



PALGRAVE STUDIES IN THE
HISTORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS



Rethinking Revolutions from 1905 to 1934

Democracy, Social Justice and
National Liberation around the World

Edited by
Stefan Berger · Klaus Weinbauer

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Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements

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Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. We conceive of ‘social movements’ in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. This new series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of ‘social movement’. It hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the ‘dynamics of contention’.

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VOLUME PREFACE

Our volume has a history which goes back to the summer of 2016. At that time the editors Stefan Berger (Bochum) and Klaus Weinbauer (Bielefeld) shared their impressions about the lack of historical research on the revolutions and turmoil which shaped the first decades of the 20th century. They decided to try to bring innovative scholars together to discuss this turbulent time period. In November 2017 they launched a Call for Papers for an international conference. First results were presented to a wider public at the European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC) in Belfast in April 2018, where the concept of the conference and also some first results received stimulating impulses by the comments of Kirwin Shaffer (Penn State University, USA), Christian de Vito (Leicester, UK, now: Bonn University, Germany) and Thomas Welskopp (1961–2021, Bielefeld University, Germany). The envisaged international conference took place on 24–26 May 2018 at Bielefeld University and at the Institute for Social Movements in Bochum. (See the conference report written by Christopher Schulte-Schüren <https://www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7800>.) The conference was generously funded by the Institute for Social Movements, the German Research Foundation (DFG) and by the Sonderforschungsbereich (Collaborative Research Centre) 1288 at Bielefeld University. We are very grateful for this highly valuable financial support.

This volume benefitted from the constructive comments of the peer-reviewers for Palgrave Macmillan to whom we owe many thanks. Without

the high commitment of our student assistants the organization of the conference and also the finalization of the manuscript would have been impossible. Our warmest thanks go to Merlin Bootsmann, Sebastian Braun, Deniz Oekce, Hendrik Olschewski, Domenica Scarpino, and Sophie Siebers.

Bochum and Bielefeld
November 2022

PREFACE

Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. Our series reacts to what can be described as a recent boom in the history of social movements. We can observe a development from the crisis of labour history in the 1980s to the boom in research on social movements in the 2000s. The rise of historical interests in the development of civil society and the role of strong civil societies as well as non-governmental organisations in stabilizing democratically constituted polities has strengthened the interest in social movements as a constituent element of civil societies.

In different parts of the world, social movements continue to have a strong influence on contemporary politics. In Latin America, trade unions, labour parties and various left-of-centre civil society organisations have succeeded in supporting left-of-centre governments. In Europe, peace movements, ecological movements and alliances intent on campaigning against poverty and racial discrimination and discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual orientation have been able to set important political agendas for decades. In other parts of the world, including Africa, India and South East Asia, social movements have played a significant role in various forms of community building and community politics. The contemporary political relevance of social movements has undoubtedly contributed to a growing historical interest in the topic.

Contemporary historians are not only beginning to historicise these relatively recent political developments; they are also trying to relate them to a longer history of social movements, including traditional labour organisations, such as working-class parties and trade unions. In the *longue durée*, we recognise that social movements are by no means a recent phenomenon and are not even an exclusively modern phenomenon, although we realise that the onset of modernity emanating from Europe and North America across the wider world from the eighteenth century onwards marks an important departure point for the development of civil societies and social movements.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the dominance of national history over all other forms of history writing led to a thorough nationalisation of the historical sciences. Hence social movements have been examined traditionally within the framework of the nation state. Only during the last two decades have historians begun to question the validity of such methodological nationalism and to explore the development of social movements in comparative, connective and transnational perspective taking into account processes of transfer, reception and adaptation. Whilst our book series does not preclude work that is still being carried out within national frameworks (for, clearly, there is a place for such studies, given the historical importance of the nation state in history), it hopes to encourage comparative and transnational histories on social movements.

At the same time as historians have begun to research the history of those movements, a range of social theorists, from Jürgen Habermas to Pierre Bourdieu and from Slavoj Žižek to Alain Badiou as well as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe to Miguel Abensour, to name but a few, have attempted to provide philosophical-cum-theoretical frameworks in which to place and contextualise the development of social movements. History has arguably been the most empirical of all the social and human sciences, but it will be necessary for historians to explore further to what extent these social theories can be helpful in guiding and framing the empirical work of the historian in making sense of the historical development of social movements. Hence the current series is also hoping to make a contribution to the ongoing dialogue between social theory and the history of social movements.

