

**International Committee of Historical Sciences (C.I.S.H.)
Commission Of History Of International Relations**

Scientific Session on

**The Formation of the Images of the Peoples
and
The History of International Relations
from the 18th Century to the Present Day**



Abstracts

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Preliminary Note

On the occasion of September 1995 Montreal General Assembly, our Commission had discussed and voted the proposal to devote talks to the question of the "Formation of the Images of Peoples from the 18th Century to the Present Day and the History of International Relations", which Professor Frank and other colleagues had put forward.

A meeting would have taken place at Paris in 1999, but French colleagues' commitments had got us to turn talks into one of the scientific session of Oslo Assembly.

Bureau received hint and preparation went on by the collaboration of French colleagues, which had already led off the work, of different members of Bureau and the Secretariat.

The paper, which had been enclosed to the invitation for all the members to participate to the session, has outlined viable purposes for the meeting (look p.9), by proposing to ponder on the question of the historical formation of peoples' images from the 18th century to present day, from different standpoints.

Plenty of replies have been received, as can be seen from this collection of abstracts, which we are delivering to foster the following stages of our work.

Drawing on the attitude and rules of the Commission, the basic purpose of the session goes on to be that Bureau's and Secretariat's members, associated and scholars, which had been invited and had joined in on the way, could ponder and confront each other on so relevant subjects.

This sheds light on the difference of proposals that has allowed even to extend the suggestion of the original program suitably:

- ❑ by underscoring questions of method;
- ❑ by extending the research on long-lasting term in different papers, going back to the dawn of Modern Age in order to understand the formation of some basic stereotypes;
- ❑ on other occasions by trying to spot possible links between images, which had been consolidating over the time, and decision-making
- ❑ by often agreeing to the suggestion to cross deep-seated lines by a worldwide point of view.

This list of abstracts in chronological order, which we have enclosed at the end, is merely tentative; but it may be useful as a first sketchy overview. It also allows to assess how the formation of the images fits in, and enriches, the history of international relations from Modern Age to present day.

These early remarks will help- we hope - to set off discussion and reappraisal at Oslo.

Some Information about the Commission of History of International Relations

The Commission of History of International Relations was established in Milan in October 1981 on the initiative of a group of scholars from various countries. In the same year the International Committee of Historical Sciences (I.C.H.S.) recognised it as an "internal" body devoted to foster and enhance the widest scientific collaboration among historians of 'international life', understood in its widest meaning.

The Commission, which is open to all the interested historians on an "individual membership" basis, according to its Statute has "the purpose... to develop the studies on the history of international relations, by several means:

- a) organising periodical meetings among its members;
- b) aiding the spread of scientific information concerning this domain of history;
- c) publishing scientific documents useful for historical research in this field;
- d) any other activity which may appear to be useful to widen the works of the Commission".

The Institutions active in this field of studies may get membership in the Commission, but without voting rights. They may propose individuals for membership.

The Commission is co-ordinated by a Bureau, and assisted by a Secretariat which has its seat in Milan, as stated by statute, at the Centre for the Studies on Public Opinion and Foreign Policy.

In August 1997 the Commission was accepted as "associate" body of the ICHS with right to vote in General Assembly of that world organisation.

Since 1981 Commission has approved and supported the programmes of many International Congress that have been later enacted with the cooperation of Universities and Institutions from countries all over the world.

From 1981 up to 1999 congresses have taken place in Perugia, Tübingen, Helsinki, Bochum, Cluj, Moscow, Brasilia, Rome, Buenos Aires, and Tokio and they have been devoted to:

- ❑ *The History and Methodology of International Relations* (Perugia-Spoleto-Trevi, Italy, 20-23 September 1989) organized with the University of Perugia
- ❑ *Minor Powers/Majors Powers in the History of International Relations* (Tübingen, Germany, 11-13 April 1991) organized with the Eberhard-Karls-Universität
- ❑ *The History of Neutrality* (Helsinki, Finland, 9-12 September 1992) organized with the Finnish Historical Society and the University of Helsinki
- ❑ *East-West Relations: Confrontation and Détente 1945-1989* (Bochum, Germany, 22-25 September 1993) organized with the University of Bochum
- ❑ *The History of International Relations in East and Central Europe: Study Traditions and Research Perspectives* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania, 20-24 October 1993) organized with the Institute of Central-European History, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.
- ❑ *World War I and the XX Century* (Moscow, Russia, 24-26 May, 1994) organized with the Russian Association of the WWI History and the Institute of Universal History of the Russian Academy of Sciences
- ❑ *State and Nation in the History of International Relations of American Countries* (Brasilia, Brazil, 31 August - 2 September 1994) with University of Brasilia
- ❑ *The Historical Archives of the Great International Organisations: Conditions, Problems and Perspectives. International Seminar of Studies* (Rome, Italy, September 27-28, 1996), organized with International Council on Archives (ICA) and International Conference of the Round Table in Archives (CITRA), the Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici, the Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici, the Istituto Nazionale di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea di Roma

- ❑ *The Origins of the World Wars of the XX Century. Comparative Analysis* (Moscow, Russia, 15-16 October 1996) organized with the National Committee of Russian Historians, the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Association of the First World War Historians and the Association of the Second World War.
- ❑ *The Lessons of Yalta* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania, May, 1997) organized with the Institute of Central-European History, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.
- ❑ *Integration Processes and Regional Blocs in the History of International Economic, Politico-strategic and Cultural Relations* (Buenos Aires, Argentina, 10-12 September 1997) organized with the Argentine Association of the History of International Relations and the Universities of Buenos Aires and Cordoba.
- ❑ *Political Interactions between Asia and Europe in the Twentieth Century* (Tokyo, Japan, 10-12 September 1998) organized with the University of Tsukuba and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)
- ❑ *Archives and History of International Organizations* (Rome, Italy, 29-31 October 1998) organized with International Council on Archives (ICA), Ufficio Centrale per i Beni Archivistici and Giunta Centrale per gli Studi Storici,

The Commission on the occasion of the International Congresses of Historical Sciences, which ICCHS had promoted at Stuttgart (1985), Madrid (1990), Montreal (1995), has held its General Assemblies that has entailed the set-up of specific sessions devoted to:

- ❑ *What's History of International Relations?* (Stuttgart, Germany, 29-30 August 1985, 16th International Congress of Historical Sciences)
- ❑ *Permanent Diplomacy in the XX Century* (Stuttgart,...)
- ❑ *Great and Small Powers in Modern and Contemporary Ages* (Stuttgart...)
- ❑ *Les archives des organisations internationales. Le point de vue de l'historien et du chercheur* (Madrid, Spain, 30-31 August 1990, 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences)
- ❑ *International Relations in the Pacific Area from the 18th Century to the Present. Colonisation, Decolonisation and Cultural Encounters* (Montreal, Canada, 1-2 September 1995, 18th International Congress of Historical Sciences)
- ❑ *Multiculturalism and History of International Relations from 18th Century up to the Present* (Montreal...)

In order to foster the widest spreading of information and to favour a closer relationship with its members, the Secretariat of the Commission publishes a *Newsletter*, 10 issues of which have come out by now.

All the information on the Commission its activities, issued publications and join-in procedure can be obtained by getting on to:

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The General Assembly of the CHIR, held in Montreal (Canada) in September 1995, has elected as members of its Bureau for the years 1995-2000:

Joan **BEAUMONT** (Deakin University, Victoria, AUSTRALIA),
Amado L. **CERVO** (Universidade de Brasilia, BRAZIL),
Alexandr **CHOUARIAN** (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, RUSSIA),
Michael L. **DOCKRILL** (King's College, University of London, UNITED KINGDOM),
Manuel **ESPADAS BURGOS** (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Madrid, SPAIN),
Robert **FRANK** (Université de Paris-Sorbonne, FRANCE),
Chihiro **HOSOYA** (International University of Japan, Tokio, JAPAN),
Lawrence S. **KAPLAN** (Kent State University, Ohio, USA),
Jukka **NEVAKIVI** (University of Helsinki, FINLAND),
Jürgen **OSTERHAMMEL** (FernUniversität Hagen, GERMANY),
Mario D. **RAPOPORT** (Universidad de Buenos Aires, ARGENTINA),
Pierre **SAVARD** ♡ (University of Ottawa, Ontario, CANADA),
Pompiliu **TEODOR** (University of Cluj-Napoca, RUMANIA),
Brunello **VIGEZZI** (University of Milan, ITALY)

For the same five-year period the Bureau appointed Brunello VIGEZZI as **President**, Manuel ESPADAS BURGOS as **Secretary General**, Robert FRANK as **Secretary Treasurer**, and Amado Luiz CERVO and Pompiliu TEODOR as **Vice-Presidents**.

A **Secretariat** - co-ordinated by Alfredo CANAVERO and Silvia PIZZETTI - assists the Commission in its activities.

The General Assembly of the CHIR in Montreal has nominated Donald C. **WATT** (London School of Economics) and René **GIRAULT** ♡ (Université de Paris-Sorbonne) as Honorary Presidents of the Commission.

The next General Assembly of our Commission will be held in Oslo on Friday 11th and Saturday 12th August 2000 within the framework of the International Congress of Historical Sciences with the following agenda:

Friday Morning, August 11, 2000

- ❑ Presentation of a report about activities carried out;
- ❑ Presentation of the balance sheet (1996-2000)
- ❑ General presentation of the two scientific sessions about:
 - *Globalisation, Regionalisation and the History of International Relations* (Call for papers in English and French, Enclosure 3)
 - *The Formation of the Images of Peoples from the 18th Century to the Present Day and the History of International Relations* (Call for papers in English and French, Enclosure 4)

Friday Afternoon, August 11- Saturday Morning, August 12, 2000

- ❑ Separate sessions on the two scientific themes. Discussion of the papers presented

Saturday Afternoon, August 12, 2000

- ❑ Presentation of the results of the scientific sessions
- ❑ Discussion of the programme 2000-2005;
- ❑ Social fee;
- ❑ Voting of possible changes in the Articles of the Statute;
- ❑ Election of a new Bureau according to the Statute

Session Aims – Introductory Remarks

For some time specialists in the history of international relations have been interested in the question of the “image of the foreigner”, the “image of the other” in various countries and the study of stereotypes that prevail here or there about other peoples. It has long been clear that analyses of this type are essential to a complete understanding of international life.

Undoubtedly the time has come to review this question, or rather to revive it also in the light of the works of sociologists and anthropologists who have provided us with some basic concepts that can help us to “read” these images better.

First of all, for each group or each people the images of “others” are inscribed in a “social imaginary” or in a “system of representations” whose developments and continuities over time it is up to the historian to study.

Secondly, these “representations” of the other are peculiarly ambiguous: the representation of the other is often a way of representing self, in a parallel image or counter-image; on the other hand, the “positive” (a Francophile attitude, for example) and the “negative” (a Francophobic attitude) are inextricably entwined in the same system of representations and these feelings draw from the same source of stereotypes and help to form identity.

Finally, these representations and these images of “other” people involve three time levels: they owe much to a past heritage (the perception of the “other” is fed by ancient stereotypes); they are constructed in line with the present as it is experienced by contemporaries; but one must remember that they also refer to the future and to the place assigned to the “other” in this imagined future.

Furthermore, the interesting aspect of such a study within the framework of the Commission of the History of International Relations is that the subject could acquire a broader horizon, becoming truly world-wide and not only centred on Europe and North America. Likewise, there is a good case for moving beyond the limits of the 20th century and immersing oneself in the depths of historical time, taking into account a relatively long period: from the 18th century to the present day. This enlargement of space and time would give originality to the enterprise.

Three lines of research could be proposed:

An analysis of the images of peoples in international relations: stereotypes, the relations with myths and realities, the development of representations and their role in the formation of national identities.

The social study of these images of other peoples: are they the same in all social groups and generations? is there a difference between the “élite” and the “masses”?

The importance of these images in the decision-making processes of foreign policy.

Abstracts

in author's alphabetical order

Elena Aga Rossi
Giovanni Orsina

University of L'Aquila - Luiss, Roma, Italy

The Image of America in the Italian Communist Press (1944-1956)

This paper intends to explore the transformation of the image of the United States and the evolution of anti-Americanism in the political culture of Italian communists in the period between 1944 and 1956. The research is based on an analysis of the party press and internal party documents as well as relevant documents from Soviet archives. In the aftermath of WWII Italy found itself in a state of a profound political and cultural polarization. On the one hand, the wartime agreements between the great powers recognized Italy as an undisputable part of the Anglo-American sphere of influence.

The center-right political forces headed by the Christian Democratic party counted on American aid and oriented themselves largely on American society's political and cultural model. In Italy more than anywhere else in Western Europe the United States of America represented the most attractive example of how a modern, wealthy, successful country should look like. The "American way of life" became a widespread and deeply entrenched model of the popular culture.

On the other hand, the Italian Communist Party, the strongest and best organized communist party of Western Europe was supported by a considerable part of the population and oriented itself toward the Soviet socio-political model which in the period under investigation represented the only credible alternative to the American one. Since the PCI unlike the communist parties in Eastern Europe could not count on Soviet military and economic support and in its struggle for political power could rely only on legal electoral means, the creation and dissemination of a negative image of the USA - and of a positive one of the URSS - became one of the most urgent political and cultural tasks of the Italian Left. This task was facilitated by the longstanding European attitude of superiority toward the young American democracy, ostensibly lacking European cultural traditions.

The weakness of the liberal tradition, and the strong legacy of catholic as well as fascist anticapitalism also contributed to Italian anti-Americanism. The paper will highlight both similarities and differences of fascist and communist anti-Americanism, as well as study the attempts of the communist leadership to coordinate its efforts with the Soviet anti-American propaganda. Particular attention will be paid to an analysis of the communist strategy of counteracting the American influence through an ideological indoctrination of its members and a widespread anti-American propaganda in the society at large. On the methodological level, when they confront the cultural side of communist anti-Americanism, scholars must be aware both of the complexity of the American model and of the subtleness of the strategies which the PCI deployed in coping with it.

The values and life styles implicit in the "American way of life" were certainly antithetical to those the communists were upholding, and their diffusion would eventually be fatal to any attempt to make the PCI a hegemonic political force in Italy. However, faithful to Gramsci's thesis of the crucial role of the cultural hegemony, the Italian communists dealing with those elements of the American cultural influence that acquired substantial popular roots were very careful not to confront them head-on. They rather tried to engulf them within their cultural-political discourse in order to erase or neutralize those features which might damage their ideological and political project.

María Dolores Algora Weber

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Spain - Magreb Relations in the Framework of the "Common Security and Foreign Policy" of the European Union: from the Traditional Look to the Present Aims

The subject of this line of work is to know how the images of peoples has fit the Foreign Policy of Governments. This point of view makes easy to understand that Spanish traditional relations with Magreb people became a special and historical phenomenon. This case has its own characteristics, but it has common aspects with the European society at the present as well.

Spanish image of North African people, it is not only the image performed by a colonialist country during the 19th and the 20th centuries as many other European nations do. We can not forget that Arab Civilization was established in the Spanish territory for eight centuries, from the 8th to the 15th. So Spanish and Arab peoples were not strangers for long time.

Spanish as mother language is full of Arabic words, toponyms, habits and way of life are part of this legacy in our culture. They left special mark of this heritage in Andalusia, but it is not the only place, Toledo, Alicante, Murcia... are good examples of that civilization.

Our Contemporary History has even got important chapters on Arab Affairs. The Spanish - French Protectorate of Morocco left an important trace still alive.

This is because when we talk about the Islam in Spain, people has contradictory feelings. On the one hand we feel the fascination, and on the other hand there is mistrust and hostility. Our relation with our nearest Southern neighbour, Morocco, is the best example of this passions and reactions. This is the Spanish society's position in general terms: familiarity, solidarity, but without forgetting our own traits. We love to feel comfortable, in the Arab world, to recognize our links in international relations, but first of all, we are European people.

This paper will try to explain how does it affect the Spanish position and behaviour toward the present European Mediterranean Policy. Questions like the following ones will try to be answered: Why the European Union Meeting on Mediterranean relations took place in Barcelona on 1995?; Why the European Delegate for Middle East Peace Process is a Spanish diplomat?; Does Spanish people agree with this governmental policy?; Does the image of Latino American and north-African people, affect the Spanish Immigration Foreign Policy?; what is the role of mass media in these images?, and so on.

