policiales y el Ejército, destacando la conducta de los *border parties* y la del presidente de la República; las diferentes políticas de orden público; y el control policial de la protesta y los principales episodios de violencia política. Se concluye que la militarización no fue un fenómeno constante ni irreversible, sino que hubo dos procesos distintos: uno de militarización entre septiembre de 1933 y diciembre de 1935, que se aceleró en octubre de 1934 y se desaceleró en abril de 1935, y otro de desmilitarización hasta febrero de 1936. Esta alternancia fue originada por la dialéctica entre dos modelos específicos de orden público: uno contrarrevolucionario y otro liberal.

Pablo Guerrero García, *Entre la neutralidad y la lealtad: el embajador Areilza y la Guerra de Argelia*, pp.797-825.

Este artículo de investigación aborda las gestiones diplomáticas al más alto nivel efectuadas en el transcurso de la última fase de la guerra de Argelia por José María de Areilza (1909-1998), quien se desempeñó como embajador de España en Francia entre 1960 y 1964. Apoyándose en documentos diplomáticos, primordialmente cartas e informes, así como en el testimonio retrospectivo de Areilza mismo, cuyo contenido se matiza a la luz de la documentación archivística consultada, el artículo expone cómo el embajador Areilza propugnó ante el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores español, hasta abril de 1961, una política de equidistancia entre los partidarios y los detractores de la política argelina del presidente De Gaulle, un conflicto intestino que había dividido profundamente a la sociedad y al ejército franceses. Una vez fracasada la sublevación de los generales antigaulistas en Argel y pese a las simpatías que la causa de los golpistas despertaba en algunos sectores del régimen de Franco, Areilza planteará abiertamente la necesidad de colaborar estrechamente con el Gobierno francés a fin de obtener de este el respaldo a la solicitud española de asociación al Mercado Común.

Historia Contemporánea

Armando Zerolo Durán, «Un Trono constitucional para Francia: Chateaubriand y la idea de una monarquía liberal», in *Historia Contemporánea*, n. 67, pp. 867-896.

La Restauración en Francia fue el campo de prueba de un experimento político que funcionó mal. La Revolución acabó con el Antiguo Régimen y abrió la posibilidad de una forma política más democrática. El objeto de investigación de este ensayo se centra en dos puntos. El primero, la interpretación personal que hizo Chateaubriand de los principios constitucionales establecidos en la Carta de 1814 otorgada por Luis XVIII; el segundo, la lucha velada que sostuvo con los miembros de su partido desde la tribuna del periódico *El Conservador* para explicarles que la Monarquía debía adaptarse a los principios constitucionales si quería sobrevivir. Se verá que la propuesta de Chateaubriand era mucho más consecuente de lo que habitualmente se ha afirmado y que en sus escritos se puede encontrar una teoría política original.

Nere Basabe, «El Bonapartismo, o la "Dictadura Democrática" moderna», in *Historia Contemporánea*, n. 67, pp. 833-865.

La inusitada repetición en Francia de dos Imperios surgidos de la dinastía de los Bonaparte a lo largo del siglo XIX (1799-1815 y 1852-1870) dio origen a una corriente ideológica y una cultura política propia que, en opinión de muchos, alcanza incluso hasta nuestros días. Pese a su especificidad histórica y la dificultad de su conceptualización, el bonapartismo reunía una serie de características de radical novedad: forma por excelencia de la dictadura moderna, modelo de tránsito entre las antiguas monarquías absolutistas y los totalitarismos contemporáneos, el bonapartismo se presenta así como una curiosa combinación de autoritarismo político-militar pero legitimada por un fuerte apoyo de base popular y plebiscitario, que vino a dar al traste con la tipología de las formas clásicas de gobierno.

Victor Gavín Munté, «El tiempo de Madariaga y la idea de Europa: Salvador De Madariaga en el Congreso de Europa en La Haya (1948)», in *Historia Contemporánea*, n. 67, pp. 705-733.

La idea de Europa en Salvador de Madariaga se fundamentaba en el convencimiento que, sin la creación previa de una conciencia europea, entendida como la capacidad de pensar los problemas de Europa sin tomar en cuenta las fronteras que dividen a los diferentes estados que la conforman, cualquier proyecto de integración política o económica estaría incompleto. La solidaridad de hecho, es decir, aquella derivada de las inevitables interrelaciones político – económicas entre los estados, debería completarse con la solidaridad subjetiva que une a las personas más allá de los intereses materiales, convirtiendo así sus problemas en comunes sólo solucionables con planes también comunes. Ello sería posible con la existencia de una conciencia europea que debería ser asumida por una élite encargada de dotar de ‘alma europea’ a las instituciones que se crearan. Esta idea la defenderá Salvador de Madariaga en el Congreso de Europa en La Haya (1948) y tendrá su plasmación práctica en el Colegio de Europa en Brujas (1949) fundado a iniciativa suya y al cual estará vinculado como presidente de su Consejo de Administración hasta el año 1972. Un año después recibiría el Premio Carlomagno por su labor en favor de la construcción de Europa.

Edward Goyeneche-Gómez, «Las relaciones públicas, la comunicación visual y el mito del capitalismo transnacional (1983-1950)», in *Historia Contemporánea*, n. 66, pp. 493-522.

El artículo estudia las transformaciones de las relaciones públicas (PR) internacionales, entre 1943 y 1950, en el contexto de la industria privada norteamericana, vinculado al desarrollo del *Proyecto Fotográfico de la Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)*, que buscaba la construcción de un nuevo mito sobre el capitalismo transnacional, que conectara la economía, la sociedad y la cultura, más allá de los estados nacionales, en medio de una crisis discursiva generada por la Segunda Guerra Mundial y las ideologías populistas y folcloristas dominantes. Se demuestra que esa multinacional, buscando enfrentar una crisis de imagen, revolucionó el campo de las relaciones públicas, a partir del uso de un aparato de comunicación visual, denominado fotografía documental industrial, que permitiría conectar de manera inédita y contradictoria, en torno a la historia del petróleo, a Estados Unidos con sociedades de todo el globo, principalmente con América Latina.

Froilán Ramos Rodríguez – Costanza Arias Arias, «El Mundo se resquebraja. La Percepción chilena de las Revoluciones de Europa Oriental en 1989», in *Historia Contemporánea*, n. 65, pp. 197-232.

Este trabajo analiza la percepción de las revoluciones de Europa Oriental de 1989 a través de la prensa chilena, en el contexto del proceso de cambio político que vivía Chile en aquel momento. La investigación se apoya en la revisión crítica de diversos medios contemporáneos: diarios, revistas, testimonios escritos, que permiten aproximarse al impacto producido en la esfera pública, los actores políticos y medios de comunicación. Las revoluciones de 1989 conllevaron a la caída de los gobiernos comunistas en diversos países europeos, que consiguientemente repercutieron en el fin de la Guerra Fría y de la Unión Soviética.

Historia del Presente

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Antonio Moreno Juste, Carlos Sanz Díaz,

La construcción de la Europa del Sur como categoría de estudio Guerra Fría, integración europea y consolidación democrática en los convergentes años ochenta, pp.5-23

La adopción del concepto de Europa del Sur como categoría de análisis histórico de creciente actualidad ofrece la posibilidad de reconsiderar la historia de la Europa contemporánea en clave regional, especialmente en un periodo tan complejo como los años ochenta, auténtica charnela entre el mundo posterior a 1945 y el que se irá configurando tras la caída del Muro por la convergencia temporal e interacciones entre diferentes procesos y tendencias históricas, no siempre bien valoradas en las agendas de investigación: en lo económico-social –sustitución del agotado modelo económico de posguerra por un «modelo europeo» anclado en el proceso de integración que impactará sobre unas relaciones norte-sur mediatizadas por la rápida y epidérmica europeización de los países mediterráneos–; en lo político-institucionales –la consolidación de las democracias del Sur de Europa y la nueva estabilidad política que experimentaron estos países tras conocer complejos procesos transición en la década anterior–; y, finalmente, también en el ámbito geoestratégico –el conflicto bipolar en un contexto marcado por la progresiva atemperación de las tensiones en el Mediterráneo–. Una aproximación a las formulaciones teórico metodológicas y a los debates historiográficos más recientes a través de la literatura más destacada sobre este objeto de estudio y su marco analítico constituye el propósito de estas páginas.

Luciana Fazio

La Internacional Socialista, Felipe González y Bettino Craxi en la definición de una política 171 comunitaria: el caso de Nicaragua, pp.171-185.

Este artículo muestra, a través del caso nicaragüense, cómo el Partido Socialista Italiano de Bettino Craxi y el Partido Socialista Español de Felipe González se interesaron en América Latina y buscaron definir una política común y comunitaria hacia Centroamérica. De hecho, en la década de los ochenta, los socialistas españoles e italianos incluyeron las preocupaciones latinoamericanas en el seno de la Comunidad.

Por primera vez, la Comunidad comenzó a interesarse por los aspectos políticos y sociales de la región. En este acercamiento birregional, la Internacional Socialista desempeñó también un papel importante pues este organismo le permitió a González y a Craxi internacionalizar sus partidos, estrechar vínculos internacionales y, de alguna manera, definir sus políticas exteriores. El estudio de estas relaciones resulta hoy en día importante porque constituye el fundamento sobre el cual se construyó toda la estructura que rige las relaciones euro-latinoamericanas del presente.

(38) 2021

Alejandro Pérez Olivares, Sergio Riesco Roche, *De cifras, rostros y espacios instituciones del orden y políticas de control en el sistema represivo franquista*, pp. 27-48.

El presente artículo trata de reflexionar sobre las múltiples caras del proceso represivo durante la dictadura franquista enmarcándola dentro de la idea de guerra total. Esto nos permite trazar algunas comparaciones con procesos similares tomando como referencia el estudio del control social. Más allá de enfoques puramente cuantitativos, nos proponemos fijar la atención en procesos cualitativos de mayor calado en la imposición de un orden sociopolítico que combina tanto elementos antiguos como otros muy innovadores. A partir de espacios muy definidos, que desempeñan un papel central en nuestra aproximación, vehiculizamos la represión como parte de un concepto de colonización. Aquí, este término adquiere una dimensión globalizadora que permite enfocar el control social como un elemento tan dinámico como estructural, imprescindible a la hora de analizar los regímenes autoritarios.

Giaime Pala, *Movimiento sociopolítico y sindicato. El PSUC y el debate sobre el destino de Comisiones Obreras (1969-1976)*, pp. 107-126

En junio de 1975, las «Candidaturas Unitarias y Democráticas» obtuvieron una poderosa victoria en las elecciones sindicales de la Organización Sindical Española (OSE), es decir, los sindicatos franquistas. Estas candidaturas habían sido promovidas por las Comisiones Obreras (CCOO), movimiento sociopolítico y obrero guiado durante el tardofranquismo por los dirigentes obreros del Partido Comunista de España (PCE) y del Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC). A raíz de la victoria, los dos partidos debatieron sobre si habían de mantener las estructuras organizativas de CCOO o, por el contrario, si había llegado el momento de centrar toda su acción en los cargos sindicales recién elegidos y en las posiciones conquistadas en la OSE para iniciar a crear un sindicato unitario. En el PSUC este debate fue mucho más intenso y complejo que en el PCE, y contribuyó a la decisión de transformar las CCOO en un sindicato en otoño de 1976.