This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We

bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. With this series, we seek to revive, within the context of historiographical developments since the 1970s, a conversation between historians on the one hand and sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists on the other.

Unlike most of the concepts and theories developed by social scientists, we do not see social movements as directly linked, a priori, to processes of social and cultural change and therefore do not adhere to a view that distinguishes between old (labour) and new (middle-class) social movements. Instead, we want to establish the concept 'social movement' as a heuristic device that allows historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to investigate social and political protests in novel settings. Our aim is to historicise notions of social and political activism in order to highlight different notions of political and social protest on both left and right.

Hence, we conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. But we also include processes of social and cultural change more generally in our understanding of social movements: this goes back to nineteenth-century understandings of 'social movement' as processes of social and cultural change more generally. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. In short, this series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It also hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

Rethinking Revolutions has its origins in the question how we are to evaluate the extraordinary number of revolutionary events around the globe during the first three decades of the twentieth century, starting with the first Russian revolution of 1905 and coming to an end with the revolution in Asturias in 1934. Should they be read as the end point of a long nineteenth century of revolutionary fervor around issues of liberty, (national) liberation, democracy and social justice, or do they

point forward to the postcolonial, Cold War world of the short twentieth century, in which contestations over these issues resulted in a reforging of power relationships on a global scale? The answers that are given in the chapters of this book point to a need both to look back at the nineteenth century and to glance forward towards the twentieth century.

The book seeks to develop a truly global perspective. To date the comparative history of revolutions has too often been western-centric in nature – focusing on Europe and North America. There are some key European countries that are discussed here, usual suspects like Germany and Russia but also more unusual candidates like Finland and Asturias. Yet the Middle East and the Far East are as prominently represented in subsequent pages as is Latin America. A particular twist in the story is the inclusion of countries that never saw a full-blown revolution, such as the US and Australia. These countries provide strong indicators what political and social set-ups worked against turning revolutionary fervor, which we certainly also encounter in these countries, into full-blown revolutions.

Many of the articles in the volume understand revolutions not exclusively as political events but instead highlight their cultural origins and repercussions. Paying attention to everyday cultures of revolution, to the cultural symbolism and representations of revolutionary ambitions and to the agents of such revolutionary cultures, in particular a highly diverse set of (often urban) social movements, is enriching our understanding of revolutions as being grounded in cultural self-understandings and positionings as well as political ambitions and programmes. In particular, specific cultures of violence often need to be understood as underpinning the course of revolutions in different parts of the world. This violence was invariably gendered, classed and raced and understanding the intersectionality of these identifications will remain a central challenge for understanding revolutionary movements in future research.

Furthermore, many of the subsequent articles highlight important transnational links that often connected revolutions across time and space. We encounter transnational revolutionaries active in different parts of the world at different times just as we witness the incredible spread of ideas and practices from one place to another, where they were adopted and adapted in a variety of different way. The editors of this volume hope that it will contribute not only to renewing interest in the comparative history of revolutions but also in taking seriously the entangled and interconnected nature of many of those revolutions. Liberty, liberation, democracy and social justice connected many of them, and the way in

which these ambitions were spelt out and practiced in different parts of the world underlines to what extent the world had already become a globalized space at the beginning of the twentieth century. We will not be able to compare revolutions properly before we do not understand their interconnectedness and entanglements.

Bochum, Germany
Stirling, UK

Stefan Berger
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the Great War (1917–1923), 2012. Finnish historiography of the topic is discussed in Pertti Haapala, Marja Jalava & Simon Larsson (ed.), *Making Nordic Historiography: Connections, Tensions and Methodology, 1850–1970* (2017), and in Ville Kivimäki, Sami Suodenjoki and Tanja Vahtikari (ed.), *Lived Nation as the History of Experiences and Emotions in Finland, 1800–2000* (2021).

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Socialism, Marcel van der Linden, ed. (2023). His book, *Claiming the City: A Global History of Workers' Fight for Municipal Socialism* will be published by Verso Press in 2022.

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He is currently working on a book on social movements, urban space and violence in Hamburg, Seattle and Glasgow in the 1910/20s.

