Australasian Association for European History

Australian National University
Canberra, 28-30 June 2023

Abstracts and Presenters

KEYNOTES

Wednesday 28 June.

Joan Neuberger, 'Sergei Eisenstein's Wars: Alexander Nevsky (1938) and the Forgeries of Memory'

Viewing Eisenstein's most popular film in the wake of Russia's 2022 full-scale invasion of Ukraine reveals new ways of understanding the place of this film in its own historical context, as the USSR faced impending war with Germany. What has long been primarily seen as a nationalist, patriotic film, intended to arouse determination and unification under a strong leader, is revealed to have strong undertones of Russo-centrism, Russian supremacy, and aggressive imperialist aims disguised as defensive patriotism. This presentation explores the ways that Eisenstein embedded both a defense of Russo-centric aggression and a critique of imperialism in his use of unconsciously assimilated tropes connected with the justification of unjust wars.

Joan Neuberger is Earl E. Sheffield Regents Professor of History Emerita at The University of Texas at Austin, where she taught Russian/Soviet history from 1990-2022. Her most recent book, *This Thing of Darkness: Eisenstein's Ivan the Terrible in Stalin's Russia* won the American Historical Association's George L. Mosse book prize. She is also the Founding Editor of Not Even Past, a public history website, for which she was awarded the AHA's Herbert Feis award for public history. In 2022, she served as President of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. After retiring, she moved back to her hometown, New York City, where she is a Visiting Scholar at the Jordan Center for Russian Studies at NYU. She has two current research projects: one on Eisenstein and nature, the politics of landscape, and the fate of montage, and the other a digital text analysis of Eisenstein's published works.
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Thursday 29 June

Jennifer N. Heuer, 'A Husband and a Soldier? Competing Masculinities in the age of the French Revolution and Napoleon.'

The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars instituted unprecedented forms of mass conscription. They turned a nation of men into soldiers, fostering new forms of martial masculinity and virility. But the Revolution also transformed domestic life,

promoting new ideas of masculinity and citizenship based on familial responsibilities, economic productivity, civic generosity, and sensitivity to suffering. Looking at a series of key moments—from prerevolutionary debates about the appropriate relationships between love and courage to Napoleon's plans to marry 6,000 wounded veterans with "poor but virtuous young women"—reveals how these models both reinforced and challenged one another.

Jennifer Heuer is Professor of History at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. She is the author of *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France* and a forthcoming monograph, *The Soldier's Reward: Love and War in the Age of the French Revolution*. With Mette Harder, she is co-editor of a volume of essays, Life in Revolutionary France, and has edited special issues of several journals (including *Annales historique de la revolution française*, H-France Salon, and *Journal of Military History*), and with Christine Haynes, is currently, the co-editor of the journal *French Historical Studies*. She has also published a variety of articles and book chapters on a wide range of subjects, most recently, on the fate of family of the Haitian Revolutionary in Toussaint Louverture in France. heuer@history.umass.edu

Jennifer V. Evans, 'Queer Kinship After Fascism'

In this talk, I explore the gains and losses in the pursuit of LGBTQI rights in Germany in the post 1945 period, arguing that the quest for much-needed sexual justice has inadvertently created new norms of respectability. While some members of the queer and trans community are taken up as models of the civic ideal, stratifications of race, class, and gender presentation continue to take their toll on who may access these new rights and privileges. With the emancipation projects of the postwar period under attack across the globe, it is all the more imperative that we remember the struggles around radical, utopian, and reformist sexual politics and the intersectional histories these conflicts spawned, productive as well as restrictive, including the coalitions, attachments, and solidarities of choice as well as necessity that made up queer and trans affiliations in the wake of fascism. I argue that a politics of claims making mobilized around siloed identities eschews the transformative power of queer kinship after fascism as queer and trans people tested out new possibilities for citizenship, love, public and family life in the decades after World War II. It also fails to address the fundamental inequalities that continue to exist between and among marginalized groups themselves. To get at this, we need a method that coaxes apart the ways in which our subjects are "differently queered," working against multiple and different forms of pathologization. A geneological approach attuned to the invisibilization of race, class, and gender non-conformity is imperative if we are to think anew about intersectional relationalities and the power of diverse and sometimes surprising kinship networks that guided how queer and trans people lived their lives in these turbulent times.

Jennifer Evans is Professor of European History at Carleton University in Ottawa Canada, located on the unceded and unsurrendered territory of the Algonquin nation. She has just published *The Queer Art of History: Queer Kinship After Fascism* with Duke UP, about which we'll hear today. She has also co-edited a Festschrift in honour of her former PhD supervisor and human rights historian Jean Quataert called *Gender in*

Germany and Beyond with Shelley Rose which has just appeared with Berghahn Press and her co-written monograph *Holocaust Memory and the Digital Mediascape* will come out with Bloomsbury this December. Evans's next book, *Photography and the Sexual Revolution: a Transnational Affair*, traces the ways in which images serve as forms of self-exploration and discovery in this period of social and legal change, and she is currently researching a separate project, funded by a Humboldt Prize, called A Short History of German Drag. She also works in the area of digital history and is currently overseeing a multi-year, multi-platform big data project called Populist Publics on social media, online hate, and the weaponization of history. She is co-curator of the New Fascism Syllabus and a founding member of the German Studies Collaboratory. jenniferevans@cunet.carleton.ca

Friday 30 June

Victoria de Grazia, 'How Fascism Shook the Global Liberal Order, 1925-1940'

This presentation analyzes how fascist governmentality reframed key issues of early 20th century statecraft, including population health and welfare, political representation, Church-state relations, empire-building, and the concept of Europe, to present itself globally as a counter-hegemonic force against the Versailles Order.

Victoria de Grazia is Moore Collegiate Professor of History at Columbia University Her research interests lie in contemporary history, with longstanding commitments to studying western Europe and Italy from a gendered perspective and to developing a global perspective on commercial revolutions. Her publications include: *The Perfect Fascist: A Story of Love, Power and Morality in Mussolini's Italy* (2020); *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth Century Europe* (2005); *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (ed., 1996); *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (1992); *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (1981). vd19@columbia.edu

Abstracts of Paper and Biographies of Presenters

Abbenhuis, Maartje, 'Manufactured outrage: Interrogating the media discourse around expanding 'dum-dum' bullets in the 1890s'

When in the 1897, the British arsenal in Dum-Dum India started producing military-grade expanding bullets for use by its imperial forces, the news elicited emotive responses around the world. Often accompanied by graphic depictions of the wounding effect of this mushrooming ammunition, this media discourse played a key role in persuading the delegates at The Hague Conference of 1899 to outlaw these bullets. Only Britain and the United States refused to sign-up to the regulation (they would do so in 1907, however). Still, even in Britain and the United States, references to 'frightful' dum-dums permeated the reporting of wars and state violence. Even today, any news of the use of expanding bullets by police forces is met with denouncements that the bullets are 'barbaric' and the cause of 'unnecessary suffering', references to a gamut of legal and extra-legal ideas about what is and is not considered an acceptable use of state violence. Despite all this interest in dum-dum bullets, there is much we do not know about the history rifle ammunition. Expanding bullets certainly existed before the production of dum-dums in the 1890s. Most rifle bullets in military use in the 1850s and 1860s, for example, mushroomed on impact. The international controversy at that time fixated on an affiliated weapon, the explosive bullet, which not only expanded but also detonated on impact as its hollow nose was filled with explosive powder.
Presented as a work in progress, this paper contextualises the public controversies that existed around the use of expanding and exploding rifle ammunition in the Victorian era, and asks some searching questions about the history of technologies that both enabled state violence and manufactured outrage while doing so.

Maartje Abbenhuis is Professor in Modern History at Waipapa Taumata Rau University of Auckland, who focusses on the history of war, peace and international relations mostly in the period 1815-1918. She is the author of several books, including *The Art of Staying Neutral: The Netherlands in the First World War* (2006); *An Age of Neutrals: Great Power Politics 1815-1914* (2014); *The Hague Conferences in International Politics 1898-1915* (2018); *The First Age of Industrial Globalisation: An International History 1815-1918* (co-authored, 2019) and *Global War, Global Catastrophe: Neutrals, Belligerents and the Transformation of the First World War* (co-authored, 2021). Currently, she is working on an international history of dum-dum bullets.
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Cook, Alexander 'They Spread Like Oil on a Blanket: Mihšihkinaahkwa, Volney and the Politics of Population in the Age of Revolution'

The concept of 'population' played many roles in history during the Age of Revolution, both before and alongside its mobilisation by Thomas Malthus. It was a concept with a transnational history, inflected by local politics. In Europe, it was linked to debates about human improvement, good governance, and emergent forms of social science and political economy. In the European colonial world, it was also linked to debates about the rights of settlers and local populations, and the future forms of 'civilization'. This paper explores the stakes in debates about population for three groups: British American colonists, French

Revolutionary philosophers, and leaders of the Miami nation in the Ohio valley. Focusing on an exchange in 1798 between Mihšihkinaahkwa ('Little Turtle'), Segamore of the Miami, and Constantin-Francois Volney, revolutionary, voyager and aspiring social scientist, the article analyses how, by the end of the Revolutionary decade, the concept of population had become vital, not only for Europeans at home and abroad, but for Indigenous Americans seeking to protect their people and future. In doing so, the paper seeks to bring Indigenous perspectives on population into wider scholarly understandings of its history. It shows how population became a key tool of political reasoning, and rhetoric, for groups negotiating a complex terrain of conflicting interests and overlapping agendas.

Dr Alexander Cook is a cultural and intellectual historian based at the ANU. Much of his research centres on the intersection of political thought and practical politics in Europe and its colonial world during the Enlightenment and the Age of Revolution. He has published widely on the early history of the social sciences and practices of cross-cultural representation in this period. He also writes on the contemporary uses of history. He is a former editor of *History Australia,* and a co-organiser of this conference.
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Ascione, Emilia, 'Finnish Independence: The Nature of Nationalism Between East and West'

The existence of the independent Finnish nation has been complicated throughout its history by its precarious geographical position and political orientation between some of Europe's strongest powers, namely Russia, Sweden and Germany. Despite this, due to the malleability of Finnish nationalism, Finland has been successful in remaining independent since 1917 after experiencing a national movement throughout the nineteenth century that mirrored similar developments throughout Continental Europe. In the following few decades, the Finnish national community remained split, although it came together when their independence became threatened at the onset of the Second World War. Within this conflict Finland fought on multiple sides of the war, engaging in controversial Nazi cooperation policy for the apparent preservation of the nation. This paper investigates the rise of Finnish nationalism in this period from Russian annexation until the end of the Second World War. The function, purpose and changing nature of Finnish nationalism at key moments of internal turmoil (the Finnish Civil War) and external conflicts (the Winter War, the Continuation War and the Lapland War) shaped the construction of the Finnish nation and further informed the national memory of Finland within this key period of independence.

Emilia Ascione is a first year PhD candidate at Flinders University in South Australia. In 2020 she graduated from Flinders University with a Bachelor of Arts majoring in History and Drama. She completed her Honours in History in 2021, writing on Finnish independence and nationalism from 1809-1945. asci0004@flinders.edu.au

Balz, Hanno, 'The long shadow of the Red Army Faction: How old explanatory models determine today's discussions on terrorism in Germany'

The Red Army Faction's attack on the West-German state in the 1970s and 1980s still poses one of the most controversial issues in post-war German history. Its historical narratives have repeatedly been referred to and re-interpreted in political discourse and popular culture alike. However, this established, indeed canonized, story of German terrorism still looms large over the debates on terrorism in the 21st century. Thus, it will be argued in this talk, that recent terrorist threats from the radical right have been misinterpreted, and there are still common assumptions within German terrorism discourse that keep on evoking the ghosts of the pasts.

Hanno Balz teaches Modern German and European History as DAAD Lecturer at the University of Cambridge. Before he came to the UK, he taught at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore and at the universities of Lüneburg and Bremen (his hometown) in Germany. His fields of research are the history of social movements, cultural and media history, history of anticommunism, and the Shoah and Nazi rule and its legacy. He published extensively on media and terrorism in West Germany. Currently, he is working on his next book on the global history of the red flag and had organised an international conference on Colour in Modern History in 2021.
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Barclay, Katie, 'Intergenerational Emotions and the Imperial Historian's Storytelling'

In 1886, after returning from a trip to the Australian colonies, English historian James Froude, published Oceana or England and Her Colonies. Criticised in Australia as a fascinating but politically useless travelogue, it still went on to sell 80,000 copies in its first year. While 'politically useless' in terms of supporting colonial imaginaries, it was perceived to be more productively allied to metropolitan visions. Within the book, familial imagery abounds. Britain is the 'mother country' – 'parent stock' – and the colonies 'our kindred, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh' … as 'their feeling is to us so is ours to them'. Confronting rumours that the metropole's 'natural affection' has turned to 'cool indifference', Froude empathised with the confusion and anxiety of the colonists much as he would with a well-behaved adolescent who doesn't understand why his father seems disappointed. Still, and in the face of 'such unhuman indifference', he hoped that the 'majestic organism' that is the family of empire would yet 'defy the storms of fate'. In this paper, we explore how family and familial emotion were deployed in imperial histories to enable political claim-making around the British centre and its relationship with its colonies and dependencies. We now know that the family is a historical-cultural symbol that has been drawn on to represent systems of power and hierarchy within nations and across empires. We know less about how imperialists like Froude couched this familial analogy within an affective domain – a strategy, we argue, that served to further reinforce the cultural power of this familiar symbol. Through deploying an interpretive framework of intergenerational emotion – defined here as the emotions we have about our ancestors and descendants– we interrogate imperial historical storytelling over time to reveal more about the evolving political potential of the family-affect imaginary.

Katie Barclay is Head of Historical and Classical Studies, University of Adelaide. She writes widely on the history of emotions, gender and family life. Her recent books include *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self*, *Academic Emotions: Feeling the Institution*, and with Leanne Downing, *Emotions, Memes and the Making of History*. With Kate De Luna and Giovanni Tarantino, she edits *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*. katie.barclay@adelaide.edu.au

Barron, Emma, 'Celebrity, police violence and the 1968 Venice Biennale protests'

The paper examines media coverage of the 'Mostra della contestazione', the protests between June and August at the art exhibition and film festival of Venice's Biennale. Mass culture played a significant role in circulating ideas about the 1968 protests. Photographers and film makers created powerful images about the Venice sessantotto including the internationally syndicated news photographs by Gianni Berengo Gardin and Uliano Lucas of police violence against artists protesting in Piazza San Marco, and Pier Paolo Pasolini's open letter to the new Prime Minister Giovanni Leone about violence at the film festival, shared with more than 2 million readers of his Tempo magazine column. In this paper I argue that the role of celebrities and the media in communicating ideas about social change was not only a function of the high media profile of these events and individuals, but one of the earliest examples of celebrity protest.

