

Intellectuals in the Latin Space during the Era of Fascism

This volume investigates a galaxy of diverse networks and intellectual actors who engaged in a broad political environment, from conservatism to the most radical right, between the World Wars. Looking beyond fascism, it considers the less-investigated domain of the 'Latin space', which is both geographical and cultural, encompassing countries of both Southern Europe and Latin America.

Focus is given to mid-level civil servants, writers, journalists and artists and important 'transnational agents' as well as the larger intellectual networks to which they belonged. The book poses such questions as: In what way did the intellectuals align national and nationalistic values with the project of creating a 'Republic of Letters' that extended beyond each country's borders, a 'space' in which one could produce and disseminate thought whose objective was to encourage political action? What kinds of networks did they succeed in establishing in the interwar period? Who were these intellectuals-in-action? What role did they play in their institutions' and cultural associations' activities?

A wider and intricate analytical framework emerges, exploring right-wing intellectual agents and their networks, their travels and the circulation of ideas, during the interwar period and on a transatlantic scale, offering an original contribution to the debate on interwar authoritarian regimes and opening new possibilities for research.

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Intellectuals in the Latin Space during the Era of Fascism

Crossing Borders

**Edited by Valeria Galimi and
Annarita Gori**

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1 Hybridizing ideas in the Latin space

Transnational agents and polycentric cross-border networks

Annarita Gori and Valeria Galimi

1.1 Crossing borders: intellectuals in the Latin space

During the interwar period, authoritarian movements and regimes of the right – both of the ‘old’ authoritarian and the ‘new’ radical variety – embraced nationalist values but at the same time saw themselves as transnational agents of an otherwise international intellectual and political wave. At the end of the First World War, a growing sense of shared goals, commonality of vision, and a feeling of being on a historic mission led intellectuals to create networks and political projects that frequently crossed national borders.¹

Intellectual figures were central to this transnational process of ideological diffusion and cross-fertilization whether by formulating ideas, popularizing them across borders or by translating and re-contextualizing them for different national contexts and audiences. The recent wave of studies that have investigated the circulation of culture, ideas and intellectuals from a transnational perspective has provided interesting insights on how the formation of cultural and political networks was crucial to this process, and how these collective subjects constituted a universe more complex and multifaceted than had commonly been assumed. An already consolidated literature has thus retraced the activity of intellectuals across differentiated political contexts, and illustrated how intellectuals frequently played a pivotal role in the decision-making process as non-state actors.² Within this context, far-right and fascist intellectual networks have generated strong interest among social scientists as evidenced by the growing number of publications on this subject.³

With roots in this theoretical framework, this book aims to promote a different understanding of the role of right-wing intellectuals during the interwar period, scrutinizing it in a more comprehensive way. In so doing, this volume exploits three main assumptions.

Firstly, the concept of ‘Latin space’ was adopted here both as a spatial viewpoint and as a theoretical/ideological framework within which to profitably conduct an analysis of right-wing intellectuals, networks and political systems. The term is used here to understand a geographical as

well as ‘imagined’ area that encompassed Southern Europe and Latin America.⁴ How was this Latin space conceived in different nations? How did actors look at it from the two shores of the Atlantic? Were there turning points during the interwar period that had an impact on the development and/or crises of this ‘Latin area’? We believe that putting the Latin space at the centre of our focus allows us to broaden a perspective that had thus far only considered the Italian–German axis as the main and almost sole point from which the fascist political model was spread abroad. In addition to the prominent influence exerted by Rome and Berlin, other ideological and cultural references and matrixes emerge distinctly from this Latin geography and present themselves as political options in the panorama of the anti-liberal political system.⁵ The contributions collected here indicate how the spread of fascism and the incisiveness of Mussolini’s idea to promote a ‘universal fascism’ in Southern Europe and Latin America deserve a comprehensive analysis. As a matter of fact, such a ‘Latin perspective’ seems to show that rather than it being a phenomenon of simple emulation, it is possible to detect an ongoing process of hybridization and re-contextualization in the right-wing panorama, as shown by the emergence of successful, and in some cases, extremely long-lasting, alternative political models in that area.

The plurality of models detected within the Latin space leads directly to the second perspective: the importance of not limiting our analysis of intellectuals’ networks solely to the fascist and far-right context. At a time when the ‘transnational turn’ in the study of fascism and dictatorships has underlined the need to be liberated from the restraints of national historiography, we consider a similar widening of the analytical lens necessary when it comes to the intellectuals themselves, viewing them as active historical agents of the transnational circulation of ideas and political *engagement*, who contributed to institutions and organizations created *ad hoc*. Such a choice responds to the need to broaden the focus from the circulations and exchanges in fascist intellectual circles – independent of their acceptance of being a part of the ‘black international’ – to a wider canvas composed of a variety of networks and agencies that shared a set of values ranging from conservatism to far-right radicalism. Intertwining itself with the aforementioned wider Latin geographical perspective, the enlargement of the political framework sheds new light on the reference models and cultural values that were widely disseminated in the right-wing *milieu* in Europe and beyond. It also helps elucidate the networks and agencies that spread those models. Furthermore, this perspective allows us to follow the ongoing dialogue among intellectuals gathered in informal groups. These structures were often overlooked by historians but were relevant in their action of crossing borders and as trailblazers, proposing solutions to the political, economic and moral interwar crises.

Who were the intellectuals at the centre of the right-wing networks? How did they act? Were there some common trajectories within the Latin

space? To answer these questions it is necessary to abandon the traditional biographical approach that gives priority to these figures *per se*. On the contrary, we believe that intellectuals have to be scrutinized through their 'global lives', that is cross-border networks, relationships and paths.⁶ The analysis of their trips, meetings and dialogues across the Atlantic, allows us to investigate these subjects as mediators – or brokers⁷ – of cultural ideas and exchanges. In addition, in order to better understand this fascinating interwar intellectual flux, the juxtaposition of the analysis of the profiles of well-known, high-ranking politicians and leaders with the study of mid-level civil servants and propagandists, as well as engaged journalists, writers and artists is particularly useful and opens a new and interesting research horizon. Indeed, following such a perspective not only gives us an improved knowledge of this heterogeneous group that has almost always been the throbbing heart of the circulation of ideas and political projects, but also allows us to observe the transformations that the notion of the intellectual suffered during the interwar period.

1.2 Transatlantic agents: journeys and ideas

The cross-border trajectories of some right-wing intellectuals who have embodied literature, journalism, poetry, art and architecture and politics, are the main topic of the first part of this volume. The first four chapters investigate, respectively, António Sardinha, Ramiro de Maetzu, Pietro Bardi and Plínio Salgado from a network perspective as *transnational agents*. Even if the periods spent abroad and analysed in these chapters were sometimes quite short, the duration of time spent away and the influence of the figures analysed in this section were highly significant in terms of the ongoing flow of ideas both in their own countries and overseas. Some key concepts emerge from these four chapters: the cultural and political project of a macro-national identity that encompassed several countries across the Atlantic; the importance of Catholicism in political theorisation and its radicalization; the role played first by the European right-wing conservative movements and then by the dictatorships in the intellectual dialogue during the interwar period.

This is clearly explained in Chapter 4 (Pietro Maria Bardi's first journey to South America: A narrative of travel, politics and architectural Utopia). Analysing the journey made by Bardi towards Latin America in 1933–1934, Paolo Rusconi embraces a multidimensional perspective on the theme of the circulation of ideas, encompassing the cultural importance of travel, the significance of visual propaganda and the overlapping of the personal and public life of intellectuals. In particular, the thoughts that Bardi noted down in his personal notebook along with his drawings and his collection of press cuttings offer a close look at both Bardi's personal connections with the Latin American right-wing cultural *milieu* and the way in which Fascism promoted Italian modernism abroad as an artistic embodiment of the regime.

Another journey across the Atlantic is traced by Leandro Pereira Gonçalves in Chapter 5 (Plínio Salgado between Brazil and Portugal: Formation and transformation of Brazilian integralism). This chapter focuses on the network that Salgado established with Portuguese conservative thinkers during his stay in Lisbon. As the author highlights, following Plínio's transnational trajectory allows us to better understand the multiple discursive matrixes and cultural circulation in the field of right-wing appropriations, taking into consideration the relationship between Catholicism and the Lusitanian components. What emerges from Pereira's analysis is indeed the multiple elements at the origin of *Ação Integralista Brasileira*, the right-wing party founded by Salgado: the thought of António Sardinha; the ideological pillars of the Portuguese *Estado Novo* and Catholic doctrine. These components had a significant impact, more so than Italian fascism *tout court*, especially during the late thirties when Salazar's regime emerged as a corporatist, Catholic and conservative alternative to both democracy and totalitarianism.