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Three Decades of Global Revolution at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: The Search for Democracy, Social Justice and National Liberation

Stefan Berger  and *Klaus Weinbauer*

Revolutions play a key role in national master narratives. Classic cases are, of course, the French revolution of 1789 and the Russian revolution of 1917. Most nineteenth-century historians in France constructed 1789 as decisive caesura in the history of the French nation in terms of republicanism, laicism and constitutionalism. Many of the big names in French historical writing penned histories of the revolution: Jules Michelet,

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François Guizot, Hippolyte Taine and Adolphe Thiers, to mention just a few prominent examples. There was a small group of Catholic monarchist historians who viewed the revolution not as heroic refoundation of France but as major catastrophe that had to be overcome if the true monarchist and Catholic France was to be restored. Their names, however, have been largely forgotten. The re-writing of the history of the French revolution by historians such as Françoise Furet and Mona Ozouf in the 1970s and 1980s brought about not just a historiographical revisionism but a veritable crisis of French national identity. If the revolution was no longer one of the foundations of the French nation which had guided its actions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and if, instead, it was just a terrible and senseless bloodbath, there was, suddenly, a huge void in the middle of what once was the key to understanding French national history and identity. The 1989 celebrations of the bi-centenary of the revolution witnessed much soul-searching and insecurity about the place of the revolution in French national history and indeed the search for new anchors on which to hang national master narratives.¹

After 1917 Soviet historians portrayed the Bolshevik revolution as key foundational moment, defining the Soviet Union as motherland of world communism advancing the torch of communist revolutions around the globe. Stalin's prerogative of building 'socialism in one country' from the late 1920s onwards brought a revision of traditional Russian national master narratives and the incorporation of many of those into the Soviet master narrative. However, the place of the revolution as anchor point of the national storyline never was in doubt—until the fall of Communism in the early 1990s. A post-Communist Russia has since been searching for ways in which to tell the story of the revolution in the wider history of the Russian nation, for which new anchor points on which to hang national master narratives have been proposed.²

¹ Julian Jackson, 'Historians and the Nation in Contemporary France', in Stefan Berger, Mark Donovan and Kevin Passmore (eds.), *Writing National Histories: Western Europe Since 1800* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 252–264. On the foundational role of the French revolution for nineteenth-century and twentieth-century historical master narratives in France, see also: Hugo Frey and Stefan Jordan, 'National Historians and the Discourse of the Other: France and Germany', in Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 200–230.

² Arup Banerji, *Writing History in the Soviet Union. Making the Past Work* (New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2008), pp. 181–224.

The examples of revolutions playing a major role in national historical master narratives can be multiplied: the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and its role in British national histories, the 1848 revolution in the German, Czech and Slovak lands as well as in Hungary and its place in national histories of these respective nation-(states), the Meiji revolution in Japan in 1868, the 1910 revolution in Mexico, the 1911 revolution in China and many more. Indeed, all of the chapters of this volume remind their readers of the pivotal role of revolutions in national histories. Some national histories even have more than one revolution from which to reconceptualize its national histories: Germany not only has 1848 but also 1918 and 1989. China has 1911 and 1949. Hungary has 1848, 1918, 1956 and 1989.

Because of their pivotal roles in national histories, revolutions have, for a long time, been studied primarily within national historical frameworks. The comparative study of revolutions across national borders and the notion of the transnational influence of revolutions is a relatively recent affair. The early pioneers of comparative history, such as Marc Bloch, who penned the famous rallying cry for comparative history in 1928, out of a lecture he had given at the world historical congress the same year,³ and Otto Hintze, who sought to foster the writing of constitutional history in the early decades of the twentieth century by way of comparison, did not have revolutions in their sight. Comparative history of revolutions started only with Marxist-inspired labour history. One pioneer in the English-speaking world was Eric Hobsbawm and his three volume history of the long nineteenth century plus his essays in labour history.⁴ In the German

³ For an English translation, see Marc Bloch, 'Toward a Comparative History of European Societies', in Frederick C. Lane and Jelle M. Riemersma (eds.), *Enterprise and Secular Change: Readings in Economic History* (Homewood, IL: R. D. Irwin, 1953), pp. 494–521.