Emma Barron is the Australasian Centre for Italian Studies (ACIS) University of Melbourne Postdoctoral Fellow. She completed a history PhD in co-tutelle at the University of Sydney and the University of Bologna in 2016. Her book *Popular High Culture in Italian media 1950-1970: Mona Lisa Covergirl* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) examines the reception of magazines and television and shows that high culture was integrated into Italy's mass culture boom in distinctive ways. In 2022, she was a Ralegh Radford Rome Awardee at the British School at Rome examining media coverage of the 1968 protests in Italy. emma.barron@unimelb.edu.au

Bartrop, Paul, 'The Enigma of Knut Rød and the Representations of Collaboration in Wartime Norway'

The arrest, detention, deportation, and ultimate murder of Norway's Jews took place via several steps. This paper examines one facet of this process, looking at the role of a key member of the Statspolitiet, Knut Rød, who was a Norwegian police officer responsible for organizing the arrest and transfer of Jewish men, women, and children to the SS on November 26, 1942. The 532 Jews relocated onto the German ship SS Donau were sent straight to Auschwitz via Stettin; only nine survived the war. The paper considers Rød's involvement in administering the roundup and supervising the transfer of the Jews to the ship, looking at how Rød's role has been depicted in what is arguably the most important Norwegian motion picture of the Holocaust in recent times, Betrayed (dir. Eirik Svensson, 2020). In the film, Knut Rød is shown as having little choice but to follow the antisemitic orders he is handed—and to carry them out, with just one day's notice,

in as efficient a manner as possible. The paper will attempt to measure the filmic Rød against the historic Rød, asking how far Betrayed represents what took place. Finally, it addresses the most pertinent question of them all: to what extent was Rød a collaborator, or was he trapped in a "grey zone" between the Nazis and his commitment to other ideals?

Dr Paul Bartrop is a multi-award-winning scholar of the Holocaust and genocide. Until December 2020 he was Professor of History and Director of the Center for Holocaust and Genocide Research at Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Myers, Florida. He is now Professor Emeritus of History there, and Principal Fellow in History at the University of Melbourne.
He has also held numerous other positions at Stockton University, New Jersey; the University of South Australia; Northern Arizona University; and Virginia Commonwealth University.
He is the author, co-author, and editor of 30 books, the most recent of which are:
• *The Holocaust and Australia: Refugees, Rejection, and Memory* (2022)
• *The Holocaust: The Essential Reference Guide* (2022)
• *The Routledge History of the Second World War* (2022)
• *Children of the Holocaust* (2020)
• *The Holocaust: An Encyclopedia and Document Collection* (co-editor, which won the Society for Military History Distinguished Book Award, 2017).
He is currently editing The Routledge History of the First World War, among many other projects. Professor Bartrop is a former Vice-President of the Midwest Jewish Studies Association and is a Past President of the Australian Association of Jewish Studies. pbartrop@fgcu.edu

Becker, Julius, 'The global impact of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95. Imperial collaboration, economic interdependency, and diplomatic antagonism.'

The Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95 was far more than a regional power struggle between two Asian empires at the end of the 19th century. The conflict transformed the preexisting power structures, threatened to cause the collapse of Manchu-rule in China, and forced the 'East Asian Question' on the agenda of European diplomats, journalists, and economists. Eventually, the Japanese victory resulted in the Treaty of Shimonoseki and the Triple Intervention by Russia, France, and Germany, who forced Tōkyō to give up her conquests on the Chinese mainland. Throughout the conflict, European diplomats, journalists, and legal scholars observed
the conflict between the two Asian powers. What they perceived and what they reported led to a fundamental change in their perception of Northeast Asia. They assured that the shift in the regional balance of power was also noticed by the European governments, but also by the average newspaper reader. Eventually, this ended in a situation, where even previously uninvolved countries like the German empire started to engage with the issue of diplomatic, military, and imperial presence in East Asia to protect their respective countries' economic interests, particularly in the declining Qing Empire.
The collaboration, competition and changing coalitions between Berlin, Paris, St. Petersburg, and London during and after the Sino-Japanese War eventually resulted in

the acquisition of several railway lines, trade concessions and even colonial possessions by the European imperial powers. Thus, the examination of the global impact of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95 sheds light on the changing relationships between the imperial powers, their respective interdependence in East Asian affairs and the flexibility of great power relations in the late 1890s.

Julius Lucas Becker is a PhD candidate in Global History and Governance at the Scuola Superiore Meridionale in Naples, Italy. He researches on the global impact of the First Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95 with special reference to the conflict's implications on foreign policy, imperialism, public, cultural, and legal perception in Europe and the United States. He got his BA from the University of Potsdam, where he studied History, Political Science, and Administration. His Master was a double degree in International War Studies in Potsdam and Dublin. His MA thesis has been published under the title '"To Grab, When the Grabbing Begins". German Foreign and Colonial Policy in the context of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894/95 and the Triple Intervention of 1895' in The International History Review. julius.lucas.becker@gmail.com

Mercer, Ben
'Martyrs, Victims and the Practice of Political Violence.'

A striking feature of the political violence of the late 1960s and early 1970s was prominent of victims of police or right-wing violence who deaths furnished a pantheon of martyrs to revolutionary left-wing movements that engaged. Frequently the deaths of students or anarchists – Giuseppe Pinelli in Italy or Benno Ohnesorg in the Federal Republic – provide an neat origin story of the turn to violence and armed struggle by revolutionaries in the late 1960s. This paper analyses how the death, martyrdom and the politics of victimhood related to the discussion of political violence, with a particular focus on the Federal Republic of Germany.

Ben Mercer is President of the AAEH and Senior Lecturer in the School of History at the Australian National University. He is the author of *Student Revolt in 1968: France, Italy and West Germany* (CUP, 2020) and articles in the *Journal of Modern History* and the *Journal of the History of Ideas.* He is currently researching an ARC-funded project on political violence in Western Europe in the aftermath of 1968. Ben.Mercer@anu.edu.au

Benbow, Heather, 'From Bad Faith Feminism to Feminist Foreign Policy: A History of Women and Sexual Minorities in German Intercultural Comparisons.'

On the first of March, 2023, the German foreign minister Annalena Baerbock declared her government's intention to practice a "feminist foreign policy", citing the situation of women as a yardstick for peace, security and economic health of different nations. Baerbock was at pains to reassure those hearing her speech that the project was not a "missionary project with which we naively want to improve the world", and she pointed to parts of the world in which Germany was surpassed in its gender equality, such as in the parliamentary representation of women in Rwanda, Mexico and South Africa. The

aside – particularly in its name-checking of several nations from the global south - was an important acknowledgement of a fraught history of bath faith arguments in German discourses from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. There is a thread in German comparative thought in various disciplines, in which the situation of women and sexual minorities has been used as a yardstick not to improve the treatment of these groups, but as an easy way to prove other cultures and nations lacking, and even to put down claims for greater equality in German lands.

In this paper, I revisit the origins of this thinking in the eighteenth century, tracing how comparative and chauvinist arguments about the treatment of women emerged together with nationalistic discourses of German cultural superiority which were themselves based on historical fabrications. I also consider how the very same structures were later repurposed to portray post-war Germany as a progressive and tolerant place for sexual minorities, and other cultures as barbaric and backward. Thus, the lot of women and sexual minorities came to be used together to assert German cultural superiority vis-à-vis especially Muslim majority migrant cultures. Not only was the comparison ignorant of the dynamics of collective versus individualistic cultures, it provided a basis for right-wing attacks on migrants throughout Europe, and saw feminists making common cause with nationalist politicians.

Heather Benbow is Associate Professor in German Studies at the University of Melbourne. She has published widely on German, European and Australian topics in cultural, gender and food studies and the history of ideas. Her latest book, *Marriage in Turkish German Popular Culture: States of Matrimony in the New Millennium*, was published in 2015. Her recent research has focused on the cultural history of the First World War. She has been an invited researcher at the Free University of Berlin, the University of Cambridge and the University of Tübingen. benbow@unimelb.edu.au

Beyda, Oleg, 'Forging a Salubrious Past: The Revision of Soviet History in the Russian Federation, 2008-2023.'

Over the last decade, the image of the Soviet past has suffered an almost-complete overhaul in Russia. With the federal government closing in the ranks on the Stalinist past and its prize jewel, the German-Soviet War of 1941–1945, the motto 'Leave history to historians!' has seen a radical readjustment. Now it was only the 'vetted' historians who could enjoy the limelight. But the process of the swift transformation of historical memory was not as rapid as it might seem. It took almost two decades to set foot, develop, and only then ossify into a system of cultural (self-)censorship. While in academe the dissenting voices were first criticized and then banished, a simultaneous semi-official recruitment of historians took place, of those ready to propel the new 'patriotic' orthodoxy. The unity of their ranks was forged through a handful of groups and grouplings, besides the major organizations such as the RVIO (Russian Military History Society). How did Russian historians react to this encroachment and what discussions did they have at the time? What have been the main ruptures in the popular World War Two memory over the last 15 years? Who were those specialists, ready to whitewash Stalinism with academic means? The current paper seeks to address these issues.

Dr Oleg Beyda is the Hansen Lecturer in Russian History at the University of Melbourne. He is a multi-lingual historian focusing on diaspora studies (the first and second waves of migration from Russia after 1917) and the Second World War in Eastern Europe. He has authored a series of publications on military and civil collaboration in Europe during the Second World War, Russian emigration, and the German-Soviet War, including those for Cambridge University Press (2017), European University of Saint Petersburg (2018), Palgrave Macmillan (2020), and George Washington University (2021). oleg.beyda@unimelb.edu.au

Bischoff, Eva, 'Locating the "Historikerstreit 2.0": Working with Multidirectional Memories on the Ground.'

Starting from the critique of the invitation of the Cameroonian scholar Achille Mbembe to the Ruhr Triennale in 2020 and the publication of the German translation of Michael Rothberg's "Multidirectional Memory", a heated debate ignited in German newspapers and academic media alike, quickly termed "Historikerstreit 2.0". The subjects of the dispute range from: the singularity of the Shoa, the role of colonial violence in understanding it and the relationship between antisemitism and colonialism in general. The Australian historian Dirk A. Moses accelerated the dispute in May 2021 by claiming that the critics conducted "heresy trials" not an open debate. During the same period, I launched a public history project at Trier University, entitled "Beziehungsweise Trier: Globalgeschichte in der Region" in which students reconstruct the global history of Trier and its region and publish their findings on a research blog. We started by tracing Trier's global connections in the years post WW1. Since October 2022, we have been developing a postcolonial city tour, whose first steps will be documented on the blog soon. Working directly from archival sources, since there is no literature on the topic, we experienced the generous support of many individuals and organisations, who are all well versed in presenting local NS history and keeping the memory of the Shoa alive. All of them were happy to see an addition to local memory culture (although we eventually would have to compete for the same public funds). They all agreed that the complicated and entangled history of German colonialism needed more visibility. Starting from these seemingly contradictory observations, my presentation will endeavour to locate the "Historikerstreit 2.0" in the social, regional, and political landscape by contrasting the practices of working with multidirectional memories on the ground with claims in feuilletons and academic journals.

Eva Bischoff teaches International History at Trier University. Her research interests include colonial and imperial history, postcolonial theory, and gender/queer studies. Her most recent publications include: *Benevolent Colonizers in Nineteenth-Century Australia: Quaker Lives and Ideals*. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series published with Palgrave MacMillan (2020). She is the editor of the research blog "Beziehungsweise Trier", which examines the manifold connections between local, regional and global events. bischoff@uni-trier.de

Boatcă, Manuela, 'German settlement in the east of Europe through the lens of Settler-Colonial Theory: Transylvanian Saxons and Danube Swabians from the 1700s to the present.'

Scholarship has long recognised that Germans in the east of Europe asserted a role as settlers and civilisers in order to legitimise their place and claim special status. It has also increasingly framed successive German states' visions of the east of Europe in the context of broader colonial fantasies, drawing out parallels to overseas imperialism. It is surprising, then, that there have been few inquiries of Germanness in the east of Europe through the lens of settler colonialism. The few exceptions focus on the narrow context of the German state's settlement efforts in modern-day Poland, especially in the Nazi period. Yet German settlers participated in many exploits beyond the German Empire. Their Germanness (and their settlerness) was often framed in reference to their host states and societies, a process not always intertwined with the German heartlands.

The project we introduce today is a longue durée study of German settlers and of German 'settlerness' in the east of Europe through the lens of settler colonialism, foregrounding the settlers themselves, and their efforts to navigate the multiple empires and successor states they found themselves in and in-between. It focuses on two groups who settled in the region at different moments, as part of different colonization processes, and whose identity has often been constructed – by in-group actors and by external observers – around ideas and tropes of 'settlerness': Transylvanian Saxons and Danube Swabians.

The study will trace the formation of Saxon and Swabian narratives of "settlerness" (predating German unification), untangle the relationships between settlers, continental empires and successor states, and follow through to the postwar (and postcolonial) "unsettling" of Volksdeutsche through flight or expulsion, and resettlement in (West) Germany, the Americas and Australia. Throughout, we seek to understand the socioeconomic structures underpinning assertions of settlerness, and the manifest political purposes such assertions served.

Manuela Boatcă is Professor of Sociology and Head of School of the Global Studies Programme at the University of Freiburg, Germany. She has published widely on world-systems analysis, decolonial perspectives on global inequalities, gender and citizenship in modernity/coloniality, and the geopolitics of knowledge in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean. In 2018 she was awarded an ACLS collaborative fellowship alongside literary scholar Anca Parvulescu (Washington University in St. Louis, USA), for a comparative project on inter-imperiality in Transylvania. The resulting co-authored book, titled *Creolizing the Modern. Transylvania Across Empires*, came out in 2022. manuela.boatca@soziologie.uni-freiburg.de

Bonnell, Andrew G., 'German Social Democrats in July 1914: the anti-war protests reconsidered.'

Debates about the German Social Democratic Party in the Second International have a way of returning to the party's approval of the war credits in August 1914 and the

apparent capitulation of the party to the Imperial German state. Explanations have included the idea that workers were bought off by the fruits of imperialism or simply remained intrinsically patriotic, that the party leadership had become estranged from the base, which it then "betrayed", and the idea that Social Democrats were "negatively integrated" into the Imperial German state. A case could indeed be made for the argument that a section of Social Democracy was increasingly "positively integrated" into the state, seeking recognition from the establishment, rather than seeking to overturn it. While arguments have often focussed mainly on the party leadership, it is worth investigating the mass participation of the party rank-and-file in the massive anti-war protests of late July 1914 to gain a more nuanced understanding of the conduct of the party in the crisis. Over half a million people took part in anti-war protests in some 200 towns and cities between July 24 and July 30, 1914. While ground-breaking work was done on these protests in the 1980s-1990s, they are still not widely known enough, and there is still much to learn about them. What can be discerned about the motivations and views of these people, and their interaction with the party leaders? And how did actions of the German state and the dynamic of the events of these days shape the fate of the anti-war protest movement? A better understanding of the interaction between the party membership and leaders, and between structural factors and the actual day-to-day course of events may open the way for a better understanding of the world's first million-strong workers' party.

Andrew G. Bonnell is an Associate Professor of History at the University of Queensland, Australia. He studied at the University of Sydney as well as at Marburg University and the Technical University, Berlin. His publications include *The People's Stage in Imperial Germany. Social Democracy and Culture, 1890-1914* (2005), *Shylock in Germany: Antisemitism and the German Theatre from the Enlightenment to the Nazis*, 2008, and *Red Banners, Books and Beer Mugs. The Mental World of German Social Democrats, 1863-1914*, 2021, as well as *Robert Michels, Socialism, and Modernity* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming in press), as well as numerous other publications on German history with a special focus on the history of German Social Democracy. He is on the editorial advisory board of German History (OUP) and a former editor of the Australian Journal of Politics and History. a.bonnell@uq.edu.au

Bosworth, R.J.B., 'Who has ever heard of the Amendolas?'

