

## English summary

Gilles Favarel-Garrigues

*Entrepreneurs, human right activists and the «dictatorship of the law» in Russia*

Human right activists and entrepreneurs have been involved in the late 1980's in advocating common causes about the necessity to change Soviet law-enforcement policy. This paper deals with the formation of the very first coalition in this field, gathering some former dissents, some pioneers of Soviet capitalism and some jurists willing to reform the legal system. It emphasizes the tensions within these coalitions by focusing on a particular association, "The Society of Defence of Convicted Managers and Economic Freedom". The evolution of this association in the early 1990's gives some historical ground to a broader discussion about the management of capitalism in post-Soviet Russia.

Key words: Russia, Economic Freedom, Law enforcement policy, Human right activists, Collective action.

Jean-Louis Briquet

*The «Moral question» and the end of the Italian first Republic:  
crisis and scandals (1992-1994)*

According to the standard thesis, the political crisis in Italy between 1992 and 1994 and the collapse of the Christian Democrat regime are related to the revelation of corruption of the political elite by the judiciary. However, judicial revelations and corruption scandals have regularly occurred in Italy, before and after this crisis, without provoking a drastic political change and the reject of the political system by the electorate. Considering this paradox, the article suggests an alternate account of the 1992-1994 events that underline the way in which the political competition had been affected by the scandals: the moral crusades against corruption had in this period a political impact because they had been relayed and supported by emerging political actors in order to challenge the established elites and to claim a leading role in reshaping the political system.

Key words: Italy, First Republic, Corruption, Scandals, Political Crisis, Delegitimization

ENGLISH SUMMARY

Luigi Musella

*The «Moral question» and the construction of political judgment:  
The trials against politicians in Italy during the 1990s*

The dynamics of the political crisis that did rock Italy from the first months of 1992 went far beyond mere legal proceedings. Actually, it was not only judicial inquiries that did trigger the collapse of the main political parties, but also a political and cultural climate that delegitimized them. The article expands upon this hypothesis, through the re-examination of the narratives of the events in which Andreotti, Craxi, and Gava were involved and of their historical background.

Key words: Italy, Trial against politicians, Delegitimization, Craxi, Andreotti, Gava

Nadège Ragaru

*Political ethics in post-communist Bulgaria: anti-corruption discourse in perspective*

The purpose of this article is threefold. First, it aims to investigate the conditions under which questions of political ethics and corruption have been promoted to the agenda in post-socialist Bulgaria. A particular stress is here placed on the interactions between external pressures (international financial organizations, the European Union...) and domestic players (various NGOs, media and other advocacy networks). Second, the political uses of anti-corruption are analyzed. Far from contributing to a more transparent way of doing politics, since the end of the 1990s the denunciation of corrupt behaviour has indeed turned into one of the most powerful ploys used by ruling elites against their political opponents. Finally, attention is brought to the public receptions of calls for morality in politics. "Corruption" has not become a key word solely because of the widespread existence of corrupt practices in Bulgaria. The notion also gained currency as it became incorporated into private narratives of post-communism. To many average citizens, this terminology offered ways of depicting and denunciating growing social inequalities, the disruption of social ties as well as the increased monetarization of social status associated with the transition to market democracy.

Key words: Bulgaria, Political corruption, Post-communism, Social inequalities.

Glicerio Sánchez Recio, Francisco Sevillano Calero

*The denunciation of corruption as a means of gaining power in Spain (1989-1996)*

This article examines the public denunciation of political life in Spain during the second period of the long years of PSOE government, presided over by Felipe González from 1982 to 1996. During those years, with a consolidated democracy in place, the main opposition party, the conservative PP, called on the socialist leaders to deal with the corruption among those holding political office – particularly from the beginning of 1989. Not only did the denunciation of the various cases of corruption and of the "dirty war" against ETA terrorism occupy the political agenda as a means of challeng-

#### ENGLISH SUMMARY

ing and discrediting the government, but it also led to a “corrosion” of the political discourse that had characterized the democratic transition in Spain. With regard to these events in recent political life in Spain, the article emphasizes that political scandal is a slightly different phenomenon from corruption, understood as an abuse of the law that undermines the political system.

Key words: Spain, XX century, Democracy, Political parties (PSOE, PP), Corruption, Political scandals.

Eva Cecchinato  
«*Garibaldian fascism» and antifascist garibaldinism.*  
*The camicia rossa among the two wars*

The essay analyzes the recoveries of the garibaldian tradition in the period among the two world wars. The levels are manifold: the political dimension and the generational aspects, the family genealogies of the garibaldinism and the imaginary genealogies, sometimes interwoven and contrasted. Particular attention has been therefore reserved to the pages of “Camicia rossa”, in which take form the perspectives and the claims of the “garibaldian fascism”, but some contrasts also manifest themselves among the public use of the history promoted by the regime and the position of Ezio Garibaldi.