Lucia Maria Bastos P. Neves
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Brésil, France et Portugal: représentations imaginées (1808-1914)

Tout au long du XIX^e, la complexité des représentations élaborées par l'Europe sur le Brésil et inversement, permettent de repenser le rôle de la culture européenne dans le processus de construction de la nation et de l'Etat brésilien. La conception de nation au Brésil, bien qu'imaginée à partir de modèles étrangers, surtout français, mais ayant quand même des racines portugaises souvent mal identifiées comme telles, a souffert d'ambiguïtés considérables mises en exergue par l'historiographie, faisant surgir ainsi des formes très différenciées d'intégration et de non-intégration parmi le peuple brésilien. En étudiant ces diverses façons d'appréhender le Brésil de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur et inversement, nous voyons qu'elles ont établi aussi des voies d'influence réciproque chez une élite civilisée cependant insérée dans une société illettrée, traditionnelle dans sa majorité et de type esclavagiste, faits qui nous permettront de cerner l'identité d'un pays dont les contradictions persistent jusqu'à nos jours.

Nous avons l'intention de faire l'analyse des représentations et des images que le Brésil a créées sur le Portugal et la France pendant le XIX^e siècle et celles qui ont été constituées par ces pays en regard de l'ancienne colonie portugaise. Nous procéderons à une exploration de l'introduction, présence et circulation d'idées étrangères, non seulement dans la sphère de l'état mais aussi dans le quotidien de la société brésilienne des années mille huit-cent. Une telle analyse peut être effectuée à partir des actions des élites intellectuelles et politiques de l'époque qui circulaient entre les deux mondes par des voyages ou par des lectures leur permettant d'absorber les influences étrangères et en produisant des biens culturels destinés au public brésilien. Nous essaierons d'aborder également, de 1804 à 1914 les "actions culturelles" en rapport avec le Brésil, réalisées particulièrement par ces deux nations européennes: la France, considérée comme une sorte d'idéal à atteindre et le Portugal dont les traditions, à partir desquelles, consciemment ou inconsciemment, par imitation ou rejet, l'on avait construit l'imaginaire de la nouvelle nation tropicale.

Selon Arlette Farge (*Le goût de l'archive*, Paris, Seuil, 1989) sur le sentier ouvert par Roger Chartier (*Le monde comme représentation*, "Annales. Economies. Sociétés. Civilisations". Paris, 37(2):389-400, mars-avril. 1982), les faits n'acquièrent de valeur qu'insérés dans les représentations que l'on s'en fait car c'est ainsi que l'on peut comprendre les mécanismes qu'une société développe pour assimiler ou rejeter des éléments de la réalité qui conduisent à sa remise en question. Dans ce sens nous ferons l'analyse du doublet admiration/rejet par les élites brésiennes des années mille huit cent, par rapport à l'Europe, et de celles-ci par rapport à notre pays dans le cadre inévitablement limité des relations internationales entre le Brésil, la France et le Portugal, d'un point de vue politique. De l'architecture à la littérature, des librairies aux conversations de bistrot, des institutions officielles de recherche et d'enseignement aux salons, jusqu'aux bibliothèques et cabinets de lecture privés, de la correspondance diplomatique à la correspondance chez les élites intellectuelles, de la censure à la liberté d'expression, des habitudes et de la mode de l'élite aux coutumes et pratiques absorbées par les couches les plus basses de la population par le contact avec les émigrés, on voit s'ouvrir un très large éventail de possibilités pour l'analyse minutieuse d'une société qui se trouvait dans un processus de structuration, reproduisant souvent de forme acritique les valeurs et les idéaux d'une Europe civilisée et qui, d'autre part, ignorait les traditions à son origine, société presque toujours soumise aux intérêts d'une élite politique et économique réduite, retranchée dans les engrenages de l'Etat au détriment d'une énorme masse de la population exclue de la citoyenneté.

Il est vrai que depuis le début du XIX^e siècle, à l'exception seulement de la période napoléonienne, la francophilie a constitué un trait marquant des élites au Brésil qui regardaient favorablement vers Paris, capitale à partir de laquelle rayonnait la civilisation. En 1831, après un voyage en France avec

son ami Debret, Araújo Porto Alegre considéra que: "il est licite que les enfants de cette grande nation [française] nous guident [...] sur le chemin de la perfection, et que notre niveau soit relevé". Mais aussi, la France ne cessa de répondre positivement à cette admiration par l'envoi de missions diplomatiques et l'établissement d'une politique commerciale dans laquelle les biens culturels figuraient avec une certaine intensité.

Les attitudes par rapport au Portugal, étaient cependant plus ambiguës. Si à la fin du XVIII^e siècle le ministre Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho avec l'appui de toute une génération de luso-brésiliens, proclamait que: "le portugais né aux quatre coins du monde" devait se considérer "seulement portugais", les élites brésiliennes, après la rupture entre le Brésil et le Portugal, toutes occupées par la difficulté de créer une tradition spécifique, eurent tendance à construire leur identité en opposition à tout ce qui était portugais. L'indépendance du Brésil transforma justement le portugais en un *autre*, autrement dit un étranger avec lequel il pouvait toujours y avoir une possibilité de conflit, le transformant, par conséquent, en un ennemi. En acquérant cette nouvelle dimension produite politiquement, à la vieille aversion des temps coloniaux s'ajouta l'identification à un passé portugais rétrograde qui donna naissance à un anti-lusitanisme particulier, mélange de mépris et de gouaille qui persistera tout au long du XIX^e siècle et après, mais qui aurait aussi pour effet d'engendrer, par négation, une certaine notion d'identité. Ainsi donc José de Alencar, dans la préface de *Sonhos d'ouro* (1872) se demandait si "le peuple qui suçotait un fruit du cajou, une mangue, un *cambucá* ou une *jabuticaba*" pouvait "parler une langue avec le même esprit et prononciation que le peuple qui dégustait la figue, la poire, l'abricot et la nêfle"? Malgré cela, la tradition et la culture portugaises se trouvaient enracinées dans les institutions et le quotidien du Brésil, ré alimentées par de constantes vagues d'immigrants portugais, même vus de manière dépréciative.

En dépit de telles attitudes, ni l'admiration ni le mépris ne se traduisirent en copie pure et simple de modèles culturels européens adoptés comme des "idées *pas à leur place*". Elles ont plutôt représenté l'appréhension de valeurs et de comportements qui après avoir été triées et filtrées par le point de vue des intellectuels, servirent à donner corps au pays qui se constituait. C'est dans ce courant d'idée que s'inscrit ce travail, en privilégiant le *long* XIX^e siècle comme période décisive où ces relations culturelles et ces images se sont cristallisées, conjointement à l'élaboration d'une nation brésilienne, malgré l'absence de nombreux éléments fondamentaux, nonobstant imaginée mais *imaginaire*. Ainsi donc, si en 1808, le Brésil n'était plus une colonie pour se transformer en siège de la Cour de l'Empire portugais, exigeant son adaptation aux sociabilités modernes, son ouverture sur le monde et plus particulièrement sur l'Europe, on peut dire en revanche que 1914 l'année de la Grande Guerre, marqua le début d'un reflux de cette influence européenne par l'adoption de références culturelles autres, notamment celles provenant des Etats-Unis.

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L'image de l'Amérique Espagnole à l'âge moderne. Notes pour une histoire de la littérature sur l'expansion européenne (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)

La "découverte" du Nouveau Monde se développe simultanément à la diffusion de l'imprimerie et la naissance en Europe d'une florissante industrie du livre.

Une riche production des livres - sommet du *corpus*, immense, de sources écrites sur l'empire hispano-américain - suit au cours des siècles la conquête, la colonisation et l'évangélisation de l'Amérique par la Couronne "espagnole".

La reconstitution de l'histoire et de la géographie des éditions des volumes sur l'Amérique Espagnole circulés en Europe entre le XVI^e et le XVIII^e siècle permet d'abord de donner au prisme des images du monde hispano-américain contenues dans ces volumes la place que lui revient dans le cadre de la dilatation graduelle de la "conscience" européenne et de la définition progressive de l'idée d' "Europe".

De la première codification humaniste du monde américain "précolonial" dans les *Decades de Orbe Novo* de Pierre Martyr d'Anghiera aux textes des *conquistadores*; de la riche tradition des *Crónicas* espagnoles à la réception ambiguë des ouvrages de Bartolomé de Las Casas, qui deviennent l'outil polémique par excellence dans les pays protestantes les plus engagés dans l'expansion; de la riche production épistolographique et historico-anthropologique "imprimée" au cours des siècles par les Jésuites aux récits de voyages publiés par les hollandais, les anglais, les français, jusqu'à l'analyse riche et pointue de l'état de l'empire hispano-américain à la veille de l'indépendance des 13 Colonies britanniques contenue dans *L'History of America* de William Robertson, la fortune à l'échelle européenne des volumes sur l'Amérique Espagnole s'entremêle étroitement avec l'histoire politique, économique, et religieuse de l'expansion européenne dans le continent américain et des relations internationales européennes.

Mon *paper* brossera le tableau sur la longue durée des mécanismes de transmission, réception et emploi de l'image "imprimée" de l'Amérique Espagnole à l'âge moderne: de sa première "codification" au XVI^e siècle, due à la médiation de l'humanisme italien et de la florissante industrie du livre de la péninsule, à sa "idéologisation" entre la fin du XVI^e et le début du XVII^e avec la multiplication des publications et des traductions dans les pays ainsi dits de "deuxième vague", à savoir les Provinces Unies, l'Angleterre et la France, jusqu'au "tournant" du XVIII^e siècle.

De la paix d'Utrecht (1713) aux guerres coloniales de la première moitié du siècle, jusqu'à la Guerre des Sept Ans et à l'indépendance des 13 colonies britanniques, qui signe le début du processus de "séparation" du Nouveau Monde de l'Ancien, les livres circulés en Europe présentent le monde hispano-américain à la fois comme l'objet d'une soigneuse réflexion historique, économique et scientifique, parsemée assez souvent de motifs hispanophobes et d'une polémique virulente entre les philosophes et les Jésuites expulsés après 1759-1767 des colonies ibéro-américaines.

Deux puissantes images-leader découlant du processus de transmission, réception et re-élaboration à l'échelle européenne des volumes sur le monde hispano-américain tranchent sur le fond de cette reconstitution sur la longue durée.

Il s'agit d'une partie de l'ainsi dite *leyenda blanca* hispano-catholique présentant la Conquête et la Conversion du Nouveau Monde en tant que "clés" qui en permettent l'entrée dans la plénitude des temps. De l'autre il s'agit de l'ainsi dite *Leyenda Negra* qui fleurit dans le monde protestant et qui est soutenue par la forte iconographie de Théodore de Bry. En blâmant sans appel la Conquête, la *Leyenda Negra* contribue indirectement à la constitution de l'image de l'*indio* américain en tant qu'être primitif en dehors de l' "Histoire".

Les images de l'Amérique Espagnole véhiculées par les deux *Leyendas* rappellent ainsi deux Europes et deux formes de l'expansion politique, économique, religieuse et culturelle dans le Nouveau Monde. Il s'agit de deux expériences historiques que le monopole ibérique de l'expansion établi par les Bulles à la fin du XV siècle, l'éclatement de la Réforme et l'âge de la "preponderanza" des Habsbourg d'Espagne ont contribué à opposer profondément sur le plan idéologique.

On trouve l'écho de ces images dans les images de l'Amérique Latine qui se sont formées au cours du XIX^e et XX^e siècle.

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Identités nationales et perception transnationale

En adoptant une approche sociologique et historique, la question du poids des images collectives dans les relations internationales se pose sur deux plans, celui de la production et celui de la consommation de stéréotypes nationaux. L'analyse la plus rigoureuse de la création et de la diffusion d'images nationales est celle du (néo-) constructivisme. Cette analyse écarte toute hypothèse essentialiste ou ontologique des identités nationales. Selon l'analyse constructiviste les identités nationales sont des projections artificielles correspondant au besoin d'intégration politique et socio-culturelle des Etats Modernes sécularisés du 19^e et 20^e siècle. Les auteurs des auto-stéréotypes et de hétéro-stéréotypes nationaux sont principalement les intellectuels, les artistes et les représentants des sciences humaines des différents pays (surtout les historiens). Les voies de diffusion transmettant les stéréotypes nationaux jusqu'aux individus sont les systèmes éducatifs, les littératures nationales ainsi que les mass-media.

Le poids qu'on attribue aux images nationales dans les relations internationales dépend d'un choix théorique préalable. Si l'on considère que les Etats-nation sont toujours les principaux acteurs du système international (ce qu'est le cas de l'école néoréaliste) on aura tendance à tenir les images nationales pour un élément indispensable. Si l'on considère que le temps des Etats-nation est révolu et qu'il y a une interdépendance croissante de l'Etat-nation avec d'autres acteurs transnationaux et intranationaux (ce qui est le cas de l'école interdépendentiste) on analysera les images nationales sous l'angle de leur fonction historique et de leur effet négatif dans la communication internationale.

L'émergence et la quantité des études historiques sur les images nationales à tendance démythifiante depuis les années 1980, que l'on peut constater dans plusieurs pays européens (Grande Bretagne, France, Allemagne) pourrait être un signe d'acceptation croissante de la démarche interdépendentiste.

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Du mythe à la réalité: L'image des Esquimaux dans la littérature de voyage (XVI^e - XVIII^e siècles)

Censés habiter l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité, l'Asie au Moyen Age, *monstra* et *prodigia*, par l'effet d'une migration qui reflète la progression des connaissances géographiques, devaient se manifester à la Renaissance dans les immensités boréales, *locus naturalis* de l'Altérité extrême, espace trans – physique et mythopoïétique, onirique et sacré. *Hyperboréens*, *Pygmées*, *Monopodes* et hordes sataniques auraient peuplé ces *Terrae Incognitae* encore inaccessibles à l'observation autoptique de l'Expérience.

Du temps mythique des fables anciennes au moment historique de la Rencontre, le merveilleux nordique se transforma en exotisme polysémique et, de plus en plus, révélateur du regard que les Européens portaient sur cet univers autre, mystérieux, inconnu et effrayant.

A la dangereuse frontière entre l'espèce humaine et la brute, les *Sauvages du Nord* étaient dégradés au rang d'une variante du monstre médiéval: *Homines bestiales* à l'animalité toute puissante, d'un inquiétant primitivisme. Dans son ambiguïté, cette image traduisait le choc émotionnel et visuel qui accompagnait la découverte d'une proto - humanité inattendue, "idolâtre" et farouche, affichant une parenté certaine avec les gens d'Asie.

L'écriture s'efforçait de banaliser dans le langage de l'analogie la *novitas* de cette humanité primordiale aux mœurs sanglantes et barbares, dotée d'une admirable culture matérielle. De Frobisher à Davis, de Thevet à Jolliet et à La Peyrère, la littérature de voyage véhiculait, donnait une représentation ambiguë et contradictoire des *Sauvages du Nord*, accident imprévisible et imprévu sur la route boréale vers *Cipangu* et la Chine.

L'iconographie, quant à elle, oscillait entre la fidélité proto - ethnographique de John White et le lyrisme maniériste de Lucas de Heere pour décrire cette humanité archaïque que les impératifs idéologiques et les appétits coloniaux intégraient dans une vision unitaire du genre humain.

Des Pygmées de Charlevoix aux Cyclopes de Lahontan, l'imaginaire occidental traduisait, à travers la médiation de l'Antiquité Classique, les coordonnées anthropiques et culturelles du monde inuit dans un graphisme et une écriture polyvalents, tributaires d'une perception encore exotique du monde.

Tout au long du XVIII^e siècle, la curiosité préformée des *voyageurs - philosophes* et le prosélytisme religieux des missionnaires engendrèrent une image ambivalente de l'univers inuit, révélatrice des fantasmes qui hantaient les observateurs. Dans une dialectique de fascination et de répulsion, les données ethno - anthropologiques et les survivances tératologiques moyenâgeuses se juxtaposaient, s'imbriquaient et se mélangeaient.

Les quelques paragraphes de l'œuvre *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, que le père Joseph – François Lafitau, savant et voyageur - missionnaire, consacre aux Esquimaux du Canada, s'écarte de cette tendance, car ils résument et ordonnent les connaissances ethnographiques sur ce peuple lointain dans l'espace et le temps sans céder au goût de l'exotisme et du fabuleux.