At the presentazione in Turin, I began my talk with the statement that 'Politics, murder and love is me and I am the book'. That sentence reflected the fact that the Australian/rootless cosmopolitan historian of modern Italy whom I became (il canguro della storiografia italiana) was largely invented in the late 1970s, just when Giorgio Amendola (died 1980) and I was reading the beautiful, second and third volumes of his autobiography (Una scelta di vita, 1976 and Un'isola 1980). For the next four decades, I wondered why they had not been translated. But Covid finally pushed me into writing my own political and personal study of Giorgio, his two brothers (all prominent communists) and his liberal democrat father, Giovanni. This last was a liberal democrat 'saint and martyr' of Anti-Fascism (died 1926), as his prominence in Italian street names shows. But, like most saints and martyrs, he, too, was not without flaws, both

political and personal. I shall briefly recount the Amendola-coloured history of Italy 1880-1980 via zoom to AAEH.

Richard Bosworth was one of the original four founders of the then Australasian Society for European History in 1969. Since his retirement from UWA in 2011, he has found refuge at Jesus College, Oxford, where he is an Emeritus Fellow. His 'very last book', *Politics, murder and love in an Italian family: the Amendolas in an age of totalitarianisms* came out with CUP in February. In April it was given a presentazione at the Fondazione Giorgio Amendola in Turin and in October it will be similarly debated in Sofia (see chapter 4). richard.bosworth@jesus.ox.ac.uk

Burchell, David, 'Contract as Covenant: Making Sense of the Religious Ancestry of the Social Contract Idea'

The social contract idea is a staple in teaching and research in early modern political thought. Yet to some extent the purchase of the idea in the intellectual landscape of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is necessarily mysterious to us. Why should a 'myth of origins' for civil society in an imagined state of nature, and an imagined pact between people in that natural state to form political society, seem necessary in order to ground or 'legitimate' political institutions and rule? And how is it that such a 'myth of origins' should compel assent among generations subsequent to those who sealed the pact? Here I suggest that we should think of the social contract chiefly as a 'secularised' version of the various Biblical covenants, and more especially the covenants of Moses, Jeremiah and the Christian Gospels. However, since contemporary 'secularisation narratives' and investigations of the religious ancestries of modern political ideas are often methodologically vague about the significance of those religious backstories, I also want to be more precise about the operational significance of the covenant idea. In this paper I'll suggest that the social covenant idea served three practical purposes: it served to ground an understanding of primal human equality necessary to the idea of civil society; it grounded the 'contract' or pact within a conception of transcendental authority or 'witnessing' by God; and it provided an explanation for why subsequent generations would agree to be bound by a pact that had not themselves sealed. I'll also suggest that these elements of the social contract idea developed and evolved over time in the hands of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau within a changing interpretation of Christian Scriptures.

David Burchell is a senior lecturer in History at Western Sydney University, where he has taught for almost thirty years. Over that time he has published in the histories of citizenship, ethics, early modern political thought, government and statistics, as well as publishing and broadcasting on contemporary Australian politics
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Cercel, Cristian, 'German settlement in the east of Europe through the lens of Settler-Colonial Theory: Transylvanian Saxons and Danube Swabians from the 1700s to the present.'

Scholarship has long recognised that Germans in the east of Europe asserted a role as settlers and civilisers in order to legitimise their place and claim special status. It has also increasingly framed successive German states' visions of the east of Europe in the context of broader colonial fantasies, drawing out parallels to overseas imperialism. It is surprising, then, that there have been few inquiries of Germanness in the east of Europe through the lens of settler colonialism. The few exceptions focus on the narrow context of the German state's settlement efforts in modern-day Poland, especially in the Nazi period. Yet German settlers participated in many exploits beyond the German Empire. Their Germanness (and their settlerness) was often framed in reference to their host states and societies, a process not always intertwined with the German heartlands.

The project we introduce today is a longue durée study of German settlers and of German 'settlerness' in the east of Europe through the lens of settler colonialism, foregrounding the settlers themselves, and their efforts to navigate the multiple empires and successor states they found themselves in and in-between. It focuses on two groups who settled in the region at different moments, as part of different colonization processes, and whose identity has often been constructed – by in-group actors and by external observers – around ideas and tropes of 'settlerness': Transylvanian Saxons and Danube Swabians.

The study will trace the formation of Saxon and Swabian narratives of "settlerness" (predating German unification), untangle the relationships between settlers, continental empires and successor states, and follow through to the postwar (and postcolonial) "unsettling" of Volksdeutsche through flight or expulsion, and resettlement in (West) Germany, the Americas and Australia. Throughout, we seek to understand the socioeconomic structures underpinning assertions of settlerness, and the manifest political purposes such assertions served.

Cristian Cercel is researcher at the Institute for Danube Swabian History and Regional Studies (Tübingen). He has published on Germans in Romania, as well as on the representations of war in European museums. He is currently working on a project looking at the postwar migrations of Danube Swabians to France and Brazil.
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Crossland, James, 'The Harbinger: The 1858 Orsini bombing and the Birth of Europe's First "Age of Terror"'

The paper re-examines the impact and legacy of the Italian nationalist Felice Orsini's attempt on the life of Emperor Napoleon III in 1858 – a failed regicide with profound, transnational consequences. The attack on Napoleon's carriage involved the deployment of an innovative Improvised Explosive Device (IED) and the plot itself was conceived of in Britain by a team of Italians, Englishman and a French émigré. Consequently, the fallout from this failed assassination attempt went beyond France,

influencing policing, international relations and media perceptions of terrorism across Europe and the United States. Most importantly, Orsini's attack provided proof of concept for violent radicals in search of alternatives to the street-level insurrections of 1848. As such, Orsini – and the shrapnel-dispersing IED he designed for his attack – become lauded by nihilists in Russia, Fenians in Britain and anarchists across Europe in the decades that followed, engendering the concept of "Orsini Warfare" and, with it, the first age of international terrorism.

James Crossland is a Reader in International History at Liverpool John Moores University and director of LJMU's Centre for Modern and Contemporary History. He is a specialist in the history of the laws of armed conflict, whose present interests lie in the study of terrorism, panics and propaganda. He has authored many of articles on these topics, and three books: *The Rise of Devils: Fear and the Origins of Modern Terrorism* (MUP, 2022), *War, Law and Humanity: The Campaign to Control Warfare, 1853-1914* (Bloomsbury, 2018) and *Britain and the International Committee of the Red Cross, 1939-1945* (Palgrave, 2014). j.n.crossland@ljmu.ac.uk

Crozier-De Rosa, Sharon, 'Intergenerational Emotions and the Imperial Historian's Storytelling.'

In 1886, after returning from a trip to the Australian colonies, English historian James Froude, published Oceana or England and Her Colonies. Criticised in Australia as a fascinating but politically useless travelogue, it still went on to sell 80,000 copies in its first year. While 'politically useless' in terms of supporting colonial imaginaries, it was perceived to be more productively allied to metropolitan visions. Within the book, familial imagery abounds. Britain is the 'mother country' – 'parent stock' – and the colonies 'our kindred, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh' … as 'their feeling is to us so is ours to them'. Confronting rumours that the metropole's 'natural affection' has turned to 'cool indifference', Froude empathised with the confusion and anxiety of the colonists much as he would with a well-behaved adolescent who doesn't understand why his father seems disappointed. Still, and in the face of 'such unhuman indifference', he hoped that the 'majestic organism' that is the family of empire would yet 'defy the storms of fate'. In this paper, we explore how family and familial emotion were deployed in imperial histories to enable political claim-making around the British centre and its relationship with its colonies and dependencies. We now know that the family is a historical-cultural symbol that has been drawn on to represent systems of power and hierarchy within nations and across empires. We know less about how imperialists like Froude couched this familial analogy within an affective domain – a strategy, we argue, that served to further reinforce the cultural power of this familiar symbol. Through deploying an interpretive framework of intergenerational emotion – defined here as the emotions we have about our ancestors and descendants– we interrogate imperial historical storytelling over time to reveal more about the evolving political potential of the family-affect imaginary.

Sharon Crozier-De Rosa's transnational research explores gender, memory, and emotions, as well as histories of activisms from feminist to archival. She currently leads a project on 'Archiving Social Movements & Building Historical Literacy for a Digital

Age' (DP230100875). She is Deputy Editor of *Women's History Review*, International Federation for Research in Women's History Board Member, Irish Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand Vice President and Co-Convenor of the Centre for Colonial and Settler Studies (UOW). sharoncd@uow.edu.au

Davis, Cody, 'Exploring Married Soldiers Expressions of Violent Agency During the First World War'

Married soldiers serving in the British army during the First World War were confronted with clashing married and soldierly identities with the latter exposing men to the traumas of trench warfare. Their military service, in many ways, clashed with the core tenants of contemporary marriage and the fundamental, and unique experience of war, that of combat, presented a tension between the competing soldierly and married identities. Central to the married man's identity was a sense of paternalism for both his wife and the broader household, seeking to care for the emotional, physical, and financial wellbeing of both; however, military service jeopardized his ability to sustain each of these through his separation from the household and resulted in a reliance upon correspondence to sustain the marriage. The letters men wrote home to their wives included trauma-filled yet sanitised accounts of the effects of modern weapons and the emotional and physical strains of trench warfare during both high and low-intensity actions on the Western Front. Similarly, men's considerations of their own role in combat as agents of violence were sporadic and often overridden by a desire to leave the war. The sanitisation was, in part, a conscious effort made by these men to shield their wives and families from the anxieties that they believed arose from concerns about their safety. This paper will seek to demonstrate married soldiers' reluctance to engage with contemporary, wartime military identities that focused on the soldier as an agent of violence and, instead, choosing to reinforce their pre-enlistment, domestic identity. To do this, correspondence from married soldiers stored at the Imperial War Museum and the Liddle Collection at the University of Leeds has been collected and used to build this discussion.

Cody Davis as a PhD candidate in his final year at the University of New England, researching the wartime experiences of married soldiers during the First World War. His research explores the ways men's marital identities influenced and framed their military service within the correspondence they would write home.
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Davis, Sacha, 'German settlement in the east of Europe through the lens of Settler-Colonial Theory: Transylvanian Saxons and Danube Swabians from the 1700s to the present.'

Scholarship has long recognised that Germans in the east of Europe asserted a role as settlers and civilisers in order to legitimise their place and claim special status. It has also increasingly framed successive German states' visions of the east of Europe in the context of broader colonial fantasies, drawing out parallels to overseas imperialism. It is

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Davis, Sacha, 'Shifting Centres: Cycles of Orientalist Discourse in Bulgaria, 1876-1990.'

In the "National Revival" of the 1870s, Bulgarian nationalists deployed Orientalist rhetoric to legitimise their independence movement against the Ottoman Empire, presenting their Christian 'Europeanness' as in conflict with Islamic 'Orientalism.' In doing so, they successfully won the support of the Great Powers, becoming a periphery of the European core. They also unleashed ethnic cleansing that reduced Bulgaria's Muslim population by half, while leaving large minorities in some regions. While the struggle against "the Turkish Yoke" remained prominent in Bulgaria's national mythos following independence, however, Orientalism and anti-Muslim violence remained relatively dormant during the turbulence of two World Wars and the imposition of communist rule. After the institution of the 1971 'Zhivkov Constitution,' however, the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) deployed strikingly similar rhetoric against its Turkish minority during the regime's so-called 'Revival Process' – culminating in widespread violence and ethnic cleansing in the final years of the Zhivkov regime. Why did this recycling of Orientalist discourse and anti-Muslim violence occur a century later, in virtually opposite geopolitical circumstances? Why was anti-Muslim action so subdued in-between? This paper contends that while latent Orientalism laid the foundations for anti-Muslim violence, it was Bulgaria's shifting position in a changing world-system, and its dependence on 'great power' support, that determined the conditions for or against violence.

Sacha E. Davis completed his doctorate at the University of New South Wales and lectures in European history at the University of Newcastle (Australia). His primary research interests examine minority nationalism and the state in the east of Europe,

with a focus on German diaspora communities (especially Transylvanian Saxons), and coercive regimes directed at Roma, in the (post-) Habsburg lands. He has also written on the Transylvanian Saxon diaspora in North America, and is co-CI in the oral history project "German as a Heritage Language and Culture in Newcastle and the Hunter Valley." sacha.davis@newcastle.edu.au

Drapac, Vesna, 'Regimes of Violence: Recasting Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Empire'

A number of historians have recognised that the concepts of resistance and collaboration, when applied to paramilitary violence in Europe in the 1940s, are of limited explanatory power. Such scholars have put forward a range of alternative frameworks for understanding responses to Nazi hegemony which we may loosely term 'social violence theories'. These approaches are more nuanced than the resistance/collaboration paradigm and are especially illuminating when applied to local studies. Nonetheless, the terms 'resistance' and 'collaboration' continue to frame interpretations of responses to the war and occupation. While many say that we have moved 'beyond' the dichotomous conceptualisation of life in Hitler's Empire, it remains the case that the resistance/collaboration paradigm underpins much of the general understanding of behaviour under Nazi rule. The ongoing instrumentalisation of the terms 'resistance' ('anti-fascism') and 'collaboration' ('fascism') in contemporary European memory wars attests to the tenacity of the resistance/collaboration paradigm and its vulnerability to politicisation.
Building on ideas derived from theories of social violence, this paper explains why the concept of 'regimes of violence' can provide a more holistic framework for studying paramilitarisation in the 1940s. The regimes-of-violence model allows us to explore how violence shaped social relationships of all kinds. It incorporates different types of violence (for example, political, social, sexual, and criminal) into a coherent, pan-European narrative. We describe the ways in which the regimes-of-violence framework can help us to establish how the overarching criminal regime of violence interacted with local regimes of violence, and why there was greater social cohesion and less recourse to violence in some places than in others.

Vesna Drapac is a member of the Department of Historical and Classical Studies at the University of Adelaide. Her publications include *War and Religion: Catholics in the Churches of Occupied Paris, Constructing Yugoslavia: A Transnational History* and, with Gareth Pritchard, *Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Empire*. Currently she is working on two projects: a study of the faith and religious practice of French Catholics in the 1930s and 1940s and, with Gareth Pritchard, a book on paramilitarism and social violence in Europe in the 1940s. vesna.drapac@adelaide.edu.au

Edele, Mark, 'Writing the History of the Present at times of War: The Case of Russia's War Against Ukraine.'

This paper will explore on the challenges of writing the history of a war while it is still going on. It will be based on the experience of writing Russia's War against Ukraine

(forthcoming Melbourne University Publishing, August 2023). Some aspects were not particularly challenging, from a historiographical perspective. The first two chapters explore the deep history of Russian and Ukrainian national formation, covering some thousand years from the medieval Rus to 1991. There was of course the challenge of compression and selection: what to leave out, what to foreground – but these are the normal challenges of synthetic history writing. The later chapters, dealing with Russia and Ukraine since 1991 as well as their relations to the EU and NATO, by contrast, moved into territory normally left to political scientists and other social scientists as well as journalists. Finally, the usual habitus of the historian as the independent arbiter over the past fails in a context where historical interpretations become part of a propaganda war enmeshed with a shooting war. In such a context, the historian, too, is forced to take sides. This paper thus also explores to what extent historical analysis can add to contemporary political debate, complementing and broadening other perspectives.