Historia y Política

(45) 2021

Francisco Jorge Leira Castiñeira, *Resistentes y disidentes. Una tipología de la protesta en el Ejército de Franco*, pp.177-204.

El presente artículo se centra en aquellos combatientes del Ejército insurgente que no comulgaron ni con la movilización forzosa ni con la guerra. Se encuentran una serie de resistencias y disidencias que tienen un importante coste personal y familiar. Con el estudio de este colectivo se desea exponer que la tropa golpista fue más diversa que la reconocida por la propaganda y los discursos públicos del pasado. De esta forma, se contribuye a un mejor conocimiento de nuestro pasado reciente, en particular el de un grupo habitualmente obviado por la historiografía: los combatientes movilizados.

José Antonio Sánchez Román, *La Sociedad de Naciones en su centenario: un campo historiográfico en expansión*, pp.325-355.

Este artículo revisa la historiografía sobre la Sociedad de Naciones desde un período de relativo olvido, tras el final de la Segunda Guerra Mundial hasta la expansión del interés por la organización iniciada en la década de 1990 y que continúa en el presente. El trabajo repasa los temas e interpretaciones que han interesado a los historiadores y las razones que explican la falta de interés durante la Guerra Fría y la explosión de publicaciones en los últimos años. El final del conflicto bipolar, el debate sobre la llamada globalización y las transformaciones en el campo historiográfico con el fuerte impacto de las aproximaciones globales y transnacionales y la renovación de la historia imperial explican en gran medida el creciente interés de los historiadores por la Sociedad de Naciones. Por último, el artículo se plantea brevemente la posible continuidad del boom historiográfico sobre la organización internacional.

(46) 2021

Oriol Luján, *Con voto y voz: una nueva mirada a las culturas políticas liberales desde la perspectiva de los electores*, pp. 23-52.

Este artículo tiene el objetivo de contrastar algunos de los elementos que la historiografía ha identificado como definitorios y compartidos entre las culturas políticas liberales, construidos a partir de la mirada de las elites políticas, con la visión que los electores sostuvieron de su condición y del sentido que dieron al voto. Para conseguir este fin el texto examinará protestas de actas electorales, recursos de inclusión en el censo electoral y otra documentación escrita por los electores en los años de consolidación del liberalismo en España (1837-1868). Desde un análisis conceptual de los discursos y una mirada cultural fundamentada en la voz de los votantes se revisará la visión dominante de la política liberal. Como principales conclusiones se demuestra que, a pesar de las diferencias ideológicas, la mayoría de los electores entendían el voto como un derecho y que utilizaban los requerimientos electorales como instrumento de participación política.

Enric J. Novella, *Las lógicas de la emancipación: psiquiatría y ciudadanía en la España del tardofranquismo*, págs. 321-349.

El presente artículo trata de reconstruir y esclarecer algunas de las causas y consecuencias del clima de efervescencia emancipatoria que, como en otros ámbitos de la sociedad española, se apoderó de los discursos y las prácticas psiquiátricas en los años finales de la dictadura franquista. De este modo, la cristalización de una nueva sensibilidad hacia la situación de las personas afectadas por trastornos mentales, las crecientes exigencias de participación de los profesionales en la gestión de las instituciones y los esfuerzos por implementar un trato más horizontal con los pacientes se interpretan en el marco de la irrupción de una conciencia ciudadana más activa, asertiva e inclusiva. Teniendo en cuenta la severa restricción de derechos políticos y las medidas represivas con las que el régimen se enfrentó finalmente a la disidencia psiquiátrica, se concluye con una breve reflexión sobre el difícil encaje de la cultura de la salud mental comunitaria con entornos sociopolíticos autoritarios y el inevitable desencanto que hubo de provocar posteriormente la implementación efectiva de los procesos de desinstitucionalización y reforma psiquiátrica.

Pasado y Memoria

(22) 2021

Ana Aquado, Luz Sanfeliu, *El camino de la liberación. Asociacionismo femenino y culturas obreras en la Segunda República (1931-1936)*, pp. 237-263.

El presente texto reflexiona sobre algunas experiencias asociativas de las mujeres de distintas organizaciones femeninas de izquierda durante la Segunda República española (1931-1936). A través de ellas, las mujeres aumentaron su presencia pública en este período, sus vinculaciones y su compromiso, a través de múltiples acciones y propuestas. Pero a la vez, estas experiencias incrementaron el contacto y la interacción entre ellas, posibilitando su reconocimiento mutuo, su «apoyo mutuo», y con él, el desarrollo de su conciencia y de su identidad como mujeres, como socialistas y como trabajadoras. En otras palabras, su identidad como «compañeras», y su sociabilidad asociativa como «camino de la liberación» social y de género, en ocasiones en pugna con sus propios compañeros.

Joaquín A. Trincado Pizarro, *Posmemoria en la juventud chilena contemporánea. Pensar y habitar la postdictadura (1990-2019)*, pp.339-362

Este artículo propone una caracterización de las formas en que la generación postdictadura (nacida al final o después de la dictadura) en Chile se relacionó con el pasado reciente del país. Estas formas tienen que ver con la transmisión del trauma y memoria de la represión, así como con los efectos sociales en los jóvenes del sistema económico y político legado por la dictadura. Se presenta una síntesis de fuentes primarias (entrevistas, prensa, literatura y encuestas) y secundarias para plantear la necesidad de considerar la relevancia de la posmemoria en la politización de una parte de esta generación. En última instancia se llama la atención sobre la relevancia social de la posmemoria, más allá de los estudios de transmisión directa a la segunda o tercera generación de víctimas.

(23) 2021

Mateo Romeo, María Cruz, *De utopías, neocatólicos y política*, pp. 91-116.

El presente trabajo explora la pertinencia, o no, del uso de la categoría analítica de utopía en relación con el proyecto político de los neocatólicos en la España de Isabel II. Las dificultades del empleo de este concepto, así como su rechazo por parte de los protagonistas de la época, ofrecen una oportunidad para delimitar el sentido político y cultural del catolicismo intransigente en la sociedad postrevolucionaria. Sus propuestas enlazaron con demandas de grupos diversos temerosos ante los riesgos desestabilizadores del soberanismo partidario del decisionismo.

Rafael Pérez Baquero, *Europa como «comunidad mnémica»: el recuerdo del Holocausto entre memorias cosmopolitas y multidireccionales*, pp. 384-406.

El objetivo del presente estudio es ofrecer una reflexión sobre las dificultades inherentes a la construcción de marcos rememorativos, a nivel europeo, que integren las memorias heterogéneas de los diferentes estados. La particularidad de esta lectura radica en el recurso a categorías contemporáneas de los «estudios de memoria» para abordar tal desafío. En primer lugar, elaboramos los rasgos de la «memoria cosmopolita», desarrollada por Daniel Levy y Natan Sznajder. Tras presentar sus bases teóricas, recurrimos a ensayos críticos contemporáneos, para reflejar algunas de las limitaciones de las que dicha categoría adolece. Frente a aquellas, desarrollamos en qué medida la «memoria multidireccional» de Michael Rothberg supera dichos déficits y ofrece una matriz teórica para pensar y representar la construcción de una memoria transnacional europea.

STATI UNITI

Diplomatic History

Pierre Asselin, *Forgotten Front: The NLF in Hanoi's Diplomatic Struggle, 1965-67*, *Diplomatic History*, Volume 45, Issue 2, April 2021, pp. 330-355.

Following the onset of war against the United States in spring 1965, the leadership of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRVN, or North Vietnam) in Hanoi launched a so-called diplomatic struggle with two core objectives. The first was securing maximal military, economic, and financial aid from allies to sustain its war machine and mitigate the adverse effects of U.S. bombings on the northern economy. The second objective consisted of rallying world, including U.S., opinion against “U.S. imperialist aggression” in Vietnam with a view to “isolating” Washington decision-makers. In the face of mounting international and domestic criticism, DRVN leaders reasoned, the administration of U.S. President Lyndon Johnson would have to limit or end its intervention, including bombings of the North.

Felipe Loureiro, *Insoluble Dispute: The U.S.-Brazilian Soluble Coffee Trade and Brazil's Third Worldism*, *Diplomatic History*, Volume 45, Issue 1, January 2021, pp. 132-161.

In April 1972, the Brazilian Ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS), George Maciel, delivered a forceful speech to the plenary of the third United Nations Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD), held in Santiago, Chile. Identifying Brazil as a member of the Third World, Maciel castigated developed countries for their lack of meaningful cooperation toward poor nations, as well as for implementing protectionist measures against commodities and manufacturing goods coming from the South. According to Maciel, every time that “developing countries (managed) to increase their competitive capacity and (began) to penetrate into the markets of developed countries,” they were faced with protective measures. The only alternative for developing and underdeveloped countries to close the gap between the First and Third Worlds, concluded the Brazilian Ambassador, was to improve the institutionalization of UNCTAD, implementing Third World deliberations for the reform of the international economic order.

Anna Fett, *U.S. People-to-People Programs: Cold War Cultural Diplomacy to Conflict Resolution*, *Diplomatic History*, Volume 45, Issue 4, September 2021, pp. 714-742.

In 1956, President Dwight D. Eisenhower established the U.S. People-to-People Program as part of his campaign to win the Cold War. The program encouraged Americans as private citizens to create contacts with foreign peoples in an effort to foster “a sympathetic understanding of the aspirations, the hopes and fears, the traditions and prides of other peoples and nations.”¹ What began as a government-backed program eventually turned into a non-profit nongovernmental organization renamed People to People International (PTPI). This organization has continued Eisenhower’s vision for over half a century by working to “enhance international understanding and friendship” through the “exchange of ideas and experiences directly among peoples of different countries.” Nine U.S. presidents have served as honorary chairman of the organization, starting with Eisenhower.

Gender & History

33 (1) 2021

Kate Law, *We Wanted to be Free as a Nation, and We Wanted to be Free as Women': Decolonisation, Nationalism and Women's Liberation in Zimbabwe, 1979–85*

This article examines one of the most intractable problems that a newly independent nation encounters; the dissonance between the rhetoric of a revolutionary movement and its subsequent treatment of women in nationalist and supposedly decolonial projects. In drawing on interviews and archival research carried out in periodicals, newspapers and Hansard, the article examines the optimism, disillusionment and betrayal of Zimbabwe's women in the first decade of independence. Exploring women's variegated roles during the country's war of independence, this article argues that many women believed that their participation in national liberation would be a precursor to a broader programme of cultural and societal emancipation. Yet, as is shown, governmental thinking placed women as consumers and not producers of new nationalist culture. In particular, the grim reality of the situation was unambiguously shown just three years into independence through 'Operation Clean-Up', whereby thousands of women in Zimbabwe's main cities of Harare and Bulawayo were indiscriminately detained with state machinery arguing that the women were prostitutes, vagrants and beggars. A blatant effort to curtail women's autonomy in urban spaces, the machinations of 'Operation Clean-up' demonstrated an uneasy coherence between colonial and post-colonial thinking regarding the 'appropriate' place for women in the new nation.