Adeptes de la théorie monogénétique et initiateurs de l'étude comparée des religions, les Jésuites introduisent une approche épistémologique novatrice qui privilégie l'expérience directe en manifestant "un sens critique fort aigu" (Alfred Métraux). Convaincu que l'humanité est une et que les différences culturelles ne traduisent que les stades d'évolution de chaque peuple, Lafitau à l'audace d'établir un parallèle entre "les mœurs des Amérindiens" et ceux des grands peuples de l'Antiquité, élargissant la comparaison au plan intellectuel. Le Religieux trace alors une étude approfondie "du génie et des usages de ces peuples". Comprendre l'homme sauvage et notamment les Esquimaux constitue une étape importante dans l'étude de la nature humaine.

De *singularitez parmi les singularitez* à Lascaux vivant, les *Sauvages du Nort*, troublante métaphore des origines, sont intégrés dans cette nouvelle histoire de l'humanité qui commence à voir le jour au XVIII^e siècle.

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Janus and the Statue of Liberty: Redefining "the Other" to Chart the Course of the American Empire.

In the decades following the end of the Civil War the United States turned from a "horizontal" society of "island communities" and economic regions linked by a common Protestant culture, into a "vertical" one, economically and politically national, but torn by class strife and anxious over the structural changes brought about by immigration and industrialization. The closing of the frontier and the turn towards overseas commercial and territorial expansion after victory in the 1898 war against Spain, aroused doubts about the possibility for America to keep true to her democratic heritage while engaging in imperialistic expansion. Thus, deep domestic fixtures and uncertainty about America's role among the big powers brought about highly divisive debates like the one between "imperialists" and "anti-imperialist". They also prompted attempts by intellectual and political elites to redefine the meaning of American civilization, a goal that implied a reconsideration of who belonged in it and what its relation was vis-à-vis other nations and peoples.

At the domestic level we can speak of a re-invention of American nationality through a "civilizational approach" in which relations between blacks and whites, natives and whites, and among immigrant and old stock whites were rearranged and reordered according to new perceptions of cultural and racial characters. The same approach was used to look outside and redefine the images of distant people and the import of the traditional Old World, New World dichotomy, so that it is possible speak of a complete overhaul of the meaning of America and her place in the world that took place at the turn of the century.

The interest in analysing this re-definition of self-perceptions through perceptions of the domestic and foreign "other" lays in 1- locating the markers of continuities and discontinuities in American political culture through shifts in the images of peoples and nations, 2- understanding the intellectual foundations of the perception of the national self upon which American elites built American expansion in the 20th century, 3- setting American nationalism in a systemic perspective that permits to free it from the "exceptionalist" myth.

The goals of the paper will be pursued through an analysis of writings and speeches by leading political figures and intellectuals of the decades between the 19th and the 20th century.

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L'image du Turc à l'âge moderne

La conquête de Constantinople d'une part, la découverte de l'Amérique de l'autre, ne représentent pas seulement des dates cruciales pour l'histoire économique et sociale: ils ont eu aussi une importance décisive pour l'histoire culturelle de l'Europe. L'élargissement du monde ainsi que le surgissement d'une nouvelle puissance impériale aux portes de l'Europe signifient en effet la rencontre de la Chrétienté occidentale avec des civilisations lointaines de son esprit: ni le sens du voyage ni la qualité du regard vers l'extérieur ne restent ce qu'ils étaient. La représentation de l'autre se construit ainsi dans l'imaginaire européen sous la forme de "l'Américain, le sauvage"; et du "Turc, le redoutable infidèle".

Ma contribution présentera comme l'image du Turc s'est constituée dans les consciences des Européens, notamment son évolution dans la période comprise entre la fin du XVI^e siècle et le début du XVIII^e siècle. Dans le cadre de mes recherches sur les voyageurs occidentaux dans l'Empire ottoman (1600-1644) (thèse de doctorat en cours à l'EHESS, Paris; directeur de recherche: M. Gilles Veinstein), j'ai en effet eu la possibilité d'étudier la source qui est à la base de la construction de cette image: le corpus des récits de voyages.

Il est d'abord intéressant s'arrêter sur la dénomination que les voyageurs donnent aux conquérants de Constantinople, jamais désignés comme Ottomans mais toujours comme Turcs: cette appellation est reprise par tous les ouvrages historiques et géographiques et elle perdure pendant toute l'âge moderne. De cette façon les Occidentaux soulignent en effet l'origine nomade des Ottomans, en mettant en arrière plan la dignité dynastique de l'Empire du Grand Seigneur.

Si la désignation ne change donc pas, il y a une évolution dans la perception et la représentation de l'Empire ottoman, un devenir qui dépend plus des événements historiques et des changements internes de la société européenne que de sa compréhension et son ouverture à l'autre.

Pendant le XVI^e siècle et jusqu'à la première moitié du XVII^e siècle l'Empire du Grand Seigneur, à l'apogée de sa splendeur avec Soliman le Magnifique (1520-1556), représente une menace pour la Chrétienté, ravagés et divisés par les Guerres de Religions. Les Turcs sont ainsi représentés certes comme les redoutables infidèles et la cause de la décadence des noyaux de la civilisation occidentaux (dont Jérusalem et Constantinople en sont les symboles); ils sont au même temps célébrés pour leur tolérance, leur charité ainsi que pour la puissance de leur armée. Il est cependant vrai qu'au XVI^e siècle déjà les observateurs perçoivent que cette puissance est due davantage aux divisions européennes qu'à la force intrinsèque de l'Empire ottoman.

Ensuite, parallèlement à l'affaiblissement de l'Empire du Grand Seigneur, pour les Européens de la deuxième moitié du XVII^e siècle le voyage d'Orient vise (plus ou moins consciemment) à une confirmation de leur propre identité. Il s'agit d'aller vers la différence pour s'assurer de soi-même: la fausseté de la religion islamique reste donc le cliché préféré pour définir le Turc.

La conquête vénitienne de la Morée, l'échec du siège de Vienne (1683), la Sainte Ligue contre les Ottomans (1687) et enfin la signature entre puissances européennes et Ottomans du premier traité défavorable pour ces derniers (1699), sont tous des événements qui signalent le déclin politique de la puissance de la Porte. Le rapport Europe-Empire ottoman est désormais changé: si jusqu'à ce moment le Grand Seigneur avait été un acteur important et un médiateur des équilibres géopolitiques européennes, à la fin du XVII^e siècle, la Paix de Carlowitz et au début du XVIII^e siècle, la paix de Passarowitz (1718) effacent le fantôme d'un Sultan invincible.

La littérature sur le Turc devient ainsi le moyen d'une critique de la propre civilisation, reflet de la crise de la conscience de l'Europe des Lumières: *L'Esploratore Turco* de Giovanni Paolo Marana, *Les Lettres Persanes* de Montesquieu et l'œuvre de Voltaire en sont les exemples les plus significatifs. Tout cela ne signifie cependant pas une connaissance approfondie des mœurs et coutumes des Turcs: l'image, bien que plus complexe, reste celle de l'Infidèle turc, dont les caractéristiques, parfois contradictoires,

avaient été fixé toute suite après la conquête de Constantinople. Cette image est seulement projetée dans un contexte différent, aux XVIIIe *ad usum* de l'Europe des Lumières et plus tard aux XIX^e siècle sera le fondement de l'Orientalisme et la justification idéologique au colonialisme.

Mon intervention donc présentera cette évolution (ou cristallisation?) de l'image du Turc dans la conscience européenne à l'âge moderne à travers l'analyse de l'aventure éditoriale de la *Descrizione di Costantinopoli* de Domenico Hierosolomitano, un texte rédigé à la fin du XVI^e siècle, publié en italien plusieurs fois au XVII^e siècle et traduit en français en 1721.

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International History of the XXth Century in the Argentine Nationalist and Military Thought of the Cold War Era

From the fifties until the eighties, in Argentina Right-Wing Nationalism was an ideological current with strong ties to military thought and sectors of the educational establishment.

This paper identifies the basic topics used by Nationalists in their endeavour to build their vision of International History of the XXth century. They include the apology of Fascism and Colonialism, the defamation of democracy as a “road to communism”, the paranoiac representation of Argentina threatened by Brazil and Chile and the compensatory idea of Argentina’s “historical mission” to lead Latin America. Tensions and connecting lines between these topics and other elements of the country’s political culture are analysed using diverse sources: books by P. Daye, A. Falcionelli, J.M. de Mahieu, M. Amadeo, O. Villegas, P.R. Sanz, G. Ferrari and G. Díaz Bessone, as well as articles published in journals- “Dinámica Social”, “Azul y Blanco”, “Ulises”, “Cabildo” and “Revista Militar”.

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The Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Mirror of Italian Travel Literature (1867-1914)

The aim of this work is to analyse the relationship between Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the fifty years before the First World War, studying the image of the Habsburg Monarchy in the Italian mainland through the examination of the Italian travel literature.

This research takes into consideration the collection of ideas, judgements, clichés of Italian people about the Austro-Hungarian Empire, its development between 1867 and 1914, and eventually the ways of transmission of these in the society. In this way, travel books proved to be a very powerful tool of investigation, leading a wealth of documentation and interesting starting points.

The study of travel literature is a recent phenomenon, since it was considered of no scientific relevance: the learned culture used to prevail on the popular one, and it was extremely difficult to find this kind of sources. Nevertheless in the last few years this literature gained new popularity in many fields. In particular these texts are very interesting for historians, as they are an inexhaustible information source about contemporary society.

Travelling indeed involve direct contacts with different populations and countries, and therefore a very personal picture of the reality. So we can find in every travel memory not even information about visited countries, but also some aspects of the author's education and interests, reflecting the culture, the aesthetic models and the dominating values of his own society. The geographic literature had in that age a great diffusion in every social class, and helped to spread these clichés and images in the society.

Such prospective seemed to be particularly suitable for the study of the relationship between Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, two States with an intense past based especially on conflicts.

The antagonism to the Habsburg Monarchy rolled a very important role in the creation of the Italian national identity. The building of the new State didn't cause the end of myths of the *Risorgimento*: such opinions survived in periodical manifestations of irredentism, and school and literature also perpetuated that attitude. So Italian travellers went to Austria with a store of knowledge and prejudices stronger than against any other country. Most of them came from Piedmont and Lombardy, that were the areas more involved in the Italian unification; many of them fought in the battles of *Risorgimento*, and the national feeling was still alive in them.

However at this time the position of the two States in the political international context were changed a lot: the old Sardinian Reign was a part of a big nation and it was enclosed in the new international European order, with ambitions of power and prestige. Austria instead was military defeated more than ones, it lost part of its influence and international role. So we can think that the Habsburg Monarchy became a new ideal reference for Italy, object of different judgements and passions.

So on one hand we have the historical prospective of the heritage of *Risorgimento*, on the other hand a larger political perspective, regarding the new international order. We had to investigate the relationship among this attitude and ideological strengths and the objective valuation of Italian national interests and political situation. Solving the question implied necessarily a far-reaching meditation on the various aspects of the country, which appeared very complex and interwoven each other, and promised very interesting issues.

The multinational nature of the Habsburg Empire represented another important prospective for the analysis. As a first consideration indeed, we pointed out a real difficulty for travellers to understand the several different realities of the empire that appeared very fragmentary and heterogeneous. Many folks and nations with their own traditions, customs, national ambitions lived under an only regnant house.

Every region was like a world apart, which required a great effort of comprehension and specific valuations.

Just at the first glance, the multinational empire hit tourists with its peculiarity. Crossing the Brenner, for example, they would have met just a typical German reality, with clean villages, steep roofs and Tyrolean clothes. Passing through Lubiana they would have found them selves in a Slavic world, while Prague showed typical Czech features, that differed deeply from the previous ones.

Crossing the empire from North to South, moreover, such diversity became more evident: people customs looked like more "strange", regions even shorter of resources. These areas lacked in capitals, agriculture, industry, modern infrastructures, and looked far behind from a technological, scientific and cultural point of view compared to the rest of Europe. Because of their backwardness and typical oriental rates of life, they were considered almost primitive lands, in which Austria had the assignment to bring civilisation and western progress. Bosnia and Herzegovina, that Austria occupied in the Seventies, still were under the "barbarian" Turkish domination. In short, it was evident that southern borders of the Empire brought directly to Orient.

Finally the Habsburg Empire appeared like a middle-land, with its western border in Europe and the eastern in Orient. It looked like a melting pot of folks, languages and cultures, a land full of interior contradictions, suspended between two worlds, between western progressive civilisation and oriental barbarity. This situation produced in travel memories a strong impression of fragmentation and provisional nature; but also contributed to enrich the investigation with suggestions and ideas which opened the research for further developments.

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The Image of the Kaiser's Empire in Italian Liberal Press. A Model of Action in Foreign Politics

At the beginning of the XXth century the role of Germany in Italian liberal press was very important: she accrued remarkable space because either her power vis-à-vis other countries or her alliance with Italy. Italian liberal press gave, more or less, a sole image of German policy, notwithstanding the different positions of newspapers in relation to Italian government and the personal opinions of journalists - nationalism was widespread. Many articles described German courses of action with similar features, so that we can say an effective "German pattern" in foreign politics existed.

This pattern shows some unwavering features. According to these newspapers, Germany was able to develop her economic potential through economic world penetration. Moreover newspapers stressed strength and determination on German part in defending her great power position by a stout rearmament effort. The German ability in merging political and economical skills was also stressed.

Italian newspapers' interest hinged on the economic feature as the need of new markets moulded great powers' foreign policy. Every newspaper agreed on the idea of *Weltpolitik* as the sole way for German economy. *Weltpolitik* needed a meeting point between politics and economy. According to Italian newspapers, this meeting point had its foundations in the German military strength, which was at the same time the most important feature of the German foreign policy. A strong interest in armed forces should have to be an example for Italian politics: opposition newspapers ("Giornale d'Italia" and "Corriere della Sera") stressed Italian weakness in military power as much as Germany appeared a model of will for nationalistic journalists. Since Austria had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina, the problem of power in international relations increased in importance.

Italian newspapers continued to represent Germany as a peace-loving country: economic interests required peace, so economy appeared the most relevant deterrence for a war in Europe, while not even Anglo-German antagonism was deemed irremediable. Germany defended peace in Europe thanks to the Triple Alliance that was considered the pivot of balance and peace in Europe. Triple Alliance was also an important connection between Austria and Italy, always split by different interests. Since 1908 it had been clear that the Triple Alliance had been changing the European balance, but the idea of a war was unthinkable. Germany and the Triple Alliance were too strong, while the Entente was brittle and Great Britain was in a powerless position because of the weak policy of the Liberal government.

Possible isolation of Germany was not considered, because she was assumed to be stronger than other countries; even the commercial ties with Russia helped the war between Berlin and St. Petersburg be impossible. For these reasons Triple Alliance appeared as the unique solution on Italian liberal newspaper.

Also the liking for the *Reich* is peculiar: newspapers in favour of the Triple Alliance, as "Corriere della Sera" and "Giornale d'Italia", stressed a sentimental relationship between Italy and Germany that was justified by historical parallelism and the interest in German culture by the Italian world. The appraisal of German politician was also different: Bülow and William II were being admired by newspapers that were opposing Giolitti's policy. On the other hand Borgese and Frassati, two columnists of "La Stampa", which supported Giolitti, charged Germany of vague policy.

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Press and Lobbies in the United States Seeking for a Foreign Policy Toward Italy After 1945: Hypotheses on Some Case-Studies

After World War I, the beginning of Wilsonian foreign policy toward Europe early arose worries and the most scathing controversy on the part of authoritative newspapers, which were sometimes attuned to the leanings of governments and diplomats at the peace negotiations. The choices of the American president were contested even in the allied winning countries because they drew on noble but abstract principles, which were supported scantily by a true knowledge of the complex historical and political circumstances of the Old Continent.

When excitement for victory and Wilson's landing faded away, in Italy also American foreign policy drew a trail of delusion, even grudge, voiced by several newspapers that were not nationalist only, rather sometimes attuned to the mood of the Italian foreign policy officials.

Thereby a firm belief rooted in the public and the political class as well: that great injustices had been imposed on a belligerent and agonizingly winning country mainly by the last-come ally, which was far, disinterested, cynical and overweening.

In spite of many pleas on behalf of Wilsonian ideas by influential people throughout Europe, nevertheless this belief stroke effectively the limits of the new American foreign policy-making, that was put on trial at a moment's notice upon a Europe-shaking muddle of tragedies and passions, which remained the utmost far from either the narrow-minded cares or the far-reaching ideals in the United States.

In Italy the lesson of 1919 earned Mussolini a profit: he readily paid allegiance to have Italian reasons better known abroad, especially in the United States. In fact, during the Fascist regime, democratic exiles' arguments notwithstanding, his propaganda succeeded in having a prevailing positive representation of Italy, which was relayed and given credit by influential American newspaper and lobbies for different reasons.