The Portuguese writer, poet and historian António Sardinha was indeed one of the preeminent traditionalist intellectuals in Southern Europe in the aftermath of the Great War and his intellectual path is the focus of Chapter 2 (António Sardinha and his Ibero-American connections: Traditionalism and universalism' by Sérgio Campos Matos). Once again a journey – this time Sardinha's exile to Madrid from 1919 to 1921 – represents a remarkable opportunity for the theorization and the mapping of his political and cultural discourse based on tradition, Catholicism, counter-revolution, ethnic nationalism and historicism. In particular, his theories about *Hispanismo* played a pivotal role in the renewal of the political vocabulary that put Portugal in connection not only with Spain but also with other Latin-American nations. Campos Matos thus investigates Sardinha not so much as a precursor to Salazar's regime, but mostly as a transnational and cross-cultural intellectual. Since Sardinha had an impact on the cultural environment in Spain and Brazil, particular attention is paid to the formation and spread of his thought from the influence exerted on him by Fustel de Coulanges and Charles Maurras.

Catholicism, historical legacy and traditionalism are keywords that are also crucial in Chapter 3 (Ramiro de Maeztu between Spanish and Argentinian nationalism). Here Alfonso Botti and Daniel Lvovich explain how de Maeztu perfectly embodied the figure of the transnational agent, describing the period in which he was appointed as ambassador in Argentina by Primo de Riveira. There, de Maeztu established constructive collaborations with Zacarías de Vizcarra, a prominent actor of Spanish reactionary Catholicism, and with the young nationalists gathered around the magazine *La Nueva Republica*. Even though de Maeztu's stay in the South American country was short, he left a notable mark in the cross-pollinated development of Spanish and Argentinean nationalisms. In addition, he contributed to formulating the concept of *Hispanidad*, a cultural and political programme that aimed to encompass all the *pueblos* that shared the same Hispanic language, culture and race.

1.3 Agencies and networks

The aforementioned agents represented the main core of an imbricate network with various degrees of informality composed simultaneously by state and non-state agencies. All four chapters in the second section of this volume deal with this reality, focusing on agencies, informal associations and circles of journalists, politicians and *homme de lettre*: the professional association of *La Presse Latine*, the Maurrassianism circles gathered around the magazine *Je suis partout*, the fascist journalists that operated in Argentina, Uruguay and Chile and the South American corporatist network of intellectual-politicians. The scrutiny of these agencies illuminates how they can be considered as pieces of a broader cross-border intellectual exchange arena: an ideal space in which intellectuals discussed key concepts such as the right-wing version of pan-Latinism; the category of fascism and its national variations; the diffusion of the corporatist model outside of Europe; and the influence of the conservative right as it related to Maurras's political thought, which was already in crisis in France, but still attractive abroad. Furthermore, covering at least a ten-year period, the texts presented in this section allow us to follow changes within the analysed networks and, more generally, to emphasize the ways in which mutations that occurred in the broader political, cultural and economic context of the interwar period closely affected the cultural references within states and in the Latin space.

In Chapter 6 (*The Association de la Presse Latine: Efforts and failure of a right-wing transnational pan-Latinist project*), Annarita Gori illustrates how some of the right-wing transnational culture keywords – common roots, historical legitimation, pan-ism – that had already emerged in texts written by Campos Matos and Botti and Lvovich found an ideal forum for discussion in the *Association de la Presse Latine* (The Association of Latin Press). Tracing almost 20 years of the association's activity, the author elucidates the role played by journalists in finding a right-wing cultural and political solution to the post-war collective crisis, by the concrete implementation of pan-Latinism. This chapter shows the rise and fall of this macro-national project that found a place in the wider interwar right-wing political environment but progressively lost its appeal during the mid-thirties due to its poor incisiveness and clashes with other hyper-nationalist concepts that arose and propagandized the far-right regimes.

In Chapter 9 (Local and global connections of Argentinian, Uruguayan and Chilean fascists in the thirties and early forties), Ernesto Bohoslavsky and Magdalena Broquetas stress the importance of the press as a transnational agency. In particular, the analysis of magazines such as *Crisol*, *Bandera Argentina*, *El Pampero*, *Acción Chilena* and *Trabajo* and *Corporaciones* efficaciously frame the Southern Cone fascists dynamic and connections both within the Latin American context and on a transatlantic scale/scenario. Many suggestions arise from this text: the importance of the anti-communist, anti-

Semitic and Catholic components in almost all the Argentinian, Chilean and Uruguayan fascist movements; the attempt to combine a local political agenda with goals, interest and self-perceptions shared with similar organizations beyond national borders; and the relationships with right-wing European models. The analysis of this last point reveals the presence of a vast and multifaceted galaxy of associations, movements and parties that while inspired by the main fascist models that arose in Europe during the twenties had a proper ‘peripheral’ connotation and self-consciousness. This opens a new perspective on the ‘nature of fascisms’ through time and space, by de-centring the traditional German-Italian perspective, and sheds light on how Southern Cone fascist parties and politicians developed political and intellectual connections not just with European fascism but above all with other peripheral fascisms.

The importance of intellectual networks is also very much present in Chapter 7 (*Les amis étrangers: Maurrassian circles and a French perspective on the Latin space during the thirties*) by Valeria Galimi. She draws the trajectories of some young *hommes de lettres* close to Charles Maurras and their ongoing dialogue with other Southern European and Latin American thinkers close to the far-right regimes. The focus of this chapter is thus the activity of those intellectuals gathered around the newspaper *Je Suis Partout*. A perspective that, thanks to an examination of travel reportages, correspondence and meeting procedure, gives an interesting overview of some of the agencies and networks active in originally re-elaborating pivotal ideas of the right-wing *milieu*. On the one hand, it is possible to reconstruct how some of the Maurrassian *milieu* looked at the ‘Iberian world’, which is an area that is defined not only in Spain and Portugal but also in Latin American countries. A world that was followed with attention because young French nationalists felt close to the cultural and political affinities it emphasized. At the same time, dissidents of the *Action Française* moving away from the *Maître* were attracted by other solutions proposed by the Latin area, in particular by Franco’s Spain and Salazar and by the spread of new authoritarian regimes in Latin America.

‘Intellectual-politicians’ were pivotal to the creation of the corpus of new authoritarian nationalist constructs in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru and many other Latin American countries. In Chapter 8 (*Atlantic crossings: Intellectual-politicians and the diffusion of corporatism in thirties Latin America*), António Costa Pinto scrutinizes the trajectories and the dissemination of the work of some of these ‘intellectual-politicians’. In particular, he stresses the influence of Social Catholicism and corporatist doctrine in this process. As a matter of fact, the Roman Catholic Church and its associated lay organizations and intellectuals, following the publication of Papal encyclicals, became central transnational agents in the introduction of corporatist alternatives to the excesses of liberal capitalism. Catholic intellectual-politicians thus gave voice to an impressive process that spread social and political corporatist ideas associated mainly with Iberia

throughout Latin America, thereby avoiding a sole association with Italian Fascism. As with the other causes analysed in this volume, it is possible to detect a circulation of thoughts and recurrent keywords that show how the authoritarian South American regimes conveyed the *Action Française* doctrine blended with the corresponding Iberian elite movements – *Acción Española* in Spain and *Integralismo Lusitano* in Portugal.

1.4 Right-wing intellectuals in action during the interwar period: towards a broader perspective

The travels, circulation of ideas, agents and networks in the wider and imbricate framework of right-wing intellectuals during the interwar period on a transatlantic scale are the main focus of this volume. The analyses proposed in each chapter make an original contribution to the aforementioned debate on right-wing interwar authoritarian regimes that currently animate the social sciences. In particular, we decided to respond to the stimulating challenge of studying the 'mediators' or 'brokers' – transnational agents and networks – in order to enrich the framework of analysis and allow us to see these intellectuals *in action*, in the public space and in political *engagement*.