Imaobong Umoren, *'It's Only Leftist Women Who Talk that Damn Nonsense About Women Being at a Disadvantage': Eugenia Charles's Gender Politics in Dominica*

Born in 1919 in Dominica and educated in Grenada, Canada and Britain, Eugenia Charles became the islands first female barrister, head of a political party and in 1980, Prime Minister. With political views on the right of the spectrum, her close alliances and friendships with Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan as well as her own defiant personality, Charles gained the title of 'Iron Lady of the Caribbean'. This moniker, however, obscures more than it reveals, especially when it relates to Charles's gender politics. This article examines her speeches, interviews and policies and argues that a politics of contradiction and ambivalence characterised Charles's gender politics. This ambivalence partly explains the resilience of andocentric masculinist ideologies present in Caribbean political structures. Moreover, it demonstrates the continuity of 'first-wave' Caribbean feminism in the late twentieth century and the pragmatism of women in politics.

33 (2) 2021

Sarah C. Dunstan, *Women's International Thought in the Twentieth-Century Anglo-American Academy: Autobiographical Reflection, Oral History and Scholarly Habitus*

Methodologies of textual and linguistic analysis have long held sway in Anglo-American practices of intellectual history. Such approaches tend to decouple the ideas being traced from the human subject, or scholar, producing the thought. Taking the lead from the rich theorising work done in

feminist, gender, race and cultural histories, this article asks what changes in our understanding of intellectual histories of international thought when we connect the lived and bodily realities of the human subjects producing the ideas to the ideas themselves. In so doing, the article makes a case for the importance of fleshing out what the author calls ‘scholarly habitus’ and suggests the potential utility of oral history as a methodology for reconstructing ‘scholarly habitus’. The article will draw upon an oral history archive comprised of twenty interviews conducted with senior women International Relations scholars from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom to flesh out this argument. The article argues that oral history, as a medium for autobiographical practice, can reveal aspects of how gender, race and class shaped the scholarly practice and career trajectories of these women, as well as shed light on the historical dynamics of the discipline of International Relations as a whole.

[Journal of Cold War Studies](#)

Evanthis Hatzivassiliou, *Images of the International System and the Cold War in Star Trek, 1966–1991*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 23, Number 1, Winter 2021, pp. 55-88.

As a work of popular culture, Star Trek incorporated U.S. perceptions of the Cold War, the Soviet adversary, the Third World, and the dilemmas of power in the international system. This article discusses both Star Trek series produced during the Cold War, highlighting continuities as well as interesting changes in popular perceptions during the final 25 years of that conflict. The article deals not just with "linear" allegories of the Cold War on the factual level (e.g., Vietnam), but also with the series' exploration of broader notions, such as leadership, threat perception, deterrence, the use of force, worldviews, the impact of the search for détente (1960s), and the end of the Cold War (1987–1991)—that is, the wider nexus of power and ideology that shaped the Cold War.

Margaret Murányi Manchester, *The Corporate Dimension of the Cold War in Hungary: ITT and the Vogeler/Sanders Case Reconsidered*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 23, Number 2, Spring 2021, pp. 41-74.

In 1949, two executives at the Hungarian subsidiary of the U.S. conglomerate International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT), Robert Vogeler of the United States and Edgar Sanders of Great Britain, along with five Hungarian nationals, were arrested, tortured, given peremptory trials, and imprisoned for espionage and economic sabotage. This article reexamines the case in light of the diplomatic efforts to secure their release. The case needs to be understood in the context of U.S. intelligence agencies' policies during the early Cold War. Numerous organizations that were not necessarily well coordinated embarked on intelligence-gathering and a variety of covert operations, some of which were undertaken with the cooperation of multinational corporations such as ITT. Vogeler and Sanders were indeed guilty of many of the charges leveled against them, and their ordeal was significant because it revealed the ineffectiveness of Cold War policies to influence behavior behind the Iron Curtain during the Stalin era.

Bent Boel, *The International Sakharov Hearings and Transnational Human Rights Activism, 1975–1985*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 23, Number 3, Summer 2021, pp. 81-137.

This article offers the first scholarly account of the International Sakharov Hearings, which were prompted by the so-called Moscow Appeal (1974) and took place in Copenhagen (1975), Rome (1977), Washington, DC (1979), Lisbon (1983), and London (1985). The article provides a detailed examination of each hearing, from the amateurish and politically murky origins in Copenhagen to the more mainstream and quite successful event in London. The article also attempts an overall assessment of the hearings as an original, important case of an international citizens' tribunal resulting from transnational human rights activism pursued in Andrei Sakharov's name in the context of the

Helsinki process. It raises questions about the roles played by various individuals, networks, and agencies, as well as the possible impact of the hearings, both domestically and internationally.

Jeffrey Herf, *The U.S. State Department's Opposition to Zionist Aspirations during the Early Cold War: George F. Kennan and George C. Marshall in 1947–1948*, *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Volume 23, Number 4, Fall 2021, pp. 153-180.

In the latter half of the 1940s, senior U.S. national security officials opposed Zionist aspirations for an independent state and sought to keep the Truman administration from actively facilitating that effort. Even though President Harry Truman himself expressed strong public backing for the new state of Israel, the reality, as recognized at the time by Israel's leaders and by prominent U.S. liberal political leaders and journalists, was that the United States was less firm, less consistent, and less consequential in supporting the establishment of the state of Israel than were the Soviet Union and the Communist states of Eastern Europe, especially Czechoslovakia and Poland. The situation that existed in 1947–1948, with significant U.S. government opposition and Soviet-bloc support for Israel, is evident from declassified files of the U.S. State Department and public records of the United Nations (UN).

33 (1) 2021

Logan Sawyer, *Originalism from the Soft Southern Strategy to the New Right: The Constitutional Politics of Sam Ervin Jr.*, pp. 32-59

Although originalism's emergence as an important theory of constitutional interpretation is usually attributed to efforts by the Reagan administration, the role the theory played in the South's determined resistance to civil rights legislation in the 1960s actually helped create the Reagan coalition in the first place. North Carolina Senator Sam Ervin Jr., the constitutional theorist of the Southern Caucus, developed and deployed originalism because he saw its potential to stymie civil rights legislation and stabilize a Democratic coalition under significant stress. Ervin failed in those efforts, but his turn to originalism had lasting effects. The theory helped Ervin and other conservative southerners explain to outsiders and to themselves why they shifted from support for an interventionist state powerful enough to enforce segregation to an ideology founded on individual rights and liberty. It thus eased the South's integration with the emerging New Right.

Peter Z. Grossman, *The Four-Decade Quest for an "Energy Independence" Policy: Chasing a Trope Through Time*, pp. 93-110

Since the presidency of Richard Nixon, policymakers have sought "energy independence" as the goal of energy policy. But that goal, unclear to begin with, has grown more opaque over time. "Energy independence" has meant different things at different times with no clear definition. Nevertheless, the goal is evocative, with symbolism that draws on key narratives from American history. This article argues that the idea of "energy independence" has become a trope and as such a major component of the energy-policy discourse. It describes the shifting (often only apparent) definitions of the trope both in energy-policy rhetoric and in energy legislation, and also explains how the discourse has shifted in recent years due to resource development and the realities of climate change.

33 (2) 2021

Drew E. Vandecreek *Strong Language: Mathew Carey, Sensibility, and the American State, 1819–1835*, pp. 113-142

Mathew Carey promoted the high tariff as a political expression of humane sentiments that relieved American workers of the misery caused by low wages and unemployment. This made him an early example of a state-builder working outside the state itself, building ideological frames and using emotional appeals to promote the expansion of state capacity. Although other aspects of his protectionism appealed to the republican tradition, Carey meshed his sentimental appeal with the liberalism. Later reformers integrated sensibility with liberalism by reference to the rights of vulnerable parties, but Carey added an appeal to an enlightened self-interest that allowed American manufacturers to profit while protecting workers. Although he became a well-known advocate for the organized provision of social welfare, his continued opposition to the widespread distribution of

outdoor relief also suggests that he viewed the policy as a circumscribed federal social-welfare measure providing work rather than direct aid.

Ryan Burke, *The Uncommon Defense Policy: History, Evolution, and Future Directions*, pp. 205-229

The United States Constitution requires the government “to provide for the common defense.” As a prime topic featured prominently throughout the legislative blueprint of American society, the “common defense” is conspicuously uncommon in today’s policy scholarship and education. Ironically, the policy discipline largely ignores defense issues despite defense serving as the catalyst for establishing policy studies as an academic field in the 1940s. Through decades of military conflict since and obvious relevance to practitioner behavior, defense issues remain ironically absent the public policy scholarly landscape and are instead hosted primarily within strategic and security studies mediums. This article offers an historical examination of the evolution, development, and scholarly shifts in defense policy over time. It also presents perceived reasons for the lack of defense policy dialogue, recommends approaches to reintegrate the topic back into the scholarly discourse, and concludes arguing defense policy warrants greater attention in academic scholarship and teaching.

33 (3) 2021

R. M. Bates, *Government by Improvisation? Towards a New History of the Nineteenth-Century American State*, pp. 287-316

Over the last thirty years, historians and historically minded political scientists have effectively overturned the long-held perception of the nineteenth-century United States as a polity defined by its lack of an effective state. By highlighting the myriad interventions of its energetic and enterprising federal government and by incorporating subnational governments and private actors and organizations as evidence of its impressive “infrastructural” power, a generation of scholars have, collectively, described a nineteenth-century state that was both more assertive and more robust than was previously thought. Yet other scholars have begun to ask whether this interpretation has concocted a state stronger and more coherent in prospect than it was in practice. By highlighting the piecemeal and often partial nature of the nation’s institutional development and the contradictions and incoherence that accompanied its infrastructural power, these scholars have laid the foundations for a new “improvisational synthesis” that stresses the equivocal nature of American state-building and considers its enduring vulnerabilities.

33 (4) 2021

John Worsencroft, *Salvaging Marginalized Men: How the Department of Defense Waged the War on Poverty*, pp. 373-400

Architects of social welfare policy in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations viewed the military as a site for strengthening the male breadwinner as the head of the “traditional family.” Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Robert McNamara—men not often mentioned in the same conversations—both spoke of “salvaging” young men through military service. The Department of Defense created Project Transition, a vocational jobs-training program for GIs getting ready to leave the military, and Project 100,000, which lowered draft requirements in order to put men who were previously unqualified into the military. The Department of Defense also made significant moves to end housing discrimination in communities surrounding military installations. Policymakers were convinced that any extension of social welfare demanded reciprocal responsibility from its male citizens. During the longest peacetime draft in American history, policymakers viewed programs to expand civil rights and social welfare as also expanding the umbrella of the obligations of citizenship.