On the long period the antifascist declination of the garibaldian tradition has in the French context its ground of fundamental development. The diplomatic relationships between Italy and France constitute the background to the dynamics in which the refugees try to create or to preserve a social and political role. The political emigration doesn't give up at all valorizing the patrimony of the Risorgimento in antifascist key. In the environment and on the pages of “Giustizia e Libertà” the dispute on the Risorgimento is faced in more systematic way. The recoveries of the garibaldian tradition – fascists and antifascists – concern a fundamental historical knot: the inheritance of the Great War and the choice of the Italian volunteers of the 1914. Recovering a constitutive and native aspect of the *camicia rossa*, the stories of the garibaldinism in this phase have therefore an international dimension and they are subscribed in a triangular perimeter that has Italy, France and Spain as vertexes.

Key words: Garibaldinisms, Fascism, Antifascism, Risorgimento, France, Spain

Ángeles González  
«*No at any price». The entrepreneurs and the Spain's access to EEC (1957-1977)*

The concern of the Spanish businessmen towards membership in the European Communities took place under defined parameters for the defense of their interests and a purely economic view of the integration project, in the same way as among the majority of Greeks and Portuguese counterparts. Europe was a promise and a guarantee of development, the opportunity to complete the process of liberalization of the Spanish economy, to undertake industrial restructuring and to modernize and professionalize

#### ENGLISH SUMMARY

the management of their businesses. Otherwise, Europe was a challenge: they could only survive the best and most effective. These two faces were inseparable, as the two faces of Janus, and can help to explain the changing perceptions about integration and transition from a naive optimism to a widespread skepticism. It coincides with the expansive phase of the Spanish economy, but after that, the growth model began to experiment signs of crisis, in the second half of the sixties.

Key Words: EEC, Spain, European Integration, Businessmen, Francoism, entrepreneurs

Antonis Liakos  
*What is historical critique about?*

The question that has motivated this paper is how historians conceive and enact their role in history-making today. May they continue to claim the guardianship of memory? Can they continue to guarantee historical truth? Are they the ones who decide the historical agenda? Does it make sense to distinguish and choose between a ‘practical’ or ‘critical’ role in shaping historical culture? Most of the debates around history today concern the role of historians. The article starts with a reflection on Kant’s “What is critique”, as it has been interpreted by Foucault and Butler, and proceeds to place the practice of critique within the framework of the concept of governability, as has been developed by Foucault and Bennett.

Key words: Historical culture, Critique, Historiography, Historians’ responsibility, Theory of History, Public History

Fabio Glauco Galli  
*«Public space» in the «invisible city»*

The Invisible City was a social, cultural and artistic project developed in Riccione (2005-2008), devoted to the harvest of testimonies of the WWII and the Gothic Line, and their sharing through more expressive forms: a book, the theater and Internet. The project was founded on long and deepened meetings of the author, with every witness, essential in to gather their more intimate reflections. For the intrinsic features of Internet, the website [www.lacittainvisibile.it](http://www.lacittainvisibile.it) accompanied every phase of the project and, after its conclusion, documented its carrying out. Now offers traces to freely face a run between words and images, between signs and maps.

Key words: Memory, World War II, Witnesses, City, Invisibility, Citizenship

## I collaboratori di questo numero

Jean-Louis Briquet, CNRS Sciences Po – Centre d'études et de recherches internationales, Parigi (jeanl.briquet@sciences-po.fr)

Gilles Favarel-Garrigues, CNRS Sciences Po – Centre d'études et de recherches internationales, Parigi (favarel@ceri-sciences-po.org)

Luigi Musella, Università di Napoli (luigi.musella@unina.it)

Nadège Ragaru, CNRS Sciences Po – Centre d'études et de recherches internationales, Parigi (ragaru@ceri-sciences-po.org)

Glicerio Sánchez Recio, Universidad de Alicante (Glicerio.Sanchez@ua.es)

Francisco Sevillano Calero, Universidad de Alicante (fsevillano@ua.es)

Barbara Bracco, Università di Milano-Bicocca (barbara.bracco@unimib.it)

Eugenio Di Rienzo, Università “La Sapienza” di Roma (eugeniodirienzo@tiscali.it)

Giuseppe Galasso, Università “Federico II” di Napoli (gius.galasso@alice.it)

Fabrizio Cossalter, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (fabrizio.cossalter@yahoo.es)

Eva Cecchinato, Università di Venezia (eva.cecchinato@tin.it)

Angeles Gonzalez, Universidad de Sevilla (angon@us.es)

Antonis Liakos, Università di Atene (aliakos@otenet.gr)

Fabio Glauco Galli, libero professionista (info@fggallli.it)