⁴ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Revolution, 1789–1848* (London: Abacus, 1962); idem., *Age of Capital, 1848–1975* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975); idem., *Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987); idem., 'Revolution', in Roy Porter and Mikulas Teich (eds.), *Revolution in History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 5–46. See with a different approach Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy, *Die europäischen Revolutionen. Volkscharaktere und Staatenbildung* (Jena: Diederichs, 1931), Translation: *Out of Revolution* (New York: Four Wells, 1964).

Democratic Republic, at the University of Leipzig, a distinguished tradition of the comparative history of revolution was associated with, first, Walter Markov and later Manfred Kossock.⁵

The definitions what a revolution is, changed considerably since the first scholarly studies were published. From the late eighteenth century onwards, revolution is a concept strongly connected with Europe and its colonial entanglements. In the eighteenth century after the North American and even more with the French and the Haitian Revolution, it became imaginable that, through a revolution understood as rupture, the course of history could be influenced by humans and social and political change could be brought about. As Thomas Paine wrote in 1791, “what we now see in the world, from the Revolutions of America and France, are a renovation of the natural order of things, a system of principles as universal as truth and the existence of man, and combining moral with political happiness and national prosperity”.⁶

PHASES OF RESEARCH ON REVOLUTION—SOME HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXTUALIZATION

Three overlapping phases of research on revolutions can be discerned if we take a closer look at the state of systematic scholarly research, which was conducted, in the English language, since the early twentieth century.⁷ The first phase, lasting until the 1960s, saw authors search for a ‘natural history’ of revolutions. In this phase, scholars like Crane

⁵ See Walter Markov, *Zwiesprache mit dem Jahrhundert. Dokumentiert von Thomas Grimm* (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1989); Manfred Kossock, *Vergleichende Geschichte der neuzeitlichen Revolutionen: methodologische und empirische Forschungsprobleme* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981); idem., *Vergleichende Revolutionsgeschichte: Probleme der Theorie und Methode* (Vaduz: Topos Verlag, 1988); Oscar Zanetti, ‘History of Comparison: Manfred Kossock and a Comparative Study of Bourgeois Revolutions’, *Review (Fernand Braudel Centre)* 38/1–2 (2015), pp. 83–97. See Manfred Kossock, *Vergleichende Geschichte der neuzeitlichen Revolutionen: methodologische und empirische Forschungsprobleme* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981); idem., *Vergleichende Revolutionsgeschichte: Probleme der Theorie und Methode* (Vaduz: Topos Verlag, 1988).

⁶ Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man. Being an Answer to Mr. Burke’s Attack on the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, Original: 1791), p. 167.

⁷ See as recent international overviews and also on periodization of the research on revolution George Lawson, *Anatomies of Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolutions. A very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Georg P. Meyer, ‘Revolutionstheorien heute. Ein kritischer Überblick in

Brinton and others were looking at common patterns of revolutions. These authors often employed medical terminology to describe revolutionaries and saw revolutions as a pathological process. There also were studies with close ties to mass psychology, which disqualified collective actors in revolutions.⁸ Yet we also see, how, in the 1960s, some early labour history studies already began drawing attention to the role of transnational socialist or anarchist institutions in pursuit of revolution—a theme that is prominent also in several of the contributions to this volume.⁹

The second phase, from the mid-1960s to the 1980s, was the heyday of social history's structuralist research agendas.¹⁰ Although there was an ongoing current of mass psychological studies, among others by Ted Gurr,¹¹ this phase witnessed the flowering of comparative research on social structures. Starting from an assumption that processes of modernization could lead to often dramatic social changes, these scholars and with them colleagues from political science and anthropology, developed models of conflict-driven social change.¹² The Cold War, in which the revolutionary Soviet Union was the main enemy of Western liberal capitalism gave studies on revolution a high urgency but also made them politically controversial. In the 1960s, there were fears of a third world

historischer Absicht', in Hans-Ulrich Wehler (ed.), *200 Jahre amerikanische Revolution und moderne Revolutionsforschung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), pp. 122–176.

⁸ See Lyford P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution* (Chicago: Chicago University Press 1927); Crane Brinton, *Anatomy of Revolution* (New York: Norton, 1938) on England, US, France and Russia; George Swayer Pettee, *The Process of Revolution* (New York: Harper 1938). See for a differing perspective Theodor Geiger, *Die Masse und ihre Aktion* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1926).