Journal of Women's History

33 (1) 2021

Traci Parker, "*Sears Discriminated against Me because of My Sex and Race*": *African American Women Workers, Title VII, and the Sears Sex Discrimination Case*, pp. 12-36

In *Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) v. Sears, Roebuck, and Co.* (1986), the EEOC charged Sears with nationwide discrimination against women in violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. During the ten-month trial, two feminist historians Rosalind Rosenberg and Alice Kessler-Harris presented differing interpretations about women's labor history on behalf of Sears and the EEOC respectively. However, both testimonies, and the case more broadly, prioritized gender and ignored race—focusing expressly on white women's experiences—despite the racial diversity of complainants. Historical discussions about the case have followed suit. Using African American workingwomen's complaints and testimonies, this article examines their neglected role and charges of intersectional discrimination in the Sears case. This article concludes that the silencing of African American women—by the state, activists, and historians—helped to limit the power and efficacy of Title VII and reinforced much of the discrimination that the case sought to eradicate.

33 (2) 2021

Kirrilly Freeman, *Saving Civilization: The "Monuments Men" in History and Memory*, pp. 85-110

This article examines the recent rebranding of the World War II Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Program (MFA&A) into the "Monuments Men." It contends that the Monuments Men project, and its consequent masculinization of male and female officers who served in the MFA&A, is not neutral but rather gendered and imperial: gendered because it asserts that the act of protecting objects of beauty and desire, especially those coveted by the enemy, epitomizes masculine heroism; imperial because with the defeat and occupation of Germany and the nascent Cold War, the United States took up the mantle of protector and champion of Western Civilization by asserting custodianship of its greatest treasures. The experiences of five women in the monuments program—Edith Standen, Ardelia Hall, Mary Regan, Evelyn Tucker, and Rose Valland—throw into troubling relief the impact of such heroic discourses.

Laura Beers, *Bridging the Ideological Divide: Liberal and Socialist Collaboration in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1919–1945*, pp. 111-135

For the past century, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has acted as a forum for women from across the political spectrum to come together in pursuit of international peace and political, economic, and social justice for all. A close examination of the political makeup of membership within the British branch of the WILPF and the mechanisms through which British women from different political backgrounds forged and sustained a working partnership with each other and their international sisters in the decades between the two world wars provides a valuable case study in women's collaboration across ideological divides. It substantiates the revisionist argument that the divide between socialist women and liberal (or so-called bourgeois) feminists has

been overstated, and highlights international politics and the international peace movement as a particular sphere of collaboration between socialist and liberal women during feminism's first wave.

Jon Coburn, "*Basically Feminist*": *Women Strike for Peace, Maternal Peace Activism, and Memory of the Women's Peace Movement*, pp. 136-162

This article examines the varying historical expressions of activists in Women Strike for Peace (WSP) to assess how changing gender ideology and feminist beliefs influenced the memory of the women's peace movement. A transformation in collective identity occurred among WSPers in the late 1960s, causing the group to engage with the women's movement in a way that had not previously occurred. Exploring how activists understood their past, this article reveals that leaders revised their group's historical narrative to craft a collective memory that gave WSP a history of feminist activism. This is shown most prominently in the reappraisal of Bella Abzug and the histories produced by activist Amy Swerdlow. The article argues that interpretations of the history and memory of the women's peace movement must acknowledge how gender politics change over time. It asserts the significance of this transformation for historicizing feminist beliefs among women's peace activists.

33 (3) 2021

Gajendran Ayyathurai, *Colonialism, Caste, and Gender: The Emergence of Critical Caste Feminism in Modern South India*, pp. 133-156

Subaltern studies, and postcolonial scholarship more broadly, has perceptively analyzed women's conditions in colonial India. Recent scholarship, however, has demonstrated the limitations of these approaches for understanding women's struggles against the interconnected problems of patriarchy and upper-caste power. This article builds on and extends this critical task. It demonstrates that Tamil Buddhist women and men in early twentieth-century Tamil Nadu repudiated privileged-caste patriarchy precisely because they understood caste and gender to be mutually constitutive. Through an analysis of the archive of *The Tamilian* (1907–1914), a weekly newspaper of the Tamil Buddhist movement, this study suggests that Tamil Buddhists argued that caste-based patriarchal power ascended during the colonial era by marginalizing Indian women in general, and by othering lower-caste and untouchable women and men, in particular. This necessitated the mobilization of Tamil Buddhists around critical caste feminism in colonial India.

33 (4) 2021

Eva Payne, *Deportation as Rescue: White Slaves, Women Reformers, and the US Bureau of Immigration*, pp. 40-66

In the spring of 1914, the US Bureau of Immigration sent Kate Waller Barrett, a well-known American medical doctor, social reformer, and suffragist, on a three-month trip across Europe to study the sources of the "white slave traffic." Although Barrett stressed her interest in protecting the

victims of white slavery, her report focused on the power of the US government to deport noncitizen women for their postentry sexual conduct. Barrett argued that sexually immoral immigrant women could be redeemed through the process of deportation if they were cared for by women immigration officers with the cooperation of women's voluntary organizations around the world. This article examines how Barrett and the Bureau worked together to reconfigure deportation as a protective rather than a punitive act. In doing so, they expanded the authority of white maternalist women's organizations to police poor migrant women and women of color domestically, and to pursue US government interests in the international arena.

Julia T. Martinez, *The League of Nations, Prostitution, and the Deportation of Chinese Women from Interwar Manila*, pp. 67-91

The 1933 League of Nations report on the traffic in women and children across Asia included a passing mention of the deportation of nine hundred Chinese women from the American Philippines. In the League's decades-long campaign aimed at the abolition of state-registered brothels, Manila, with its red-light district shut down since 1918, was regarded as a model for the suppression of the sex industry. This article considers the extent to which the criminalization and deportation of Chinese women was encouraged by the League of Nations' anti-trafficking campaign and whether the authorities and women's organizations in Manila shared the League's agenda. It highlights American discourse on prostitution as a police matter and suggests that abolition policies, combined with the targeting of Chinese women, undermined the aims of liberal feminist internationalists.

Anna Dobrowolska, "Everyone dreams about leaving": *Debates on Human Trafficking in State-Socialist Poland*, pp. 168-193

It is commonly assumed that during the state-socialist period in Poland the problem of human trafficking ceased to exist. Yet, at least two cases labeled as such were made public in the 1970s and 1980s, spurring vivid debates about the changing sexual mores and the role of the state in controlling migration and foreigners. This article analyzes how human trafficking was understood and debated by journalists, criminologists, and state representatives in the last two decades of state socialism. Thus, it contributes to the scholarship on human trafficking by bringing the Second World into the debates on migration and sex work after the Second World War. This article also showcases how seemingly outdated discourses of "white slavery" could be reapplied to serve the purposes of Cold War competition.

Eileen Boris, Magaly Rodríguez García, *(In)Decent Work: Sex and the ILO*, pp. 194-221

By tracing sex work as it weaves in and out of the actions taken by the International Labour Organization (ILO) from its foundation in 1919 to the present, this article complicates the narrative the ILO tells about itself as well as about the place of what it judged to be prostitution in the making of the larger global labor standards regime. Given the many sections within its permanent secretariat, the International Labour Office, as well as its position as an arena serving diverse stakeholders from nation-states, trade unions, employer associations, and, increasingly, women's organizations and NGOs, the ILO offers a long-twentieth-century history of the tension between intimate labor and the

quest for decent work. Thus, this analysis connects to broader discussions of global labor regulation and its relationship to the international political economy. It provides, furthermore, the first contextualized analysis of sex and the ILO over its entire history.

Radical History Review

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Corinne T. Field, *Old-Age Justice and Black Feminist History: Sojourner Truth's and Harriet Tubman's Intersectional Legacies*

This essay outlines Sojourner Truth's and Harriet Tubman's articulations of an intersectional black feminist agenda for old-age justice. The two most famous formerly enslaved women in the nineteenth-century United States, Truth and Tubman in their speeches, activism, and published *Narratives* revealed the mechanisms of domination through which enslavers and employers of domestic servants extracted productive and reproductive labor from black women, who in turn faced premature debility and immiseration at the end of life. Truth and Tubman linked what is now called necropolitics—"subjugation of life to the power of death," in Achille Mbembe's phrase—to the coercive organization of care work, what Evelyn Nakano Glenn refers to as being "forced to care." They point to the importance of gendered and racialized labor to the history of old age in America.

Enrique Espada Lima, *"Until the Day of His Death": Aging, Slavery, and Dependency in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*

This article examines postmortem inventories and notarial records from Brazilian slaveholders in southern Brazil in the nineteenth century. By discussing selected cases in detail, it investigates the relationship between "precarious masters" (especially the poor and/or disabled, widows without family, and single elderly slaveholding women and men) and their slaves and former slaves to whom they bequeathed, in their testaments and final wills, manumission and property. The article reads these documents as intergenerational contractual arrangements that connected the masters' expectations for care in illness and old age with the slaves' and former slaves' expectations for compensation for their work and dedication. Following these uneven relationships of interdependence and exploitation as they developed over time, the article suggests a reassessment of the role of paternalism in Brazil during the country's final century of slavery. More than a tool to enforce relations of domination, paternalism articulated with the dynamics of vulnerability and interdependency as they changed over the life courses of both enslaved people and slave owners. This article shows how human aging became a terrain of negotiation and struggle as Brazilian slave society transformed throughout the nineteenth century.

Ben Zdencanovic, *"Based upon New Principles": Abraham Epstein, the Soviet Union, and the Idea of Social Security in the United States, 1920–1942*

This essay examines the early life and work of the Russian American social reformer Abraham Epstein, an advocate for old-age pensions and compulsory social insurance whose work as head of the American Association for Social Security helped lead to the passage of the 1935 Social Security Act. The essay traces a young Epstein's 1921–22 journey to Russia to study the Soviet government's radical experiments in social welfare policy. Although Epstein was disillusioned with the Soviet system on the whole, his experiences in Soviet Russia informed his later idea of "social security": a unified system of social insurance and social assistance to protect the entire population from social

risk while functioning as a powerful tool of income redistribution. Epstein's early interest in Soviet social welfarism adds new insight into the development of the broader concept of "social security," an important but understudied link between Progressive Era "workingmen's insurance" and the postwar welfare state.

Laura Renata Martin, *Fighting for the Working-Class City: Retired Workers, Organized Labor, and Redevelopment in San Francisco*

This article examines the opposing sides taken by elderly tenants and labor unions over a major urban renewal project in 1970s San Francisco. Tenant activists sought to block the construction of the Yerba Buena Center and the resulting relocation of thousands of elderly residents of residential hotels. City labor unions lined up in support of the project, even though some of the displaced residents were former industrial workers and union members. By examining the path taken by both sides in the redevelopment struggle, this article grapples with their competing visions of working-class identity and interests. Ultimately, it argues that the position taken by labor leaders narrowed the labor movement's vision of its constituents and its mission. This narrowed vision led them to view impoverished retired union workers as their opponents rather than as comrades in a shared struggle for working-class dignity and self-determination.