Each chapter, without claiming to offer an exhaustive overview, succeeds in showing the usefulness of choosing such an approach, in particular regarding the question of 'models' and their exportation and cross-border hybridization. If there is no doubt that Fascist Italy was a cultural reference in the twenties and even subsequently,⁸ and it exercised a powerful fascination as a 'new' political system, the analysis of the Latin space also confirms that other traditional references had an even stronger impact in that area. This is demonstrated, for instance, by the weight of Maurrassianism and, above all, by the strong influence wielded by conservative Catholicism. Furthermore, the complete consolidation of right-wing authoritarianism in Latin America as a reverse wave during the thirties denoted a similar process regarding the influence of Fascist Italy – as well as German Nazism – that was initially blended and subsequently overcome by other conservative, corporatist and Catholic models, such as the Portuguese *Estado Novo* or Franco's regime.⁹

Could we thus have spoken of the failure of the spread of the 'Universality of Fascism'? When conceiving this volume we assumed that instead of replying directly to this query, it was more interesting to present how the fascist model was contaminated, re-elaborated and re-adapted in a cross-border dimension, and how other matrixes also influenced the many political systems that composed the multifaceted right-wing universe during the twenties and thirties in the Latin space. Similarly, the analysis of the hybridization process that happened in the area highlighted the fragile balance between transnational claims and national resistances, or rather between the multiple attempts to diffuse common ideas and models across

borders and the internal resistance due to the strong power that nationalistic feeling and values still exercised during the interwar period.¹⁰

These frictions became more evident from the mid-thirties onwards. The rapid changes that followed the Abyssinian war, the aggressiveness of Nazi Germany, the will of the Latin American nations to affirm themselves as independent subjects, the consciousness gained by the Portuguese and Spanish regimes, and the political instability in France all led to a cooling, or at least to a deep modification of the transnational exchanges among right-wing intellectuals in the Latin Area. The idea of a shared cross-border space that encompassed Southern European and Latin American countries progressively weakened on the eve of the Second World War in the face of the growing importance of the national perspective and the radicalization of older nationalistic concepts, as in the case of *Hispanidad*. The attention towards the Latin area allows us to identify the existence of a kind of ‘multipolar’ space that adds to and partially overlaps the Italian–German axis in embodying a political and cultural model, even if on a different scale. This geographical and political space reached its apogee during the twenties but started to decline in less than a decade and completely lost its appeal in the aftermath of the Second World War. The aim of this volume is thus to highlight the importance of the Latin space, understood as a geographical area and cultural context in which interwar right-wing intellectuals acted and in which they found a plurality of cultural and political matrixes that encompassed fascism but also nationalism – in all its variations – Catholicism, traditionalism and so on. An analysis that, while not hypothesizing an assumed superiority of Latin space, opens the path for further investigations on how such a space was seen from other macro-areas, for instance from Nazi Germany.

A last point that emerges from this volume is both a result of the analysis presented here and an indication for further investigation. All the networks and circles scrutinized in the eight chapters recreate a world ruled prevalently by men. The lack of women’s presence seems to reflect a more general tendency in the right-wing interwar scenario, but we think that further studies on other figures and agencies should be undertaken in the near future. Such scrutiny not only seems urgent and beneficial for a further understanding of the right-wing universe, but also necessary in order to delineate how, as has happened in other cases, the gender dimension could make a decisive contribution to this field.¹¹

Notes

- 1 See, among others, Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Isabella Löhr and Roland Wenzlhuemer, eds., *The Nation State and Beyond: Governing Globalization Processes in the 19th and Early 20th Century* (Berlin: Springer, 2013); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüeschand and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History* (Berlin: Springer, 2012); Daniel Laqua, “Internationalism and

- Nationalism in the League of Nations' Work for Intellectual Cooperation," in *Internationalism, Imperialism and the Formation of the Contemporary World: The Pasts of the Present*, Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018), 59–85.
- 2 Among the now several studies see: Jeremy Jennings and Anthony Kemp-Welch, eds., *Intellectuals in Politics. From the Dreyfus Affair to Salman Rushdie* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997); Michel Leymarie and Jean-François Sirinelli, *L'Histoire des intellectuels aujourd'hui* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003); Gisèle Sapiro, *La Responsabilité de l'écrivain. Littérature, droit et morale en France (XIXe–XXIe siècle)* (Paris: Les éditions du Seuil, 2011); Maximiliano Fuentes Codera, Ángel Duarte and Patrizia Dogliani, eds., *Itinerarios reformistas, perspectivas revolucionarias* (Zaragoza: Cometa, 2016); Ferran Archilés and Maximiliano Fuentes Codera, eds., *Ideas comprometidas. Los intelectuales y la política* (Akal ediciones, 2018); Badel, Ferragu and alii (2012).
 - 3 New contributions are now available, more generally, on fascism from a transnational perspective, such as Arnd Bauerkämper and Grzegorz Rossoliński Liebe, eds., *Fascism without Borders: Transnational Connections and Cooperation between Movements and Regimes in Europe from 1918 to 1945* (New York: Berghahn, 2017), that collected the papers from a conference held in Berlin in 2014, but it is limited to European fascism. Europe is at the centre of a book edited by António Costa Pinto and Aristotle Kallis, *Rethinking Fascism and Dictatorship in Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Other works instead deal with fascism's relations outside Europe (Federico Finchelstein, *Transatlantic Fascism: Ideology, Violence and the Sacred in Argentina and Italy, 1919–1945* (2010); Stein Ugelvik Larsen, ed., *Fascism outside Europe: The European Impulse against Domestic Conditions in the Diffusion of Global Fascism* (Boulder, CO, 2001)). See also Ángel Alcalde, *War Veterans and Fascism in Interwar Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); and now also António Costa Pinto and Federico Finchelstein, *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Europe and Latin America* (London and New York: Routledge, 2019) and Ismael Saz, Zira Box, Toni Morant and Julián Sanz, eds., *Reactionary Nationalists, Fascists and Dictatorships in the Twentieth Century: Against Democracy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).
 - 4 The concept of 'Latin space' is used here to describe a geographical area that encompassed Southern European nations with Latin roots (namely Spain, Portugal, France and Italy) and Latin America. More specifically, the choice to devote just one chapter to Fascist Italy and in it, privilege the history of art approach, is functional to the whole structure of the volume. Leaving Italy in the background as an essential benchmark for the right wing experience in the Latin space, allow us to focus our attention on other geographical and cultural spaces and better understand the process of cross-fertilization and re-adaptation of the ideas elaborated in intellectual networks. On the notion of 'Space' and Transnational History see: Ángel Alcalde, "Spatializing Transnational History: European Spaces and Territories," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 25, no. 3–4 (2018): 553–67.
 - 5 See, "La culture fasciste entre latinité et méditerranéité (1880–1940)," Special Issue of *Cahiers de la Méditerranéité*, edited by Jérémy Guedj and Barbara Meazzi, 95 (December 2017).
 - 6 On the notion of 'global lives' see Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550–1800*. Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), Isabelle Löhr, "Lives Beyond Borders, Or: How to Trace Global Biographies, 1880–1950," *Comparativ* 23, no. 6 (2013), Special Issue *Lives Beyond Borders. A Social History*, edited by Madeleine Herren and Isabella Löhr: 6–20.

- 7 On the categories of ‘fascist brokers’, a series of workshops between 2016 and 2017 was organized, in collaboration with the University of Cambridge, Columbia University and the New School for Social Research. See the online report of the second one by Simon Lengemann, URL: www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7220 (last access 01.08.2019).
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- 9 On the transnational dissemination of authoritarian institutions in the Era of Fascism in Latin America see: António Costa Pinto, *Latin American Dictatorships in the Era of Fascism: The Corporatist Wave* (New York and London: Routledge, 2019).
- 10 For a bi-lateral perspective see Annarita Gori and Rita Almeida de Carvalho, “Italian Fascism and the Portuguese Estado Novo: International Claims and National Resistance,” *Intellectual History Review* (2019). DOI: 10.1080/17496977.2019.1648055.
- 11 The transnational gender dimension in other contexts has already provided some interesting insights: see, among others, Nicole Racine and Michel Trebitsch, eds., *Intellectuelles. Du genre en histoire des intellectuels* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 2004); Clare Midgley, Alison Twells and Julie Carlier, eds., *Women in Transnational History. Connecting the Local and the Global* (Routledge, 2016).