The history of this former relations between Italy and the United States imposes, as a matter of fact, further studies with a view to understanding really by what knowledge the American president inaugurated his Italian policy. The basic question is unresolved yet: did uncertain information, negative biases, commonplaces emphasized by an early sensation-looking press bear indeed on decision-making processes and political choices about Italy after World War I?

If by now the stage of Italian and American historical studies allows sound assessments about Fascist time only, this perspective does not deserve inattentive consideration, rather it may provide hints on longer-term period.

Since the last decades researches on Italo-American relations have been increased by either foreign policy historians or scholars in Italian home policy, economy and culture, who have analysed, along with the negotiations leading to a deep-seated alliance between Italy and the United States, also the political and cultural discussions that had split the world power's appraisal of our country.

In accordance to this, it seems even more timely to sound out further the discussion about Italy that set out in the United States from 1945, a pivotal year of the century and an irreplaceable starting point with a view to detecting either long-lasting conditions or rising effective newness. With what preparation did American public opinion get to the drawing-up of a new, long-lasting alliance with Italy, in the aftermath of a war which had been perceived as a struggle of principles and culture? Did old biases and new mistrust lead the Americans only to a reluctant and belated acceptance of the Executive's foreign policy toward Italy, thanks to the intervention of the great newspapers, which by tradition explain and make official leanings known? On the contrary, right at the end of the war and

before ultimate choices would be made, did American press lead off passing on information or even did it pre-empt decision-making processes by devising political hypotheses with respect to Italy? How much did the traditional qualifications of isolationist papers bear on American commitment in Europe, as far as Italian uncertain political future was concerned? What standards did information, analysis and appraisals refer to again in 1945, with respect to an enemy country which was paradoxically appreciated on its latter Fascist past? Which aspects of the new Italian politics or, on the other hand, of culture and custom did they impress correspondents most of all, exerting an influence on broader political analysis?

Studies, which have been going on since many years at Università degli studi in Milan, allow to take these questions as effectively conducive to some of the post-war debates about Italy and apt to envisage tentative but meaningful hypotheses that are much more persuasive than a first-look, indefinite review of the representations of Italy oversea.

Thereupon I have staked out my attention to some headings in accordance to definite standards: the "New York Times", inasmuch authoritative international newspapers that has been traditionally receptive to the trends of Atlantic politics. Moreover it has seems me right to stress the role of "Time" and "Life", high-circulation magazines throughout the English-speaking world that came out by Henry Luce's company, a harbinger of anti-communist American policy in Europe.

On the isolationist side, I have singled out the "San Francisco Examiner", an important newspaper of the western coast that came out by William Randolph Hearst, who was one of the more active among the press tycoons on international matters. Since the end of the XIXth century he had been almost a myth by pursuing a power policy, of which he was the most influential conceiver and propagandist, in opposition to the Atlantic one.

Since 1945 information about Italy had been already part of a broader discussion that was conveyed to the people as decisive for American future, in accordance to different but converging assessments: the assumed selection has corroborated this view. Through the analysis of these newspapers we can grasp not only emerging appraisals on Italy, but also inciting pressures toward a order where Italy was let a primary role.

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Images de la Russie soviétique en France (1917 - 1939)

L'approche de l'image en France d'une nation bien particulière a été largement modifiée par l'ouverture progressive des archives de l'ex-URSS. La période traitée est assez longue pour saisir le poids et le rejet des mythes et préjugés, dépasser la rupture historiographique obligée d'Octobre 1917, en établissant l'héritage fortement constitué aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles de l'image de la Russie de Tsars et des premières révolutions russes, tout en tenant compte d'un second héritage, celui des espoirs placés depuis longtemps dans une rupture révolutionnaire et dans l'avènement du socialisme en France.

Toute image des nations est construite, mais l'histoire de l'URSS reste marquée par une volonté spécifique de construire systématiquement une image positive du nouveau régime. Cette volonté est proclamée, permanente de 1917 à 1939, mais n'est explicite ni dans ses buts (avec une articulation complexe entre les projets extérieurs de Moscou, en termes à la fois de puissance diplomatique et économique, et le projet révolutionnaire de l'Internationale communiste), ni dans ses moyens de propagande, dont certains sont ouverts et d'autres occultes.

La tentation première serait de vouloir dévoiler linéairement la "vérité", en triant d'un côté ceux qui ont donné une image véridique de l'URSS, en dénonçant de l'autre les aveugles ou les menteurs. La démarche a été autre : il s'agit de saisir le plus concrètement possible grâce aux archives quelle était l'information sur l'URSS disponible à chaque moment, prendre la mesure d'un débat très virulent et souvent simpliste sur la le "mensonge" et la "vérité" soviétiques, né du contexte de guerre et de révolution.

Ces lectures s'opèrent à l'évidence dans le contexte déterminant de la vie politique française, en fonction de références nationales (et d'abord de la Révolution française). L'Union soviétique représente le cas unique dans l'entre-deux-guerres d'une nation présentée comme modèle par une organisation internationale basée à Moscou, l'IC. Sa section française est un acteur égal de la vie politique française et revendique ouvertement un projet révolutionnaire, l'instauration des "Soviets partout", tout en affirmant constamment son indépendance fonctionnelle par rapport à l'URSS.

Dans un premier temps, on présentera les milieux et les réseaux d'influence dont le projet était d'agir sur l'image de la Russie soviétique, l'organisation progressive d'un système de propagande et de relations publiques destiné à convaincre mais aussi à monopoliser l'information. A Moscou, une série d'organismes (parfois concurrents) travaille en direction de cibles définies en termes de classe. La collaboration entre IC, Etat soviétique et "organisations sociales" est constante bien que dissimulée. A Paris, les relais sont soit des organisations liées ouvertement ou non à Moscou, soit des réseaux plus nébuleux de compagnons de route. L'action se caractérise par le poids croissant des voyages, et un contrôle à nuancer selon les rivalités intérieures à l'URSS et plus encore dans les antennes françaises et selon les échelles; L'opposition à ce travail d'influence reste plus faible et dispersée, pour des raisons à la fois politiques et financières.

Malgré la discussion sur la validité des publications soviétiques et la fabrication de "voyages Potemkine", l'efficacité globale de cette action est frappante dans les années trente surtout. Les institutions modèles souvent prises pour le reflet de la réalité des Républiques soviétiques dans leur ensemble; De même, les statistiques soviétiques s'imposent. Les images de l'URSS dans tous les domaines (société, construction économique, fonctionnement politique) se sont révélées très riches et sont loin de se limiter à un simple éloge inconditionnel ou à un rejet total du régime soviétique. Elles se constituent par strates successives, depuis les images de la prise du pouvoir par les bolcheviks jusqu'à celles de l'URSS du plan quinquennal, grande puissance industrielle et militaire. Moscou parvient à empêcher certains événements dramatiques de faire débat en France, que ce soit le travail forcé des déportés ou la famine ukrainienne de 1932-1933, et imposer assez efficacement le mythe de la patrie du socialisme.

On reste frappés par la force des images héritées des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles et cristallisées autour d'une permanence de "l'âme slave". Ces images peuvent être négatives (danger russo-asiatique) ou neutres (avec par exemple l'acceptation résignée du régime par certains slavisants), elles sous-tendent surtout largement des lectures positives qui renvoient au côté "russe" le régime politique soviétique et la répression. La France de 1789 garde sa place de guide et modèle. En revanche, la révolution est lue comme ayant arraché la Russie au passé, propulsant l'URSS à l'avant-garde de l'humanité, dans le domaine social et culturel, avec les images de l'émancipation des femmes et des nationalités, thèmes augmentés dans les années trente de celui du succès industriel et agricole. Le système politique très mal connu des Français. La lecture de l'URSS comme nation normalisée, héritière des Tsars, concurrence largement celle d'un nouvel empire idéologique.

La question des conséquences, du lien entre images de l'URSS et vie politique française, reste la plus complexe. Mais une typologie en fonction des partis politiques ou même de la gauche et de la droite s'est révélée inadéquate, aucun lien mécanique ne pouvant être établi entre des choix envers l'URSS (curiosité, sympathie, défense). Un premier courant lie le modèle soviétique et son importation par l'IC (URSS = communisme) : on peut tenter d'évaluer le poids du modèle soviétique dans l'engagement communiste (loin d'être toujours premier) comme dans le choix des anticommunistes qui identifient l'URSS au PCF. Dans les deux cas, l'Union soviétique est plus mythologique que réelle. Un second courant dissocie l'attitude envers l'URSS et du communisme français. Des personnalités philosoviétiques non communistes ou anticommunistes se caractérisent par une acceptation ou une adhésion partielle à l'exemple proposé par l'URSS, avec la profonde conviction que le communisme ne sera jamais importé en France, tant il s'oppose aux valeurs nationales. C'est le "malentendu humaniste" des compagnons de route: une image rose de l'URSS est reçue sincèrement par une partie de l'opinion. Mais elle peut aussi être utilisée cyniquement, que ce soit par corruption ou par choix de priorités en politique intérieure ou extérieure. L'année 1936 fut l'apogée d'une image positive qui coïncidait pour une large partie de l'opinion avec les priorités françaises du moment (antifascisme, conversion du PCF aux valeurs nationales). Brouillée par les procès de Moscou, le récit d'André Gide, de nouveaux témoignages, elle se disloqua en 1939.

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Les problèmes de la perception entre la France et l'Angleterre au seuil du 20^e siècle

Cette communication traite de cette période-clé dans les rapports franco-britanniques que constitue le tournant du siècle, entre 1890 et 1905. Ici, l'on se trouvait en somme dans les interstices entre deux périodes, dont la première est dominée par des préjugés relevant d'un héritage historique assez lourd et des stéréotypes inspirés par un racialisme qui motive le nationalisme, voire le 'jingoïsme', de chaque côté de la manche.

La deuxième période sera marquée par les pas menant à l'établissement de 'l'entente cordiale', ce qui représenterait une sorte de dégel dans la guerre froide entre les deux pays.

A partir de ce moment, l'étude des perceptions réciproques se fonde d'ailleurs sur des notions "scientifiques", idées qui ont tendance à rejeter une approche raciale.

Il sera question d'examiner en passant la nature de cet héritage historique (les stéréotypes, etc.), ainsi que de tenir compte de l'impact des événements tels que par exemple l'affaire Dreyfus ou la guerre des Boers sur les perceptions dans les deux pays.

Ces perceptions peuvent enfin se résumer dans l'image du 'miroir déformant', où, à chercher sa propre identité, l'on se définissait négativement l'un par rapport à l'Autre.

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Defining and Legitimising the 'Other': India from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century

Prior to the period of colonial expansion and imperialism travel accounts were the primary sources of information and travellers the only contacts between their very own and the world outside. Such accounts were the only written pieces of information that give us an idea about how 'other' cultures and people were perceived as also of the interaction between the people of the east and the west. Travel accounts were, however, written with an eye to public consumption and were in their very nature often addressed to a larger readership. Such accounts carried an element of conviction and truth as they were written by men who were not only religious, extremely courageous, but had to undergo a lot of pain and sufferings in their attempt to travel and collect information about the largely unknown, though mostly driven by mercantile concerns. It was on the basis of these accounts from all over the world that people came to understand and perceive the world beyond their own shores. The west, primarily Britain in the later period, drew on such 'imaginary' images and a superficial understanding of the people of the orient - only glimpses of which compelled some to explore the 'nation of magnificence and riches' and the others to colonise it.

The paper that I propose to read at the conference will focus on the images of the orient (India) created by the travellers in the period prior to the eighteenth century ranging from Nicolo Conti to Jean Bapstite Tavernier. It will move on to delineate how the images reflected and perceived found a logical space in and helped shaped the now commonly understood stereotypical understanding of the 'other' in the eighteenth century. It will seek to highlight how the East India Company's relationship with the people it came into contact with was a prisoner to the above stereotypes. The period immediately following coincided with a large number of translations into English of other western and non-western accounts of the orient and went a long way in essentializing the already 'created' images. Most significantly, however, the above development contributed to a large extent in ideologically legitimising imperialism and furthering its agenda.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the inter-weaving of such images and colonial policy under direct British rule. An analysis of the earlier 'images' and their redefinition will be highlighted through colonial policy, state attitudes, and legislation. In analysing the above I will concentrate on discussing the issues indicated through a study of the arena of relief and welfare policies defined by the state for its colonial subjects alongside its philanthropic endeavours. It is being inferred that both imperialism and colonialism sought legitimacy by putting forward, most vigorously, the agenda of 'civilising' the 'uncivilised' and willingly, though painfully, undertaking to undo the 'white man's burden'. In pushing forth its philanthropic agenda colonial rulers were in a dilemma, on the one hand, they were being compelled to further imperialist designs, and, on the other, felt the need to mitigate the evil effects of their rule. In doing so the colonial state also defined its own *image* with which it had to come to terms with, both as a nation of significance in the west and as the coloniser.

It was this philanthropic agenda of the colonial state, which amongst other reasons, was to a great extent responsible for the then emerging discourse on nationalism in the late nineteenth century. It also contributed to shaping the nationalist movement in the twentieth century and changing the equations between the two 'nations'. Interestingly, however, the nationalist discourse was also to some extent defined by the image created by the west of the Indian people.

Women who constituted one half of society were also seen as both perpetuating and preserving tradition and in many ways defining that which was truly Indian. They received 'adequate' attention both from travellers and merchants in the earlier period and helped in forming an image of the Indian woman - which found place in both British writings and policy formulation. It seems imperative to discuss how these images have continued to define the spaces occupied by women in the political and cultural surroundings of colonial and post-colonial India.

Lastly, it will seek to raise questions and answer to whatever extent possible on how the images created over the centuries have left a deep and lasting impact on the people of India. Post-colonial India struggles with the legacy of a past that on the one hand has given rise to extreme right wing ideologies which at least on the surface reject all that is western (for popular mobilisation) and attempt to revive the true India. While on the other hand a section of the people with often undefined ideologies attempts to adopt that which is 'western' and continues to be thought of as the true hallmark of a superior civilisation. On the basis of some interviews conducted in the U.K., an attempt will be made to place the above study and understand its contemporary significance. Whether past images and social representations have changed or have been redefined needs further investigation to arrive at an understanding of the relationship between the Indian Diaspora and the western world.

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Images of the Philippines. The international Perception of a Colony at the End of 19th Century

At the end of 19th century the Philippine Islands were a territory in full developing and hopeful future. They were a crossroad of different interests and processes:

1)- The archipelago had been under the Spanish rule since more than three centuries. Along this period, the Spanish Government had developed different colonial and economic models. In the last years of 19th century it showed a renewed interest in the islands for many reasons: the problems in Cuba had led to the colonial groups to consider with renewed attention the possibilities of the Philippines; the inauguration of the Suez Channel had expedited the travel to the islands; the expansion of the great powers had awaked a new interest for the Pacific and the Far East; the distribution of spheres of influence in that area had begun and the opening of the China market was also expected. The addition of all these circumstances urged to the Spanish Government to define a new policy towards Philippines: it introduced reforms in the administration, it promoted investments, and it increased the defence of the islands. In 1897, one year before their lost, the Philippines were a profitable colony, able to self-finance the colonial government and to generate profits to the Crown. They were all a promise to future.

2)- In the last decades of 19th century, it arose an important movement of national affirmation. The illustrated elites created a new conscience of a Philippine identity. Landowners and merchants had developed the national economy in different parts of the country, and they negotiated directly with foreign companies, without Spanish mediation. At the same time, popular movements were unrest with the Spanish administration and with the religious orders. All these groups joined their forces, first in order to obtain reforms and to defend their political and social rights, and second to fight for self-government and independence.

3)- The third element which defined the situation of the Philippines at the end of the century were the international interests of the great powers. Trade was in foreign hands: in the islands there were established companies of numerous countries, essentially British, American, German, French, Chinese and Japanese firms. Banks of different nations, with a high volume of business, were settled there. Many foreign enterprises had invested in tobacco, agricultural products -sugar, hemp, coffee, copra, cacao and indigo, engineering and building. The Philippines islands were an important international crossroads in those days of the imperialism urge.

The intention of this paper is to study the images that different agents offered from the Philippines at the end of 19th century: officials of the Spanish Administration, members of religious orders, diplomats, merchants and travellers of other countries. I will contrast these images between them, I will compare them with the real situation of the islands, and I will analyse the interests behind the images. In order to do it, I will use documentation collected in archives from Philippines, Spain, United States, Great Britain and France, as well as newspapers, memories and travel books of that age.