Lauren Jae Gutterman, *"Caring for Our Own": The Founding of Senior Action in a Gay Environment, 1977-1985*

This article traces the founding of Senior Action in a Gay Environment (SAGE), the nation's oldest and largest social service organization for LGBT elders. Drawing on archival documentation as well as interviews with SAGE founders and early members, the article shows how SAGE was born of two largely disconnected social transformations: the gay and lesbian movement and the national expansion of services and programs for the elderly that was enabled by the Older Americans Act of 1965. SAGE's institutionalization and its relationship with the state allowed it to grow in an increasingly conservative political context while ensuring that the organization would not take a broadly intersectional approach to the challenges gay and lesbian elders faced. Despite its political limitations, however, SAGE provided a setting in which some white gay and lesbian elders began to see themselves as agents of social change.

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René Esparza, *"Qué Bonita Mi Tierra": Latinx AIDS Activism and Decolonial Queer Praxis in 1980s New York and Puerto Rico*

Employing an anticolonial and anticapitalist approach to HIV/AIDS, the activists of the Latina/o Caucus of ACT UP/NY pushed beyond a biomedical framework of "drugs into bodies" that tended to dominate the larger organization. As US queer racialized/colonial subjects, Latinx AIDS activists enacted a queer and feminist decolonial activism that looked past the continental United States to the

global South. In Puerto Rico, Latinx AIDS activists helped establish the first chapter of ACT UP in a Spanish-speaking country. Together, the Latina/o Caucus and ACT UP/Puerto Rico spearheaded a campaign against the colonial policies of the United States, the corporate greed of island-based pharmaceutical firms, and the heteropatriarchal investments of church and commonwealth officials—conditions that exacerbated the disproportionate rates of HIV/AIDS among Puerto Rican island and diasporic communities. Through these efforts, Latinx AIDS activists transformed the domestic and global fight against AIDS into a queer, feminist, and decolonial endeavor.

Devon Betts, *Who Gets to Be a #Truvadawhore: Promiscuity, Race, and Queer Politics*

In 2012 the FDA’s approval of Truvada as a type of HIV preventative health care (PrEP) generated a considerable amount of criticism. This discourse was exemplified by the #TruvadaWhore campaign, in which gay men used the hashtag to reclaim this derogatory term and made information on PrEP more accessible. Although this campaign is queer in its rejection of heteronormative logics, it also highlights the limitations of queer identity politics. The #TruvadaWhore campaign masks differences of power and privilege among MSM. It presumed that a critique of slut shaming could function universally across race, despite the racial myths about Black hypersexuality that have existed throughout modernity, and undergird the ongoing regulation of Black bodies, both queer and straight. Ultimately, this article calls for a queering and reimagining of such activism as an intersectional and coalitional project through an exploration of the question: who gets to be a #TruvadaWhore?

Jessica Ordaz, *“Aids Knows No Borders”: Testimonies of Hiv/Aids, Exclusion, and Migrant Detention*

This article explores the intersection between migrant detention and HIV/AIDS from the 1980s to the present. “AIDS Knows No Borders” centers histories of exclusion, detention, and deportation. The first part discusses immigration policy that made AIDS screening mandatory as part of the asylum process and the activism that resulted in protest of these measures. AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power/Los Angeles (ACT UP/LA), a grassroots direct-action organization, opposed this legislation throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Activists highlighted the global nature of AIDS; challenged misinformation; conducted guerilla theater, phone zaps, and die-ins; and held demonstrations against the INS, the use of immigration detention, and their treatment of migrants with HIV/AIDS. The article then moves to discuss more contemporary testimonies from HIV/AIDS-positive detention migrants.

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A.J. Bauer, *Propaganda in the Guise of News: Fulton Lewis jr. and the Origins of the Fairness Doctrine*

In the late 1940s, conservative radio commentator Fulton Lewis Jr. was embroiled in controversy after publicly criticizing consumer cooperatives for taking advantage of a federal tax loophole. Coinciding with the Federal Communications Commission’s reconsideration of its Mayflower

doctrine—a ban on broadcast editorials—the dispute served as fodder for New Deal–era progressive media reformers. This article unpacks Lewis’s mostly forgotten role as an unwitting catalyst of progressive media regulations through reconsidering the FCC’s 1948 Mayflower hearings, which resulted in the fairness doctrine (1949–87). This doctrine mandated that broadcasters present controversial issues of public concern in an ideologically balanced manner. Lewis’s news-breaking thus became framed as a problem in need of federal regulatory solution by reformers who sought to sublimate radio into an idealized liberal public sphere. These reforms, however, framed political disagreement as an epistemological crisis and, in doing so, unintentionally bolstered a conservative critical disposition toward the mainstream press, exemplified in the “liberal media” trope.

Sarah Nelson, *A Dream Deferred: UNESCO, American Expertise, and the Eclipse of Radical News Development in the Early Satellite Age*

International news, and the technological infrastructures required to collect, distribute, and publish it, have long been battlegrounds of imperial ambition and anticolonial contestation. In the early 1960s, press professionals, engineers, and telecom officials from the global South elaborated a wide-ranging structural critique of the status quo, arguing that developing mass media required decolonizing international networks and global governance practices that perpetuated media inequality. But over the course of the decade, UNESCO began to invite research and expertise from American social scientists and engineers, who came to define UNESCO’s approach to satellite-based media development. By redefining the scope of media development to an instrumentalist vision of Westernization, such research eclipsed a broad, structural vision of reform, casting southern experts’ more radical designs into shadow. By recovering this history, the article tells a new story of the ideologies and governance practices that helped sustain global news inequality in the satellite age.

Allison Perlman, *Telecasting an “Effective Weapon for Peace”: Intertel and Global Public Affairs Programming in the 1960s*

This article investigates the history of the International Television Federation, or Intertel. A collaboration between telecasters from the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia, Intertel throughout the 1960s produced and distributed public affairs documentaries for an international audience. Intertel’s members positioned public affairs programming in the 1960s as an “effective weapon for peace.” By making the nations of the world legible to one another, Intertel programs sought to deploy the international circulation of television texts as a means to diminish tensions in a world defined by uneven economic growth, Cold War ideological battles, and the specter of nuclear warfare. Drawing on archival materials, press reports, and the programs themselves, this essay offers an institutional history of the program’s development, expansion, and demise, as well as an analysis of its politics and ideological premises.

Maria Ferenc, Piotr Laskowski, *“Each Day the Ghetto Has to Find Consolation in Something”: False News as Breaking News in the Warsaw Ghetto*

This article analyzes the phenomenon of false news circulating in the Warsaw ghetto in the critical period of the first months of 1942. At that time, members of the underground and ordinary people

learned about the mass extermination of Jews in other towns and provinces of German-occupied Poland. The first part of the article discusses production of false news as a response to market demand for optimistic “breaking news” that strengthened the hope for the imminent end of war. The second part focuses on the political context and identifies political stakes and actors behind the production of false news. The article demonstrates that responding to market demand and political use and abuse of false news are not mutually exclusive but can reinforce one another. It also shows that dependence on false, optimistic news could not only make people psychologically resilient but also more vulnerable since it made them susceptible to political manipulation.

Kerri K. Greenidge, *Holding a Mirror up to Nature: William Monroe Trotter, the Boston Guardian, and the Transnational Black Radical Press, 1901–19*

This article argues that during the first two decades of the twentieth century, William Monroe Trotter’s *Boston Guardian* challenged “post-truth” politics at the heart of America’s exploitative racial project both at home and abroad. Trotter’s reinvigorated Black radical press exposed a fundamental lie at the heart of American racialization: that lynching, segregation, and violent white domination were natural features of United States exceptionalism, and that “the colored people themselves” (both at home and abroad) were responsible for their own subjugation. Through the *Guardian*’s campaign against racial disinformation espoused in mainstream Black newspapers, Trotter influenced the New Negro radicalism of Cyril V. Briggs, Hubert Harrison, and the African Blood Brotherhood.

Peter C. Hilos, “*Police Brutality Exposed*”: *Chicago, 1960-1974*

This article explores the conditions for changing news media coverage of police brutality, focusing on the *Chicago Tribune*. Police have historically dominated news about policing, resulting in very limited coverage of wrongdoing. Following the murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by Chicago Police officers, a racially and politically heterogeneous coalition exposed the connection between police brutality and knowledge production. Activists developed a radical critique of police brutality’s role in sustaining an unequal social order and opened new possibilities for political solidarity. When longtime Chicago machine alderman Ralph Metcalfe challenged Mayor Richard J. Daley on the issue, “regular” Black Democrats came to join liberals and radicals in demanding change. The conflict generated by Metcalfe’s revolt provided both a justification and a set of questions for the *Tribune*’s investigative task force to engage. In a pathbreaking series of investigative reports on police brutality in 1973, the task force convincingly demonstrated the existence of widespread police brutality but also tamed its political significance with bureaucratic reform. The dilemmas of coalition politics that shaped this investigative reporting and the response to it continue to structure the choices faced by political movements seeking meaningful transformation today.

Reviews in American History

49 (3) 2021

Jeremi Suri, *New Presidential History*, pp. 422-428.

Every generation of historians struggles with the tyranny of presidential biographies. Often written by journalists, friends, and other “insiders,” these massive tomes map entire eras around the actions, habits, and thoughts of a larger-than-life president. The best of these books place the president in his context, describing how he came of age and imbibed the assumptions of his era, how he rose to power by capturing the imagination of his peers, and how he then used his power to change the country, and perhaps the wider world. Although authors will differ in their assessments of the presidents they chronicle, the genre privileges positive judgments—how the man in the White House transcended his circumstances and tried to improve his society. Most presidential biographies reject heroic claims, but few escape the supposition that their subject mattered enormously. Why else would anyone read more than five hundred pages about a dead man?

49 (4) 2021

Benjamin E. Varat, *Religion, Power, and the Life of John Foster Dulles*, pp. 576-582.

Dwight Eisenhower left the presidency in January 1961, yet actions he and his longtime Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, undertook still reverberate powerfully across the globe. They cast a shadow over our contemporary world. Studying these actions can illuminate what the year 1953 means for an Iranian, why newspaper articles about Guatemalan refugees mention 1954, and why Chinese students stay after class to discuss the Taiwan Strait in 1954–55. The long-term significance of what Eisenhower and Dulles wrought provides so much fodder for historians seeking to reveal the motivations and impulses that animated these two men.

Studies in American Political Development

35 (1) 2020

Matthew Denney, *“To Wage a War”: Crime, Race, and State Making in the Age of FDR*, pp. 16-56.