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Notes

Chapter 1

- 1 See, among others, Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Isabella Löhr and Roland Wenzlhuemer, eds., *The Nation State and Beyond: Governing Globalization Processes in the 19th and Early 20th Century* (Berlin: Springer, 2013); Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Madeleine Herren, Martin Rüeschand and Christiane Sibille, *Transcultural History* (Berlin: Springer, 2012); Daniel Laqua, “Internationalism and Nationalism in the League of Nations’ Work for Intellectual Cooperation,” in *Internationalism, Imperialism and the Formation of the Contemporary World: The Pasts of the Present*, Palgrave Macmillan Transnational History Series (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018), 59–85.
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Chapter 2

- 1 A significant compilation of the ideological program of *Integralismo Lusitano* can be detected in: Fernão da Vide, *O pensamento integralista* (Lisbon: Junta Provincial da Estremadura, 1923). The studies by Manuel Braga da Cruz, António Costa Pinto and Paulo Archer de Carvalho cited in the final bibliography continue to be extremely valuable to understand this pressure group as a whole.
- 2 After his death in 1925, different publishers edited the texts that Sardinha had published in journals or reviews: ‘Lvmen’ (Lisboa-Porto-Coimbra, R. Janeiro), Atlântida (Coimbra), Livraria Férin (Lisboa), Edições Gama. In some of these volumes, organized by Rodrigues Cavalheiro and Hipólito Raposo, the texts are not dated. However, in life Sardinha had already prepared *Ao ritmo da ampulheta*, edited in the year of his death (1925), and *Na feira dos mitos. Ideias & factos* (1926).
- 3 António Sardinha, *Ao ritmo da ampulheta* (Lisbon: ‘Lvmen’, 1925), XII.
- 4 The miracle of Ourique was a mythical and providential tradition which was much spread in Portuguese historical culture, from the fifteenth until the nineteenth century, according to which Christ would have appeared to be the first King of Portugal, Afonso Henriques on the eve of the battle of Ourique in 1139, announcing that he would win the battle and would be the head of a dynasty ruling over a great empire.
- 5 António Sardinha, “Testemunho de uma geração,” *A prol do comum* (Lisbon: Livraria Férin, 1934), 18–19.
- 6 See Luís de Almeida Braga, *Sob o pendão real* (Porto: Ed.Gama, 1942), 196–97.
- 7 Sardinha, *Ao princípio era o verbo* (2^a ed., 1940 [1923]), XVIII.

- 8 Quintanar, *Por terras de Portugal* (Madrid: Companhia General de Artes Gráficas, 1930).
- 9 Sardinha, *Ao princípio*, XVIII.
- 10 Sardinha, *Ao ritmo*, XXV.
- 11 Marcello Caetano, *Depoimento* (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo: Record, 1974), 47–48.
- 12 Sardinha, *Ao Princípio*, 193. António Costa Pinto, “A formação do integralismo lusitano (1907–17),” *Análise Social* XVIII, no. 72–74 (1982): 1409–19.
- 13 Henrique Barrilaro Ruas, “O conceito de Tradição em António Sardinha” (Causa Nacional, n.d.). www.integralismo.org.br/?cont=781&ox=316#.WvW6MYgvzM consulted 11-05-2018. And he quotes Sardinha: ‘Tradition is not a stationary point in the past. It is rather an endless continuity, forever renewing itself. In this way, it encompasses a feeling of actuality for those of us who have lived and experienced it as a thing of ours, made up of our daily substance – tradition’ (‘No Jardim da Raça’).
- 14 Gilles Le Béguec and Jacques Prévotat, “1898–1919. L’éveil de la modernité politique,” in *Histoire des Droites*, ed. Jean-François Sirinelli (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), I, 213–89.
- 15 Massimo Botta, “Contre-révolution,” in *Dictionnaire critique de la Révolution Française*, eds. François Furet and M. Ozouf (Paris: Flammarion, 1988).
- 16 It can therefore be understood that he did not use the concept of *citizenship*. Conversely he turned to the concept of *generation* (associated to an elite who would be in charge of restoring the thread of the national tradition). “Testemunho de uma geração”; *A prol do comum ... Doutrina e história* (Lisbon: Livraria Ferin, 1934), 3–20.
- 17 Sardinha, *A prol do comum ...*, 142.
- 18 Sardinha, “Testemunho de uma geração,” *A prol do comum ...*, 3–20.
- 19 Sardinha, “Monarquia e República,” *Ao princípio*, 134–35.
- 20 Charles Maurras, *Quand les Français ne s’aimaient pas* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1916), 50–55.
- 21 Maurras, *Quand les Français*, 76. Note however that Sardinha and the Integralists diverged from Maurras on various other topics, such as Maurras’ paganism. See: Ana Isabel Sardinha Desvignes, “L’Action Française au Portugal (1910–1918): quelques repères pour l’histoire d’une réception,” in *Charles Maurras et l’étranger – L’étranger et Charles Maurras*, eds. Olivier Dard and M. Grunewald (Berne: P. Lang, 2009), 280–81; Desvignes (2016).
- 22 Denationalization was a hot topic by the end of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth among both republican and traditionalist milieux. Its meaning has to do with a sense of losing national character through external determinants such as the influence of

- foreign cultures, the Roman and the French cultures in the case of Sardinha.
- 23 Sardinha, *Ao ritmo da ampulheta*, 143.
 - 24 Sardinha, *Ao princípio*, 240.
 - 25 Paulo Merêa and Damião Peres, *História de Portugal* (Coimbra: Coimbra Ed., 1920); and Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal* (Coimbra: Author's edition, 1922).
 - 26 Sardinha, "Questões de história," *Nação Portuguesa*, II série, no. 5 (1922): 231.
 - 27 Jorge Borges de Macedo, *Para uma avaliação crítica do magistério de António Sardinha*, Separata de *A Cidade*, no. 2, (Jul–Dez. 1988): 151.
 - 28 Sardinha, "Questões de história," *Nação Portuguesa*, II série, no. 5 (1922): 234.
 - 29 Ana Isabel Sardinha Desvignes, *António Sardinha (1887–1925): um Intelectual No Século*, (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2006); Desvignes (2016).
 - 30 Sardinha, *À Lareira de Castela. Estudos Peninsulares* (Famalicão: Minerva, 1943) [1st.ed 1920], 93.
 - 31 Ramiro de Maeztu, "Prologo," in A. Sardinha, *A aliança peninsular* (3.^a ed., Lisbon: s.n., 1972) ed. [1924], LXVI. The concept of Hispanism had been frequent in historical Spanish culture since the late 1800s.
 - 32 Mark J. Van Aken, *Pan-Hispanism. Its origin and development to 1866* (Berkeley, CA and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1959), VII.
 - 33 J. L. Benedicho Beired, "Hispanismo e latinismo no debate intelectual ibero-americano," *Varia História* 30, no. 54 (Set./Dez. 2004): 636, note 14.
 - 34 J. Fred Rippy, "Pan-hispanic propaganda in Hispanic America," *Political Science Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (September 1922): 402–14.
 - 35 This is the case of Isidro Sepúlveda, *El Sueño de la madre pátria: hispanoamericanismo y nacionalismo* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2005).
 - 36 Gracia Perez, *Hijos de la Madre Patria* (Zaragoza: Institución «Fernando el Católico»/C.S.I.C., 2011).
 - 37 César Rina, *Iberismos. Expectativas peninsulares en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Funcas, 2016), 204–16.
 - 38 Gracia Perez, *Hijos*, 27.
 - 39 In fact, this was already present in the statutes of the Ibero-American Union, an institution created in Madrid in 1885 with the aim of strengthening the social, economic and cultural relations between Spain, Portugal and the American Nations of the Spanish and Portuguese languages. Duránte Prados, "España en su dimensión ibérica y iberoamericana," *Aportes* 85, no. 2 (2014): 161–62.
 - 40 See Susana Rocha Relvas, *António Sardinha e as suas relações com a Espanha* (facsimile edition), (Lisboa, FCSH-UNL, 1998), 94–96.