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The Image of Japan in Finland in the 1930's

The aim of this paper is to attempt to answer the question of what the image of Japan was in Finland, why it was what it was, whether any changes took place in it, what use was made of it, if any, and why, and in general what Japan meant for Finnish people.

The examination of the image of Japan shows especial weight to be attached to the fact that up to the time of the Second World War the Japanese were the only coloured nation to have preserved their independence and risen to a position of equality with the western peoples in a world dominated by them. In this paper the image of Japan is examined on one level, that of the official relations between the two countries, largely in terms of the importance of these relations for Finnish officialdom.

The image of Japan is examined from five aspects: the global aspect, i.e. from the point of view of world politics, the cosmopolitan aspect, with reference to universal values and the relations between cultures, the nationalistic aspect, in terms of Finland's practical interests, the particular aspects, in the light of the interests, experiences and prejudices of some individual or group of individuals, and the provincialist aspect, paying attention to features of indifference or ignorance.

The Russo-Japanese War heralded the final politicisation of Japan's image in the world, after which each image formulated was first and foremost a product of the aims of the society responsible for its formulation. The cosmopolitan image which had prevailed for so long was forced into the background as the western powers began to fear the rise of Japan as a dangerous competitor and nationalistic elements appeared in its place. This non-white major power posed a threat to the positions which the Europeans had established in the Far East during the 19th century, and at the same time a threat to the European hegemony which had existed in the world in general.

Two separate images of Japan were prevalent in Finland during the Russo-Japanese War, that of an enemy, based on loyalty to Russia and the Tsar and obviously ascribed to by the majority of the people, particularly those in agrarian circles, and a favourable image which had emerged amongst those of an activist-constitutionalist persuasion who opposed the Tsarist rule during the period of the "First Repression", which began in 1899. It was this latter which became the predominant opinion once the constitutionalists, gained the victory in terms of internal policy after the defeat of Russia in the war during which activists and constitutionalist cooperated with Japanese officials and as a consequence of the general strike of 1905.

After the Russo-Japanese War the Finnish image of Japan was a combination of the traditional cosmopolitan attitude of admiration felt in the west and a basically favourable nationalistic view. The strained relations between Finland and the Soviet Union continued to influence this outlook after Finnish independence in 1917 and on into the 1920's operating in support of the favourable attitude towards Japan.

The Manchurian Incident constituted a crisis which brought new feature into play in the evaluation of attitudes towards Japan, and which also demanded some sort of response from the Finns. As far as Japan's international image was concerned, the conflict meant a further accentuation of the existing image, since this expansion implied a threat to the interests of the other world powers with respect to the Far East, and also a threat to world peace, leading as it did to a strain in international relations. This was also reflected in the official image of Japan espoused in Finland. A sense of anxiety prevailed, as Finnish security was based heavily on the notion of the efficacy of the League of Nations in preserving world peace, and with this the independence of the smaller countries. Thus, looked at from a nationalistic point of view, the image now carried also unfavourable features, although the Finnish representative in Tokyo, George Winckelmann, was admittedly of the opinion that the most important consideration was the continuity of the status of Japan as a counterbalance to might of the Soviet Union. Even so, the image of Japan in Finland at this period does not show any features which deviate from that which predominated in the western world as a whole.

The discussion of the Manchurian question in the League of Nations in February 1933 forced Finland to take an official stance, in accordance with which being a small country whose foreign policy relied greatly on the League of Nations and having many other associated interests, she was obliged, although much against her will to vote against Japan. This reluctance became apparent on many occasions when the Finnish representatives tried to explain the reasons for their decision to the Japanese. This in itself implies that from the official Finnish point of view Japan was a country of significance importance for reasons of foreign policy, since it represented a potential source of support against the threat posed by the Soviet Union.

Interest concerning Japan in the period 1933-36 tended to be focused upon the gradual advances achieved in northern China, her economic expansion, the accusations made regarding the dumping of goods and the increasing trend towards a fanatical nationalism.

The Image of Japan adhered to in official circles was a partly critical and partly neutral one, in accordance with the decisions of the League of Nations, as was evident from the Manchukuo instructions issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the official denials issued in parliament by the same ministry in response to accusations of collusion between the Finnish and the Japanese made in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. On the unofficial level, however, many leading figures of the Finnish foreign policy were more kindly disposed towards Japan, as the extensive international speculations concerning possible Japanese-Finnish cooperation would lead us to assume. Other hints in the same direction were the instructions from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs urging the preservation of commercial relations with Japan, information supplied by Japanese observers in both Helsinki and Tokyo regarding the attitude of the Finns and the active work done by the new Finnish envoy to Tokyo, Hugo Valvanne, for the maintenance of good relations with Japan. Similarly the founding of a Finnish Japanese Society in Helsinki in 1935 under the chairmanship of the first Finnish chargé d'affaires to Tokyo, Prof. G.J. Ramstedt, together with the range of distinguished figures on its committee, would again seem to reinforce the notion that close relations existed between the two countries at that time.

The closeness of these unofficial relations was most probably due once again to the idea of maintaining Japan as some form of counterbalance to Soviet influence, and as such departed markedly from the unfavourable image commonly prevailing in the west at that time.

In 1936-37 Japan underwent a serious internal crisis arising out of an attempted military coup d'état, the consequence of which was that it even seemed in the early summer of 1937 as if the parliament was prepared to hold out against the pressure exerted upon it by the military. In the field of foreign affairs the most significant development was the signing of an Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany in November 1936.

The new policy of neutrality pursued in Finland since 1935, her lifeline in the storms of Great Power politics, led to a cooling in official Finnish-Japanese relations. The image longer contained a powerful security element as it had done earlier. The leading countries in the west were adopting a progressively more critical line towards Japan. The United States, France and Britain showed support for those forces that stood for parliamentarism in Japan, while Germany favoured the existing government line. Thus a clear dichotomy prevailed within the image of Japan in the world at large reason it is understanding that the Finnish attitude, even in unofficial circles, should have become somewhat less enthusiastic.

The major event in the period 1937-39 as far as the image of Japan was concerned, especially regarding the earlier part of this period, was the outbreak of war between China and Japan in July 1937. The rapidly worsening situation in Europe from 1938 onwards then served to reduce the interest shown towards events in the Far East.

A further cooling in the attitude taken towards Japan in official circles in Finland was brought about by the conjunction of the offensive launched by the Japanese and the neutrality embodied in Finnish foreign policy. This emerged most clearly in the instructions issued to the Finnish delegation to the League of Nations, which showed that Japan no longer occupied any position whatsoever in Finnish foreign policy calculations. In spite of the favourable image which Valvanne continued to give in his reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the leaders of the Finnish foreign policy maintained a strictly neutral policy, and rejected plans put forward for a cultural exchange agreement precisely on foreign policy grounds. The alteration in the situation as compared with the period in the beginning of the 1930's is symbolized by the trade conflict between the two countries in 1938-39, which was

precipitated by Japan's expansion of its export trade and reduction in imports, a situation which was admittedly resolved in favour of the Finnish exporters. This may in itself be a sign of a more friendly attitude hidden below the surface, but all Finland's other political statements showed her attitude, both official and unofficial, to be very much a neutral one. This nevertheless still differed significantly from the general critical approach adopted in the west, a fact which may be attributed partly to Finnish suspicions regarding the Soviet Union and partly to the traditional favourable image of Japan, Finland's policy of neutrality and the attempts to preserve export markets.

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L'alliance franco-tchécoslovaque dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Le poids de l'image du Français et du Russe/Soviétique dans le processus de décision en politique étrangère.

Une équipe d'historiens slovaques, en coopération avec des historiens tchèques et français, a travaillé sur la formation et l'évolution des images réciproques des trois peuples en 1867 - 1914, dans le cadre des relations entre *la France et l'Europe centrale*. (Slovanské štúdie, No Spécial 2, Bratislava, AEP 1995). En 1997-1999 l'équipe slovaque a continué cette étude dans le cadre du projet de recherche VEGA 2/4089 *La France et l'Europe centrale en 1914-1948. Images et stéréotypes, événements et relations*, en essayant de la renouveler sous perspective des trois axes proposés par le prof. R. Frank.

La communication profite de ces recherches pour éclairer les difficultés de cohésion en Europe centrale et analyser le poids des images des peuples dans le processus de décision en politique étrangère. Les images des peuples formées pendant la deuxième moitié du 19^e siècle jouent un certain rôle dans la préparation des traités de paix après la première guerre mondiale et dans l'entre-deux-guerres. Tandis que l'image de l'Hongrois ou de l'Allemand présentent des éléments constitutifs de la formation de l'identité nationale slovaque ou tchèque, les images du Russe et du Français, liés a partir de 1892 par le traité d'alliance militaire, se dessinent en fonction du changement de l'ordre européen dans les Balkans et en Europe centrale comme protecteurs potentiels des peuples "opprimés" de l'Empire austro-hongrois.

Dans l'entre-deux-guerres la politique étrangère tchécoslovaque repose sur trois pierres angulaires: la Société des Nations, la Petite Entente et l'alliance politique avec la France. Tandis que la Société des Nations représente un nouveau pilier de la politique étranger tchécoslovaque, les stéréotypes figés de l'évaluation de la situation internationale jouent un certain rôle dans les processus de négociations des traités franco-tchécoslovaque de 1924, 1925 et du traité soviéto-tchécoslovaque de 1935.

La relecture des documents diplomatiques, des textes et des discours de principaux décideurs tchécoslovaques dans le domaine de la politique étrangère sera complétée par l'analyse de la presse et des sources littéraires, pour montrer avec plasticité les images des alliés et des ennemis de la Tchécoslovaquie en 1918-1938.

Aldo Ferrari

University of Venezia and Gorizia, Italy

Between Slavdom and Turan: Russian Identity in Eurasian Teaching

Since the westernizing and modernizing reforms of Peter the Great, the main topic of modern Russian culture has been the question of self-identification, i.e. the never ending and often neurotic attempt to define the place of Russia in world history and civilisation. The official statement of the Europeaness of Russia – “Russia is a European power”, that Catherine II wrote – was more and more contented by a large range of ideological positions, both conservative and progressive. The revolution put an end to the unsolved dispute between the Westernizers and the so-called “Russian ideology”. “An” end, not “the” end. Based on a western ideology, but sternly opposed to the West, the Soviet system was a kind of answer to the Russian search for identity. Another answer was drawn up in the 20-30s by a large group of Russian émigrés, known as Eurasians, whose intellectual elaboration is now recalling great attention both in Russia and abroad.

Although they all left Soviet Union, their teaching is unthinkable without the epoch-making event of the Russian revolution, that showed once and for all the groundlessness of European, “petrine” Russia. In their distressing exile, Eurasians worked on and preached for a new definition of Russian identity, which they inserted neither in European or in Asian historical and cultural patterns, but in a sort of intermediate, Eurasian, system: *...Russia is not merely “the West”, but also “the East”, not only “Europe”, but also “Asia”, and even not Europe at all, but Eurasia...* (Savickij).

To display – or to invent, it hardly matters here – this identity of Russia, Eurasians introduced many radically new views of Russian history. One of the most interesting is the revaluation of the so-called “tatar yoke” and, more generally, of the positive attitude toward the Turkish, or Turanian, East. Against a strongly consolidated, but not so ancient – indeed post-petrine - tradition, Eurasians insisted on the basic meaning of the Turanian link in Russian history, ethnography and anthropology. From the historical point of view they considered Russian autocracy not only the legitimate successor of the Byzantine empire, but also the natural heir of Tatar khanate; not less important was the belief that the abundant Turkish blood in their veins gave the Russians a national character sharply different from that of the other Slavs. Prince Nikolaj Trubeckoj, the famous linguistic scholar who was the prominent figure of this intellectual movement, wrote about *the invisible links of racial sympathy between Russians and Turkish peoples*.

According to the Eurasians, this peculiar historical and ethno-cultural structure had to be taken into account in the future reconstruction of Russia after the collapse of Soviet Union. Their ideology was then furiously rejected by the majority of Russian intelligentsia, but not by chance it plays an important role in new, post-soviet Russia.

Roberto Dante Flores

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Relations Between Chile and Argentina. Media and Construction of Identities (1978-1999)

The subject of this paper deals with the Chilean-Argentine relations (1978-1999), as seen from Argentine graphic media's point of view, and the relationship with the emerging of imaginary identities, through the study of newspapers and magazines on that period.

Three moments may be singled out:

1. Military dictatorship (wavering foreign policy) 1976-1983;
2. Young democracy (Third-World policy) 1983-1989;
3. Political and economic re-appraisal (new order) 1989-1999.

In 1978 Chilean-Argentine relations were on the brink as Argentina rejected British decision on the Beagle Channel border problem. In this moment old questions emerged about:

- a) Chilean expansion;
- b) Argentine loss of territory;
- c) Argentine diplomacy's weakness.

Argentine military government's propaganda got through hard-line newspapers and magazines like "Gente", a magazine where general Osiris Villegas, who rejected British proposal, wrote, and "Cronica", a newspaper with nationalistic and xenophobic stance. Here we have seen a relationship with the construction of a specifically Argentine identity, which was founded on the awareness of the differences with neighbor countries, inasmuch Argentine nation did not exist in the first decades of the XIXth century but it had been asserted by the national state from 1860 (Oszlak, 1997). The nationalistic perception influenced not only lower and middle classes, but also people with higher cultivation - according to Gallup polls. "La Nación", a traditional newspaper, which was bound to Argentine oligarchy, displayed extensive articles about the border question until 1984. Yet the process of identity formation was to undergo a change by the democratic leadership in new political circumstances. By the mediation of the Vatican in the conflict and by summoning a referendum, in order to accept or reject Vatican proposal, Argentina began to pursue a peaceful policy of Latin-American integration, which entailed the "chance of working together for the sovereignty of Malvinas" (Alfonsín, 1984).

Most recently, Menem Administration signified:

- a) rupture with non-aligned countries (1991);
- b) integration in the Mercosur (1991);
- c) end of border conflicts with Chile (1998).

The intelligentsia of the country looks for historical roots in Alberdi, Sarmiento and Perón with a view to justifying dynamics of identity and to extol a post-nationalistic identity (Bolívar, 1998). Simultaneously, media marked this integrationist trend through the last headlines of the century: "The Mercosur supports Argentine flights to Malvinas" and "Cooperation between Argentine and Chilean navies", so far from December 1978 "They will not pass". This is a sign of the fast changes in the politics and perception between the two countries in just twenty years.

Hideo Fukamachi

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Chinese National Consciousness and Japan: The Case of Tai Chi-t'ao

Historically, Japan was situated in the periphery of the Sinic Empire. After the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), however, their relationship changed. Defeated by the eastern barbarians", the Chinese, for the first time in their long history, began to earnestly investigate, analyse and understand the Japanese in order to learn the secret of national modernization. Inevitably, this attempt required the Chinese to consider their own national traits and culture. Therefore, a number of books and articles on Japan written by Chinese in this century, without exception, reflect their national consciousness.

Tai Chi-t'ao (1890-1948) was one of the most prominent Japanologists of modern China. He studied in Japan in his youth, worked as Sun Yat-Sen's secretary and interpreter for many years and finally became an influential senior member of the Kuomintang. *On Japan* (1927) is one of his most famous works, which treats the history, society, religions and culture of the Japanese. It not only discusses merits and demerits of the Japanese, but also examines those of the Chinese themselves in comparison. To him, Japan was a mirror to look at his own people.