The FDR administration waged a war on crime starting in 1933. I argue that this war on crime had three primary effects. First, it created a ratchet effect whereby expanded institutions did not return to previous levels after the campaign ended. Second, it instilled enduring institutional and racial logics into law enforcement in America. By building a state through a war on crime, these leaders constructed a criminal justice system designed to make war. Moreover, they perpetuated the surveillance of Black leaders and eschewed calls from Black organizations demanding protection from widespread racial violence. Third, these political entrepreneurs induced an issue realignment that defined crime policy around a politics of consensus—a consensus that included every major political bloc but Black Americans, who unsuccessfully called on the federal government to hold local police accountable and address racial inequality. This coalition diffused their methods to states and deployed future wars on crime, and the racial logics cemented in the FDR era set the stage for these future wars to be deployed disproportionately against the Black community.

Anthony Sparacino, *The Democratic and Republican Governors Associations and the Nationalization of American Party Politics, 1961–1968*, pp. 76-103.

This article examines the origins and early activities of the Democratic and Republican Governors Associations (DGA and RGA, respectively) from the RGA's initial founding in 1961 through the 1968 national nominating conventions. I argue that the formations of these organizations were key moments in the transition from a decentralized to a more integrated and nationally programmatic party system. The DGA and RGA represent gubernatorial concern for and engagement in the development of national party programs and the national party organizations. Governors formed these groups because of the increasing importance of national government programs on the affairs of state governments and the recognition on the part of governors that national partisan politics was having critical effects on electoral outcomes at the state level, through the reputations of the national parties. To varying extents, the governors used these organizations to promote the national parties and contributed to national party-building efforts and the development of national party brands.

Timothy Weaver, *Market Privilege: The Place of Neoliberalism in American Political Development*, pp. 104-126.

Since the 1970s, the neoliberal worldview has become reflected increasingly in the policy ideas and institutional innovations advanced by both major parties in the United States. This is most obvious in

the realm of economic and social policy, but especially evident at the subnational level, particularly in the city. I argue that neoliberalism, as an ideology, a set of policy prescriptions, and institutional designs, is conceptually distinct from liberalism, especially in its “New Deal” form, social democracy, and from conservatism. Moreover, it is having a developmental effect—neoliberal ideas and institutions have proved durable. This article argues that an urban lens most strikingly reveals the presence of a neoliberal political order that has also made its mark on national political institutions, particularly in the American political economy.

35 (2) 2021

Herry Blain, *No Gestapo: J. Edgar Hoover's world-wide intelligence service and the limits of bureaucratic autonomy in the national security state*, pp. 214-222.

How powerful are national security bureaucrats? In the United States, they seem to be more than mere administrators, while remaining subordinate to elected politicians. However, despite a rich literature in American political development on bureaucratic autonomy across a variety of policy areas, national security remains undertheorized. Although the origins and evolution of the national security bureaucracy have received substantial scholarly attention, the individuals within this bureaucracy have not. In this article, I examine a case study of how one of these individuals bluntly ran up against the limits of his power. After the Second World War, J. Edgar Hoover's plans for a “World-Wide Intelligence Service” were swiftly shot down by the Truman administration, which adopted a sharp distinction between domestic and global intelligence instead. I pin this abject defeat on three interrelated factors: the resistance of President Truman, the array of bureaucratic competitors emerging from the Second World War, and deep aversion among key decision makers to the prospect of an “American gestapo.” While tracing this historical narrative, I also challenge accounts of Hoover as a near-omnipotent Washington operator, question the extent to which war empowers national security bureaucrats, and foreground the role of analogies in shaping the national security state.

Richard Johnson, *The 1982 Voting Rights Act Extension as a “Critical Juncture”*: Ronald Reagan, Bob Dole, and Republican Party-Building, pp. 223-238

Republican support for the 1982 Voting Rights Act (VRA) extension is a puzzle for scholars of racial policy coalitions. The extension contained provisions that were manifestly antithetical to core principles of the “color-blind” policy alliance said to dominate the GOP. Recent scholarship has explained this puzzling decision by arguing that conservatives were confident that the VRA's most objectionable provisions could be undone by the federal bureaucracy and judiciary, while absolving Republicans of the blame of being against voting rights. This article suggests that the picture is more complicated. Applying the concept of “critical junctures” to the 1982 VRA extension, the article highlights the importance of actors’ contingent decisions and reveals a wider range of choices available to political entrepreneurs than has been conventionally understood. Highlighting differing views within the Reagan administration, this article also identifies a wider range of reasons why

Republicans supported the act's extension, including career ambition, party-building, policy agenda advancement, and genuine commitment, rather than simply a defensive stance as implied by recent histories.

[The American Historical Review](#)

Gerard Sasges, *Mold's Dominion: Science, Empire, and Capitalism in a Globalizing World*, The American Historical Review, Volume 126, Issue 1, March 2021, pp. 82-108.

Today, Jōkichi Takamine and Albert Calmette are known for their contribution to the history of medicine. Yet their early careers centered not on medicine, but on biotechnology, and on parallel projects to bring a food processing technology used across Asia to new audiences around the world. In the end, they both succeeded, but in very different ways. Takamine would make his fortune with “Taka-Diastase,” a patent digestive aid once popular around the world; Calmette would help develop the “Amylo Process” of industrial brewing and distilling used as the basis of exploitative alcohol monopolies in colonial Indochina and Formosa. Understanding how a single technology could take on two radically different forms provides a unique opportunity to explore entanglements of science, empire, and capitalism in a globalizing world. Empires and capitalist enterprises combined to send mold along pathways that both reflected and transcended imperial boundaries. And as it traveled, mold was remade by—and in turn helped to remake—the political economies it encountered. Today, when the products of mold technologies are part of our daily lives, it’s tempting to see globalization in terms of seamless, uniform, and seemingly inevitable outcomes. This paper focuses attention instead on alternative paths, contingent and deeply inequitable processes, and the way science, empire, and capitalism produced the modern world.

Nicolas Barreyre, Claire Lemerrier, *The Unexceptional State: Rethinking the State in the Nineteenth Century (France, United States)*, The American Historical Review, Volume 126, Issue 2, June 2021, pp. 481-503.

In the past thirty years, historians have deeply renewed our understanding of the state in the early republic period of the United States as much more powerful, deep reaching, and proactive than the traditional image represented. In France, too, new work has revised our vision of the state in the early nineteenth century, which looked different from the triumphant, Napoleonic leviathan that often appears in discourse. Yet both historiographies, having evolved separately, still base their conclusion on implicit comparisons, with an imagined “European” state or with a later “modern” state. This article uses the new historiographies on both countries to go beyond those unstated exceptionalisms to propose a reconstruction of the state in that period. Pulling those studies together, and mobilizing insights from one to shed light on the other, it recovers a common repertoire of statecraft that emerged in the revolutionary era. It hinged on fostering consent of key segments of the population and therefore organized the work of the state in mostly nonbureaucratic forms. States in that period reflected a particular enmeshing of public and private forms that needs to be analyzed for itself, especially if we want to understand the specificity of today’s practices.

Rosario Forlenza, *Europe's Forgotten Unfinished Revolution: Peasant Power, Social Mobilization, and Communism in the Southern Italian Countryside, 1943-1945*, *The American Historical Review*, Volume 126, Issue 2, June 2021, pp. 504-529.

Between 1943 and 1945, groups of peasants took over dozens of villages and small towns in southern Italy and proclaimed the birth of independent republics. During their brief existence—sometimes just a few days—the peasant republics implemented revolutionary measures, including the redistribution of land and the establishment of people's courts. This article draws attention to these forgotten episodes and suggests that they can best be understood by adopting an anthropological perspective and viewing social mobilization through an experiential lens. It draws on court documents and personal accounts to examine the quasi-revolutionary experiences of the southern Italian peasantry. Revolutions in general can be seen as social dramas and political rites of passage in which the successive phases of rupture, liminality, and reaggregation are the distinct stages of a total process that generates a transformation. This approach makes it possible to disentangle the conceptualization of revolutions from structures as well as from ideology, culture, and agency; to comprehend revolutions that unfold unscripted or without the decisive leadership of a vanguard whose ideas and expectations pre-exist the revolution and therefore teleologically determine its development; and to initiate comparative analysis in regard to symbolism, morphology, and the dynamics of social action.

Aif Siddiqi, *Toward a Social Map of Knowledge*, *The American Historical Review*, Volume 126, Issue 3, September 2021, pp. 1046-1071.

This article offers a framework to model the epistemological terrain of the circulation and regulation of knowledge in late-period Soviet society. It proposes that secrecy and openness operated in a mutually constitutive “social map of knowledge” that was constantly shifting due to the inability to maintain secrecy as a stable category. Investigating the domain of Soviet science, this article sheds light on the work of institutions such as Glavlit, the state censorship authority, which supported the state's goal to maintain the contours of secrecy as a static category by repeatedly issuing edicts and restructuring the apparatus of secrecy in the face of constant and destabilizing social, cultural, and technological pressures. This stable but volatile condition encouraged a common language of “speaking in secret” that cut across the Soviet social order. The “social map of knowledge” was one with high peaks, where valuable knowledge was placed in the hands of those with power, even as these peaks were under intense pressure to collapse from a parallel market of speculation marked by rumor, suspicion, and conspiracy theories. This form of “stable volatility” became impossible to maintain in the 1980s, when a deluge of information flooded Soviet society.

Richard Reid, *Africa's Revolutionary Nineteenth Century and the Idea of the “Scramble”*, *The American Historical Review*, Volume 126, Issue 4, December 2021, pp. 1424-1447.

This paper seeks to position the Scramble for Africa in the context of the continent's transformative, global nineteenth century. While imperial historiography develops apace, Africa-facing analyses of the continent's partition and the processes which led to it are increasingly rare. European expansion

into Africa was characterized by an aggressive dynamism, and millions of Africans experienced profound crisis in the process of the establishment of colonial rule. Yet Africa's revolutionary nineteenth century was both driven by, and culminated in, complex processes of co-option on the part of Africans and Europeans. The paper proposes that a more Africa-centered assessment of the Scramble is possible, one which aims to contextualize the partition of the continent as part of an ongoing, endogenously shaped but often exogenously connected, transformation in political, economic, and social organization and behavior. While no single overarching theory can apply to the entire continent, it is possible to identify dynamics and processes for change that recur across Africa, from political and military reform to economic innovation. These point toward possibilities for reframing Africa's development in the late precolonial period, and enable us to challenge the hegemony long enjoyed by scholars of European empires.

[The International History Review](#)

Martin Grossheim, *The East German 'Stasi' and Vietnam: A Contribution to an Entangled History of the Cold War*, *The International History Review*, Volume 43, 2021, Issue 1, pp. 136-152.