- 41 On iberism, see my *Iberismos – nação e transnação, Portugal e Espanha (c.1807–c.1931)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2017).
- 42 See Paulo Archer de Carvalho, “Três teses sobre a Ucronia e a floresta utópica. A propósito do Integralismo Lusitano,” *Revista de História das Ideias* 24 (2003): 357–414.
- 43 Only at the beginning of the twentieth century did it acquire a meaning that refers to the national identity. Ilan Stavans and Ivan Jaksic, *What Is Hispanidad?* (Austin: University of Texas, 2011), 3.
- 44 Susana Relvas, *António Sardinha*, 65.
- 45 It was a theory of the mastery of the seas through naval power as a deciding factor in empire’s international supremacy.
- 46 Louis Snyder, *Macro-Nationalisms: A History of the Pan-Movements* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).
- 47 Sardinha, *À Lareira de Castela*, 104, Sardinha, “Lição do Brasil,” *A Prol do comum*, 214. The term Latin America, dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, was far from consensual.
- 48 Sardinha, “Hispanismo e Latinidade,” *À Lareira*, 94–95.
- 49 Biblioteca Universitária João Paulo II (BJPII), António Sardinha Archive, *letter from A. Monsaraz to A. Sardinha* 16-08-1919, Correspondence of Alberto de Monsaraz, s.l., Pasta nº 149. On this, see Nuno Simão Ferreira, “Alberto de Monsaraz e a vaga dos nacionalismos e dos radicalismos político-autoritários europeus do pós-I Guerra Mundial: um rumo até ao Fascismo?,” *Lusíada. História* 4 (2007): 13–14. I would like to thank the author for this information.
- 50 BJPII, António Sardinha Archive, *Letter from Manuel Múrias to A. Sardinha* 25-04-1922, 4.
- 51 Angel Herrera (1886–1968), journalist, politician and priest, who would become a leader of *Acção Católica*.
- 52 Maetzu, “Prologo,” Sardinha, *A Aliança ...* LXVI. Quintanar’s translation.
- 53 Quintanar [Santibáñez del Rio], *Portugal y el hispanismo*, (Madrid: s.n. 1920), 55.
- 54 Maetzu and Sardinha eventually met in during his exile in Spain. On Maetzu and Portugal, see Pablo Sánchez Garrido, “Maetzu y Portugal. Análisis político y intelectual sobre la Primera República (1910–1926),” *Hispania* LXXVI, no. 254 (September–December 2016): 721–49.
- 55 Lozoya, “El portugues enamorado de Toledo,” *Raza Española*, 73/74 (Jan–Feb 1925): 60. Cited by Susana Rocha Relvas, *António Sardinha*, 127.
- 56 Luís de Almeida Braga, *Posição de António Sardinha* (Porto: Ed. Gama, 1943), 118.
- 57 BJPII, António Sardinha Archive, Angelica Palma, *letter from A. Sardinha from Madrid* 22-11-1922. Another exception was the Brazilian historian Oliveira Lima: see “Um novo iberismo,” *A Nação Portuguesa*, 3ª s., no. 7/8 (1925): 2–9. About Angelica Palma and other

- Hispanic authors we are following, see Susana Rocha Relvas, “António Sardinha e o mundo hispânico: diálogo com mulheres sul-americanas,” *Mulher, cultura e sociedade na América Latina*, Vol. 4 (Lisboa: Ed. Colibri, 2003), 61–84.
- 58 BJPII, *Letter from José de la Riva Agüero y Osma to A. Sardinha from Lisbon*, 2-04-1923. Riva Agüero (1885–1944), Peruvian historian, essayist and politician, conservative and Catholic.
- 59 BJPII, A. Sardinha Archive, *Gilberto Freyre, letter to A. Sardinha*, n.d.
- 60 Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina* (Rio de Janeiro: Livr. José Olympio Ed., 1953), 115.
- 61 Jackson de Figueiredo Martins, jurist, professor, journalist, essayist and politician. He converted to Catholicism and contributed to the organization of the lay Catholic movement in Brazil.
- 62 BJPII, A. Sardinha Archive, *Letter from Elísio de Carvalho to A. Sardinha from Rio de Janeiro*, 1-02-1923.
- 63 BJPII, A. Sardinha Archive, *Letter from Elísio de Carvalho to A. Sardinha from Rio de Janeiro*, 1-04-1924.
- 64 Susana Relvas, *António Sardinha*, letter nº45, 43.
- 65 According to Lozoya, this *Partido Social Popular* would be suited to becoming an “adaptation of *Integralismo*” for Spain. George Gomes, *António Sardinha: um théroicien transnational de la Contre-révolution (-1887–1925)*, 80.
- 66 Mercedes Gutierrez and Fernando Jimenez, “La recepción del Integralismo Lusitano en el mundo intelectual español,” *Elites e poder. A crise do sistema liberal em Portugal e Espanha (1918–1931)*, edited by Manuel Baiôa (Lisboa: Colibri, 2004), 316.
- 67 António Sardinha, “O Pan-Hispanismo,” *Contemporânea*, no. 2 (Junho 1922): 49–51 (text included later in *À Lareira de Castela*, 1943, 173–78).
- 68 Martinho Nobre de Melo, “As relações luso-espanholas. O pan-iberismo,” *Contemporânea* 2, no. 4 (1922): 5.
- 69 Id., *Idem*, 6.
- 70 Sérgio Campos Matos, “Transnational identities in Portugal and Spain (c.1892–c.1931): Hispano-Americanism, Pan-Lusitanism and Pan-Latinism,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 31, no. 2 (2018): 75–96, 271–79.
- 71 Sardinha, *Ao princípio*, XX–XXI.
- 72 Raúl Proença, “Acerca do Integralismo Lusitano,” *Obra Política* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1972) [texts dated from 24-12-1921 to 1-07-1922], 23–28.

Chapter 3

- 1 Despite some intentional omissions, the best biographical and intellectual profile of Ramiro de Maeztu is the one by Pedro Carlos González

- Cuevas, *Maeztu Briografía de un nacionalista español* (Madrid: Marial Pons, 2003). The present profile refers only to this work when not otherwise specified.
- 2 Mainer defined *Hacia otra España* “El libro más ‘noventayochesco’ de cuantos vieron la luz en el bienio 1898–1899” in José Carlos Mainer, *La doma de la Quiebra. Ensayos sobre nacionalismo y cultura en España* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2004), 115. If Spanish historiography took long to admit, the regenerationism was typically proto-nationalist expressed in diverse ideological ways. It goes far beyond this contribution to point out the abundant literature regarding this matter, as well as that surrounding the relation between regenerationism, modernism and the generation of '98.
 - 3 Apart from what was already identified in the biography by González Cuevas, see also Andrea Rinaldi, “Ramiro De Maeztu y la redacción de The New Age: el impacto de la I Guerra Mundial sobre una generación de intelectuales,” in *Falange, las culturas políticas del fascismo en la España de Franco (1936–1975)*, ed. Miguel Ángel Ruiz Carnicer (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico” – Diputación de Zaragoza, 2013), 463–80 and Valerio Torreggiani, “Gli anni londinesi di Ramiro de Maeztu e le influenze del New Age Circle: un caso di circolazione transnazionale delle teorie corporative (1905–1919),” *Studi storici* 3 (2017): 755–86.
 - 4 Alfonso Botti, *La Spagna e la crisi modernista. Cultura, società civile e religiosa tra Otto e Novecento* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1987), 80–7.
 - 5 Volume about the instruction of history in different European countries (Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain and Italy) and after in Argentina. Pointless to refer to it as a precious source.
 - 6 Ángeles Castro Montero, *Ramiro de Maeztu enviado especial de La Prensa en el frente británico. Reflexiones, crónicas de guerra y propaganda aliada para la opinión pública argentina (1914–1918)*, *PolHis* 14 (2014): 71–93. <http://polhis.com.ar/index.php/PolHis/article/view/8>.
 - 7 With reference to Lusitanian Integralism’s reception in Spain see Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, “El integralismo lusitano: su recepción en España,” *Proserpine* 11 (1994): 79–110.
 - 8 Ramiro De Maeztu, “El Ejército en España. El peligro de la *balcanización*,” *La Prensa*, 4 November 1923.
 - 9 Now in Ramiro de Maeztu, “El sentido reverencial del dinero,” in *Obras* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1974), 801.
 - 10 A mention exists in Alfonso Botti, *Cielo y dinero. El nacionalcatolicismo en España (1881–1975)* (Madrid: Alianza, 1992), 70.
 - 11 Beatriz J. Figallo, “Ramiro de Maeztu y la Argentina,” *Res Gestae (Rosario)* 24 (1988): 75–7; Luis Ocio, “La configuración del pensamiento reaccionario español: el caso de Ramiro de Maeztu durante su etapa de embajador en la Argentina,” *Historia Contemporánea, (Bilbao)* 18 (1999): 354.