⁹ Julius Braunthal, *History of the International 1864–1914* (London: Nelson, 1966); James Joll, *The Anarchists* (London: Eyre & Spottiswode, 1964); Max Nettlau, *Geschichte der Anarchie*, 5 vols. (Vaduz: Topos Verlag, 1981/1984). The first three volumes appeared already between 1925 and 1931.

¹⁰ See Hobsbawm, *Revolution*, p. 5.

¹¹ Ted R. Gurr: *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971).

¹² See for political science Carl Joachim Friedrich (ed.), *Revolution* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966); Barbara Salert, *Revolutions and Revolutionaries. Four Theories* (New York: Elsevier, 1976) she mainly compares theories of Mancur Olson, Ted Gurr, Chalmers Johnson and Karl Marx; see as an anthropological study which also employed a comparative perspective, in this case on revolutions in Russia, Mexico, China, Algeria, Vietnam and Cuba, Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Harper Colophon, 1969).

war amidst the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, but also massive anti-war protests around the globe, as well as urban riots in the US. All this was supplemented by news about revolutions and urban upheavals in Latin America. The latter, in 1964/5, triggered scientific research on counterinsurgency under the code name *Project Camelot*.¹³ At the beginning of this phase, much of the research on revolutions was closely intertwined with research on collective action. Over the course of time, these studies emancipated themselves not only from psychology but also overcame the earlier narrow understanding that collective action was per se a deviant behaviour. Still, in the liberal capitalist West, the question loomed large of how best to predict or to prevent revolutions.

During this second phase of research on revolutions, many highly important studies were written which left their legacies until today. Historical sociologists like Barrington Moore and his students Charles Tilly and Theda Skocpol were instrumental in creating a booming research field with typical analytical patterns.¹⁴ All three authors published nation-state-based comparisons on revolution and/or social change. Although, there were publications which put individual revolutions in comparative perspectives,¹⁵ the main body of research was focused on

¹³ See Irving Louis Horowitz, *The Rise and Fall of Project Camelot. Studies in the Relationship Between Social Science and Practical Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT. Press, 1967); Joy Rohde, *Armed with Expertise: The Militarization of American Social Research during the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013). See for Asia John W. Lewis (ed.), *Peasant Rebellion and Communist Revolution in Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974).

¹⁴ Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966); Perez Zagorin, 'Prolegomena to the Comparative History of Revolution in Early Modern Europe', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18/2 (1976), pp. 151–174. Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Charles Tilly, *European Revolutions, 1492–1992* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). A very good summary and critique is Michael S. Kimmel, *Revolution. A Sociological Interpretation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990). See also Theda Skocpol, *Social Revolutions in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, *Revolution and the Transformation of Societies: A Comparative Study of Civilizations* (New York: Free Press, 1978); idem., *The Great Revolutions and the Civilizations of Modernity* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

¹⁵ See, for example, Bruce Mazlish, 'The French Revolution in Comparative Perspective', *Political Science Quarterly*, 85/2 (1970), pp. 240–258; on Bolivia in 1952 see Merilee Grindle and Pilar Domingo (eds.), *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2003).

macro-structures like capitalism, class conflict, the state, but also on elites, and the military.¹⁶ Thus it cannot come as a big surprise that the definitions of revolution these authors employed were strongly focused on structural elements. As Theda Skocpol put it in 1979 in her pathbreaking comparative study, social revolutions are “rapid, basic transformations of a society’s state and class structures ... accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below”.¹⁷ Similar to 1970s social history studies, these structuralist sociological publications did not pay much attention to the motives and actions of the people who made these revolutions on the streets.¹⁸ Moreover, in these studies an understanding of revolution prevailed which looked for an ahistorical and timeless pattern of an entity which, so it was thought, could be clearly discerned as the revolution. The mid-1980s saw some interventions of labour historians, such as William H. Sewell, who criticized the aforementioned problems of sociological research.¹⁹ Quite apart from these debates surrounding an overdose of structuralism, a range of historians, coming largely from the German-speaking world, also began focusing on semantic aspects of the term revolution.²⁰

During the third phase, starting in the 1990s, studies on revolutions left the emphasis on impersonal structures and forces behind, and instead

¹⁶ Julia Adams, Elisabeth S. Clemens, and Ann Shola Orloff, ‘Introduction: Social Theory, Modernity and the Three Waves of Historical Sociology’, in idem. (eds.), *Remaking Modernity. Politics, History, and Sociology* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 1–72, p. 12.