## I fascicoli di «Memoria e Ricerca» già pubblicati

1. *Gli anni del regime fascista nella “provincia del Duce”* [esaurito]
2. *Sul fascismo in Romagna*, a cura di Massimo Lodovici
3. *Collegi elettorali*, a cura di Fulvio Conti e Serge Noiret
4. *Le reti della modernizzazione*, a cura di Roberto Balzani e Andrea Giuntini
5. *Le trasformazioni della festa. Secularizzazione, politicizzazione e sociabilità nel XIX secolo (Francia, Italia, Spagna)*, a cura di Marco Fincardi e Maurizio Ridolfi
6. *Identità e culture regionali. Germania e Italia a confronto*, a cura di Stefano Cavazza e Reinhard Johler
7. *Libri, letture e biblioteche per il popolo*, a cura di Oriana Maroni, Sante Medri e Paolo Temeroli
8. *Migrazioni: comunità e nazione. Percorsi di storia sociale e culturale*, a cura di Manuela Martini
9. *Gli spazi dei partiti nell’Italia repubblicana*, a cura di Simone Neri Serner e Angelo Ventrone
10. *La pedagogia dei media nel secondo dopoguerra. Identità regionali e identità nazionali (Francia, Italia, Spagna)*, a cura di Francesca Anania
- n.s. 1. *Ambiente, territori, parchi. Regionalismi e politiche nazionali*, a cura di Patrizia Dogliani
- n.s. 2. *Terre immaginate. La costruzione di stereotipi regionali*, a cura di Marco Fincardi
- n.s. 3. *Linguaggi e siti: la storia on line*, a cura di Serge Noiret
- n.s. 4. *Massoneria e politica in Europa fra Ottocento e Novecento (Italia, Spagna e Portogallo)*, a cura di Fulvio Conti
- n.s. 5. *Flussi invisibili. Le telecomunicazioni fra Ottocento e Novecento*, a cura di Andrea Giuntini
- n.s. 6. *L’Europa allo specchio. Immagini e rappresentazioni nell’opinione pubblica*, a cura di Francesca Anania
- n.s. 7. *La Grande Guerra in vetrina. Mostre e musei in Europa negli anni Venti e Trenta*, a cura di Massimo Baioni e Claudio Fogu
- n.s. 8. *La campagna elettorale nell’Europa mediterranea (secoli XIX-XX)*, a cura di Serge Noiret
- n.s. 9. *Repubbliche e repubblicanesimo. L’Europa meridionale (secoli XIX-XX)*, a cura di Maurizio Ridolfi

- n.s. 10. *Le metamorfosi della storia sociale*, a cura di Maria Malatesta
- n.s. 11. *Porti dell'Europa mediterranea (secoli XIX e XX)*, a cura di M. Elisabetta Tonizzi
- n.s. 12. *Potere ecclesiastico e società secolarizzata. Ambienti cattolici tra innovazione e continuità (secoli XIX e XX)*, a cura di Stefano Trinchese
- n.s. 13. *La violenza politica tra le due guerre mondiali. Culture, pratiche e linguaggi nell'Europa mediterranea*, a cura di Andrea Baravelli
- n.s. 14. *Grande mercato e diritti sociali nell'Europa del Novecento*, a cura di Barbara Curli
- n.s. 15. *Regioni plurilingue e frontiere nazionali*, a cura di Rolf Petri
- n.s. 16. *Territori contesi. Guerra antipartigiana e Resistenza nell'Europa nazista*, a cura di Steffen Prauser
- n.s. 17. *Esposizioni in Europa tra Otto e Novecento. Spazi, organizzazione, rappresentazioni*, a cura di Alexander C.T. Geppert e Massimo Baioni
- n.s. 18. *Da emigranti ad imprenditori. Gli italiani all'estero nel secondo dopoguerra*, a cura di Saverio Battente
- n.s. 19. *Il mondo alpino. Storia, culture e rappresentazioni*, a cura di Renato Camurri
- n.s. 20. *Fotografia e violenza. Visioni della brutalità dalla Grande guerra ad oggi*, a cura di Ilsen About, Joëlle Beurier, Luigi Tomassini
- n.s. 21. *Commemorando le guerre civili. Memorie pubbliche e politiche del ricordo nell'Europa del Novecento*, a cura di Giorgos Antoniou e Luisa Passerini
- n.s. 22. *Storie regionali*, a cura di Marco De Nicolò
- n.s. 23. *Made in Italy. Consumi e identità collettive nel secondo dopoguerra*, a cura di Claudia Baldoli e Jonathan Morris
- n.s. 24. *Letteratura e politica. Sulla contro-rivoluzione nell'Europa del XIX secolo*, a cura di Jordi Canal
- n.s. 25. *Movimenti e culture giovanili*, a cura di Marco Fincardi e Catia Papa
- n.s. 26. *Le televisioni in Europa*, a cura di Francesca Anania e Manuel Palacio Arranz
- n.s. 27. *Associazioni sportive. Identità sociali e modernizzazione*, a cura di Francesco Bonini e Veruska Verratti
- n.s. 28. *Armi e politica. Esercito e società nell'Europa contemporanea*, a cura di Marco Mondini
- n.s. 29. *Il secolo del teatro. Spettacoli e spettacolarità nell'Ottocento europeo*, a cura di Carlotta Sorba
- n.s. 30. *Le politiche della Comunità / Unione europea. Origini e sviluppo storico*, a cura di Ariane Landuyt
- n.s. 31. *L'Europa in esilio. La migrazione degli intellettuali verso le Americhe tra le due guerre*, a cura di Renato Camurri