Mark Edele is Hansen Professor in History and Deputy Dean in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Melbourne. He is the author of six books on the history of the Soviet Union, most recently *Stalinism at War: The Soviet Union in World War II* (2021) and *Russia's War Against Ukraine. The Whole Story* (Melbourne University Publishing, forthcoming 2023). He teaches the histories of the Soviet Union, of World War II, and of dictatorship and democracy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. mark.edele@unimelb.edu.au

Fekete, Ilona, 'Foreign relations and the diaspora during the Cold War: Australian-Hungarian relations in the 1970s and 1980s.'

Hungary, like many other countries with recent diasporas, developed new type of relations with diaspora communities in the second half of the 20th century. These relations were driven by national, economical, and/or ideological considerations, but this paper will argue that during the communist period Hungary's foreign relations with Australia were mostly financially motivated, with ideological undertones.
As the Cold War set in and especially after the repressed 1956 Hungarian revolution, Hungary was struggling to build any diplomatic relationships with Western countries. From the end of 1960s the division lines started to thaw and one of the examples was that Hungary's diplomatic relations with Australia was reinstated in 1972.
Hungary's main goal was to build economic relations outside of the Eastern Bloc, but diplomatic relations were only part of their activities. With the new embassy in Canberra, Hungary hoped to extend their knowledge about the region, particularly about Australia's stance regarding China and the USSR. The other important area of interest was the Hungarian diaspora in Australia. On one hand, Hungary sought loyal Hungarian organisations and individuals who could help build economic relations as well as build a more positive image of the Peoples Republic of Hungary. On the other hand, the Hungarian state wanted to collect information about any form of hostility to control the possible damage on Hungary's brand as the "happiest barrack" in the Soviet Bloc. Based on archival material of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the State Security Authorities, I attempt to reconstruct the manifold relations that Hungary had with Australia and the Hungarian-Australian diaspora in the 1970s and 80s.

Ilona Fekete is a PhD candidate at the University of Queensland. Her dissertation examines case studies of identity maintenance within the Hungarian diaspora in Australia, investigating the evolution of national imagery and demonstrating the significance of this dynamic relationship to identity maintenance. Her research interests include diaspora heritage and diaspora nationalism. i.fekete@uq.net.au

Fitzpatrick, Matthew, 'The Captivity of the Colonisers: The Patriarchal Family and Internment in German Samoa.'

The arrival of the New Zealanders in Apia in 1914 heralded the beginning of the end for German Samoa, with the German administration quickly replaced and many prominent German government officials and planters sent to New Zealand to be interned. The experience of internment varied according to the rank, age and familial status of the internees, but was generally viewed by the Germans as bringing about undue and unnecessary hardship for both internees and those they left behind. This paper draws on letters written by German internees to various officials in the British Empire (and beyond) seeking to have their liberty restored on the basis of familial hardship. In particular, these sources demonstrate how appeals to patriarchal family duty and responsibilities were crafted, as well as what forms of family crisis were viewed (at least by the internees) as sufficient grounds for an urgent return to Samoa to ward off threatening circumstances. It argues that the experience of internment was viewed through the lens of heightened colonial anxieties about possible threats to an ostensible 'natural' social order. Internment, that is, was represented as an economic, racial and sexual threat to a German colonial community left unprotected by the New Zealanders, who had stripped the community of its 'natural' protectors.

Matthew P Fitzpatrick is an ARC Future Fellow and Professor of International History at Flinders University, Australia. He is the author of three books dealing with the history of the German Empire, most recently *The Kaiser and the Colonies: Monarchy in the Age of Empire* (2022). He has been a Humboldt Fellow at the Westphalian Wilhelms-University Münster and a past winner of the Chester Penn Higby Prize.
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Fitzpatrick, Sheila, 'How the Ukraine war has changed research conditions for scholars of Russian history.'

The current war in Ukraine has effectively cut off access to Russia and its archives for foreign scholars. This is largely because Western universities and granting institutions banned or recommended against collaboration with Russian institutions and individual scholars, although Russia has also put some Australian journalists and scholars on a blacklist for visas. There is also debate within the international scholarly community about whether it is morally justifiable to go to Russia under current circumstances. For anyone who has been around long enough, this brings back memories of life with archival access restricted by the Cold War. That experience may come in useful now.

Sheila Fitzpatrick is a historian of modern Russia and twentieth-century migration who is a Professor at the Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences, Australian Catholic University, Melbourne, and Distinguished Service Professor Emerita of the University of Chicago. Her recent books include *On Stalin's Team: The Years of Living Dangerously in Soviet Politics* (2015), *Mischka's War* (2017), *White Russians, Red Peril: A Cold War History of Migration to Australia* (2021) and *The Shortest History of the Soviet Union* (2022) She is currently writing a book on Soviet and Baltic "displaced persons" after the Second World War, Lost Souls, to be published by Princeton University Press.
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Fontana, Stefani, 'Targeting Emotion: A historical study of emotional imagery and language in Italian fascist propaganda.'

Although few periods in European History have received the same attention as Italian Fascism and Nazi Germany, there remain meaningful gaps in knowledge of how two of the most brutal totalitarian systems came to be so convincing to large numbers of people. The 'brainwash' notion of propaganda is invalid as it fails to consider the individual's ability to resist ideas that are presented to them. This project is concerned with the role of emotions in propaganda manipulation that paved the way for the rise of the Italian Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF) under Benito Mussolini between 1922-1945, looking at original Italian source documents of the Interwar period, with comparative reference to existing source contemporaneous collections and scholarship on the rise of the German NSDAP, or Nazi party. It is the central hypothesis of this thesis to consider to what extent, without an emotional dimension of persuasion in Fascist and Nazi propaganda, these political rulers would not have received the loyal following to facilitate their unprecedented dictatorial control.

Work exploring the nexus between political propaganda and the history of emotions has not previously been extensively explored. This project seeks to investigate the role of emotions in propaganda manipulation through a historical case study of original sources (both visual and narrative) for the Italian Fascist Party campaigns, presses, and educational texts. Comparing these with similar (translated) textual and visual sources from Nazi propaganda, it will also consider the relation between Italian Fascism and Nazism, comparing the influence each regime had on the other in emergence of similar propaganda techniques, as well as the many common ideological principles both shared in their early formation and their regime practices. While it is undeniable that propaganda played a pivotal role in the entire apparatus of authoritarian regimes, the ability of such propaganda to weaponise emotions has achieved significantly less attention. Thus, an important connection between propaganda and emotion is pivotal to account for the success of Italian Fascism and possibly also Nazism. Propaganda was thoughtfully designed to exploit the emotional vulnerability of targeted individuals and groups. In order to account for the effectiveness of propaganda in such regimes, it is important to consider the emotions being targeted and for what purposes within the Fascist worldview and Italian culture of the nineteen-twenties and thirties.

My name is Stefani Fontana and I am PhD candidate in the field of History from the school of Humanities and Communications Arts at Western Sydney University. I also

teach modern history to undergraduate students at Western Sydney University College. I completed a Master of Research in 2021 and have now expanded the project into a PhD. My research focuses on the comparative study of the role of emotion in both Nazi and Italian fascist propaganda. The project explores two different but related regimes which were among the first historical regimes to deploy propaganda as a central component of building a mass following, and in its treatment of emotion as a bio-cultural phenomenon. s.fontana@westernsydney.edu.au

Freeland, Jane, 'Violence against Women and the Co-optation of Women's Rights Platforms in Germany.'

In the most recent German federal election, the right-wing populist party Alternative for Germany built part of their anti-migration platform under the guise of protecting women from violence. Only by limiting migration from certain countries would (white) German women be safe. Well-known German feminist Alice Schwarzer similarly used the attacks against German women on New Years Eve in Cologne in 2016 to criticize the failure of Muslim and 'North African' men to integrate and accept German values. The entwinement of women's rights platforms with racist and anti-migrant politics is certainly nothing new, as feminism has long been embedded within and supported by racial hierarchies. Indeed, as this paper shows, this was also the case for West German women's activism against domestic violence from the 1970s to the 1980s. It argues that drawing on racialised images and narratives of the violent foreign man was integral to the popular and political success of feminist efforts to create a support network for women living with violence. However, the paper also explores what happened when women from racialised groups started to challenge being spoken for by white German women, and examines the possibilities of feminist coalition building around violence against women as a way of creating an intersectional feminist agenda.

Jane Freeland is a Lecturer in History and Fellow of the Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences at Queen Mary University of London. She is an historian of modern Europe and Germany, with a focus on the history of gender and feminism. Her first book *Feminist Transformations and Domestic Violence Activism in Divided Berlin, 1968-2002* (OUP, 2022) situates domestic violence activism within a broader history of feminism in post-war Germany, and traces the evolution and impact of this movement across political division and reunification. She has also published in German History, Geschichte und Gesellschaft, and the Journal of Women's History. j.freeland@qmul.ac.uk

Garrioch, David, 'Dangers of the limelight: theatre fires in 18th- and 19th-century Europe.'

Since permanent theatres reappeared in Europe in the early modern period, many have burned, like Shakespeare's Globe Theatre in London in 1613, and Venice's La Fenice theatre in 1996 (for the third time). Yet in the 18th and 19th centuries, a period when extensive urban fires were becoming less common in European towns, the number of blazes in theatres, concert halls, and opera houses increased alarmingly. Around twenty burned in the 17th century, some sixty in the 18th, and hundreds in the 19th,

particularly in its final decades. Some of these fires were huge, and led to high numbers of deaths and injuries. This paper offers an overview of theatre fires and explains why they became more frequent and more serious, despite improvements in fire prevention and firefighting. Key factors include lighting, performance methods and props, the changing nature of audiences, and theatre construction. The paper concludes with some reflections on responses to the growing toll of theatre fires.

David Garrioch is Emeritus Professor at Monash University. He has worked mainly on early modern and 18th-century urban social and religious history, most recently on women's letters, on urban fire, and on artisan mobility. Publications include *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom* (2014); 'Sounds of the City. The Soundscape of European Towns, Seventeenth to Nineteenth Century', *Urban History* (2003); "Towards a fire history of European cities, 1500-1850", *Urban History* (2019); "Why Didn't Paris Burn in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries?" *French Historical Studies* (2019). david.garrioch@monash.edu

Hackett, Lisa J., 'The Female Pilot: Managing the image of women in uniforms during the Second World War.'

During the Second World War, belligerent nations recruited women to bolster their domestic workforce in both a military and civilian capacity. Employing women challenged social norms of inherently masculine occupations, which governments had to manage. Recruiting women into the military meant disrupting social and political discourse around gender roles. The female pilots who volunteered for these roles were entering not only a masculine workplace, but into an elite occupation. Part of a larger project that examines the ways government sought to manage the socio-political status of female pilots in visual propaganda, this paper examines how female pilots were presented in newsreels and film for the Second World War, with consideration as to how propaganda featuring women in uniform was deployed to publicly control the identity of the subjects.

Dr Lisa J Hackett is a lecturer at the University of New England and a founder of PopCRN, the Popular Culture Research Network. She teaches in the areas of popular culture, sociology and criminology. Her research interests focus on clothing, fashion and uniforms in popular culture, both contemporary and historical. She also researches a range of popular culture phenomena, particularly royalty and aviation. She is undertaking an Master of Philosophy in History examining women pilots and their uniforms during the Second World War. She is currently guest editing (with Jo Coghlan) *M/C Journal* [Special issue: 'Uniforms'] and the *International Journal of James Bond Studies* (with Jo Coghlan and Huw Nolan). Her latest publication "Mad Kings: The Mad Kings of The Royals: Fashioning Transgressions in Royal Popular Culture Television" in *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, also in October 2022. lisa.hackett@une.edu.au

Honcharenko, Nadiia, 'Transforming Historical Narratives of the Second War and Memory Policy in Ukraine.'

In this paper, I will analyze the changes of historical narrative and memory policy of the Second World War in contemporary Ukraine. This paper highlights the deconstruction of Soviet mythology of the 'Great Patriotic War', the gradual transformation of ideas regarding the causes, course, and consequences of the war, and formation of its Ukrainian dimesnion.

The paper presents the role of key actors in Ukraine's memory policy, including:
- scholars who introduced new approaches for deconstruction the Soviet concept of the 'Great Patriotic War' and have been creating a new historical narrative;
- authors of history textbooks who have been updating the content and improving the teaching methodology;
- museums workers who analyzes the Soviet propaganda and changing the Soviet style exhibitions;
- presidents of Ukraine and politicians who, by decrees and laws, propose changes of official discourse by supporting or rejecting Soviet propaganda and memorial practices.

The paper argues that decolonization a a historical narrative, as well as the decommunization of state memory policy on the Second World War were perceived by Russia as a threat. So, the accusations of Ukraine's distortion of the 'truth' about the war and the alleged spread of 'fascism' and 'neo-Nazism' in Ukraine play a significant role in the Russian hybrid war against Ukraine which started in 2014—and in 2022 evolved into justification for full-scale aggression.

Nadiia Honcharenko is Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Cultural Research of the National Academy of Arts of Ukraine and Research Fellow at the IU Non-Residential Research Program at Indiana University (USA). She is editor of publishing series Crimean Tatars prose in Ukrainian. Her areas of interest are Cultural Studies; History Education; Memory Policy. Among her latest publications are Preserving a Monument and Redefining Symbols in the National Museum of the History of Ukraine in the Second World War (2023); Different Memories of a Shared Past (2022); Crimean Tatars biographies in Ukrainian history textbooks: personalities, priorities, tendencies (2021) – all in Ukrainian. From the 'Great Patriotic War' to the 'Ukrainian dimension' of the Second World War: a change in the narrative in school history textbooks (2020).

Jones, Adrian, 'Mustafa Kemal's interview with an Australian journalist in Istanbul, 14 December 1918, six weeks after the end of the war with the Ottomans on 31 October 1918.'

The paper re-constructs the extraordinary context for this unusual interview with an Australian journalist. When prompted, Mustafa Kemal was magnanimous enough to express admiration for the ANZACs at Gallipoli, whom he had once opposed between April and September 1915, and whom in had re-encountered in SE Anatolia and NW Syria in September-October 1918. The paper addresses how, when and why Mustafa Kemal decided on magnanimity. The paper speculates on what it also suggests about a

future message from Mustafa Kemal: the controversial 1934 poetic message penned to the grieving mothers of the fallen ANZACs, which many contemporary scholars now think might be bogus.

Dr Adrian Jones OAM is a retired former Associate Professor of History at La Trobe University. He is now an Adjunct Professor in History, Classics and Ancient History at La Trobe University, having taught all manner of European histories, Adrian now specialises in Ottoman, Balkan and Russian history, and in the philosophy of history research and teaching. adrian.jones@latrobe.edu.au

Williams, Kasia, 'Slow memory and remembering Siberian WW2 experiences in Australia.'