- 12 Genoveva Quipo de Llano, *Los intelectuales y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera* (Madrid: Alianza, 1988).
- 13 At least, starting from the volume of Raúl Morodo, *Acción Española: orígenes ideológicos del franquismo* (Madrid: Tucur, 1980).
- 14 Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, *Testimonio y recuerdos* (Barcelona: Planeta, 1978), 153.
- 15 Highlighted by Eduardo González Calleja, “El hispanismo autoritario español y el movimiento [sic] nacionalista argentino: balance de medio siglo de relaciones políticas e intelectuales (1898–1946),” *Hispania* 226 (2007): 599–642, 614.
- 16 Eduardo González Calleja, “El hispanismo autoritario,” 611.
- 17 Enrique Zuleta Álvarez, “Maeztu en Buenos Aires,” *Razón Española* (1997): 320.
- 18 “Ramiro de Maeztu,” *La Nueva República*, 1 March 1928, 1.
- 19 Leopoldo Lugones, “Discurso de Ayacucho (1924),” in *La Patria Fuerte* (Buenos Aires: Círculo Militar, 1930), 13–18.
- 20 Note from the ambassador to the State Minister, August the 8th of 1928, quoted by Beatriz J. Figallo, “Ramiro de Maeztu y la Argentina,” *Res Gestae (Rosario)* 24 (1988): 83. See also Id., “Yrigoyen y su segundo gobierno vistos por Ramiro de Maeztu,” in *Todo es historia (Buenos Aires)* 312 (1993): 80–93.
- 21 Figallo, “Ramiro de Maeztu y la Argentina,” 87–8.
- 22 Ibid., 89.
- 23 This paragraph and the successive, when not specifically mentioned, are a result of Daniel Lvovich, “La imagen del enemigo y sus transformaciones en *La Nueva República* (1928–1931),” in *Entrepasados. Revista de Historia* 17 (1999): 49–71 and *El nacionalismo de derecha en la Argentina. Desde sus orígenes hasta Tacuara* (Buenos Aires: Claves para todos, 2006).
- 24 Founded in 1919 by Francisco Uriburu (1872–1940), *La Fronda* had some young editors from *La Nueva República*; María Inés Tato, *Viento de fronda. Liberalismo, conservadurismo y democracia en la Argentina, 1911–1932* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2004).
- 25 On 3 November, appearing with the subtitle *Época de la reorganización nacional* it was jointly directed by Palacio and Rodolfo Irazusta.
- 26 Juan E. Carulla, *Al filo del medio siglo* (Paraná: Editorial Llanura, 1951).
- 27 While recognizing that it was a temperate Mauratism compared to that of its European contemporaries, it underlines the influence of Maurras, Fernando Devoto, *Nacionalismo, fascismo y tradicionalismo en la Argentina moderna* (Buenos Aires: SigloXXI, 2002), 193 ff.
- 28 Rodolfo Irazusta, “República y Democracia,” *La Nueva República*, 15 March 1928, 1.
- 29 Ernesto Palacio, “Organicemos la contrarrevolución,” *La Nueva República*, 1 December 1927, 2.

- 30 Rodolfo Irazusta, “La Política,” *La Nueva República*, April 14, 1928. Referring to *Bases y Puntos de Partida para la Organización Política de la República Argentina* by Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810–1884).
- 31 Rodolfo Irazusta, “La Revolución Americana,” *La Nueva República*, 8 November 1930.
- 32 Regarding the magazine and its ideological orientation see Fernando Devoto, *Nacionalismo, fascismo y tradicionalismo en la Argentina moderna* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002), 206–34; Loris Zanatta, *Del Estado liberal a la nación católica. Iglesia y ejército en los orígenes del peronismo, 1930–1943* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1996), 46–50 and 133–34; María Ester Rapalo, “La Iglesia católica argentina y el autoritarismo político: la revista *Criterio*, 1928–1931,” *Anuario del IEHS (Tandil)* 5 (1990): 51–70 and Id., “De la Asociación del Trabajo a la revista *Criterio*: encuentros entre propietarios e ideólogos, 1919–1929,” in *La derecha argentina. Nacionalistas, neoliberales, militares y clericales* (Buenos Aires: B Argentina, 2001), 139–44; Miranda Lida, “Estética, cultura y política en la revista *Criterio* (Argentina, 1928–1936),” in *Nuevos Mundos, Mundos Nuevos*, 2015. <https://journals.openedition.org/nuevo-mundo/67968> (accessed 7 May 2018).
- 33 During the 1930s, Osés was an indefatigable anti-liberal, anti-Communist and anti-Semitic agitator in his newspapers and at the La Mazorca publishing house, which had relations with the Unión Nacionalista de Estudiantes Secundarios, Renovación and other minor nationalist groups. Like others, he tried to set himself up as a leader of the *nacionalismo* and, although the organizations to which he belonged never reached hegemonic positions, from 1941 the newspapers of this orientation called him *Jefe del Nacionalismo* o *Primer Camarada* (see Daniel Lvovich, *Nacionalismo y Antisemitismo en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones B, 2003), *passim*).
- 34 Loris Zanatta, *Del Estado liberal a la Nación Católica. Iglesia y Ejército en los orígenes del Peronismo. 1930–1943* (Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 1996), 47.
- 35 Manuel Gálvez, “Interpretación de las dictaduras,” *Criterio* 32 (1928): 44.
- 36 Editorial, “Un deber de conciencia,” *Criterio* 4 (1928): 103.
- 37 Editorial, “El manifiesto del gobierno provisorio,” *Criterio* 136 (9 October 1930): 461–62.
- 38 Manuel Gálvez, “Ignorancia, república, comunismo,” *Criterio*, 13 August 1931.
- 39 On Maeztu’s relations with the group of *La Nueva República*, see Vicente Marrero, *Maeztu* (Madrid: Rialp, 1955), 245–58 and also Enrique Zuleta Álvarez, “Maeztu en Buenos Aires,” *Razón Española* 83 (1997): 319–25. González Cuevas, *Maeztu*, 240–44.
- 40 The two articles were Ernesto A. Palacio, “De la inteligencia como servicio público,” *La Nación*, January 29, 1928 e Id., “Nacionalismo y

- panteísmo político,” *La Nación*, 26 February 1929. Julio Irazusta, “La ‘Historia de Argentina’ de Ernesto A. Palacio. A los veinticinco años de su aparición,” *Nueva Historia Buenos Aires* 24 (1979): 328.
- 41 Enrique Zuleta Álvarez, “Maeztu en Buenos Aires,” *Razón Española* 83 (1997): 321.
- 42 González Calleja, “El hispanismo autoritario español,” 611.
- 43 Figallo, “Ramiro de Maeztu y la Argentina,” 81.
- 44 *La Nueva República*, 12 October 1931.
- 45 The festivity was established by Yrigoyen during his previous mandate with a decree of 1917, “as a tribute to Spain, the ancestor of the nations to which he gave an immortal heritage with the yeast of his blood and the harmony of his language.”
- 46 Zacarías de Vizcarra, “Origen del nombre, concepto y fiesta de la Hispanidad,” *El Español*, 7 October 1944.
- 47 Miguel de Unamuno, “Sobre la argentinidad,” now in *Temas argentinos* (Buenos Aires: Institución Cultural Española, 1949), 63.
- 48 ‘La palabra se debe a un sacerdote, español y patriota que en la Argentina reside, D. Zacarías de Vizcarra’. R. de Maeztu, “Hispanidad,” *Acción Española* 1 (1932): 8. On the magazine and the homonymous movement see Raúl Morodo, *Los orígenes ideológicos del franquismo: Acción Española* (Madrid: Alianza, 1985); Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, *Acción Española. Teología política y nacionalismo autoritario en España (1913–1936)* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1998); Ismael Saz, “Las culturas de los nacionalismos franquistas,” *Ayer* 73 (2008): 153–74. On the reception of Maurras in Spain see Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, “Charles Maurras y España,” *Hispania* 188 (1994): 993–1040 and the articles in Xavier Pla, ed., *Maurras a Catalunya: elements per a un debat* (Barcelona: Cuaderns Crema, 2012). The birth in Spain of a magazine and association very close even in the name of the Action française, recently condannata by the Holy See confirms the strong relationship built by the Spanish promoters with the teaching of the Magisterium. The nuncio in Madrid Federico Tedeschini at the beginning of February 1935 in a report to Pacelli expressed concern about the proximity of the Acción española with the Action française. Then he did not send the report because he was reassured of their loyalty to the Pope by the main representatives of the magazine (Maeztu, Pemán, Vegas Latapié e Vigón) who visited him (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arch. Nunz. Madrid, b. 913, ff. 420 e 423).
- 49 Vizcarra quoted regarding the prophecies of Saint Bridget, Giuseppe Ciuffa, *L’odierna guerra nell’ Apocalisse di S. Giovanni* (Rome: Tipografia Pontificia, d1916), 181, 184.
- 50 Zacarías de Vizcarra, “El apóstol Santiago y el mundo hispano,” *Acción española* no. 16 (1932): 385–400. On the origins of the concept of *Hispanidad* see Ricardo del Arco y Garay, *La idea del imperio en la*