Catherine Horel

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L'image de l'Hongrie sur la longue durée (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)

Durant la révolution de 1848, la Hongrie se forge vis-à-vis de l'étranger, et dans une large mesure de l'Occident, une image dont les composantes font partie encore aujourd'hui du portrait que l'on dessine d'elle et qu'elle-même contribue à entretenir. Ceci s'explique tout d'abord par l'énorme signification de ce moment historique dans la conscience nationale hongroise dont il est un des ferments identitaires. Confrontés à l'arbitraire impériale, les membres du gouvernement hongrois se sont efforcés, dans une entreprise sans précédent de communication au sens moderne du terme, de faire connaître leur cause. Dans des pays comme la France ou l'Angleterre où la presse jouissait déjà d'un pouvoir considérable, d'un réseau de diffusion étendu et d'un lectorat de plus en plus nombreux parce que mieux éduqué, les héros de la révolution hongroise ont été connus par un public véritablement large. Par la suite, le sort tragique réservé à la Hongrie par la répression a parachevé l'image construite autour de l'élan révolutionnaire et l'a hissée dans les mentalités occidentales au même rang que la Pologne. Jusqu'au tournant du XX^e siècle, la Hongrie a représenté pour l'Occident ce pays généreux et martyr, peuplé de révolutionnaires et de poètes. Mais l'historien tend à se concentrer sur cette construction de l'image occidentale et néglige, il me semble, son pendant presque entièrement inversé qui se développe à partir du Compromis de 1867 chez les peuples soumis à la domination du royaume de Hongrie qui a reconquis une grande part de sa souveraineté. Étourdie par ses succès et assise sur son capital de sympathie hérité de 1848, la Hongrie se préoccupe surtout de délivrer son message de modernité en direction de l'Occident, mais des esprits curieux commencent s'intéresser à la question des nationalités et ils vont être les bâtisseurs de la légende noire de la Hongrie devenue à son tour oppresseur. Après 1918, la république bolchevique et l'arrivée du régent Horthy, l'image de la Hongrie devient très largement négative, pays vaincu assimilée aux fauteurs de guerre, foyer révolutionnaire dangereux et ensuite menace territoriale pour ses nouveaux voisins par sa croisade révisionniste, elle ne compte que peu de défenseurs dont les arguments sont essentiellement d'ordre économique et plus rarement géopolitique.

Au lendemain de la Seconde guerre mondiale, la Hongrie disparaît progressivement au sein du bloc communiste et le nouveau pouvoir instrumentalise avec beaucoup d'habileté la légende noire du régime Horthy pour culpabiliser tous les Hongrois, instaurer la méfiance chez leurs voisins et véhiculer vers l'Occident un discours présentant une nouvelle fois la Hongrie comme un pays vaincu et qui en somme a mérité son triste sort.

Les parallèles ne manquent pas entre la révolution de 1848 et celle de 1956 et les insurgés eux-mêmes les ont mis en avant. Pour l'opinion internationale, la Hongrie restaure en quelques jours son image forgée un siècle auparavant et elle va vivre les décennies suivantes dans cette situation, même après être devenue sous Kádár "la baraque la plus gaie du camp".

Depuis la transition démocratique, la Hongrie est à nouveau maîtresse de son image et il est intéressant de voir le rôle qu'elle y fait jouer à l'histoire, elle mobilise tous les symboles de l'Occident auquel elle est attachée depuis l'an mil pour étayer sa candidature à l'entrée dans l'Union européenne et son industrie touristique utilise abondamment les références à l'empire austro-hongrois.

Cornelius J. Jaenen

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Imaginary Reality: French Images of Amerindians, Amerindian Images of the French

This paper deals with interpretations of one culture by another and also interpretations of those interpretations. The French were faced with a problem of conceptualising American reality, first in terms of the possibility of a plurality of worlds, a rupture in terms of space and time from the reality of Europe. There was a thematic opposition between a positive understanding of New France as a semi-paradise offering decadent Old France an opportunity for regeneration and the negative image of a hostile environment and barbaric peoples unsuited to French transplantation. The New World and its "new peoples" were described and understood in terms of traditional philosophical and religious constructs and intellectual frameworks, such as the Great Chain of Being, the Lost Paradise, the Satanic World, the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, the Golden Age, Primitivism and the approaching Millennium.

Two different approaches emerge in the historical literature. First, there has been the attempt to find a unifying theme throughout the literature over a period of centuries. Secondly, there was the view of a progressive shift in conceptualisation, the general movement being from an early paradisiacal view to a later savagery stereotyping. Our own conclusion is that to understand and explain the complexity of the colonial contact with aboriginal cultures, recourse to many intellectual constructs was necessary. But the reality of the Amerindian world surpassed the rational constructs Europeans employed to understand and to convey to their contemporaries their

observations and experiences. The image created was never devoid of reality, and reality was perceived in terms of the cultural baggage of the viewer.

Whereas the French assumed their own culture and institutions to be infinitely superior both in material and intellectual aspects to the aboriginal cultures they encountered, there is evidence that the Amerindians maintained their own somatic norm image. They scorned some aspects of French "civilisation", were selective in their adaptation of technology and cultural patterns, rejected outright some behavioural innovations, and developed counter-innovative techniques to protect their own values. The Amerindian and French folkways and belief systems tended to remain parallel and concurrent with a greater degree of accommodation of French culture to Native's life and environmental considerations than of Amerindian cultures to French life-style. When we interpret the interpretations that both the French intruders and the Amerindian indigenous peoples placed on "the other" we can only conclude that while there was nobility in "savagery", there was also much savagery in civilisation. No series of images could fully capture the human realities in contact nevertheless the image projected was often assumed to represent reality. Perhaps in the intellectual exercise involving myth and reason, the imaginary and the sensory, we should cease to search for consistency.

Wolfram Kaiser

University of Saarbrücken, Germany

The Construction and Deconstruction of National Images in Global Public Spaces: Intercultural Communication at Nineteenth Century World Exhibitions

Modern technologies and forms of communication are fundamentally transforming the creation and transformation of national images. At the end of the twentieth century, the liberalisation of global public spaces and the pluralisation of the media make it more and more difficult even for non-democratic states and governments to control images of other nations and to instrumentalize them for achieving their domestic and international goals. In the age of the internet, more and more people have access to many different sources of information, and their virtual contact with others around the globe facilitate the formation of transnational social bonds and political interests which make national divides less and less meaningful.

The globalisation of public spaces and its effects on the formation of national images is not, however, an entirely new phenomenon. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the development of a new traffic infrastructure and of modern communication technologies already led to a massive compression of space and time which allowed for the first time the organisation of large-scale international events with the participation of people from all continents. It was especially the world exhibitions, first organized in London in 1851, which brought together millions of people and temporarily created global public spaces which were structured through their wide-spread media reporting.

It is the aim of this paper to analyse the construction of global public spaces at the nineteenth century world exhibitions and their role for the creation and transformation of national images at an international level. In particular, I will highlight the tension between the deliberate construction of national images by states and governments to further their political goals and how the visitors and those reporting on the exhibitions 'read' the representations. It becomes clear that their actual perceptions often called into question the intended meanings of particular representations and undermined the goals pursued by states and governments, as international exchanges facilitated the creation of transnational links and the formation of international social identities and political loyalties.

The construction and deconstruction of national images in the global public spaces of the world exhibitions will be illustrated in this paper with examples from different countries and continents and from several major world exhibitions. One very good example for the tense relationship between intended meanings of representations and actual perceptions is the hope of Napoleon III to use the exhibitions in London and Paris in the 1850s and 1860s for the creation of a particular national image of Britain and for the selective transfer of certain economic and social practices, without adopting its liberal laws or system of government. In practice, the visit of the exhibitions by worker delegations did change their perception of Britain, but in a rather different way. Unlike the Second Empire, Britain seemed to guarantee worker rights of association and strike and essential individual liberties, and they formulated far-reaching political demands as a result of their exhibition experiences.

Another example is the concerted attempt by states and governments to use the world exhibitions to construct and maintain international hierarchies between nations and cultures, for example through the representation of native people in villages as part of the exhibitions, not least in order to justify their policies of imperial expansion. The visit of the exhibitions, however, allowed visitors to draw very different conclusions and sometimes led to a change of pre-existing ideas about foreign nations and cultures which could undermine the intended meanings of these representations.

This paper thus emphasizes the contested nature of national images and of any political conclusions drawn from them. Even at the height of the process of nation state formation in the second half of the nineteenth century, massive technological advances and the resulting process of rapid

internationalisation made it increasingly difficult for states and governments to retain some degree of control over the creation and formation of national images and their use for their international goals.

John Kent

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British Elite and Official Perceptions of the “Other” in Cold War Europe

The paper will provide an outline examination of the influences on officials and ministers during the Cold War, with emphasis on the earlier period, and some initial ideas as to whether the influences on perceptions have changed. It will also briefly examine, with reference to a number of key decisions on the nature of relations with Europe, to what extent attitudes to the 'other' influenced the policy making process.

Particular attention will be paid to attitudes to the 'other' in the context of Britain's changing world role. Thus the attitudes to Europeans, Americans and those in the wider world by the civilian and military elites will be considered primarily in relation to perceptions of Britain's place in the world. The impact of the Cold War will also be examined along with a number of other possible determinants of elite attitudes. Background and formative experiences will be considered, although much more work will be needed before definitive judgments can be made, along with the relationship of elites to 'others' within their own nation state. Thus the changing basis of the role of a British identity in practice and theory will be considered. In what ways and to what extent did British elites develop a sense of national identity and how was this related to their attitudes to other nations?

The impact of 'myth' will also be considered as a determinant of general perceptions. The focus will be more on these general perceptions than on the interpretation of particular actions by others. Less attention will therefore be paid to ascribed Cold War assessments of 'others' in the form of assumptions about the aims and motives of a rival state.

Harald Kleinschmidt

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The Beginning of the Use of European Historical Method in Japan and the Formation of the Japanese Images of the European History

The use of methods of historical criticism in institutions of higher education and research in Japan is older than in Europe, going back to the seventeenth century. They have since then been applied in the study of Japanese history and have entailed the establishment of a substantive corpus of research relevant to auxiliary sciences to which archaeology has been added during the past fifty years. Interest in the histories of cultures outside East Asia set off in Japan during the Meiji period when the academic study of Western history (*seiyoushi*) was initialised. This was done by foreign scholars who were called in to introduce their own methods and approaches to Japanese intellectuals. In the case of Western history, Ludwig Riess was employed as a visiting scholar at the newly established Historiographical Institute of the Imperial University of Tokyo (*Shiryō Henshō*) in 1888. Riess wrote opinions regarding the planning of the work of the Institute, specifically on principles for the editing of historical sources. He also offered a course in European history in the Imperial university of Tokyo. His students became the founders of the study of European history in Japan.

One aspect of Riess's influence relates to the image of European history which he spread among his students. As a student of Hans Delbrück, who had himself been a student of Ranke, Riess emphasised the importance of the state as a nation-state in history and instilled into the minds of his students the image of European culture as the assemblage of particularistic cultures and often rival national states. In the paper, I shall try to show that this image has continued to shape the approaches of Japanese historians to European history and has helped to downplay the significance of the unity of European culture in the wider learned public.

Ignacio Klich

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Images and Realities about the Nazis in Argentina

The presence of pro-Axis elements in successive Argentine governments of the 1930s and 1940s; their opponents' illusion that the defeat of Nazism in Europe would be translated into the political demise of Argentina's post-1943 de facto and elected rulers; the warm official welcome generally accorded by Juan Peron's Argentina to newcomers from the former Third Reich; as well as US propaganda against Argentina's wartime neutrality first, and later in support of a degree of Argentine compliance with international obligations that was not demanded from other countries in the region, lent credibility to certain exaggerated views concerning the implications for the allied cause of Argentina's performance during World War II. While Argentina provided later an indubitable sanctuary for fleeing Nazis and looted assets, the importance ascribed to such a safe haven for Nazi war criminals and other European fugitives, as well as to the loot they brought into the country is also oversized. Not surprisingly, therefore, Argentine neutrality until 1944 is described as eminently pro-Axis; thousands of war criminals, if not ten times more, are alleged to have been taken in by Peronist Argentina, together with plundered assets valued at hundreds of million dollars.

On the strength of the most recent historical research undertaken by the Commission of Enquiry into the Activities of Nazism in Argentina (CEANA), this paper seeks to throw light on the growing gap between what can be gleaned from materials at archival repositories and long held popular beliefs that have been strengthened by sensationalist press accounts and works of fiction.

Mikael af Malmborg

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The Meanings of "Europe" in National Discourses - History and Theory

This paper analyses various meanings of concept of 'Europe' in national rhetoric in a longer time perspective and how these meanings have been transformed in the post-war European integration process. It is shown how in some cases it is perceived as an integral part of national identity, and in others as a challenge or even a threat to the nation. Sometimes 'Europe' is at the core of the nation-building project, sometimes it competes with alternative macro-regional identities. It is furthermore argued that the emergence of a new region-building project, such as the EU, 'activates' dimensions of the nations history that support or contradict the prevailing self-understanding. The paper compares various ways in which established national discourses might be reconciled with an emerging European identification within the European Union, and shows how a cultural-historic understanding of Europhile and Europhobe discourses can be an important corrective to existing politico-economic explanations of attitudes towards European integration.

Lena Medeiros de Menezes

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Les Portugais en tant que représentation de l'immobilisme dans la modernisation républicaine au Brésil (1890-1920)

La république brésilienne a été proclamée en 1889 et le début du siècle au Brésil a été accompagné d'une proposition civilisatrice qui a voulu transformer la ville de Rio de Janeiro en une ville moderne, capable de rivaliser avec les grandes villes d'Europe.

Les projets mis en oeuvre, inspirés des modèles européens, ont pour objectif essentiel l'élimination des marques du passé esclavagiste et colonial, dans une perspective selon laquelle les héritages culturels portugais devaient être éliminés au nom du progrès. Dans ce contexte, fêtes et usages traditionnels furent combattus et la langue portugaise fut méprisée dans les cercles des élites.

Le travail proposé privilège les trois premières décennies républicaines au Brésil, qui correspondent au tournant du XX^e siècle. Il prend comme source principale les discours qui ont accompagné la réforme Pereira Passos le Hausmann brésilien. Il cherche de démontrer les processus responsables de la consécration de la représentation des portugais comme agents de l'immobilisme et rétrogrades, par opposition aux français et anglais, considérés comme agents de la civilisation, dans le contexte de la modernisation républicaine au Brésil.

Victor Morales Lezcano

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The Crossed-Images between Spain and Morocco

Ever since the XVth century onwards Spain and Morocco started to build a mutual image, of the manifold kind. Later on, The Colonial Days (1860's - 1950's) contributed a lot to distort the Spanish perception of the "Moorish" neighbours while the northern African perception of Spain became anything but flattering.

The paper intends to fix the issue and to propose some landmarks in the field of crossed-images between territorial and cultural neighbours though, sometimes, political antagonists.

Graeme S. Mount

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The Foreign Relations of Trinidad and Tobago as a Manifestation of National Identity

Before independence in 1962, Trinidad and Tobago was home to two highly distinct ethnic groups. The sons and daughters of Africa regarded the sons and daughters of India as strike-breakers. After all, people from the Indian subcontinent had migrated to Trinidad in the aftermath of Emancipation. Once the British had freed their slaves, the Afro-Trinidadians chose not to work as agricultural labourers on European-owned estates. The European owners needed a cheap labour force if they were going to maintain the existing social structure, and they found one in India. Between 1838 and 1917, an estimated 143,909 indentured labourers from the Ganges Valley and Madras went to Trinidad, and a large proportion remained there. The Indo-Trinidadians sent their children to different schools from those attended by Afro-Trinidadians. Some 80% of the Indo-Trinidadians could speak Hindi (or, in a few cases, Tamil), while the Afro-Trinidadians were unilingual Anglophones. Most Afro-Trinidadians lived in the north, while the Indo-Trinidadians were most numerous in the south. Could such disparate peoples form ONE nation? Tensions remained after independence. Many Asian members of the cabinet of Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson (1986-1991) left in order to protest what they considered favouritism to Afro-Trinidadians. Thanks in part to a change in the demographic balance, the political party led by the leader of the exodus, Basdeo Panday, won the parliamentary elections of 1995 and formed a largely Hindu cabinet. Three months later during Mardi Gras 1996, a successful Afro-Trinidadian singer, Cro Cro, chastised black Trinidadians for losing control of their homeland. If blacks had been less lethargic, Cro Cro indicated, Trinidad and Tobago would not have an Indian government. A Hindu women's group called upon Indians to boycott Cro Cro's performances, and black spectators stoned an Indian singer, Sonny Mann. Mann, who sings in Hindi, had to leave the stage the following day when the largely Afro-Trinidadian crowd pelted him with bottles, orange peels, and other objects. Yet in matters of foreign policy, Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians share common interests and pursue common goals. Whatever their emotional attachments to Africa or India, the places which matter are the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, other Caribbean islands, and Venezuela. Both economic groups benefit or suffer together because of boundary water disputes with Venezuela, immigration and financial policies of the donor nations, poverty on other islands, and the fight against international drug lords. Residents of Trinidad and Tobago disagree strongly with each other on domestic matters, but they work together in their relations with the outside world.

Foreign relations, like cricket, may be among the factors which maintain national unity in Trinidad and Tobago. Those of African descent and those of Asian descent feel apart from each other while at home, but in dealing with the outside world they have become aware of a common nationality.