A great number of refugees evacuated from the USSR, from gulags in Siberia, Kazakhstan and Turkestan, were among the displaced persons resettled to Australia under the post-war mass migration scheme. Going through quarantine points in refugee camps, such as the one on the Caspian Sea port of Pahlevi in Iran, the survivors had to leave their few possessions behind. Frank Kustra, however, buried his tiny diary in sand, eventually unearthed it and smuggled it out. The diary is a peculiar example of life writing, capturing not much more than temporal-spatial moments of Frank's harrowing journey that started with his deportation from Lviv to Siberia at the age of 14. Not bigger than a palm and enforced by metal covers, it looks like it was meant to survive to tell Frank's story. Yet, since the "Soviet story" is largely missing from the understanding of the WW2 in Australia, the diary remained silent, resurfacing from Frank's pocket occasionally as a curiosity rather than a testimony of repressions and trauma. It became a token of subaltern memories – supressed in Frank's homeland for over four decades after the WW2, but also rejected as unfitting in post-war Australia. Frank passed away in 2017, but his diary's journey continues, and so does Australia's WW2 remembrance marked by silences.

Kasia Williams is deputy director at the ANU Centre for European Studies. Her research focuses on migrant and diaspora cultures, particularly life narratives, transfer of memory between generations and communities, mediation of memory and constructions of the self within the contexts of migration, displacement and transcultural belonging. kasia.williams@anu.edu.au

King, Amy, 'The Politics of Sacrifice: Memory of the 1973 Primavalle Fire.'

On the night of 16 April 1973, three members of the extreme left group Potere Operaio climbed up to the third floor of via Bernardo da Bibbiena 33 in Primavalle, Rome, and poured a flammable mix of chemicals under the door to the Mattei family flat, which later caught fire. Mario Mattei was secretary of the local branch of the post-fascist party the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI). He, along with his wife Anna, and four of their six children escaped from the burning flat; his sons Virgilio, 22, and Stefano, 10, died at their bedroom window in front of crowds below.

This paper considers the roots of the Matteis' long afterlives in far-right memory culture. It identifies the political pressures that shaped the MSI's strong response to the tragedy and the party's engagement with memory for decades to come. The verbal and visual rhetoric of martyrdom staged at the funeral presented the party as a peaceful minority persecuted for its political beliefs. It also had a unifying function; to collectively honour someone as a martyr is to assent to the values for which they died, delineating the boundaries of the community of mourning and unifying members through collective grief. Awareness of the emotive power of martyrdom was part of the party's DNA given the centrality of the cult of martyrdom to the Fascist regime's propaganda, and Giorgio Almirante proved himself adept at leveraging its impact in public space, in the media, and in parliament. At a time when the MSI struggled under the weight of rumours of internal party divisions and accusations of organised violence, this language of collective suffering was politically useful.

Dr Amy King is a lecturer in Modern European History at the University of Bristol. Her research focuses on the rituals and rhetoric of political martyrdom in twentieth century Italy. Her most recent journal article, published in Memory Studies, examines the competing transnational martyr stories created by pro- and anti-Fascist Italian communities in the United States during Mussolini's early rule. She is writing a book on the memory of the Rogo di Primavalle for Palgrave Macmillan. amy.king@bristol.ac.uk

Krejčí, Pavel, 'The Future Belongs to the Proletariat: The Intellectual Origins of the People's Democracy in Czechoslovakia.'

This paper analyses the intellectual roots of the people's democracy regime in Czechoslovakia after World War II (1945-1948). Although people's democracy is traditionally associated with the Stalinist regimes governing Eastern Europe after 1948, its theoretical framework, qualitatively different from the Stalinist version, had been developed by Czechoslovak thinkers long before the involvement of the USSR in World War II. Specifically, the paper focuses on the role of three figures: Czechoslovak founding-father Tomáš Masaryk, his disciple Edvard Beneš and the intellectual Jan Fischer. Masaryk elaborated a concept of 'humanitarian democracy' based on the ideals of the French Revolution (Liberty-Equality-Fraternity'). The proclamation of these innate natural rights, claimed Masaryk, paved the way for further demands for economic and social justice. These economic and social demands were the driving force of the nineteenth century and prepared the ground for the social struggles of the twentieth century. In order to successfully deal with these struggles and prevent violent revolutions, Masaryk held that true democracy must not only be political, but also social and economic. Masaryk's arguments were further elaborated by Beneš. Beneš argued that since the end of the nineteenth century, the Proletariat has become the bearer of the struggle for a 'new, progressive and deeper democracy'. In Beneš' opinion, the Proletariat aimed to preserve political freedoms, but also endeavoured to transform the liberal order into a higher type of democracy of social and economic justice. Fischer, an author of the ideological programme of the wartime Czechoslovak National Resistance, drew from both thinkers and saw both world wars as a gigantic thirty-year-revolution. Unlike Masaryk and Beneš, Fischer regarded economic and social democracy as a

prerequisite for political democracy. Although overlooked, such notions provided the theoretical basis for the project of 'socializing democracy' that became a synonym for people's democracy after World War II.

Pavel Krejčí is a final year PhD candidate in History at the University of Hong Kong, and an awardee of the Hong Kong PhD Fellowship Scheme. His doctoral thesis examines the transformational shift in Czechoslovak society from the Western Liberalism of the interwar era towards post-war Socialism. Next to this primary research project, Mr. Krejčí investigates the engagement of the Czechoslovak soldiers in the Battle of Hong Kong (1941). Mr. Krejčí completed his master's degrees in History and Law at Charles University, Prague, under the supervision of the former Czech Prime Minister, Mr. Petr Pithart. pkrejci@seznam.cz

Kurda, Charissa, 'The Evolution of Antiziganism under the International Criminal Police Commission.'

From the late nineteenth century, peripatetic communities in Central Europe described by authorities as "Gypsies" were subjected to a series of persecutory measures aimed at criminalising their behaviour and pushing them towards a sedentary, settled way of life. These biopolitical measures, spelled out within varying frameworks of local, state, and federal law, were subjected to a process of cumulative radicalisation that under the Nazis culminated in a genocide during the later stages of the Second World War. This genocide is known by many as the Porrajmos, or "the Devouring."
Focusing on communities living in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, this paper offers a transnational analysis of how the international policing of Gypsy mobility provided a set of tools that assisted authorities in preparing the groundwork for the Porrajmos. It explores how and why different forms of international collaboration for solving the so-called "Gypsy Question" emerged before and after the rise of Nazism. In revealing the shared concern of cross-border Gypsy itinerancy and migration in Central Europe, this paper shows how several international, biopolitical initiatives for a transnational Central European framework for controlling Gypsies eventually crystallised in 1931 under the auspices of the International Criminal Police Commission (or ICPC), known today as Interpol. This paper also illuminates the changing power dynamics and direction of international Gypsy affairs within the ICPC, showing how Austria and Switzerland's role as major frontrunners in anti-ziganistic policy drastically shifted once the ICPC fell under Nazi control in 1938. With its structures, logistics and personnel institutionally linked to Nazi police frameworks, this paper demonstrates how the ICPC created a matrix of surveillance which made it easier for the Nazis to later carry out their decision to systematically murder Europe's Gypsies in December, 1942.

Charissa Kurda is a Research Fellow of history at Monash University in Melbourne, Australia. In 2021, she completed her Ph.D in modern European history at Flinders University in Adelaide, South Australia. Her doctoral thesis considered whether a general biopolitical campaign was waged against the Gypsies across central Europe by assessing the interactions between Switzerland and Austria alongside the development of German Gypsy policies. Kurda is also a fellow of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), which in 2016 – 2017 provided support for study at the University of

Paderborn and extensive archival research throughout Central Europe including the Bundesarchiv Berlin, Schweizerisches Bundesarchiv and Österreichesches Staatsarchiv. She is the author of "Gypsy Hysteria in Nineteenth-Century Germany: A Biopolitical Response" featured in Thomas Kehoe and Michael Pickering's Fear in the German-Speaking World, 1600-2000 (2020). She is also currently completing a book titled, "The Transnational Porrajmos: The Nazi 'Gypsy' Genocide as a Central European Project."
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Kurt, Umit, 'Global Patterns of Mass Violence: Ottoman Borderlands in Context.'

In his 1944 book Axis Rule in Occupied Europe, Raphaël Lemkin says that "genocide is composite and manifold, and that it signifies a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of the essential foundations of life of a [specific] group." Collective dispossession, including plunder and spoliation, is only one of the many crimes that accompany and even fortify genocidal policies—or perhaps better said, expropriation and pillaging are important aspects of the political economy of genocide. As Martin Dean, an authority on Nazi looting and plundering of Jewish property, remarkably underlines, "ethnic cleansing" and genocide usually have a "powerful materialist component: seizure of property, looting of the victims, and their economic displacement are intertwined with other motives for racial and interethnic violence and intensify their devastating effects." In the case of the Armenian genocide, the state-orchestrated plunder of Armenian property immediately impoverished its victims; therefore, it was simultaneously a condition for and a consequence of the genocide.
The Armenians of the Ottoman Empire experienced calamity of the greatest degree during World War I. Many males, including youth, were executed outright, while the rest—men, women, children, and the elderly—were deported to barren lands in Iraq and Syria. Those deported were subjected to every manner of misery—kidnapping, rape, torture, murder, and death from exposure, starvation, and thirst—by every possible adversary—Ottoman gendarmes, Turkish and Kurdish irregulars, tribespeople, and the army.
The Ottoman Empire's participation in World War I included a major campaign aimed at eliminating certain minorities —first and foremost Armenians—depicted by the CUP regime and Muslim society as dangerous and treacherous domestic enemies. This campaign led Armenians to be subjected to wartime mass deportation, internment, total extermination, and expropriation. However, the Ottoman Empire was by no means the only state to take measures against its own citizens. Both Central and Allied Powers carried out brutal policies against domestic political suspects and enemy aliens during the years 1914–1918. For example, Russia's campaign against its enemy citizens quickly widened in scope to include "the empire's large population of ethnic Germans to Russian-subject Jews, Muslims, and others." Only in one state, according to Matthew Stippe, the Ottoman Empire, did this "'dynamic of destruction' get pushed as far as genocide. In others, including Austria-Hungary, the quest for military security had murderous, rather than genocidal consequences" (italics added). Pursuing this global dynamic of violence during the Great War, the CUP campaign resulted in the forced displacement of more than a million civilians, the nationalization of a substantial portion of the imperial economy, and the transfer of extensive lands, assets, and properties from the targeted minorities (Armenians, Greeks, and Assyrians) to favored

groups.
One cornerstone of the wartime campaign against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire was the confiscation of their properties and wealth, which were subsequently transferred to Muslim elites and used in reshaping the domestic economy as well as covering wartime expenses. These were among the radical practices of the Ottoman ruling government aimed at nationalizing the economy. First, many businesses and properties were transferred to state institutions. Second, a lesser but substantial number of firms were transferred to "reliable" Muslim individuals and social institutions. More significant than the transfers themselves was the fact that these extraordinary measures belonged to a set of laws, regulations, rules, and decrees that created a legal basis for a more systematic campaign against the movable and immovable properties of Armenians. In this capital transfer, we see that genocide also created the circumstances to enable "the complete fulfilment of the established policy of ethnic domination through expropriation."
Economic dispossession was far from a process carried out "from above" by means of the simple execution of CUP orders. If the process of the economic exclusion of Armenians is to be described fully, a regional historical analysis is necessary. Not only will the fundamental features of regional anti-Armenian policy be examined, but decision-makers, local actors, provincial notables, and ordinary Muslims will be scrutinized in detail. In that sense, as Bloxham and Dirk Moses have suggested, "The matter of location tells us much about the political calculus underpinning genocide."
In fact, to grasp the full implications of state-sponsored genocide, we must look at local atrocities and their long-term outcomes. In this paper, I employ evidence and materials provided by local protagonists, in the form of diaries, letters, eyewitness accounts, testimonies, interviews, and memoirs. As Omer Bartov and Eric Weitz have contended, only in this manner, the combination of standard state documentation with locally-generated sources, can historians reconstruct local events in all their complexity and thereby gain more insight into the socio-psychological makeup of interethnic violence, its motivations, rationalizations, dynamics of perpetration, and subsequent narratives.

Ümit Kurt is a historian of the modern Middle East. His research is on the social, cultural, and economic history of late Ottoman Empire and early Turkish Republic in the 19th and 20th centuries with a special focus on the Armenian genocide and dispossession of Ottoman Armenians at large, imperial interest, ethnic politics, forced migration, and infrastructural transformations. He completed his dissertation in the Department of History at Clark University in 2016. He has then held several postdoctoral positions at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, and the Polonsky Academy in the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and worked as a Visiting Assistant Professor in Armenian Studies Program at California State University (CSU) Fresno. Currently, He is an Assistant Professor in the School of Humanities, Creative Ind. and Social Sciences (History) in the University of Newcastle. He has also been serving as a Vice Executive Secretary for the International Network of Genocide Scholars (INoGS) from March 2020 to date. His recent book, *The Armenians of Aintab*, has been the recipient of the Dr. Sona Aronian Book Prize for Excellence in Armenian Studies, Honorable Mention Book Prize by Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association (OTSA), and PROSE Award Finalist in the World History category, the Association of American Publishers in 2022. He is also the author of *Antep 1915: Genocide and Perpetrators* (İletişim, 2018) and the co-author of *The Spirit of the Laws: The Plunder of Wealth in the*

Armenian Genocide (Berghahn, 2015). Kurt is also a Fellow Member of Royal Historical Society. umit.kurt@newcastle.edu.au

Lalevée, Thomas, 'Before Durkheim: Early Social Science and the Politics of Progress in France.'

Émile Durkheim, widely considered one of the founding fathers of modern sociology, conceived of this branch of knowledge as the empirical study of collective human phenomena, or what he called "social facts." Although he recognized that it had practical implications, he maintained that this science was descriptive in nature, and it could not – and should not – speculate about the future. Durkheim made this argument in the late nineteenth century to distinguish his approach from an earlier tradition of social scientific thought in France, as well as to repudiate it. This paper examines this earlier tradition and outlines the range of future-oriented speculations that defined it. Based on the monograph I am currenlty working on, I will discuss the ways in which, prior to its consolidaton as an academic discipline, French social science was closely enmeshed with normative thinking and show that, in its early articulation, this science was as much a science of society as it was a science of progress.

I am an early career researcher specialising in eighteenth and nineteenth-century French history. My doctoral dissertation, submitted in 2022 at ANU, was awarded the John Moloney Prize for best thesis in History. I am currently working on a monograph based on my thesis. thomas.lalevee@anu.edu.au

Lang, Birgit, 'An Ethics of Attentiveness: Photographic Portraits and Deviant Dwelling in German Queer and Trans Archives.'

How might we negotiate the undeniable lure of Weimar for queer and trans history into the 21st-century present? How might looking at portraits shed new kinds of light on the kinds of sexual subjectivities that were becoming possible in the early 20th century, and in what ways does this visual archive connect with ongoing forms of queer and trans cultural production? These questions are at the heart of our joint investigation of photographic portraits of queer subjects from the early 20th century. Photographs such as that on Gert Katter's Transvestitenschein or 'transvestite pass' were clearly shaped by medical-scientific and legal practices and have often been identified with hegemonic ways of seeing, even when they are restaged in the present. In this article we argue that bringing an ethics of attentiveness to the analysis of such photographs reveals not only how embodied subjectivities were captured by the photographer's lens, but also how our own feelings and sense of self shapes our investments in "touching" the queer past. We argue that through their portraits, the queer subjects examined in our article lay claim to a form of "deviant dwelling" that incorporates a tension between pragmatism, conformity, and refusal. This tension resonates into the present, as curators and artists recirculate and cite historical genres of queer portraiture. In doing so, we argue that they create moments of transtemporal queer touch between today's audiences and historical subjects, albeit in ways that do not always sit comfortably with contemporary attempts at queer world-making.