- política y literatura españolas* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1944), 787; Rosa María Pardo Sanz, *¿Con Franco hacia el Imperio! La política exterior española en América Latina, 1939–1945* (Madrid: UNED, 1995), 215–19; Pedro Carlos González Cuevas, “Hispanidad,” in *Enciclopedia del Nacionalismo*, ed. Andrés de Blas Guerrero (Madrid: Tecnos, 1997), 215–19.
- 51 From the essay *Ariel* (1900) by the Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodó, with which we indicate the pre-existing Latin American ideological current. Opposing Anglo-Saxon utilitarianism, this current defended the values of Greek-Latin culture.
- 52 David Jiménez Torres, *Ramiro de Maeztu and England: Imaginaries, Realities and Repercussions of a Cultural Encounter* (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2016), 148–58.
- 53 Jacques Prévotat, *Les catholiques et l’Action française. Histoire d’une condamnation, 1899–1939* (Paris: Fayard, 2001).
- 54 Isidro Gomá y Tomás, “Apología de la Hispanidad,” *Acción española* 64–65 (1934): 193–230.
- 55 Julio Irazusta, “Un acontecimiento de la literatura política española: Defensa de la Hispanidad de Ramiro de Maeztu,” *La Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, 20 July 1934, no. 1, cit. in González Calleja, “El hispanismo autoritario español,” 620.
- 56 Ernesto Palacio, “Defensa de la Hispanidad, de Ramiro de Maeztu,” *El Hogar (Buenos Aires)* 21 September 1934; see also Id., *La Historia falsificada* (Buenos Aires: Difusión, 1939), 62. Noted that, among others, Noriko Mutsuki, *Julio Irazusta. Treinta años de nacionalismo argentino* (Buenos Aires: Biblos, 2004), 112.
- 57 Osvaldo Rodolfo Martini, “Ramiro de Maeztu en la Argentina. La gestación de la doctrina de la Hispanidad entre el catolicismo y el nacionalismo argentino,” *La Razón Histórica, Revista Hispanoamericana de Historia de las Ideas* 24 (2013). <https://www.revistalarazonhistorica.com/24-2/>.
- 58 Ramiro de Maeztu, “La Hispanidad,” *Acción Española* 1 (1931): 12; Id. “Hispanidad,” *Acción Española* 5 (1932): 449–50 and Id. “La tradición hispánica de América,” *Acción Española* 94 (1934): 1–5.
- 59 Ramiro de Maeztu, *Criterio*, 1930, no 119; cit. in Martini, “Ramiro de Maeztu en la Argentina,” 20.
- 60 González Calleja, “El hispanismo autoritario español,” 609.
- 61 Among them is the Nicaraguan Pablo Antonio Cuadra; the Peruvians Felipe Barreda Laos, Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, José de la Riva Agüero and Alberto Wagner de Reyna; the equatorian José María Velasco Ibarra; the Chilean Víctor de Valdivia and Osvaldo Lira; the Mexican José Vasconcelos and the Uruguayan Alberto de Herrera; Eugenio Vegas Latapié, *Romanticismo y democracia* (Santander: Impta. Aldus, 1938), 180–81; Alberto Martín Artajo, *Hacia la comunidad hispánica de naciones* (Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1956) and Marrero, *Maeztu*, 474–95.

- 62 See Federico Finchelstein, *Fascismo Trasatlántico. Ideología, violencia y sacralidad en la Argentina y en Italia, 1919–1945* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010).
- 63 Federico Ibarguren, *Orígenes del nacionalismo argentino. 1927–1937* (Buenos Aires: Celcius, 1969), 12.

Chapter 4

- 1 See, for example, Stanislaus von Moos, “Notes sur les architectes voyageurs,” in *L’invention d’un architecte. Le voyage en Orient de Le Corbusier*, eds. Roberta Amirante, Burcu Kütükçüo lu, Panayotis Tournikiotis and Yannis Tsiomis (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier/Éditions de la Villette, 2013), 24–47.
- 2 For a complete history, see Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).
- 3 See Jos Bosman, “Sur le Patris II de Marseille à Athènes,” in *Le Corbusier et la Méditerranée*, ed. Danièle Pauly (Marseille: Editions Parenthèses, 1987), 73–89; Yorgos Simeoforidis, “I giorni del IV Ciam ad Atene: figure, vicende, ripercussioni,” in *La Carta d’Atene. Manifesto e frammento dell’urbanistica moderna*, ed. Paola di Biagi (Rome: Officina edizioni, 1998), 170–201.
- 4 Zeno Birolli, “Neopitagorismo,” in *Letteratura-Arte. Miti del ’900*, ed. Zeno Birolli (Milan: Edizioni Padiglione d’arte contemporanea/Idea Editions, 1979), 96.
- 5 Pietro Maria Bardi, “Cronaca di viaggio,” *Quadrante* 5 (September 1933): 5–35. On the relationship between the magazine and the concept of ‘Mediterraneità’ see Marida Talamona, “Modernité et Fascisme: illusions croisées,” in *Les Années 30. L’architecture et les arts de l’espace entre industrie et nostalgie*, edited by Jean-Louis Cohen (Paris: Éditions du Patyrmoine, 1997), 126–43.
- 6 See Gemma Belli, “Un viaggio attraverso il Mediterraneo. Gli architetti italiani al IV CIAM,” in *La città, il viaggio, il turismo. Percezione, produzione e trasformazione*, eds. Gemma Belli, Francesca Capano and Maria Ines Pascariello (Naples: Cirice, 2017), 1091–96.
- 7 For a partisan discussion on Le Corbusier’s interest in the politics during the fascist year, see chapter 3 on Xavier de Jarcy, *Le Corbusier, un fascisme français* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 2015), 89–152. See also Marc Perelman, *Le Corbusier. Une froide vision du monde* (Paris: Michalon, 2015). In his pioneering study ‘Le Corbusier e l’Italia’, Maria Mimita Lamberti adopted a balanced position that was more complex. See Maria Mimita Lamberti, “Le Corbusier e l’Italia (1932–1936),” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* III, II (1972): 817–71. For a recent overview of the relationship between Le Corbusier and Fascist political culture, see Rémi Baudouï, “Le planisme et le

- régime italien,” in *L'Italie de Le Corbusier*, ed. Marida Talamona (Paris: Fondation Le Corbusier/Éditions de la Villette, 2010), 160–73.
- 8 A partial reconstruction of his fascist biography is in Edoardo Savino, *La nazione operante. Profili e figure* (Milan: Archetipografia, 1934), 155–56.
 - 9 For an overview of Bardi's life and work, and writing see Sergio Lodovici [S. Samek Ludovici], *Storici teorici e critici delle arti figurative d'Italia dal 1800 al 1940* (Rome: Tosi, 1946), 41–42; Riccardo Mariani, *Razionalismo e architettura moderna. Storia di una polemica* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1989); Francesco Tentori, *P.M. Bardi con le cronache artistiche de "L'Ambrosiano" 1930–1933* (Milan: Mazzotta, 1990); Francesco Tentori, *Pietro Maria Bardi. Primo attore del razionalismo* (Turin: Testo & Immagine, 2002); Angelo D'Orsi, “Bardi Pietro Maria,” in *Dizionario del fascismo*, eds. Victoria di De Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, Vol. I (Turin: Einaudi, 2002), 146–47; David Rifkind, *The Battle for Modernism. Quadrante and the Politicization of Architectural Discourse in Fascist Italy* (Venice: Marsilio, 2012); Paolo Rusconi, “Pietro Maria Bardi,” in *Post zang tumb tuuum. Art Life Politics. Italia 1918–1943*, ed. Germano Celant (Milan: Fondazione Prada, 2018), 172–75. On the history of Bardi's Art Galleries, see Paolo Rusconi, “Via Brera n. 16. La galleria di Pietro Maria Bardi,” in *Modernidade Latina. Os Italianos e os Centros do Modernismo Latino-americano*, ed. Ana Gonçalves Magalhães (São Paulo: Museu de Arte Contemporânea da Universidade de São Paulo, 2014); Paolo Rusconi, “Invenção de um personagem. Iconografia e sina de Pietro Maria Bardi nos primeiros anos 1930,” in *Pietro Maria Bardi, construtor de um novo paradigma cultural*, edited by Nelson Aguilar (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2019), 25–46; Viviana Pozzoli, “Lo Studio d'Arte Palma: storia di un'impresa per il commercio artistico nell'Italia del dopoguerra,” *ACME* 69, no. 2 (2016): 145–73. An initial list of his contributions to illustrated magazines published by Rizzoli can be found in note 58 of Paolo Rusconi, “La divulgazione dell'arte contemporanea nelle riviste popolari illustrate,” in *Gli anni trenta a Milano. Tra architetture, immagini e opere d'arte*, a eds. Silvia Bignami and Paolo Rusconi (Milan: Mimesis, 2014), 165–98.
 - 10 See Milan, Archivio Fotografico della Triennale – Biblioteca del progetto, TRN_V_02_0062-0064 and 0043-0045; See also “Galleria delle Nazioni – Opere tipiche” and “Galleria dell'Italia – Opere costruite” in *V Triennale di Milano. Catalogo ufficiale* (Milan: Ceschina, IV ed., 1933), 179–223.
 - 11 Ugo Ojetto writes: ‘Entriamo ad esempio nella lunga sala della Mostra d'architettura. È una mostra, purtroppo di centinaia di fotografie e perciò non molto frequentata. Ci si trova in pochi e al fresco: un riposo’. See Ugo Ojetto, “Arte del nostro tempo. La quinta Triennale di Milano,” *Corriere della Sera*, May 26, 1933.