Mikhail Narinski

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La formation de l'image de l'ennemi en URSS au début de la Guerre Froide

Les conceptions de Staline concernant le monde d'après-guerre incluent la consolidation de sa dictature personnelle à l'intérieur du pays, la sauvegarde des frontières favorables pour l'URSS, le contrôle dur sur la sphère d'influence soviétique, les positions fortes de l'Union Soviétique dans la vie internationale comme le partenaire égal des puissances influentes occidentales.

La guerre finie, les dirigeants staliniens tachaient de n'admettre aucune libéralisation dans la politique intérieure.

D'où vient l'attisement de la méfiance envers des étrangers, le contrôle rigoureux des contacts des Soviétiques avec eux. Tous les voyages des Soviétiques à l'étranger et toutes les visites des citoyens étrangers en URSS étaient contrôlés directement par le Secrétariat du CC du Parti communiste.

On instaura en URSS le régime de censure rigoureuse. Les contacts avec l'étranger étaient soumis au contrôle particulier, très sévère. Et ce fut Staline personnellement qui en novembre 1945 donna directives à Molotov ne pas libéraliser la censure pour correspondants étrangères à Moscou.

Les dirigeants soviétiques gardèrent l'hostilité profonde à l'égard de l'Occident et l'attitude envers des puissances occidentales comme des ennemis potentiels. En janvier 1945 Staline dit aux leaders des communistes yougoslaves et bulgares: "La crise du capitalisme se manifesta dans la division du monde capitaliste pour deux fractions - l'une fasciste, l'autre démocratique... Maintenant nous sommes avec la deuxième fraction contre la première, mais en future nous sommes contre cette seconde fraction des capitalistes aussi". (G.Dimitrov. Journal. Sofia, 1997, p. 464)

Cette méfiance à l'égard des partenaires occidentaux se renforçait par " le syndrome du 22 juin". Le pacte Ribbentrop - Molotov et la ligne politique suivie par Kremlin en 1939-1941 fut une tentative de la collaboration avec l'Allemagne nazi et du partage des sphères d'influence avec Hitler. Mais cette tentative échoua parce que Hitler préféra attaquer l'URSS le 22 juin 1941. Ce fut l'agression perfide pour Staline.

Immédiatement après la fin de la guerre en Europe, en été et en automne 1945, la propagande officielle appelait le peuple soviétique à ne pas se relaxer, à faire preuve de vigilance et de mener à son terme la lutte contre le fascisme et toutes les forces pro-fascistes. De la fin de l'année 1945 le thème essentiel de la propagande soviétique devint la lutte entre démocratie et réaction. On imposait une image simplifiée, "en noir et blanc" du monde: les forces démocratiques, s'étaient les communistes et les personnes qui sympathisaient avec eux, approuvant et soutenant la politique de l'Union Soviétique; les forces réactionnaires, s'étaient tous les autres ceux qui critiquaient les actions de Kremlin dans la politique intérieure et extérieure. On prêchait le principe "Celui qui n'est pas avec nous, est contre nous".

Après le fameux discours de Churchill à Fulton le 5 mars 1946 la propagande soviétique devint encore plus dure. Le département de la politique extérieure du CC du PCUS, donna les directives "renforcer profondément travail de révélation des conceptions antisoviétiques anglo-américaines". Dès l'automne 1946 toutes les organisations soviétiques se trouvant relation à un degré quelconque avec l'opinion publique " l'étranger adoptèrent des positions excluant tout compromis, dans l'esprit de la guerre froide. A ce point de vue on peut considérer comme caractéristiques les objectifs que devaient poursuivre en 1947 les publications de la Société soviétique des relations culturelles avec l'étranger. Dans une note confidentielle ces objectifs ont été définis comme suit: "...Montrer que... l'URSS qui a joué un rôle décisif dans la guerre contre le fascisme ainsi que dans la lutte qu'elle mena après la fin de la guerre pour une paix démocratique et durable, se trouve à la tête de l'humanité progressiste et démasque les instigateurs d'une nouvelle guerre". (CRCEDHC. fond 17, inv. 128, dossier 256, f.84)

C'est ainsi que se formait l'image de l'ennemi. On inculquait le sentiment du danger croissant et on cultivait l'idée des menées perfides des impérialistes. Le peuple soviétique était très sensible pour ces thèmes de la lutte contre les forces fascistes et contre le danger d'une guerre nouvelle.

Gottfried Niedhart

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West-German Ostpolitik and the Perception of the Soviet Union

The paper will deal with the perception of the Soviet Union by the government in Bonn in the late 1960s and early 1970s. I will concentrate on the people who were in the centre of the decision making process. (I had access to the papers of Willy Brandt, Egon Bahr, Helmut Schmidt).

It will be argued that Ostpolitik signalled a new self-confidence of the West-German foreign policy makers vis-à-vis the East and the West. Therefore one has to start with the self-perception and Bonn's definition of its own interests with respect to security, foreign trade and the problem of reunification.

The main question of my paper will be: How does the German self-perception relate to the German perception of the Soviet Union? Ostpolitik started from basic assumptions about the general course of Soviet policy. At the same time the concept of Ostpolitik cannot simply be explained as a result of how the USSR was perceived. In sum: it is the interrelationship between self-perception and the perception of the other which has to be analysed.

Paola Olla Brundu

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“Temperamentally Unwarlike”: The Image of Italy in the Allies’ War Propaganda, 1943-1945

Object: The purpose of the paper is to investigate the image of Italy and Italians held by the main Allies’ propaganda agencies from the Armistice in 1943 to the end of the war in April 1945.

Novelty: The Allied occupation in Italy which followed the landing in Sicily in July 1943 has been well researched. However, the existing literature on the subject tends to focus mainly on issues like the organisational aspects of the occupation-liberation operations and the objectives of the Allied policy in Italy in the wider context of British and American foreign policy towards Western Europe. Indeed, some works do pay some attention to more ‘psychological’ aspects, that is the perception of Italy and the Italians which underlay the Allies’ policy. However, these psychological elements are often mentioned in passing as they were marginal anecdotes. A more systematic investigation is needed.

Main guidelines: In this perspective, this paper will explore:

- the image of Italy and Italians as shown by some key preliminary long-range plans of Psychological Warfare for Italy
- some attempts that were made to reach a deeper and more systematic knowledge of some aspects of Italian politics and society
- the way in which the image of Italy and Italians were laid out within the development of war propaganda. In this regard, attention will be also paid to the differences existing between the American and the British approach and between different propaganda agencies.

Relevance: The attitude towards the Badoglio government, the policy of democratic reconstruction, the relationship with different political forces and the attitude towards the Italian society at large were, of course, determined in part by the way British and American authorities viewed at Italy and Italians. Therefore, the study of the main ideas and stereotypes held by American and British authorities is crucial to a full understanding of the factors that influenced the Allies’ policy in Italy during the co-belligerency period and to the evaluation of its accomplishments and shortcomings.

Sources: This paper is based on a wide array of primary unpublished sources taken mainly from the National Archives in Washington D.C. The analysis of primary sources is, however, based on an extensive knowledge of the most significant books published on war propaganda in Italy, and the Allied policy in this period.

**This paper draws on a wider research on the Allies and the image of Italy and Italians after 1943, which is being carried out – under the guidance of Professor Paola Olla Brundu- by a research group, based at the University of Milan, made up by Dr. Oliviero Bergamini, Dr. Ilaria Favretto, Dr. Carlo Clerici and Dr. Daniela Vignati*

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The Non-European World in the Italian School History Books: the Image of the “Other” between Stereotypes and Reality after World War II

Many factors contribute to creating the image or images of foreigners, of their stereotypes, opinions, myths and realities.

In Italy, as in any other country, one of these factors is undoubtedly school. In the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th, primary school was the only chance many people had to learn and think about the world outside their everyday life. This was even more so after the 2nd World War, and particularly from the sixties, when more and more Italians attended secondary school (the so called “scolarizzazione di massa”). It’s still true in the present time, even if the school now has to share this task with the media.

The most important subjects that contribute to shaping the image “of the other” are undoubtedly humanities, geography and history. The aim of this paper is to provoke some reflection on how ‘taught history’ influences the way in which we see non-Europeans.

I mean “non-European” all those civilisations that have different culture from the European one: for instance the native American people, but not the “white” American people of USA and Canada.

I will be taking into consideration the post 2nd World War period, from the fifties - when the non-European peoples become actors and no longer only subjects of history – to the nineties – when not only American but also European societies become multicultural and the school declares that intercultural education is one of its most important aims.

The analysis will be about some examples of history text books used in the last three years of our “liceo”, one of our secondary schools.

This kind of source is limited but meaningful for many reasons. First of all, in the daily didactic practice, the majority of teachers has always given, and goes on giving, great importance to the text book (that outlines history, in three volumes, from the Medieval to the Contemporary era and that is often written by qualified historians) . In the second place, the Italian liceo gives pre-eminent importance to human sciences: therefore its text books can give us more information than those of a technical college. Besides, particularly in the fifties and sixties, the liceo has always been the school that trained the leading classes.

My analysis will take into consideration how and if, from the fifties to the nineties, the following aspects have changed:

a) the attention reserved to non-European civilisations; b) the explicit and/or implicit opinion about the European “discovery” of the others, colonisation, Imperialism and decolonisation; c) the use of language and historical categories such as, for instance, civilised/non-civilised, progress/non-progress, development/underdevelopment, and so on.

The final aim is to verify if and how such an important didactic instrument has registered the changes that have taken place in the contemporary society and, therefore, if it has contributed to the development of the “system of representations” of the other.

Silvia Pizzetti

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“L’Allemagne savante”. La culture historique italienne et l’image de la science historique allemande (1860-1915)

De la fin du XVIII^e siècle au début du XIX^e, l’Allemagne fut peut-être le moins réputé entre les pays voisins par les intellectuels italiens: l’Italie affirmait très vivement ses liens culturels avec la France et à la médiation française on dut ce que dans notre pays on connaissait de l’Allemagne. Pas autrement des cousins au-delà des Alpes, les écrivains italiens parlaient de “allemands grossiers, lourds buveurs et mangeurs, guerriers de naissance, très peu cultivés”. En 1816 encore il était commun pour les Italiens considérer les Allemands “des barbares vêtus à la française”. Cependant la manque d’intérêt et la raillerie, même si débonnaire, allaient vite décroître dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle, grâce à Mme De Staël et à son oeuvre *De l’Allemagne*, à la connaissance directe des textes des plus grands poètes et philosophes (de Klopstock à Goethe, de Fichte à Hegel), aux premières traductions, aux voyages des gens de lettres italiens dans les pays allemands (Pellico, Di Breme, Berchet, Capponi, Poerio entre les autres), à l’aide des éditeurs et des libraires allemands établis en Italie.

Grâce à sa littérature, à sa philosophie, à sa pédagogie et à sa science, à la moitié du siècle l’Allemagne avait désormais conquis dans le monde culturel italien le titre de “savante”, ainsi que celui de “guide de l’Europe” et de “maîtresse des peuples”. Les victoires militaires qui aboutirent à l’unification, semblaient confirmer sur le terrain de l’efficacité politique et institutionnelle une supériorité désormais indiscutable.

Un rôle certainement pas négligeable dans l’affirmation de la supériorité culturelle allemande en Italie eut du reste la science historique allemande, incarnée dans la maîtrise universitaire de Ranke, de Mommsen, de Droysen, dans leurs œuvres très lues (et souvent traduites), de tout le monde considérées des modèles inégalés de soin philologique et d’érudition très large.

Spécialistes de l’antiquité (philologues, archéologues, épigraphistes, numismates, linguistes, historiens), savants du Moyen Age italien, historiens et théoriciens de l’économie, juristes et historiens du droit constituèrent le terrain propice pour la naissance d’un “mythe allemand” qui, au moins jusqu’à la première guerre mondiale, régna presque en maître dans les universités, dans les revues spécialisées, dans les institutions de recherche italiennes.

Connaître l’allemand, fréquenter cours et séminaires donnés par les maîtres les plus célèbres, se mettre au courant sur la production allemande la plus récente devint *conditio sine qua non* pour parvenir à une reconnue maturité de savant. Seulement grâce à une pleine adhésion au “modèle allemand” on pouvait penser faire sortir les études historiques italiens du provincialisme, du dilettantisme, du retard culturel. Pour cette raison même les différentes écoles historiques et les débats méthodologiques qui animèrent le panorama des études allemandes entre XIX^e et XX^e siècle trouvèrent de plus en plus un écho dans la production historiographique italienne.

Et pourtant la supériorité incontestable des “savants allemands” sur le terrain historiographique (en tant que sur le terrain philosophique et scientifique) ne manqua pas d’alarmer, de provoquer des réactions et des refus plus ou moins violents: réduite à “colonie de la culture allemande” l’historiographie italienne devait, au dire de beaucoup d’intellectuels, retrouver une veine authentiquement nationale, renier une admiration aveugle de tout ce que fût germanique, recouvrer les rapports avec la multiplicité des traditions historiographiques européennes (*in primis* avec celle-là française).

Sur cet entrelacement d’infériorité reconnue et de désir d’affranchissement les événements politiques contemporains finissaient pour peser beaucoup. L’affirmation de la puissance allemande sous Bismarck et Guillaume II, l’adhésion de l’Italie à la Triple Alliance, les tensions impérialistes toujours croissantes et enfin la rupture de la guerre tracent un parcours accidenté des rapports italo-allemands, capable de conditionner vivement les relations culturelles entre les deux pays. Le monde aussi des études

historiques (et il ne pourrait pas être autrement) retentit des tons, des caractères de plus en plus instables des relations réciproques, jusqu'à dessiner - à la veille de la guerre - un véritable rejet du "modèle allemand", de l'impérialisme culturel allemand, perçu par beaucoup d'historiens comme un aspect - pas secondaire et tout à fait cohérent - de la menacée (et menaçante) prépondérance allemande sur le continent.

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L'image des Pays Romains dans un ouvrage français de 1688

Dans le cadre de la reconquête autrichienne d'après 1683, quand l'Hongrie et d'autres pays chrétiens ont été libérés de la domination ou de la suzeraineté ottomane, l'intérêt de l'Europe Occidentale pour l'espace de l'Europe Central Oriental a beaucoup augmenté.

Par conséquent, l'opinion publique et les cercles du pouvoir ont demandé une documentation adéquate sur ce sujet. L'auteur français Vanel a élaboré justement un travail historique, géographique et ethnographique sur l'Hongrie et ses voisins. Dans cet ouvrage se trouvent des présentations sommaires des trois pays - Transylvanie, Valachie et Moldavie - qui composent aujourd'hui la Roumanie et qui, durant le Moyen Age, ont été dominés par l'Hongrie ou se sont trouvés sous la suzeraineté hongroise.

L'auteur présente l'ancienne unité politique de ces pays qui avaient formé la Dacie. La Transylvanie, l'ancienne *Dacia Alpestris*, est dirigée par une élite hongroise, saxonne et sicule, de religion "hérétique", nous dit l'auteur. La Valachie - on nous explique- est partagée en deux : La Grande Valachie et La Petite Valachie, ça veut dire la Valachie proprement dit et la Moldavie.

Les deux pays sont habités par le même peuple (roumain), différent des peuples occidentaux.

L'auteur utilise une bibliographie datant de XV^e-XVI^e siècle, élaborée dans les milieux humanistes de la Renaissance et de la Réformation. Il répond à l'intérêt de l'opinion publique pour les peuples exotiques récemment réintégrés dans l'Europe civilisée, mais il perpétue à la fois des clichés et des erreurs sur ces espaces et peuples.

L'ouvrage est important pour l'image des Roumains offerte au public français environ 1700 et pour la transition de la Petite à la Grande Europe.

Dumitru Preda

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L'image de la France gaulliste et de sa politique étrangère dans les rapports diplomatiques roumains

L'image de l'autre est un de moyens de plus en plus fréquents dans l'analyse historique, en offrant des détails, des nuances nécessaires à une meilleure perception des personnes et des événements.

L'auteur, en utilisant pour la première fois des documents récemment déclassifiés provenant des Archives Diplomatiques roumaines, présente l'image de la V République (1958-1969) vue par les observateurs de l'autre part du mur de Berlin.