¹⁷ Skocpol, *States*, p. 4.

¹⁸ See also Kimmel, *Revolution*, pp. 185–188.

¹⁹ For the telling debate between Skocpol and Sewell, see William H. Sewell Jr., ‘Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case’, *Journal of Modern History* 57/1 (1985), pp. 57–85; Theda Skocpol, ‘Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power: A Rejoinder to Sewell’, *Journal of Modern History* 57/1 (1985), pp. 86–96.

²⁰ See, for example, Helmut Reinalter (ed.), *Revolution und Gesellschaft. Zur Entwicklung des neuzeitlichen Revolutionsbegriffs* (Innsbruck: Inn-Verlag, 1980); Reinhart Koselleck, *Revolution, Rebellion, Aufruhr, Bürgerkrieg*, in: *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Vol. 5 (Klett Cotta: Stuttgart, 1984) pp. 653–788.

moved towards cultural, transnational, postcolonial and global perspectives in historical writing that was characteristic for the post-Cold War period. New intellectual challenges came from peaceful revolutions,²¹ from debates about the decline of the power of nation-states in the face of globalization,²² and ultimately from the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001.²³ Research published during this third phase dealt with many cultural aspects of revolutions, such as their languages, narratives, stories, symbols, scripts²⁴ and aesthetics,²⁵ as well as the gender orders unravelled and established by revolutions.²⁶ Often these themes were

²¹ George Lawson, *Negotiated Revolutions: The Czech Republic, South Africa and Chile* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); for intriguing comparisons between the peaceful revolutions of 1989 with the transnational transformations of 1968 and 1945, see Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney (eds.), *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

²² John Foran (ed.), *The Future of Revolutions. Rethinking Radical Change in the Age of Globalization* (New York: Zed Books, 2003).

²³ David Simpson, *States of Terror: History, Theory, Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019).

²⁴ See on the idea of common or different ‘scripts’ Keith Michael Baker and Dan Edelstein, *Scripting Revolution. A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). The book is strongly focused on intellectuals; more focused on cultural aspects (stories people use to rework past conflicts, struggles and injustice) is Eric Selbin, *Revolution, Rebellion, Resistance: The Power of Story* (London: Zed Books, 2010).

²⁵ Jim Aulich, ‘Conclusion: Reflections on Protest and Political Transformation Since 1789’, in Aidan McGarry, Itir Erhart, Hande Eslen-Ziya, Olu Jenzen and Umut Korkut (eds.), *The Aesthetics of Global Protest: Visual Culture and Communication* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020), pp. 269–291.

²⁶ Adams, Clemens and Orloff, ‘Introduction’, p. 22. See also: Mary Ann Tetreault, *Women and Revolution in Africa, Asia and the New World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1994); Maha El Said, Lena Meari and Nicola Pratt (eds.), *Rethinking Gender in Revolutions and Resistance: Lessons from the Arab World* (New York: Zed Books, 2015); Wunyabari O. Maloba, *African Women in Revolution* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2007) is looking at involvement of women in revolutions in Algeria, Kenia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and South Africa; for female activities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including food riots, see Harriet B. Applewhite and Darline G. Levy (eds.), *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990). See also the contributions on agency, gender and mobilization in John Foran (ed.), *Theorizing Revolutions* (London: Routledge, 1997).

pursued in carefully designed comparative studies.²⁷ Their findings were supplemented by transnationally oriented publications which put certain aspects of national revolutions in a transnational perspective²⁸ or studied common patterns of different revolutions and how these patterns shaped

²⁷ Stephen A. Smith, *Revolution and the People in Russia and China. A Comparative History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), see also his *Russia in Revolution. An Empire in Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Bailey Stone, *Rethinking Revolutionary Change in Europe. A Neostructuralist Approach* (Lanham, Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020); idem., *The Anatomy of Revolution Revisited* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014). The author underlines the importance of the state and of power struggles, political cultures and external and internal factors that influenced revolutions.