Birgit Lang is a professor of German Studies at The University of Melbourne, Australia. She has published widely on the German and Austrian history of sexuality, on exile and translation studies (see also http://www.findanexpert.unimelb.edu.au/display/person139542). Their current collaborative ARC Discovery Project DP190101816 Visual Evidence: Sex Research in Germany (1890s-1930s) focuses on the visual turn in sex research in the early twentieth century. langb@unimelb.edu.au

Láníček, Jan, 'The Role of Family Networks in Holocaust Rescue: The case of Australia.'

Before World War 2, around 9,000 European Jews escaped to Australia. Their individual circumstances, and the factors that contributed to their successful migration are rarely discussed in scholarly literature. Furthermore, researchers are yet to pay adequate attention to the differences between various national groups among the Jews, and the diverse strategies they had to use to escape Europe and arrive in Australia.
This paper focuses on specific channels that contributed to the rescue of thousands of European Jews, especially those living in Poland. They were in a specific position, because the Australian government did not recognize them as refugees (because before September 1939 they did not live under the Nazi rule), and they had to use different strategies in comparison with German, Austrian and later Czechoslovak Jews.
A key role in the successful migration played the Polish-Jewish community that had settled in Australia in the 1920s. They could use existing immigration laws, largely bypassing the extraordinary measures taken by the Australian government in the late 1930s, which prioritized the arrival of refugee Jews from the territories under the direct Nazi control. Furthermore, because of cultural and antisemitic prejudices, Eastern European Jews – often portrayed as uncivilized, deeply religious, and unassimilable – were not seen as suitable or welcomed settlers in Australia. Nevertheless, family networks, and the possibility of a sponsored or guaranteed entry allowed the Polish-Jewish community in Australia to bring over thousands of Polish Jews on the eve of the Holocaust. This happened against the opposition of the Australian government, as well as the established Anglo-Jewish community in the country.
Focusing on selected case studies, the paper makes a vital contribution to the history of migration from Europe, the agency or migrants and disadvantaged communities, and the global history of the Holocaust of which Australia was an integral part.

Jan Láníček is Associate Professor in Modern European and Jewish History at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia, and an honorary Associate Professor at the Humanities Research Centre, ANU. He is currently completing a study of post-Holocaust judicial retribution in Czechoslovakia and also researches Jewish migration to Australia before World War 2. j.lanicek@unsw.edu.au

Lichtner, Giacomo, 'Contained, contested or concealed? Challenging fascism's visual legacies in contemporary Italy.'

Debates in Italy on the material and visual remnants of fascism and imperialism are not new. They have resurfaced intermittently in the past few decades in relation to places and objects such as Rodolfo Graziani's mausoleum in Affile, the fascist mural L'Apoteosi del Duce in the hall of the Foro Italico, and the re-planting of Monte Giano, to name just a few. Yet these debates have been reinvigorated in new ways by events such as the defacing of the statue of Indro Montanelli in 2020, and by a wider global context of widespread public contestation of monuments that silence or obscure a traumatic past. This paper examines a number of contemporary approaches to contextualising or contesting such monuments in Italy, or alternatively to making visible the absence of lieux de mémoire. Considering a number of examples of activism, public art, urban planning and civic engagement, it asks how these suggest ways in which contemporary Italy might address the continuing impact of the history of fascism and its visible and invisible traces. What is the interplay between local interventions and national and international conversations around these matters? Can such interventions genuinely impact contemporary attitudes, or are they destined simply to add another layer to an already saturated landscape?

Giacomo Lichtner is Associate Professor of History and Film at Victoria University of Wellington, in New Zealand. Giacomo's research focuses on the 'long Second World War' and the politics of its representation and commemoration, with a specific focus on cinema as a 'vector of memory'. Giacomo has published widely on the representation of the long Second World War in Europe, and he is the author of *Fascism in Italian Cinema Since 1945: the Politics and Aesthetics of Memory* (2013) and *Film and the Shoah in France and Italy* (2008). giacomo.lichtner@vuw.ac.nz

Lyons, Martyn, 'The Literary Culture of the Illiterate in Modern Europe.'

Social commentators have sometimes viewed illiterates as people who are doomed to a life of darkness, trapped, disabled and immobilised by their ignorance. One American literacy campaigner went so far as to consider them lacking in a basic ingredient of humanity (Kozol, Illiterate America, 1986). This paper argues on the contrary that illiterate people have never been less than fully human, and that they have always, if necessary, found ways to engage with literate society.

Historically, illiterates were immersed in an urban landscape of signs and inscriptions: the city was their text. For centuries, they listened to their texts, as shown by various examples of collective reading in modern Europe presented in this paper. Semi-literate people delegated writing tasks to 'scribes', usually a family friend. World War One is presented here as a National Literacy Test: the bulimic writing produced in 1914–1918 showed that the national language was often handled very imperfectly, judging by the correspondence of French soldiers; but semi-literate poilus, however untutored, obeyed the necessity of writing home. Illiterate people, furthermore, are often numerate, but invisible. Interviews with them in the late twentieth century suggest they are not marginalised, but constantly engaging with written culture.

This paper presents this material, some of it well known, with examples principally from France, Spain, Britain and Italy, and suggests some implications for our understanding of 'illiteracy', past and present.

I was born in London and I have worked at UNSW since 1977. I am now Emeritus Professor in History and European Studies, former President of the Australian Historical Association and in 2003 I was awarded the Centenary Medal for services to the Humanities. I am a specialist in the history of reading and writing practices in Australia and western Europe, and the author of *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World* (2010), *The Writing Culture of Ordinary People in Europe, c.1860-1920* (2013) and *A History of Illiteracy in the modern world since 1750* (2022). m.lyons@unsw.edu.au

Malhi, Amrita, 'Anglo-German-Siamese Competition on the Malay Peninsula: A Backdrop to Holy War?'

In 1964, Australian historian K.G. Tregonning wrote that it was "almost possible to say that Germany made Malaya British." Although there were no proven German interests on the Malay Peninsula in 1873, it was in that year that Britain's policy of non-intervention switched dramatically, and by 1890, it had appointed Advisers and Residents in Perak, Selangor, Sungai Ujong, and Pahang. "It was a British fear of what might happen, rather than any knowledge of what was planned to happen, that led to intervention on the west coast," Tregonning concluded.
By the early 1900s, in contrast, the "German threat" to British interests had become more serious. Germany had begun building a navy and had acquired an empire in Africa, China, and the Pacific. Its expanding trade links with Siam, moreover, opened opportunities for it to establish outposts in Siam's Malay tributaries, then an open frontier between Siam proper and Britain's Malay States. British fears of a German naval base off the Malay Peninsula grew as Germany also expressed an interest in nearby Sulu.
This paper analyses the machinations that Germany triggered in Kelantan, not only by Britain but also by Siam, the Kelantan elite, and Malay rebels in the state's hinterland. It traces the connections between Anglo-German-Siamese competition for the Malay Peninsula and the politics of the resulting rebellion in 1915, which was one of three east coast rebellions between 1890 and 1928. Did the experience of competitive colonialism, including the contest to seal up the Siamese tributaries, lead the Kelantan rebels to respond with a perang sabil (holy war)? Was this war part of a more generalised response across the Siamese tributaries, as a later uprising in Terengganu suggests?

Dr Amrita Malhi is a senior development policy adviser and an Honorary Senior Lecturer at Flinders History and the Humanities Research Centre at The Australian National University. She is currently working on a book on a Holy War in a neighbouring Siamese Malay tributary, Terengganu, in the 1920s. She is also planning a second book project on Malaya's north as an incubator of Malay communism through the 1950s and 60s, and how those politics helped drive the creation of Malaysia's developmentalist state from the 1970s onward. Amrita is also a consultant and frequent commentator on contemporary Malaysian politics. Her work is published in the *Journal of Peasant*

Studies, *The Muslim World*, *Itinerario*, and edited volumes with Oxford and Edinburgh University Presses. She has an article on the Malayan Emergency and its New Villages forthcoming in Bandung. amrita.malhi@flinders.edu.au

Marcello, Flavia, 'Achtung Banditen': the unexpected triumph of mass-housing in Quadraro, Rome (1944-2022)

When Mussolini came to power he vowed to transform Rome into the capital of Fascism. One of the techniques was to gut the city centre and remove what he called 'the filth of the centuries' from the grand monuments of imperial Rome. These large-scale demolitions brought about the displacement of 1000s of families to new outer suburbs: the borgate. Built for this poor (often anti-Fascist) working class, they took 'undesirables' out of sight and out of mind and exemplify how the regime and its architects failed to address their social, cultural (and political) aspirations. By segregating agents of potential political unrest to the outskirts of the city they inadvertently exacerbated endemic dissatisfaction with an increasingly anti-Semitic, imperialist and repressive regime. Instead this process reinforced anti-Fascist sentiment and gave agency for organised resistance during the 271 days of Nazi occupation (1943-44). Thanks to its location on the route between the Italy's two WWII fronts, Quadraro became what Consul Moellhausen called the 'Wasp's Nest', an epicentre of political action for key acts of resistance, both armed and unarmed. Like its counterparts Tufello and Pietralata, Quadraro remains a working class suburb that strongly identifies with its anti-Fascist history. On the 75th Anniversary of Liberation, the entire suburb was awarded a Gold Medal for Civil Valour but its contribution to the liberation of Rome from Nazi-Fascism is also celebrated by acts of community intervention. They have installed Tripping Stones to commemorate the 1944 round up of 2000 men sent to Nazi concentration camps, commissioned murals and there are also examples of both official and unofficial graffiti. Quadraro demonstrates how the process of re-housing social and political 'undesirables' to the city outskirts as a form of coercion illustrates the continued legacy of the Fascist past in contemporary Rome.

Professor Flavia Marcello, Swinburne University, is a world expert on the architecture and urban planning of Rome, in particular of the Italian Fascist period. Her research also delves into Classical reception studies, the politics of monuments and public space, the legacy of Fascism in contemporary society and Italian prisoners of war in Australia during World War II. She has published in *Modern Italy* and *Rethinking Histories*. Her monograph on Giuseppe Pagano-Pogatschnig came out with Intellect Press in 2020 and her next book charting the many aspects of the Fascist legacy in Rome is due out with Bloomsbury in 2024. fmarcello@swin.edu.au

Markwick, Roger, "On the national question we are making fatal mistakes': Christian Rakovsky versus Joseph Stalin, 1922-1923.'

In the context of the formal establishment of the Soviet Union 1922-1923 intense debates occurred within the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party about the proposed institutional structure of the Union. Christian Rakovsky, head of the Ukrainian

Soviet Socialist Republic, challenged CPSU General Secretary and Russian Soviet Republic nationalities commissar Joseph Stalin's proposed centralisation of Union affairs. Where Stalin argued for 'autonomisation' of states such as Ukraine under the Russian Republic, Rakovsky feared Stalin's formula threatened the 'liquidation of the republics' in the guise of a centralised, Russia-dominated Soviet Union. This paper looks at these seminal debates about Soviet nationhood as ominous preludes both to the rise of Stalinism and the subsequent fate of Soviet Ukraine.

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Maxwell, Alexander, 'Linguistic Panslavism in the Habsburg State Apparatus'

During the nineteenth century, Slavic savants in the Habsburg Empire, most notably the pioneering Slavist Pavel Josef Šafařík, routinely posited a single Slavic "language," implicitly or explicitly downgrading provincial varieties of Slavic to mere "dialects." This linguistic pan-Slavism, as its advocates described it, inspired nationalist activism and language planning on behalf of individual "dialects." Several Habsburg officials also shared this basic assumption of a single Slavic language with different written dialects. This paper documents linguistic pan-Slavism among officials in various branches of the Habsburg state apparatus: job adverts, military promotion documents, and so forth. It contextualizes the belief in a single "Slavic language" as compared to belief in multiple particularist Slavic languages. It provides a quantitative estimate of the strength of linguistic pan-Slavism in different Habsburg crownlands through the descriptions of suspects in police gazettes, finding that Polish and Czech languages enjoyed the most widespread recognition as particularist languages, and Slovak the least. It ends by concluding that linguistic pan-Slavism was surprisingly widespread in the Habsburg state apparatus.

Alexander Maxwell completed his Ph.D. at Madison Wisconsin in 2003. He taught at the University of Wales, Swansea and the University of Nevada, Reno. He is currently associate professor of history at Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand. He is the author of Choosing Slovakia, Patriots Against Fashion, and Everyday Nationalism in Hungary. He has edited themed issues of the journals *Nationalism*, *Memory and Language Politics*, *Nationalities Papers*, *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, *German Studies Review*, and *Central Europe*. A full list of his publications can be found on his faculty homepage, https://people.wgtn.ac.nz/alexander.maxwell/publications . He is currently writing a book about the language/dialect dichotomy in government administration. alexander.maxwell@vuw.ac.nz

Meredith, Sebastian, 'Shifting Centres: Cycles of Orientalist Discourse in Bulgaria, 1876-1990.'

In the "National Revival" of the 1870s, Bulgarian nationalists deployed Orientalist rhetoric to legitimise their independence movement against the Ottoman Empire, presenting their Christian 'Europeanness' as in conflict with Islamic 'Orientalism.' In

doing so, they successfully won the support of the Great Powers, becoming a periphery of the European core. They also unleashed ethnic cleansing that reduced Bulgaria's Muslim population by half, while leaving large minorities in some regions. While the struggle against "the Turkish Yoke" remained prominent in Bulgaria's national mythos following independence, however, Orientalism and anti-Muslim violence remained relatively dormant during the turbulence of two World Wars and the imposition of communist rule. After the institution of the 1971 'Zhivkov Constitution,' however, the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) deployed strikingly similar rhetoric against its Turkish minority during the regime's so-called 'Revival Process' – culminating in widespread violence and ethnic cleansing in the final years of the Zhivkov regime. Why did this recycling of Orientalist discourse and anti-Muslim violence occur a century later, in virtually opposite geopolitical circumstances? Why was anti-Muslim action so subdued in-between? This paper contends that while latent Orientalism laid the foundations for anti-Muslim violence, it was Bulgaria's shifting position in a changing world-system, and its dependence on 'great power' support, that determined the conditions for or against violence.

Sebastian Meredith is a PhD candidate and sessional academic at the University of Newcastle (Australia). Sebastian's research chiefly concerns the convergent histories of the European Union and East Central Europe from the mid-20th Century into the 21st. His recent publication in East European Politics and Societies, "The EU, the Visegrád Group, and Southeast Europe: Conflicting Perspectives within an Enlarging 'European Identity'," highlights the confluence of economic processes and discourse on identity in intra-EU politics. With Dr Sacha Davis, Sebastian has also investigated the historical relationship between Bulgaria and the European 'great powers,' and the ways in which West European projections of 'Easternness' have affected Bulgaria's long-term development and integration. sebastian.meredith@uon.edu.au

Park, Andrew Thomas, 'Drawing lines on the ground: post-war border commissions in Europe, 1919-1923.'