Après le départ des troupes d'occupation soviétiques (1958), la diplomatie de Bucarest chercha une ouverture de ses actions vers l'Occident, multipliées depuis 1964 au moment d'affirmation d'une option d'indépendance de sa politique extérieure. Et la France du Général de Gaulle constitua l'endroit de convergence de telles actions et aussi un exemple par rapport à l'OTAN. Guerre d'Algérie, conflits intérieurs, la gauche française avec laquelle existaient d'anciens liens de collaboration, toute une société en plein effort de redressement et de stabilité sont mis en évidence, parfois minutieusement. On ne manque pas la visite du Général en Roumanie et son écho.

Les documents ont été recueillis dans un volume qui sera publié à la fin de cette année (ou début de 2001).

Michael Rauck

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The Development of the German Image of Japan in the Late 19th Century to WW I

This paper intends to deal with both information and images. Before WW I information on Japan and the creation of images depended mostly on print-media, i. e. books, newspapers and magazines, and on investigation reports.

It can be said that in Germany, there was never the one clear image of "Things Japanese", but always quite a controversial view.

The first "information" on Japan that arrived in Germany was vague and erroneous: it was Marco Polo's story on "El Dorado" (the gold country) with cannibalism east of China. The 16th and 17th centuries brought reports by the Portuguese and other sailors who passed through Japan.

Books on Japan by German members of the Dutch trading base in Nagasaki like Engelbert Kaempfer and Philipp Franz v. Siebold, provided a more scientific insight. But even at the time of the Japanese port opening in the 1850s, the amount of information on Japan among German policy makers in the state governments, in commerce, industry and shipping was still very poor. They all had to collect information in other countries like the Netherlands, England or the USA.

After Japan's port-opening, quite a number of books and articles on Japan were published also in Germany. Their authors can be categorised into two main categories: Experts and long-term residents on one hand and travellers and short-term residents on the other. Scientists who had spent most of their life in Japan like the physician Emil Baelz were very much committed to promoting information and discussion on Japan. Books of English-speaking Japan-experts like Lafcadio Hearn or Basil Hall Chamberlain were translated into German, too.

On the other hand, travellers and short-term residents often lacked deeper understanding of Japan, but this group was very active in publishing reports, and therefore enjoyed a strong reception in Germany. The prospect of Japan as a potential industrial rival of Europe can be found as early as in the reports of Prussian East Asia Expedition. Expectations on Japan as a country with strong traditional industries (e.g. cloisonné, paper making) ran high by 1873, when the Prussian government eventually despatched a geographer, Johannes Justus Rein, to conduct a thorough survey on the question to which extent Japanese industries could contribute to the development of Prussian industries. After his return to Germany, Rein conducted experiments with Japanese paper making, though they finally proved not successful. But for decades, his two-volume report, translated immediately into English and recently also into Japanese, was among the most valuable sources of knowledge on the Japanese industry.

The westernisation process of Japan, especially at times when German influence was strong, was reflected by a favourable attitude in German mass media. Interest on Japan climaxed during the Chinese-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. While the former demonstrated the possibility that Japan could become a regional power within Asia, eventually controlling China, the latter made Germans realise for the first time since the Turkish invasions that an Asian power had the potential to defeat a European one. These two wars also fuelled the Yellow-Peril Propaganda, whose eminent proponent was Emperor William II, frequently causing diplomatic irritation and embarrassing the German government. But it can be stated that the leading circles of the German society took quite a critical stance towards such propaganda.

After the Chinese-Japanese War, warning of German protectionists against Japanese economic competition grew stronger. But a trade commission under Moritz Schanz, despatched to China and Japan in 1897 in order to examine the prospects of German trade with China and Japan, did not support that stance. Since the end of the 19th century, magazines like "Ost-Asien", which was under Japanese editorship, contributed to the promotion of a more "Japanese" viewpoint of Japan.

Giuseppina Russo

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Européens et Zulu au XIX^e siècle: aspects d'une rencontre entre deux cultures

Les témoignages et les relations des Européens parvenus dans l'actuelle Afrique du Sud au cours du XIX^e siècle suivent de peu l'émergence de l'Etat zulu, entre 1820 et 1830. Par conséquent, plusieurs de ces écrits décrivent les changements radicaux survenus au sein des sociétés locales, de même que les violents conflits et les migrations qui ont accompagné ce processus tumultueux.

Dans ce cadre, on examine le double registre politique et religieux qui organise la représentations des culture indigènes dans quelques récits significatifs publiés à un tournant décisif de l'histoire coloniale de la région. Ainsi en contrepoint narratif avec les traditions orales recueillis localement et transcrites à la même époque il ressort, d'une part, la difficulté des lettrés occidentaux de penser le pouvoir d'un monde exotique ayant ses particularité et complexité; et ce conformément à l'imagerie dominante d'une Afrique en marges de la civilisation et, en même temps, incapable de s'autogouverner.

D'autre part, notamment dans les discours missionnaire, apparaît l'idée d'une religion indigène imparfaite mais perfectible, tout comme l'être humain qui en est le porteur. De toute façon, la non prise en conte des liens étroits qui, chez les Zulu, unissent la sphère symbolique et rituelle aux formes de l'autorité et à la construction de la hiérarchie, empêche de saisir la spécificité et la dynamique propre de cette société guerrière.

Andrea Saccoman

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The Enemy Imagined: Italian Military's Perception of European Armies between 1871 and 1882

After the *Risorgimento* more than ten years elapsed before Italy tied herself to the Triple Alliance. In this period of substantial diplomatic isolation, for the Italian military each European power was a potential enemy. Germany emerged triumphant from the Franco-Prussian war, was admired but also feared for her strength; Austria-Hungary was the historical enemy, and still the “terre irredente” lied inside her boundaries, so her military developments were followed day by day, with fear or hope for a renewal of the conflict; France came out of the war of 1870-71 fully defeated, but rearmed quickly; she was the ancient ally of 1859 who helped Italian unification, but had also reasons to complain for Italy’s behaviour in 1870. For these reasons she was equally feared or admired by the Italian military, and always considered as another pattern of military organization beside Germany. Great Britain presence in the Mediterranean made her very close to Italian strategic interests, but was usually considered as a friend. Italian military followed very close not only the development of the British navy but also that of the British army, at home and in the colonies. The most distant power was Russia, obscure and mighty, but just for that looked on with curiosity and some fear by the Italian military.

This work tries to define how the Italian military perceived the other European armed forces and their potential threat, if and how their perceptions changed through the years and if and how their perceptions influenced the Italian military organization, analyzing the military magazines and the writings of Italian officers of the period.

Thomasz Schramm

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La représentation satirique des voisins de la Pologne dans l'entre-deux-guerres

Une des formes les plus populaires de l'image de l'Autre est la représentation satirique. Elle fait recours aux symboles et stéréotypes qui, à la fois, reflètent l'opinion générale et la vision populaire de cette image, et la forment ou transforment. La catégorie de stéréotype, proposée par Walter Lippmann en 1922, a été adoptée par les sciences humaines comme très opératoire, ce qui a généré une abondante littérature théorique. Sans entrer dans le débat définitionnel, notons quelques traits essentiels faisant de la représentation stéréotypée la source qui doit intéresser l'historiens. Cette représentation est un fait social, reflétant les convictions, les opinions, aussi les craintes, elle est aussi un fait politique dans la mesure où elle sert la propagande. L'interdépendance entre la vie politique, donc aussi les relations internationales, et la satire est nette. C'est avant tout la première qui influe sur la seconde, mais la relations inverse n'est pas improbable. Le message est enfermé dans la forme verbale ou graphique, cette dernière étant de règle accompagnée par la parole.

L'image de l'Autre chez les Polonais a été étudiée avant tout pour les relations polono-allemandes. Les analyses de Tomasz Szarota et de Wojciech Wrzesinski constituent non seulement une riche source des informations à ce propos, mais aussi une sorte de référence ou de modèle pour un regard adressé vers d'autres voisins. Au temps de la IIe République polonaise, ils furent six: Allemagne, Russie Soviétique/URSS, Tchécoslovaquie, Lituanie, Lettonie, Roumanie. Les relations avec les quatre premiers n'étaient pas faciles et apportaient des heurts voire des ouverts conflits. Ces circonstances ne pouvaient ne pas trouver leur expression dans la caricature. Le contenu de l'hebdomadaire satirique "Mucha" (La Mouche) fournit le gros du matériel analysé. Les composantes de ce matériel sont l'actualité politique, le stéréotype, l'opposition "nous - l'Autre" qui trahit des craintes, des rancunes et des préjugés nationalistes.

José Flávio Sombra Saraiva

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"A Tale of a Child and an Old Uncle": Brazilian-British Mutual Images in the Post-War Period

The aim of the paper is to evaluate the pattern of diplomatic discourses produced by both Brazilian and British diplomats in the post-Second World War up to the Sixties. It will be focused on the way in which mutual images of Britain in Brazil and Brazil in Britain were produced by both diplomatic services against the background of changing conditions in the international environment. Britain was losing an Empire while Brazil was finding a new place in the international arena.

The Foreign Office and the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, so-called Itamaraty, were the focus of the research.

Both diplomatic services were considered to be professional and prestigious within the decision-making process at the time. Moreover, mutual images created through the period were first produced by diplomats and later socialized by Press and other agents of civil society.

This is an interesting issue to be evaluate if it is considered the crucial role played by Britain to the earlier Brazilian modernization. Brazilian *élites* of the XIXth century liked to be identified with British style. Symbols of modernization in Brazil were easily connected with the entrepreneurial British agents introducing finances and loans which supported part of this process. At the same time, British investors and diplomats had described the great commercial and finance opportunities in Brazil as a symbol of the positive way in which a tropical society in the remote Latin America could be included in the civilized world. In other words, the images were mutually positive and full of admiration.

But what happened after the long-standing period of British pre-eminence in Brazil? Have those mutual images remained frozen in detriment of the declining relative importance of Britain to the Brazilian economic and political life?

It will be argued in this paper that the mutual image produced by diplomats of both sides changed dramatically the previous positive view of the "Other". First, Brazil had no success to export to Britain the image of a country attempting to create an industrial basis compatible with her desired international insertion in world politics since the end of the Second World War up to the Sixties. Frustration and disappointment were the result of the Brazilian diplomatic effort to show the country in a different perspective.

This is why Brazil was described by a British diplomat as a "child" who tried to be part of a new world order without being serious in her international commitments, particularly to the finance debt and to large list of bones of contention with Britain. At the same time, British diplomats declared that Brazilian image of Britain seemed to be of an "old uncle" prepared to support the "child". Sleeping dog tactics were largely used by British diplomats on a way of diverting the direct dialogue between the two countries.

Second, British diplomacy became divided in their perceptions on the role of United States influence in Brazil. On one had, there was the image of Brazil as an "American backyard". But on the other, there was also the perception of the need for responding positively to the Brazilian signals for more autonomy and a separated dialogue with Britain. In some circumstances and precise cases, like the dispute between North-American and British for the sale of aircrafts and ships to Brazil in President Dutra period (1946-1951), it can be found challenging interests and images and very different approaches of the United States and Britain on the ground.

Third, the paper will try to demonstrate that the image of British diplomats on Brazil were different when compared with other European Brazilian partners. This contrast is particularly relevant when compared with Western German and Italian perceptions of Brazil' international insertion in the period.

Finally, the paper is based on confidential and secret diplomatic correspondences, including very recent opened files on Brazilian personalities of the late Forties prepared by British diplomats working at British Embassy in Rio de Janeiro (Public Record Office, London) as well as Brazilian diplomatic sources of all kinds.

Pompiliu Teodor

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La question orientale, les roumains et l'image de l'autre (fin du XVI^e siècle et aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle)

Le rétablissement du continent suivant la reconquista, le passage de la petite à la grande Europe a entraîné l'action des deux frontières culturelles, ouest-est et est-ouest dans un continent qui revenait à son unité antérieure, celle du milieu du XVI^e siècle. L'alliance entre la Monarchie des Habsbourgs, Le Sainte Siège et la Pologne a fait possible la récupération victorieuse de l'Hongroie et en même temps l'incorporation de la Transylvanie, sanctionnée par la Paix de Karlowitz. L'action militaire de l'alliance a modifié l'équilibre européen dans l'Europe Centrale-Orientale. La récession ottomane a stimulé les appétits de l'expansionnisme territorial des Habsbourgs et des Polonais et de même, les velléités de la Russie de Pierre le Grand tout au long du XVIII^e siècle. Cette dynamique politique nouvelle a stimulé les efforts des deux principautés roumaines, la Valachie et la Moldavie de se délivrer de sous la domination ottomane. Quant à la Transylvanie, on aperçoit dans le milieu roumain des réactions contre l'expansion de la Contre réforme.

Ce contexte marqué par les confrontations entre les grands pouvoirs, les forces politiques et ecclésiastiques, présente un surplus d'intérêt pour l'extérieur et offre une nouvelle perception de l'autre qui se manifeste par une diversité d'attitudes politiques et religieuses. Rien de ces images renferme les pouvoirs compétitifs aussi bien que des attitudes qui reflètent la perception qu'on se forme à l'égard des peuples et confessions. De même, la dynamique politique internationale qui tend à dépasser l'équilibre instauré par la paix de 1699 porte son empreinte sur ces images.

L'image de l'autre par rapport à l'histoire des relations internationales se diversifie, ce qui signifie la fin de l'isolationnisme antérieur où l'image de l'Empire Ottoman et de la Pologne était prépondérante. Outre les sources narratives, les chroniques en particulier, les documents concernant le problème oriental s'amplifient à mesure que les actions politiques antiottomanes prennent contour. Pendant le dernier tiers du siècle, entre 1768 et 1774 (la Paix de Kuciuk Kainargi) le milieu roumain devient disponible à des nouveaux contacts qui amplifient les images sur le pouvoirs politiques et le peuple chrétien.

Nous essayons de dévoiler dans cette étude des aspects qu'on a ignoré dans l'historiographie roumaine traditionnelle limitée à l'histoire des relations politique et diplomatiques qui, malheureusement n'ont pas enregistré les changements survenus dans la mentalité du Siècle des Lumières. C'est pourquoi l'investigation de ces aspects vont dévoiler de problèmes d'une grande complexité dans une Europe mise à communiquer.

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"The People" as an Organising Idea

The question whether international relations need to be understood as consisting ultimately of relations between states - and therefore between governments - as opposed to a much broader range of economic, social, cultural, and, of course, political force of all kinds has long been under continuous debate. And rightly so. Yet even when international relations (and international politics generally) are reduced, for what may be termed practical day-to-day purposes, to relations between states, it remains that the populations encompassed in the states concerned and ruled (or led) by the relevant governments are bound to play a distinct role of their own. That they will be found to do so directly and necessarily - most obviously, although certainly not exclusively - in instances of interstate conflict can hardly be in doubt. And the more severe the conflict, the greater will be the potential for "the people" to emerge as a cardinal factor in its own right. What is somewhat less obvious, although by no means less important, is the role whole populations play in the thinking of the decisions-makers concerned. For they cannot fail to play a central, if, for the most part, poorly defined and ill-focused components of the mental world which the relevant decision-makers inhabit. It is purpose of this paper to explore some of the ways in which this phenomenon tends to be manifested and to suggest several of the underlying epistemological reasons for this being the case.

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Colonial Images of Population of West Sumatra in the XVIIIth Century

Studies of the role of pre-colonial and colonial European commercial and political interests groups in Southeast Asia, especially prior to the 19th century, are increasingly taking shape. The impact of these interests groups on Southeast Asian societies, rather than merely a recitation of European interests, is increasingly coming into focus as a research area. Part of this story, and a part which usually dictated the formulation of policies toward these societies, was how the "stranger," the European, perceived indigenous people, their institutions and social structures. In cases where the "stranger" had economic or political motivations for trading in or ruling over an area, interpretations were usually evaluated as positive or negative depending on how well they fit into a European commercial or political master plan. European interests never hesitated to "correct" societies which they felt were not meeting their needs. Massive interventions into traditional institutions even including legal and marriage customs were not uncommon. In the process, many dramatic changes were thrust upon Southeast Asian societies long before the 19th century.

My paper, "Colonial Images of Populations on the West Coast of Sumatra in the 18th Century," looks at English and Dutch perceptions of indigenous peoples and institutions and their attempts, often successful, to impose policies based on European needs and perceptions. Part of this story will also require exploring European perceptions of sojourners on the West Coast including the Bugis and, more importantly, the Chinese.

The Dutch East India Co. and English East India Co. Archives, in the Hague and in London, have provided me with a wealth of material tracing 17th and 18th century European encroachments on coastal Sumatra and initial contacts with indigenous populations. The materials developed colourful and often faulty interpretations of the societies they encountered. Correct or not these interpretations influence official policies and often interesting "corrective" policies.

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