In this article I show how socialist Vietnam became a test case of the transfer of intelligence know-how and the international dimension of interchange between socialist countries during the Cold War. I will focus mainly on the assistance that socialist Vietnam received from the East German Ministry of State Security. At the same time, I will show that other socialist state security services helped Vietnam as well and that after the end of second Indochina War Vietnam itself transferred knowledge in intelligence to the neighboring countries of Cambodia and Laos. Thus, this article highlights not only the role of security cooperation in cold war socialist internationalism, but also the interconnectedness and the global circulation of ideas within the socialist world. It also analyses that although in the 1980s assistance provided by the East German Stasi to Vietnam was still couched in terms of 'socialist internationalism', it increasingly assumed a commercial character.

P. E. Caquet, *France, Germany, and the Origins of Drug Prohibition*, *The International History Review*, Volume 43, 2021, Issue 2, pp. 207-225.

Long widely available, opiates and cocaine came under a raft of prohibitive laws in the United States and Europe from 1914 onward, paving the way for contemporary drug control. Explanations for this change remain fragmented, with limited overlap between cultural interpretations, mostly US or UK focused, and international histories. Taking a first step towards a synthesis, this article looks at the rise of medical theories of addiction in France and Germany and its interlink with the first drug laws. While emerging disease concepts of addiction were important in paving the way for prohibition, this shows, they could not predict the nature of the laws passed. Germany, notably, though a leader in addiction research, failed to criminalize the drug user when the time came. In neither country, secondly, can the impulse to legislate on narcotics be attributed to the medical body, which already possessed significant authority under their respective pharmacy laws. This, finally, throws the onus on international developments. France, like the US and the UK but unlike Germany, was through its possession of colonial opium franchises a front-rank participant in the early twentieth-century opium conferences, providing a crucial trigger for banning drugs at home as well as abroad.

N. Piers Ludlow, *Solidarity, Sanctions and Misunderstanding: The European Dimension of the Falklands Crisis*, *The International History Review*, Volume 43, 2021, Issue 3, pp. 506-524.

During the Falklands Crisis Britain made a huge diplomatic effort to win and retain the support of its European Community partners. Largely as a result, the EC implemented a strong series of sanctions against Argentina. The UK also struck up especially close cooperation with both France and Germany. As the crisis developed however, and as force began to be used, maintaining this EC backing became significantly harder. Ireland and Italy were particularly affected by the growing bloodshed. The EC sanctions regime therefore had to flex – exempting both Italy and Ireland from the most stringent measures – but rather contrary to the fears of many did not break. Instead the EC's embargo on Argentina was still functioning when the conflict came to an end. The crisis should

therefore be seen as a reminder that well before the 1990s and the creation of the Common Foreign and Security Policy, foreign policy coordination amongst EC member states could be genuinely effective. Despite this success, however, the support received by Britain did not translate into any increase in British public or elite enthusiasm for European integration, despite initial hopes that it might. The article therefore concludes by exploring why there was no European Falklands factor.

Jure Ramšak, *The Crumbling Touchstone of the Vatican's Ostpolitik: Relations between the Holy See and Yugoslavia, 1970–1989*, *The International History Review*, Volume 43, 2021, Issue 4, pp. 852-869

Based on Yugoslav archival sources, the paper analyses the relationship between the Holy See and Yugoslavia as the only Eastern European socialist state with which the former had official diplomatic relations. The relationship between the Holy See and socialist Yugoslavia provides insight into the precarious position of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, but also into the issues and dilemmas that the Holy See faced in terms of its Ostpolitik towards Eastern European socialist regimes. The article initially centres on the parallels between the Holy See and the foreign policy agenda of non-aligned Yugoslavia, especially during the papacy of Paul VI, when both actors shared an understanding of the acute problems of the Global South. It then analyses the stance of the Holy See towards the Yugoslav domestic policy of self-management that claimed that this system could present a viable environment for the life of believers in modern socialist society. The analysis closes with an in-depth examination of the role of the Holy See in the process of convergence between religion and nationalism during the 1980s, in which the Vatican did not play as clear-cut a role as it has generally been ascribed and proved unable to tackle this formidable phenomenon.

Khue Dieu Do, *Letters and Ping Pong: North Korean Diplomatic Offensive towards the United States in the Late 1970s*, *The International History Review*, Volume 43, 2021, Issue 6, pp. 1181-1197

This paper unveils North Korean diplomatic offensive towards the U.S. in the late 1970s that began with the inauguration of president Jimmy Carter. Throughout 1976-1977, Chairman Kim Il Sung sought numerous attempts for indirect contacts with Carter via personal letters handed in to the American president by heads of state from Africa, Europe and Asia. At the North's invitation, a U.S. ping pong team even went to Pyongyang to compete at the 1979 World Table Tennis Championships. All of these tactics, however, failed to pave the way for a Kim-Carter summit meeting. Following Sino-American normalization, Pyongyang abruptly agreed to revive inter-Korean dialogue and rapidly rejected Carter's proposal for North Korea-U.S.-South Korea trilateral talks. This decision came to the surprise of Washington, Seoul and the Communist leaders worldwide who had helped to bridge between Kim and Carter. Why did North Korea, despite its hard attempts in seeking contacts with the American leadership, refuse this offer?

[The Journal of American History](#)

108 (1) 2021

LaDale C. Winling, Todd M. Michney, *The Roots of Redlining: Academic, Governmental, and Professional Networks in the Making of the New Deal Lending Regime*, pp. 42-69.

Racial segregation and racial inequality fundamentally shaped U.S. cities in the twentieth century and are key to understanding the American social and political landscape. A particularly notorious tool for promoting segregation has been redlining—the targeted denial of home mortgages and other financial supports according to presumed risk. Institutionalized by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) and adopted by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), historical redlining defined the riskiness of investing in urban neighborhoods based on demographics, infrastructure, housing quality, neighborhood stability, and proximity to amenities or hazards such as manufacturing. HOLC's assessment of urban neighborhoods in the 1930s was racially and ethnically discriminatory. It used the power of the federal government to formalize patterns of segregation and discrimination.

Jonna Perrillo, *The Perils of Bilingualism: Anglo Anxiety and Spanish Instruction in the Borderlands*, pp. 70-92.

The importance of teaching Spanish to Anglo children could “hardly be stressed too strongly,” argued Myrtle Tanner in a 1950 Texas education journal. Over the previous five years, the Texas Good Neighbor Commission, on which Tanner now served as executive secretary, had made elementary Spanish instruction one of its statewide goals. Teaching Spanish to the youngest citizens of Texas, she explained, was seen by “neighboring nations as a pledge of friendship” and was vital to developing a sense of “hemispheric solidarity” urgently needed during the Cold War. As a leader of the commission and a former researcher for the Texas Department of Education, Tanner was tasked with advocating for Mexican American students' education rights and creating a greater sense of racial tolerance and Pan-American identification among Anglo learners

108 (2) 2021

George J Sánchez, *Democracy in Trump's America: Through the Looking Glass of Family Separation and the Undocumented*, pp. 255-269.

This past year has been a critical year for scholars interested in the fate of democracy in the United States. As president of the Organization of American Historians (OAH), I was faced with responding to almost daily crises of democratic practice as President Donald Trump tried desperately to hold onto power in his final year amid his failed responses to the pandemic and his electoral loss to Joe Biden. The valiant and ultimately successful attempts by grassroots activists in Georgia, Michigan, Wisconsin, Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Nevada to turn the presidential election around, then upend

the Senate in Georgia, showed the amazing power that dedicated electoral activism like that of Stacey Abrams can have on the ground.

Richard K. Popp, "*One Holistic System of Systems*": *Multinational Conglomerates and Technocratic Bigness in Late Postwar Culture*, pp. 320-347.

In July 1969 the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Antitrust Subcommittee met to reconvene its hearings on conglomerate corporations. The guests that day were the top executives at Gulf & Western Industries, a company that, just over a decade earlier, had been a middling auto parts manufacturer with \$8 million in total sales. Eleven years, 127 mergers, and two name changes later, Gulf & Western had morphed into a sprawling empire with a cornucopia of products—from paint pigment and traffic lights to soul records and cigars—amounting to more than \$1.3 billion in annual sales. Speaking on behalf of the firm, the Gulf & Western president David Judelson framed his opening statement with a series of rhetorical questions: "What is Gulf & Western? Who is Gulf & Western? How and why has Gulf & Western developed?" His response was that the firm represented something altogether new in American life.

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Catherine A. Stewart, *Household Accounts: Black Domestic Workers in Southern White Spaces during the Great Depression*, pp. 492-520.

In 1928 a white student at a private women's college in Georgia submitted a short essay titled "Domestic Problem in My Home" for her sociology class. Instructed to write about the Black household workers employed by her family, she compared the woman who had previously occupied the position to their current cook. "Our negro 'mammy,'" she wrote, "left us after thirteen years of faithful service. The cooks we have had since then have been of an entirely different nature. Our present cook, an efficient negro, refuses to work longer than four in the afternoon. Her tone of voice is always respectful, but her replies without the customary 'ma'am' grated sharply on our ears for a time. It is generally conceded that the new type is not as satisfactory, due no doubt to their attitude which is new to us."

ALTRO

Desarrollo Económico

Mariano Arana, «Usos y desusos de John M. Keynes en la academia y la política argentina a principios del siglo XX», in *Desarrollo Económico. Revista De Ciencias Sociales*, 61(234),2021, pp. 151–171.

El turbulento período de entreguerras a principios del siglo XX cambió el rumbo del saber y hacer Economía Política a nivel mundial. Buenos Aires fue una de las primeras ciudades en América Latina en desarrollar dicha disciplina y reconfigurar su discurso a través de diversos dispositivos estatales de influencia tanto en el Poder Ejecutivo como en la educación superior. En este trabajo se evalúa la influencia de la obra de John Maynard Keynes en Buenos Aires. Para ello se compila y examina la recepción, estudio, crítica y despliegue tanto en los ámbitos de formación económica, así como en la política pública. Se realiza un inventario que permite clarificar los cambios en las formas de pensar y hacer Economía Política provocados efectivamente por el diálogo de los economistas y funcionarios locales con la obra de Keynes y se destaca la actividad local en la utilización de las ideas de este autor.

Danilo, Martuccelli, «Problematizaciones de la modernidad y de la modernización en América Latina», in *Desarrollo Económico. Revista De Ciencias Sociales*, 60(232), 2021, pp. 253–274.

El artículo tiene por objetivo proponer un estudio meta-teórico de la modernidad y la modernización latinoamericanas con el fin de abordar las lógicas analíticas desde las cuales se han problematizado en la región ambos fenómenos. El artículo distingue tres grandes periodos en función de los ámbitos sociales privilegiados en el análisis en cada momento. En un primer momento, en el siglo XIX, fue desde el ámbito político como se pensó tanto la modernidad como el proceso de modernización constatándose los límites de una y otra. En el siglo XX, el privilegio fue otorgado a la modernización económica, pero este no logró, dadas diversas insuficiencias, dar forma a una teoría de la modernidad. Por último, en el siglo XXI se producen teorías en torno a la modernidad cultural y a procesos efectivos de modernización cultural que no logran empero penetrar otros ámbitos de la estructura social. En cada momento teórico la problematización de la modernidad y de la modernización en América Latina está marcada por la diversidad de sus articulaciones y el predominio analítico de un ámbito (político, económico, cultural).