²⁸ On early modern revolutions, see Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) who presented revolutions as products of ‘ecological crises’ meeting with inflexible economic, social and political institutions. Also: Yves-Marie Bercé, *Revolt and Revolution in Early Modern Europe: An Essay on the History of Political Violence* (Manchester University Press, 1987). Moving to modern times, Neil Davidson, *How Revolutionary Were the Bourgeois Revolutions?* (New York: Haymarket Books, 2012), asked the question how revolutionary the bourgeois revolutions actually were in England, France and the US. See also Jonathan Sperber, *Revolutionary Europe 1780–1850*, 2nd edition (Milton Park: Routledge 2017) on the many revolutions taking place in Europe during the first half of the long nineteenth century; specifically on the mid-century revolutions, associated with 1848, see idem., *The European Revolutions 1848–1851*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Dieter Dowe, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, Dieter Langewiesche and Jonathan Sperber (eds.), *Europe in 1848: Revolution and Reform* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000); Heiner Timmermann (ed.), *1848–Revolution in Europa: Verlauf, politische Programme, Folgen und Wirkungen* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999). On the 1968 revolution, compare Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of 68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956–1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Robert Gildea, James Mark and Anette Warring (eds.), *Europe’s 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). On the 1989 revolutions, see Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of ’89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1990); also Wolfgang Müller, Michael Gehler, Arnold Suppan (eds.), *The Revolutions of 1989: A Handbook* (Vienna: ÖAW, 2015); furthermore, on 1989 in Czechoslovakia and China (Tiananmen square): Daniel Brook, *Modern Revolution: Social Change and Cultural Continuity in Czechoslovakia and China* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2005); on the legacies of 1989 globally see Piotr H. Kosicki and Kyrill Kunakovitch (eds.), *The Long 1989: Decades of Global Revolution* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2019).

history.²⁹ Studies on intellectual transfers and on the issue of how revolutions were perceived in other countries surfaced.³⁰ Although some early pioneers already explored the history of transfers and interconnections during the second phase of research on revolutions,³¹ it came to the fore with the theoretical and methodological literature surrounding *histoire croisée* and transnational history from the late 1980s onwards.³² What

²⁹ See for Europe: Martin Malia, *History's Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006); on the Americas compare Lester D. Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); comparing characteristics across a wide variety of different revolutions in the Atlantic world is Wim Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World. A Comparative History*, 2nd edition (New York: New York University Press, 2018); focusing on Britain, US, France, Haiti, Spanish America is Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra. Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (London: Verso, 2000); R. R. Palmer, *The Age of Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); on 'the West', see David Parker (ed.), *Revolutions and the Revolutionary Tradition in the West, 1560–1991* (London: Routledge, 2000); on the Ottoman world, Iran, and Russia as revolutionary space, see Hourii Berberian, *Roving Revolutionaries: Armenians and the Connected Revolutions in the Russian, Iranian and Ottoman Worlds* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2019); for the global south see Jeff Goodwin, *No Other Way Out. States and Revolutions in the Third World, 1945–1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001); also John W. Lewis (ed.), *Peasant Rebellion and Communist Revolution in Asia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974); on the Arab world see Said Amir Arjomand, *The Arab Revolution of 2011: A Comparative Perspective* (Albany: SUNY University Press, 2015).

³⁰ See, for example, Nader Sohrabi, 'Global Waves, Local Actors: What the Young Turks Knew About Other Revolutions and Why It Mattered', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44/1 (2002), pp. 45–79. For the transnational connections between the US-American civil war and the 1848 revolutions, see: Patrick J. Kelley, 'The European Revolutions of 1848 and the Transnational Turn in Civil War History', *Journal of the Civil War Era* 4/3 (2014), pp. 431–443, and Andrew Zimmerman, 'Guinea Sam Nightingale and Magic Marx in Civil War Missouri: Provincializing Global History and Decolonizing Theory', *History of the Present* 8 (Fall 2018), pp. 140–176.

³¹ Beatrix Bouvier, *Französische Revolution und deutsche Arbeiterbewegung: die Rezeption des revolutionären Frankreichs in der deutschen sozialistischen Arbeiterbewegung von den 1830er Jahren bis 1905* (Bonn: J.W.H. Dietz, 1982).

³² Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, *Transferts: les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemande, XVIII et XIX siècle* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1988); also in English Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity', *History and Theory* 45/1 (2006), pp. 30–50; on specific revolutions and the history of transfers see, for example, Helmut Reinalter (ed.), *Die französische Revolution, Mitteleuropa und Italien* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1992).