Following the breakup of several multinational empires after the First World War, the map of Europe was redrawn during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. In order to translate these new lines on the map into reality, the victorious allied Powers dispatched border commissions to physically demarcate the new borders, and make minor adjustments when necessary. This paper examines the experiences of these border commissions, in particular those operating in central and south-eastern Europe, through primarily British and French archival materials, as well as press accounts from the regions they were operating. These commissions, composed of British, French, Italian, and Japanese delegates, along with representatives of the locations they operated, were often riven by rivalry and discord internally. As the physical personification of the peace settlement formed in distant Paris, they were also a last point of protest and confrontation for those dissatisfied with the consequences of that settlement.
Indeed, the paper also points to how these bodies were themselves often the first encounter which local inhabitants had had with the high politics which had determined their lives from a distance. Likewise, the locations and descriptions of the new

boundaries by members of these commissions were sometimes the closest which inhabitants of these new states, living in urban areas far from these often remote and inhospitable borders, had of their own territories. In this way, the paper thus points to the role of these commissions in forging the territorial consciousness of these new successor states.

Dr. Andrew Thomas Park is a Lecturer in the University of Hong Kong's School of Public Health and Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Politics and Public Administration. His research and teaching interests include the history of international relations, central European history, multilateral organisations, and contemporary global health governance. His doctoral dissertation, completed in 2021, examined the role of plebiscites and international commissions in managing crises of self-determination during the first half of the twentieth century. He attended the AAEH's 26th Biennial Conference in Brisbane prior to Covid-19. atpark@hku.hk

Pattison, Micaela, ''La niña bonita' in a centrefold: Magazines and modern womanhood in the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939).'

The abdication of King Alfonso XIII on 14 April 1931 made way for Spain's first democracy and the building of a republican nation referred to and allegorically represented as 'la niña bonita'— a beautiful girl. An eclectic iconography placed a young woman alongside traditional republican motifs, Masonic icons, religious references and symbols of progress and modernity. This paper examines the relationship between the iconography of la niña bonita and new modes of visualising modern femininity in Spanish mass culture. I pay particular attention to representations of modern femininity in a new model of popular magazine that appeared on Spanish newsstands from the late 1920s. I am interested in how these magazines mediated debates over feminism, race and sexual science, democratisation and the impacts of urban modernity on the 'character' of Spanish women. I'll argue that the editors and directors of these magazines threw in their lot with the democratic project as they set out to cultivate a consumer base. In doing so, they incorporated images of Spain's modern female citizens into a 'visual economy of modern girlhood' based on a globally intelligible iconography used to promote modern hygiene and technologies of self in transnational commodities advertising.

Micaela is a Lecturer of Modern European History at Flinders University. She is also a researcher on the project "Gender Disturbance in Contemporary Spain: Masculinities and Femininities" led by researchers at the University of the Basque Country. She is an early career researcher of politics and culture in modern Spain with particular interest in the histories of gender, science and sexuality in the interwar. She is completing work on the manuscript for her first book, a micro-history that uses records of the career of a teenage revolutionary and 'eugenic child' to explore revolutionary politics, sexual science and the nexus of gender and youth in the cultural politics of the Second Republic. micaela.pattison@flinders.edu.au

Pritchard, Gareth, 'Regimes of Violence: Recasting Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Empire'

A number of historians have recognised that the concepts of resistance and collaboration, when applied to paramilitary violence in Europe in the 1940s, are of limited explanatory power. Such scholars have put forward a range of alternative frameworks for understanding responses to Nazi hegemony which we may loosely term 'social violence theories'. These approaches are more nuanced than the resistance/collaboration paradigm and are especially illuminating when applied to local studies. Nonetheless, the terms 'resistance' and 'collaboration' continue to frame interpretations of responses to the war and occupation. While many say that we have moved 'beyond' the dichotomous conceptualisation of life in Hitler's Empire, it remains the case that the resistance/collaboration paradigm underpins much of the general understanding of behaviour under Nazi rule. The ongoing instrumentalisation of the terms 'resistance' ('anti-fascism') and 'collaboration' ('fascism') in contemporary European memory wars attests to the tenacity of the resistance/collaboration paradigm and its vulnerability to politicisation.
Building on ideas derived from theories of social violence, this paper explains why the concept of 'regimes of violence' can provide a more holistic framework for studying paramilitarisation in the 1940s. The regimes-of-violence model allows us to explore how violence shaped social relationships of all kinds. It incorporates different types of violence (for example, political, social, sexual, and criminal) into a coherent, pan-European narrative. We describe the ways in which the regimes-of-violence framework can help us to establish how the overarching criminal regime of violence interacted with local regimes of violence, and why there was greater social cohesion and less recourse to violence in some places than in others.

Gareth Pritchard is a lecturer in modern European history at the University of Adelaide. He has previously worked at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand, and Swansea University in the UK. His work focuses on the social history of politics in eastern and central Europe in the 1940s. He is the author of *The Making of the GDR, 1943-1953* (MUP, 2004), *Niemandsland: A History of Unoccupied Germany, 1944-45* (CUP, 2012), and, with Vesna Drapac, co-author of *Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Empire* (Palgrave, 2017). gareth.pritchard@adelaide.edu.au

Provenzano, Luca, ''Street Fighting Men'?: Gendered aspects of protest violence in 1970s Western Europe.'

Recent accounts of the intersections of political violence and gender in 1970s Europe have focused on women terrorists as feminist icons, heroines, and pariahs against the broader backdrop of armed struggle and radicalism during the 'red decade'. This paper considers the gendered aspects of another prominent form of political violence in the 1970s--militancy in the public square—through the case of the Italian revolutionary Left from the early 1970s through the nationwide movement of '77. Although revolutionary Left organizations eventually sought to form gender-integrated protest security teams (servizi d'ordine), militancy in the public square proved less permeable than armed struggle to women's participation and feminist critics eventually identified

it as a form of essentially masculinist political violence, a judgment that has been shared by a cross-section of historians. Nevertheless, this article underlines how the groups that pursued militancy in the public square were influenced by the broader focus of Italian radical feminists on overcoming the conventional divide between the political and the personal and on the rehabilitation of emotions and the body. Following scholarship on intersections between the women's movement and the New Left, it shows how the radical Left reinterpreted the significance of violence in the public square largely as a consequence of feminist critique without abandoning the commitment to militancy.

Luca Provenzano is a historian of contemporary Europe focused on militancy, policing, and violence in the 1960s and 1970s. Dr. Provenzano is currently Marie-Sklodowska Curie Postdoctoral Fellow at the Centre d'histoire de Sciences Po in Paris and was formerly Visiting Assistant Professor of Modern European History at Wake Forest University. He received a PhD in Modern European history from Columbia University in the City of New York in June 2020. luca.provenzano@sciencespo.fr

Russell, Sarah, 'Representations of Siberian exile in nineteenth-century British travel accounts.'

Siberia has long been a metonym for cultural, political, and physical oblivion—a land of suffering on the edge of civilisation. Popular perceptions of this place are at least partly grounded in reality—Siberia is enormous, sparsely populated and has an exceptionally harsh climate. It was also the location of a vast carceral apparatus that existed almost from the first moment that Russians entered Siberia in the sixteenth century. Such was the Victorian fascination with this place, that over fifty accounts of Siberia were published by British travellers, explorers, adventurers, missionaries, scientists and commentators in the long nineteenth century.
This presentation will compare and contrast representations of the Siberian exile system by British travellers at two periods during the century. In the decades following the Decembrist uprising of 1825, a number of British adventurers travelled to the region, motivated by its geographical and conceptual remoteness from Britain and a desire to be the first to report on the region to their audiences at home. These travellers encountered exiles, including Decembrists, on their journeys and offered anecdotal reports on the exile system as just one part of a broader agenda to inform on all aspects of the place. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, knowledge of Siberia and the exile system was much more widespread, and Britons' fascination with the horrors of the institution bordered on the perverse. American explorer and journalist George Kennan triggered a trans-national sensation with his exposé of the exile system in late 1880s. His polemics were at odds with the more moderate views of British travellers to the region and this presentation will explore how and why these commentators represented and evaluated Siberian exile so differently to Kennan.

I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Auckland. My research examines the attitudes, experiences and public writings of British travellers who went to Siberia in the so-called 'long nineteenth-century' era of global travel (1815-1914). I examine the interplay between Romantic and Victorian attitudes, travel writing and their impact on

public perceptions. My research sits at the intersection of three bodies of scholarship: the cultural history of Victorian Britain, practices of nineteenth-century travel writing, and British understandings of Siberia. Methodologically, I adopt both literary and historical analyses of travel accounts. srus661@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Scully, Richard, ''Epitheatrical' Cartoonists – Enduring Linkages between Cartooning and the Dramatic Arts.'

In their c.2010 research into the culture of 19th-century Chinese theatre (later extended via an ARC Discovery grant), Mark Stevenson and CunCun Wu used the term 'epitheatre' to describe 'forms of literature and social life that are dependant on the theatre but not necessarily located within plays or playhouses'. Since then, my own study of the British cartoonist Matthew Somerville Morgan (1836-1890) has revealed the concept to be particularly useful for interpreting the careers and output of 19th-century cartoonists, and this paper looks to extend that overview to include Morgan's contemporaries and successors. The theatre, and theatrical imagining, was crucial to the ways in which cartoonists composed their work, and audiences and readers received it: single-panel cartoons essentially replicating or burlesquing scenes from imagined dramas, comedies, and tragedies. The biographies of key practitioners reveal this to be less than conceptual or coincidental: Punch stalwarts Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914) and Sir Bernard Partridge (1861-1945) were themselves actors (the former amateur, the latter professional); Matt Morgan pursued a parallel career as scene-painter and designer of pantomimes; and the editor and comic artist of Judy – Charles Henry Ross (1835-1897) and 'Marie Duval' (Isabelle Émilie de Tessier, 1847-1890) – wrote for, and performed in the mid-Victorian theatre, and imbued their serio-comic work with its tropes and conventions. Beyond Britain, the link is becoming increasingly clear to scholars both of cartooning and theatre: Virginie Pektas has observed something similar regarding the théâtre de Boulevard of France; Sylvain Nicolle explores Honoré Daumier's (1808-1879) oeuvre with an eye on the theatre; and Matt Morgan was himself a transatlantic figure, working in the United States. This paper explores some of the enduring linkages between historical schools of cartooning and the theatre, and proposes that 'epitheatre' has broader utility as a conceptual framework for historians.

Dr Richard Scully, BA (Hons), PhD (Monash), FRHistS is Associate Professor in Modern History at the University of New England. Primarily are searcher in the history and function of political cartooning and caricature, he is the author of *Eminent Victorian Cartoonists* (London, 2018), and *British images of Germany: Admiration, Antagonism and Ambivalence, 1860-1914* (Basingstoke, 2012). Richard is a Life Member of the Political Cartoon Society and Cartoon Museum (London), and active in the Équipe interdisciplinaire de recherche sur l'image satirique (EIRIS). He is currently working towards a new, transnational history of cartooning in Australia via an ARC-funded Discovery Project. rscully@une.edu.au

Shapoval, Yuri, 'Memory of the Holodomor: what sources help to construct it.'

The paper shows that the last decade has brought qualitative changes in the understanding of the causes and consequences of the famine of 1932-1933 in the Soviet Union and Ukraine. This process began during the "perestroika" period, when archival documents that were previously classified became available. The processing, understanding and publication of these documents is of great importance for finding adequate ways of commemorating the tragic events that took at least 4 million human lives in Ukraine. This specifically anti-Ukrainian assault makes it possible to define the totality of intentional political actions taken from late summer 1932 by the Stalinist regime against the Ukrainian peasantry as genocide. The example of Ukraine shows the need to see the specifics and peculiarities in the actions of the Stalinist government in one or another region of the former USSR in 1932-1933. Stalin was very dissatisfied with the situation in Ukraine. He even questioned the loyalty of the entire party organization, and he considered the Ukrainian peasants unreliable and those who constantly sabotage the state procurement of bread, resist, and have an underground that is connected to foreign countries and foreign intelligence, mainly the Polish General Staff. Demanding to turn Ukraine into a "true model republic", the Moscow leadership implemented a number of economic and political measures. Their goal was to squeeze the maximum amount of bread from Ukraine (which was motivated by the needs of modernization and the need to feed the cities), as well as to destroy the Ukrainian peasants, the intelligentsia, the Ukrainian language and culture, and the Ukrainian understanding of its history. It was actually about Ukraine remaining a geographical concept, a part of Soviet Russia. The paper indicates the methods that were used by the Stalinist leadership. In fact, according to one of the party functionaries, it was waging a war against the Ukrainian peasantry, and was ready to see how millions of Ukrainian peasants would die as a result. The analysis of various documentary sources that confirm this, as well as the memories of eyewitnesses, cannot be ignored in the formation of the collective memory of the Holodomor.

Yurii Shapoval is Professor and head (since 1998) of the Center for Historical Political Studies, Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Kyiv. His research interests are Political history and the history of political thought in Ukraine in the XIX-XXI centuries; the politics of memory and the process of decommunization in modern Ukraine; the history of the Communist Totalitarian system in Ukraine; the Holodomor in Ukraine; historical biography; mechanism and methods of the activity of the Communist Special Services in Ukraine; biographies of Chekists; Polish-Ukrainian relations in 1930–1940 of the 20th century; the Communist repressive and punitive system and the Ukrainian nationalist movement; analysis of school history textbooks.

Slaveski, Filip, 'Brutal Pasts and Brutal Futures? Ukrainian Society under German, Soviet and Russian Occupation: 1917-2022

One strand of my current research works to unravel how Ukraine's historical experience of past occupations and conflict inform, influence, and are influenced by the experiences of the current war and occupation by Russian forces —a melding of historical and contemporary pain that shapes life across decades. It ask how the

historical experience of war, occupation and famine in Ukrainian society has shaped its contemporary contours with research into how current experiences of war and Russian occupation are doing the same. This research proposes a new way of thinking about the entanglements of historical and contemporary violence and its social impacts. It disrupts historical, sociological and psychoanalytical research on war and brutalisation. It moves beyond historical memory studies, to advocate for a new theoretical framework to make sense of the most pressing case of historical and contemporary violence for analysis in Ukraine—to write history that is present.

Slaveski, Filip, 'The Last Soviet Famine, 1946/47: Mass death in war's aftermath across western Russia, Ukraine and Moldova.'

The most recent famine in Soviet and European History killed at least one million people in 1946-47 across western Russia, Ukraine and Moldova, yet we know relatively very little about it. The Soviet state repressed news of the 1946/47 famine at the time, and it remains largely absent in English-language and far less researched in Russian and Ukrainian scholarship compared to other famines. While we know that a range of factors are responsible for producing famine, especially massive drought, we have little sense of how these factors combined to produce it in different places at different times. We do not know exactly how many people died, nor how this famine influenced the development of post-war Soviet society, the emerging Cold War and the contours of contemporary Russia, Ukraine and Moldova.
Focusing mainly on Ukraine, I will address some of these questions in this talk, which is based on our research from the ARC Discovery Project of the same title.