Alejandro Blanco, Darlan Pracedes Barboza, «Raúl Prebisch y Federico Pinedo: técnica y política en la “década infame”», in *Desarrollo Económico. Revista De Ciencias Sociales*, 60(232), 2021, pp. 314–337.

El artículo reconstruye los orígenes familiares y las trayectorias sociales de Raúl Prebisch y de Federico Pinedo con el fin de poner de relieve los factores sociales y políticos que propiciaron, durante la “década infame” (1930-1943), el consorcio de Prebisch con la élite agroexportadora, que, ante la crisis de 1929 y su secuela la Gran Depresión 1930-1932, apoyó su cruzada de dejar en manos de los economistas el manejo de la política económica y financiera del país. ¿Por qué este movimiento de renovación intelectual y política en medio del orden conservador restaurado convergió en las

figuras de Pinedo y de Prebisch? ¿Cómo es que este último llegó a convertirse, a un mismo tiempo, en el hombre de confianza de la oligarquía y en el líder de una nueva categoría de expertos, los economistas? ¿Por qué un decenio más tarde devino en el intelectual aislado y maldito? Buscamos responder estos interrogantes al articular dos planos de análisis: el del origen social y propiedades de trayectoria pertinentes de Pinedo y de Prebisch, por un lado, y el de los diferentes imperativos y apremios políticos que marcaron esa década tormentosa, por el otro.

Historia (Cile)

Adriana Feld, «Política exterior y redes público-privadas en la organización de las relaciones tecnocientíficas de Estados Unidos con América Latina: una aproximación a partir del Programa de Investigación y Cultivo de Hevea (1920-1953)», in *Historia*, n. 54, vol. 2, 2021, pp. 504-541.

Este artículo aborda el modo en que Estados Unidos organizó sus relaciones tecnocientíficas con América Latina durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial y la inmediata posguerra. Para ello, se analiza el caso del programa regional de investigación y desarrollo del cultivo de *Hevea* (la principal fuente de caucho), implementado por el Departamento de Agricultura de los Estados Unidos (USDA) en América Latina. La investigación se asienta en diversas fuentes, como la revista *Agriculture in the Americas*, documentos del USDA y artículos de expertos estadounidenses que participaron del programa. En diálogo con algunas contribuciones del campo de los estudios socio-históricos de la ciencia referidos a las relaciones Norte-Sur en diferentes etapas, el artículo explora la especificidad de este período, poniendo el foco en los dispositivos y arreglos institucionales que organizaron las relaciones tecnocientíficas interamericanas, las implicancias que tuvieron en términos de la distribución del trabajo y la información científica Norte-Sur, los principales interlocutores latinoamericanos de las agencias estadounidenses y el tipo de conocimiento (científico o no) involucrado en el programa.

Emanuel Giannotti, Boris Cofré Schmeisser, «La invención de la 'toma', o cómo se transformaron las ocupaciones de terrenos en Santiago de Chile entre 1945 y 1957», in *Historia*, n. 54, vol. 1, 2021, pp. 107-150.

¿Cuándo y por qué comenzaron las tomas? A pesar de la creencia bastante difundida de que La Victoria, en 1957, fue la primera toma de Chile –e, incluso, de América Latina– un nutrido cuerpo de autores afirma que este fenómeno comenzaría a mitad de la década de 1940. En el presente artículo, a través de una revisión de la prensa y fuentes documentales, estudiamos las ocupaciones de terrenos que se realizaron en Santiago de Chile entre 1945 y 1957. Nuestra hipótesis es que la toma se inventó a mitad de la década de 1950, cuando las ocupaciones, que antes se realizaban de manera silenciosa, entraron en el espacio público. De tal manera, se transformaron en actos reivindicativos. Este cambio en las movilizaciones de los pobladores se puede explicar por el contexto político, así como por las modificaciones de la acción del Estado en relación con el problema habitacional y al crecimiento urbano.

Alfonso Salgado Muñoz - Joaquín Fernández Abara, «El Partido Socialista y 'Prensa Latinoamericana': gestión económica y conflicto político en una editorial chilena (1954-1973)», in *Historia*, n. 54, vol. 1, 2021, pp. 279-317.

En este artículo examinamos las bases materiales y orgánicas que hicieron posible el surgimiento y desarrollo de la empresa editora Prensa Latinoamericana (PLA), ligada al Partido Socialista de Chile.

Argumentamos, primero, que la trayectoria de la editorial estuvo cruzada por las pugnas internas y la tendencia al faccionalismo del Partido Socialista; y, segundo, que el éxito de esta empresa editorial se explica, en no menor medida, por una serie de decisiones de naturaleza propiamente administrativa. Nos basamos en documentación de la sociedad anónima a través de la que Prensa Latinoamericana operaba, informes y resoluciones políticas, fuentes hemerográficas y memorias de dirigentes socialistas.

Kritika

(1) 2021

Robert Dale, *Remobilizing the Dead: Wartime and Postwar Soviet Burial Practices and the Construction of the Memory of the Great Patriotic War*, pp. 41-73.

In lieu of an abstract

Exploring the memory of the Great Patriotic War presents difficult methodological problems. Since the war's end 75 years ago, several layers of official and popular myth have accrued around the narrative and meaning of Soviet victory. Successive campaigns to shape its memorialization have colored popular memory. Commemoration of the Soviet war dead has been overshadowed by the gigantic Soviet memorial complexes built at the height of the Brezhnev-era war cult. These powerful statements of Soviet pride and heroism dominate the memorial landscape. However, before their construction in the mid-1960s memorial culture was far humbler. Although official Soviet practice was informed by tsarist precedents, many aspects of this patriotic war cult were new. They bore the hallmarks of an "invented tradition."¹ During the war and in its immediate aftermath, war graves were liminal spaces, which quickly fell into disrepair, prompting official consternation. The shortages of money, materials, and labor that dogged reconstruction prevented the orderly preservation of war graves.² Memory work was at best a secondary concern for communities experiencing the grinding poverty of late Stalinism.

This article explores concerns about the upkeep of Soviet graves and the appropriate treatment of the war dead during the war (1941–45) and in the first postwar decade (1945–55). It makes a critical intervention in discussions about the dynamics of war memory in its initial phase of development by examining the conditions in which serving soldiers were buried during the conflict as well as attempts to consolidate graves in its wake. It focuses on three pieces of legislation—passed in February 1946, October 1948, and September 1950—intended to preserve war memorials and soldiers' graves. Drafts of these laws and investigations into their implementation reveal a damning picture. The widespread neglect of military cemeteries and individual graves, which these documents reveal, complicate scholarly understandings of Soviet memory of the war. Olga Berggolts's phrase, "Nobody is forgotten, nothing is forgotten," was already in circulation by 1945, but it did not accurately describe late Stalinist memorial practices.³ War's divisive legacy remained too painful for many people to go digging around in. Only after Stalin's death in March 1953 and a subsequent cultural thaw did campaigns to bring order to military cemeteries and collective graves gain traction. If memorializing the war dead was a sacred duty, it was one that many late Stalinist citizens were unable or unwilling to fulfill.

To understand how mass wartime death was initially remembered and memorialized, historians must move beyond a simplistic binary of remembering and forgetting. In these years, there was neither a surfeit of war memory, as some scholars have suggested of contemporary Russia, nor an absence of memory, as others have perceived in the immediate postwar period.⁴ The ways in which burial sites fell into dilapidation after 1945 were not the product of, to use Lisa Kirschenbaum's phrase, an "amnesiac agenda."⁵ Many scholars have discerned an impulse to repress memory of the war, obliterate its material traces, and forget inconvenient aspects of war experience. Stalin's personal determination to erase public commemoration of the war in favor of self-glorifying narratives is routinely cited.⁶ The recategorization of Victory Day (9 May) from a public holiday to a normal

workday in 1947 is often highlighted as the beginning of a more repressive phase of Stalinist memory politics.⁷ In contrast, this article argues that official policy sought to mobilize Soviet citizens, albeit unsuccessfully, to restore war graves as important sites of national memory, rather than repress wartime memories.

(2) 2021

Ekaterina Boltunova, *The Last King of Poland: Nicholas I 's Warsaw Coronation and Russian-Polish Historical Memory*, pp. 229-254.

In lieu of an abstract

The formal establishment of Russian rule over the Kingdom of Poland together with Emperor Alexander I's decision to grant the Poles their own Constitutional Charter in 1815 are generally recognized as the two critical developments of Russian-Polish history of the early 19th century. Far less recognized, by contrast, is the fact that these great changes were followed just a few years later by the coronation of Alexander I's brother and successor Emperor Nicholas I as king of Poland. Yet Nicholas's coronation, while all but ignored in recent histories of the Russian-Polish question, nonetheless offered a clear signal that the Russian government saw Poland's status within the empire in a special light. During the expansion of the empire over the course of the 18th century, the Russian government marked the incorporation of new territories—from the lands of the Nogai hordes to the Crimean Khanate and the Duchy of Courland—through the issuance of treaties and proclamations that were then affirmed by oaths of allegiance sworn to the Russian monarch by his or her new subjects. No Russian monarch was ever crowned as the ruler of these territories, however.

Yet this is precisely what took place in Warsaw on 12 (24) May 1829, when Nicholas assumed the crown of the king of Poland in accordance with paragraph 45 of the above-mentioned Polish Constitution, which stated: "All of Our Heirs in the Kingdom of Poland shall be crowned as Kings of Poland in the capital city in accordance with the rite which We shall establish."¹ This Polish coronation came three years after Nicholas's coronation as emperor of Russia in the Assumption Cathedral (*Uspenskii sobor*) of the Moscow Kremlin (22 August 1826). At the same time, the Warsaw event was utterly unique, given that no Russian monarch either before or after was ever crowned king of Poland, and "secondary" coronations of this sort were otherwise not part of traditional Russian practice.

It is, therefore, perhaps no surprise that the Warsaw ceremony quickly became the kind of event that everyone involved tries to forget almost as soon as it happens. Later references to the event are hard to find. None of the coronation books of subsequent emperors mention it, including that of Nicholas II, which provides the most detailed and lengthy overview of preceding coronations.² Historians also gloss over the Warsaw ceremony, either because they see it as a matter of secondary importance or because it seems largely irrelevant to subsequent events.³ As a result, the coronation has emerged as a rare moment of historical agreement for Russians and Poles: everyone, it seems, would rather forget that it ever happened. In fact, the abiding consensus in the literature as well as in popular historical memory is that the last man to be crowned king of Poland was not Nicholas I but rather Stanisław August Poniatowski. Indeed, anything pro-Polish in Russo-Polish relations in the early 19th century

tends to be attributed to Alexander I, while Nicholas is largely seen as relentlessly anti-Polish, a position seemingly epitomized by his defiance of the Constitutional Charter and most notably his suppression of the November uprising of 1830–31.