Dr Filip Slaveski is Lecturer in Russian/Soviet and East European Studies at the Australian National University (ANU). He is lead CI on the Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Project 'The Last Soviet Famine, 1946-47' (DP210100278) and current recipient of an ANU Futures 2.0 research grant. He is the author of *The Soviet Occupation of Germany*…(Cambridge University Press, 2013), *Remaking Ukraine after WWII*…(Cambridge University Press, 2021) and with Yuri Shapoval, *Stalin's Liquidation Game: The unlikely case of Oleksandr Shums'kyi*… (HURI/Harvard University Press, 2023 – in press. filip.slaveski@anu.edu.au

Stahel, David, 'Heinz and Margarete Guderian: Promoting Family, Embracing Violence'

Understanding the violence of National Socialism has often been explored through macro studies of war, ideology, or mass murder. Yet recent trends in the historiography of Nazi Germany have sought to explore the social world of violent perpetuates, which had shed light on the dichotomy between the 'public' and 'private' worlds. However, little of this research has focused on perpetuates of violence in the Wehrmacht, in spite of the fact that military violence was governed by professionalism and long-standing traditions within German society. Part of the problem has been access to source material, given the absence of personal papers among the vast majority of German military commanders during the Second World War. However, this only places further emphasis on those records that do exist.

General Heinz Guderian and his wife Margarete have a voluminous record of private correspondence for the second half of 1941 when Heinz was commanding Panzer Group 2 in the invasion of the Soviet Union. It is these records that offer us insights into the everyday conception of violence within both a military context and also the 'war of annihilation' being perpetrated in the East. Importantly, the correspondence gives voice to a German general's wife and shows that Margarete, far from being a passive observer, was actively involved in the dialogue sustaining and legitimizing violence. This is not to say that the violence does not take a toll on the Guderians, the letters offer clear evidence that it does, but they embrace it as a duty and obligation uniting Front and Heimat just as National Socialism would expect.

David Stahel is based at the University of New South Wales in Canberra. Much of his research has focused on the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, but his forthcoming book is a study of the German panzer generals. D.Stahel@adfa.edu.au

Steele , Melinda, 'Documenta fifteen: A case study on the intersection of colonialism and Holocaust memory in Germany.'

In 2022, the fifteenth iteration of world-famous German art exhibition *documenta* was rocked by controversy. The Indonesian curators faced accusations of antisemitism based on rumours and perceived affiliations with anti-Israel movements, even before the exhibition opened. These accusations were seemingly confirmed when the artwork "People's Justice" was found to contain two figures that employed stereotypical negative depictions of Jews and Israel. Germany had previously adopted the controversial International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) definition of antisemitism that effectively equates criticism of Israel with antisemitism. Despite the offending artwork being swiftly removed from the exhibition, the controversy and ensuing debate would come to dominate *documenta fifteen* and threaten the reputation of *documenta* for the future. This paper analyses the antisemitic imagery in "People's Justice", taking into context that the artwork was produced by Indonesian artists under the shadow of colonialism and dictatorship. Although admirable in many ways, Germany's Holocaust memory culture has found it difficult to recognise the differing contexts and complications that arise from other histories which challenge the prevailing narrative. As a case study, *documenta fifteen* shows how the history of the Holocaust and the history of colonialism inevitably collide, but also how a multidirectional approach should allow both of these important histories to be remembered without competition and controversy.

Melinda Steele is a PhD candidate at Flinders University working on the 'Strategic Friendship' project led by Professor Matthew Fitzpatrick. She has recently completed her Honours degree entitled 'Holocaust Memory 2.0? A contemporary Historikerstreit.' Her PhD thesis investigates German travel narratives and the role of Germans in the global artifact trade during the colonial period and the use of colonial artifacts in Germany. stee0117@flinders.edu.au

Sutton, Katie, 'An Ethics of Attentiveness: Photographic Portraits and Deviant Dwelling in German Queer and Trans Archives.'

How might we negotiate the undeniable lure of Weimar for queer and trans history into the 21st-century present? How might looking at portraits shed new kinds of light on the kinds of sexual subjectivities that were becoming possible in the early 20th century, and in what ways does this visual archive connect with ongoing forms of queer and trans cultural production? These questions are at the heart of our joint investigation of photographic portraits of queer subjects from the early 20th century. Photographs such as that on Gert Katter's Transvestitenschein or 'transvestite pass' were clearly shaped by medical-scientific and legal practices and have often been identified with hegemonic ways of seeing, even when they are restaged in the present. In this article we argue that bringing an ethics of attentiveness to the analysis of such photographs reveals not only how embodied subjectivities were captured by the photographer's lens, but also how our own feelings and sense of self shapes our investments in "touching" the queer past. We argue that through their portraits, the queer subjects examined in our article lay claim to a form of "deviant dwelling" that incorporates a tension between pragmatism, conformity, and refusal. This tension resonates into the present, as curators and artists recirculate and cite historical genres of queer portraiture. In doing so, we argue that they create moments of transtemporal queer touch between today's audiences and historical subjects, albeit in ways that do not always sit comfortably with contemporary attempts at queer world-making.

Katie Sutton is an associate professor of German and gender studies at the Australian National University. She is the author of books and articles on the history of gender, sexuality, and sexology in early twentieth-century Germany, including interwar queer and trans subcultures, most recently *Sexuality in Modern German History* (Bloomsbury, 2023). katie.sutton@anu.edu.au

Tan, Harry, 'Chinese Portrayals in British and French Political Cartoons During the Second Opium War - The Establishment of the Nineteenth-Century Western Anti-Chinese Political Cartoons.'

Political cartoons in Britain and France seldom related to Chinese themes prior to the Opium Wars. Following the war, Chinese-themed political cartoons initially vilified the Qing Court, spread to Chinese people and products, and then covered the entire Chinese civilization. How then did Chinese portrayals in political cartoons begin? And what are the representative elements? These questions are only limitedly addressed in the extant literature.

By showing the specific changes to Chinese portrayals in the Western political cartoons around the First Opium War, this article addresses the question of how Chinese portrayals began to be demonized and politicized. It then discusses the reasons underpinning this demonization and politicization, the characteristics of it, and its trajectory over time. Thus, the article provides a foundation literature for Chinese portrayals in Western political cartoons in the 19th Century.

Political cartoonists have demonstrated that cartoons are remarkably able to communicate directly with people using well-established portrayals, a key element in achieving political goals. Based on the theoretical framework of Western political cartoons developed by Guity Novin, Amy Matthewson, Richard Scully and Rudolf Wagner, Harry Jiandang Tan recently developed the first literature of Chinese portrayals in nineteenth-century Western Chinese-themed political cartoons, uncovering how Chinese portrayals fitted with the purpose of waging opium wars. In this article, the author examines more cartoons published during the Second Opium War to illustrate how these Chinese portrayals were created, who were the key cartoonists, what was the metaphorical meaning of the Chinese portrayals in these cartoons, how their political goals were accomplished, and how did the translingual and transcultural flow via Chinese portrayals between the West and Chinese culture. The article further contributes to the literature of Chinese portrayals in Western Chinese-themed political cartoons during the opium wars.

Harry Jiandang Tan, graduated from University of Melbourne with master's degree in 1997, an independent, bilingual researcher and active writer, focused on Chinese Australian history in the colonial era and Nineteenth-century Western Chinese-themed political cartoons. Academic contribution includes the establishing of the theoretical framework and literature of Chinese portrayals in Western political cartoons in the UK, USA and Australia, Chinaman and white woman's relationship in Chinese-themed political cartoons, and Chinese labourers' voyage cost from China to Australia linked with Australian immigration concepts and 27 anti-Chinese immigration legislations in colonial era. harry@hjt.com.au

van der Kraan, Teresa, 'National Bolshevism in the Weimar Republic, 1919-1933: What should we do with 'National Bolshevism'?'

German National Bolshevism was a tiny movement with enormous implications. Originating in 1919 in the writings of Paul Eltzbacher, it is most commonly associated with Ernst Niekisch, August Winnig, Karl Otto Paetel, the Strasser brothers, and Joseph Goebbels. Manifesting in movements ranging from the NSDAP, to the SPD to the KPD, National Bolshevism has proven resistant to placement upon a linear political spectrum. Many scholars have shown a preoccupation with definition, leading to National Bolshevism's being labelled 'unorthodox' right-wing or left-wing, or simply 'syncretic', 'radical' or 'fringe'.
In as far as definition is necessary, National Bolshevism is understood here as it was by contemporaries: the attempt to synthesise German new nationalism with socialism or communism, while advocating closer ties with the USSR. My primary assertion is that National Bolshevism was not a political anomaly, but a logical outgrowth of the 'conservative revolution'. To unpack this, it is necessary to re-evaluate not only the historiography of the conservative revolution, but also the analytical viability of the 'linear' political spectrum. Rather than being purely reactionary or 'right-wing', conservative revolutionaries attempted to come to terms with hostile ideologies, such as liberalism and communism, by adopting their most 'viable' characteristics, i.e. the construct of the nation state, and the necessity for mass political participation through 'socialism' (no longer understood as purely materialist category). National Bolshevism,

too, attempted this kind of reconciliation, with its pro-Soviet stance being articulated primarily in the language of modern nationalism. This paper will explore the porous nature of political intellectual life in the Weimar period by focusing on the works of the key figures associated with the movement. The work of National Bolsheviks demonstrates a dynamic instance of ideological integration/influence, which in turn, indicates the importance of historians foregrounding 'process' in the understanding of political change.

I completed my Honours degree through the University of New England (UNE) in 2020, receiving First Class. Since then, I have been working on my PhD thesis through a co-tutelle supervision arrangement with UNE and St Andrews University, Scotland. The thesis focuses on interpretations of Italian Fascism by non-Hitlerian fascist or proto-fascist movements in Germany and Austria, 1919-1935. I also work as a casual academic through UNE at the Academic Skills Office, where my duties include unit coordination and marking. I am the recipient of multiple academic distinctions, including the University Medal (2020). jvande26@une.edu.au

Varnava, Andrekos, 'Reimagining the Road to Cypriot Independence.'

In September 1958 Archbishop Makarios, the Greek Cypriot leader, told Barbara Castle, the then Chairperson of the British Labour Party, that, after three-and-a-half years of violence from EOKA to achieve the union of Cyprus with Greece (enosis), he now supported a brief period of self-government, followed by the independence of Cyprus. He agreed to set aside enosis, if the Turkish Cypriots also set aside partition (taksim), unless they had support in the UN. Historians have marked this as a sudden switch that led to the Zurich-London Accords in February 1959 and the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960. Thus, Makarios is considered 'the father' of Cypriot independence. But little has been said about the idea of independence beforehand, about the opposition to it from EOKA, or about others who proposed independence from 1954 that may have influenced Makarios. This article focusses on the role and proposals of Jason Loukianou, a prominent Cypriot in London, which have not been previously discussed. These proposals, made from 1954, were detailed and close to the Zurich-London Accords, and Loukianou discussed them with Makarios in Athens in the days before he met Castle. The article explores the influence of Loukianou in changing the position of Makarios to independence, whether Makarios followed the proposals made by Loukianou closely, and if Makarios was genuine about his switch to independence. The article proposes a revision to the idea that Makarios was 'the father' of Cypriot independence.

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Wagemann, Tobias, 'Manipulating Colonial Order ? Constables, Polizeisoldaten and Chiefs within Early Colonial Records of British and German New Guinea (1884-1914).'

This paper engages with British and German colonial enterprises in the Pacific Ocean at the turn of the 20th century. In this short period of time, British and German colonial administrations are created on the eastern side of Papua New Guinea. German New Guinea is acquired by a German firm in 1884. Anxious to respond to this threat, the British government founds the colony of British New Guinea in 1888. Far from a thorough invasion, colonial administrators face structural problems and local resistances leading to growing anxieties regarding colonial order. Thus, colonial police forces, drawn essentially from Pacific Islanders, start playing a key role in assessing western legitimacy. Nevertheless, both institutions provide room for indigenous actors to manoeuvre beyond the constraint of each colonial system.
Although studies on western colonial violence have bloomed in the past thirty years, current research still tends to focus on individual case studies embedded in national readings of colonial history. Moreover, colonial administrations in the Pacific Ocean have generally been excluded from an analysis on colonial violence due to their alleged distance with European metropoles. Hence, this presentation focuses on local records of British and German New Guinea to demonstrate that colonial policemen not only participate to the construction of both colonial states, but they also manipulate the norms introduced by each colonial administration. A precise look at local judiciary and administrative records reveals that up to the First World War, policemen are enmeshed in cases of political violence and tend to manipulate the norms of colonial order. Furthermore, this paper will argue that a comparative perspective enables us to better understand how colonial policing worked as a joint-process moving beyond the borders of empires.

I am a first year doctoral student at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris (ENS-PSL) attached to the Institute of Early Modern and Modern History (IHMC). My research focuses on colonial history in a transnational and comparative perspective. More specifically, my thesis is entitled "Colonial Policing in the Pacific Ocean: A Comparative Study of German and British New Guinea (1880s – 1920s)". This work is under the co-direction of Professor Hélène Blais (ENS-PSL-IHMC) and Professor Isabelle Merle (CNRS-CREDO). twagemann@hotmail.fr

Wheatcroft, Stephen, 'Weather and transport data as reliable indicators of harvest failure and inter-regional grain transfers in Soviet food shortage and famine, 1916-22, 1928-33, 1941-7.'

Most accounts of the Soviet food problems and famines place emphasise the human factor and place little emphasis on grain statistics which are taken to be unreliable. While some Soviet statistics were certainly distorted the reliability of available weather and transport data are less in doubt. This paper analyses these data sources to see what they tell us about the severity, location and timing of drought and the extent to which

grain was transported from specific producer regions to consumer regions in times of food shortage in 1916 22, 1928-33 and 1941-47. It shows that all of the most important Soviet famines began as serious food shortages in the Northern Consumer Region (NCR) of Russia. In all cases extraordinary measures were taken to extract more grain from the three main grain surplus producer regions, in the Centre, in the East and in the South. These measures triggered famine in these producer regions, when they were combined serious drought in 1921, 1931 and 1946. In two of these cases the drought was followed by fairly favourable weather, but in 1932 a second year of harvest failure resulted in a second year of famine, which was particularly severe in Ukraine in the Southern Producer Region, which had been relatively leniently treated in earlier problematic years when first Urals and Siberia in the East and then the Volga in the Centre had been the most affected. The transport data show that in the critical years attempts were made to lessen the impact of earlier attempts to take grain from the key regions, but the relief came too late to avoid famine.

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Wilson, Natasha, 'Writing Soviet 'New Left' Youth into a Global History of the Cold War: Internationalism from Below and the Creative Workshop of Experimental Propaganda (TMEFP) at Moscow State University, 1971-1975.'

An unofficial student collective made up of both Soviets and Latin Americans at Moscow State University, TMEFP staged on campus propaganda exhibitions and volunteering fundraisers in support of Vietnam, Chile, and other internationalist causes. The group's determined political engagement was an unusual response to the gap between state propaganda and Soviet reality that was increasingly visible to this generation. This paper is based on interviews with 15 former TMEFP activists, supplemented by photographs and textual materials from their private archives. It will consider how TMEFP's activism poses a case study for relating Soviet conditions to the wider literature on the societal dynamics that gave rise to Third Worldism across both East and West during the long 1968.

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