- 12 Some references appear in Laura Moure Cecchini, “The Nave Italia and the Politics of Latinità: Art, Commerce, and Cultural Colonization in the Early Days of Fascism,” *Italian Studies* 71 (4 November 2016): 446; and in Marina Martin Barbosa, “Masp e Mam: percursos e movimentos culturais de uma época (1947–1969)” (PhD diss. University of Campinas, University of Venice, 2015), 24–28.
- 13 The present text anticipates a wider work on the Buenos Aires expedition shared with Eugenia Gorini Esmeraldo.
- 14 The origins of this essay can be traced to the International collaboration agreement with Professor Ana Gonçalves Magalhães from MAC/USP and to exhibition *Italiani sull’Oceano: storie di artisti nel Brasile moderno e indigeno alla metà del ‘900* (Milan: Mudec, 25 March–21 July 2016).
- 15 See “Comunicazione della Segreteria Nazionale,” *Architettura*. Supplemento *sindacale della rivista del Sindacato nazionale fascista architetti* 1 (January 25, 1934): VII.
- 16 See, for example, Vincenzo Spinelli, “L’Architettura italiana d’oggi nella Mostra di Buenos Aires,” *La Tribuna*, January 16, 1934; “L’architettura italiana d’oggi nei commenti della stampa argentina,” *Il Secolo XIX*, January 19, 1934; “L’architettura italiana in Argentina. La mostra ordinata a Buenos Ayres per iniziativa della Direzione degli Italiani all’Estero,” *Corriere Emiliano*, January 23, 1934; “Le conferenze di P.M. Bardi nell’America meridionale,” *Il Popolo di Brescia*, January 26, 1934; “Propaganda in Argentina alla nuova architettura italiana,” *Corriere Padano*, January 31, 1934.
- 17 The impulse to promote Bardi’s Exhibition is evident in a great number of journal, such as *Corriere Padano*, November 26, 1933; *Il Popolo di Trieste*, December 3, 1933; *Corriere Mercantile*, December 20, 1933; *La Stampa*, December 21, 1933; *La Nazione*, December 21, 1933; *Il Secolo XIX*, December 21, 1933; *Il Popolo d’Italia*, December 22, 1933; *Corriere della Sera*, December 28, 1933, *Il Messaggero*, December 28, 1933; *Il Secolo XIX*, January 9, 1934, *La Nazione*, January 9, 1934; *La Nazione*, January 14, 1934.
- 18 See Raniero Nicolai, “P.M.B. Y La Arquitectura Italiana Moderna,” *La Nacion*, January 28, 1934. But the newspaper article was written in Rome in December 1933.
- 19 See for example “Il Presidente della Repubblica inaugura solennemente la Mostra dell’Architettura italiana d’oggi,” *Il Mattino d’Italia*, December 20, 1933; “Fue inaugurada ayer la exposicion de moderna arquitectura italiana,” *La Nacion*, December 20, 1933; “Fue inaugurada la muestra de arquitectura moderna italiana,” *La Prensa*, December 20, 1933; “Notiziario. Inaugurazione della Mostra d’Architettura Italiana Moderna,” *La Scena illustrata*, edizione straordinaria, December 31, 1933.

- 20 ‘Caro Bardi [...] non ti dimenticare che sabato prossimo, alla Radio, devi parlare di Mussolini’. Milan, Archivio Storico Civico, Fondo Bardi (ASCMi/FB), Cartella 4, doc. 1508, Vincenzo Spinelli, Postcard to Pietro Maria Bardi, 4 January 1934.
- 21 See for example “Segni dei tempi. Si chiude la libreria Dante Alighieri,” *L’Italia del Popolo*, May 16, 1934.
- 22 Folco Testena [Comunardo Braccialarghe], “Le case comode e le case belle,” *Il Giornale d’Italia*, January 10, 1934. On Folco Testena see Federica Bertagna, *La stampa italiana in Argentina* (Rome: Donzelli, 2009), 52–56.
- 23 Emblematic of this context is the verbal attack of Folco Testena to the journal *Mattino d’Italia*. Folco Testena, “Parlando di politica e d’arte in un salotto,” *Il Giornale d’Italia*, November 29, 1933. Another example of personal scuffle is witnessed by the contrast between Cesare Afeltra, vice consul of Bahia Blanca and Giulio Leporace, president of the Istituto di Cultura Italica of Bahia Blanca. ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1513, Cesare Afeltra, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi 20 January 1934. For an overview of the relationship between Italian Fascism and Argentina see *Fascisti in Sud America*, ed. Eugenia Scarzanella (Florence: Le Lettere, 2005). In particular for this study it was important to read the essays by Eugenia Scarzanella. “Il Fascismo italiano in Argentina: al servizio degli affari” in *Fascisti in Sud America*, 111–174, Camilla Cattarulla, ““Cosa direste a Mussolini se aveste occasione di parlargli?»: un’inchiesta de ‘Il Mattino d’Italia’,” in *Fascisti in Sud America*, 175–203, and Vanni Blengino. “La marcia su Buenos Aires (Il Mattino d’Italia)”, in *Fascisti in Sud America*, 205–33. It was equally important Federico Finchelstein, *Fascismo trasatlántico. Ideología, violencia y sacralidad en Argentina y en Italia, 1919–1945* (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010).
- 24 Bardi’s papers includes voluminous correspondence in support of this affair. ASCMi/FB, cartella 4. See for example ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1530, Emilio Pettoruti, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi [8 February 1934].
- 25 See ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1486, G. Battaglia [Circolo Italiano], Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 5 December 1933; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1488, Vincenzo Spinelli [Patronato Italiano], Postcard to Pietro Maria Bardi, 23 December 1933; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1483, E. Ballerini [Associazione nazionale argentina Progenie d’Italia], Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 22 December 1933.
- 26 See for example ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1481, Tarquinio Gervasoni, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 6 November 1933.
- 27 See for example ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1503, Scott W. Hilton [*Nuestra arquitectura*], Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 10 January 1934; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1504, Bartolomé M. Repetto [Sociedad Central de Arquitectos], Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 17 January

- 1934; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1510, A. Dani [*El Vademecum del Constructor*], 19 January 1934; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1516, Isaac Stok, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 19 January 1934; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1518, Alberto E. Terrot, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 24 January 1934; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1520, Antonio U. Vilar, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 26 January 1934; “P.M. Bardi alla ‘Sociedad Central de Arquitectos,’” *Il Mattino d’Italia*, January 19, 1934. See also the reception of architecture magazines such as *Revista de Arquitectura*. b.m.r., “Muestra de la Arquitectura italiana de hoy,” *Revista de Arquitectura* 1 (January 1934), 21–8.
- 28 See Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Ministero della Cultura Popolare (ACS, Minculpop), Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires.
- 29 This is the complete list of articles published in the *Messaggero* 1934: “Nuova puntasecca dell’Argentina,” March 18; “Lo spirito degli argentini,” March 20; “Gli Italiani in Argentina. Abbiamo fondato paesi e città,” March 22; “L’Architettura a Buenos Aires,” March 25; “Fatti tipici in Argentina,” March 29; “Eredità del pioniere argentino,” April 1; “Dicono gli argentini: avete vinto la battaglia del grano,” April 5; “Capacidad para 200 millones de habitantes,” April 8; “Il Fascismo in Argentina,” April 13; “Cosa dicono dell’Italia in Argentina,” April 18; “Gli italiani d’argentina. Cifre alla mano,” April 24; “Idee sull’Argentina chiarite dai pittori,” May 1; “Conclusioni sull’Argentina,” May 5.
- 30 *Amer* consists of a large notebook of lined sheets. The notebook is a hybrid document in which the assembly of drawings, writings and press clippings is used. The manuscript sheets are not numbered and only 73 are written. The chronological range goes from 18 November 1933 to 7 April 1934. Eugenia Gorini Esmeraldo is preparing her PhD thesis on this manuscript at the University of Campinas.
- 31 The personal notebook *Amer* is located in the Biblioteca e Centro de Pesquisa do Masp, São Paulo. My thanks to the Museum Director Adriano Pedrosa and curator Ivani di Grazia Costa for assisting me and granting me access to the Museum Archives.
- 32 See Bardi, *Amer* pp. 32r, 34r, 35r, 42r. The numbering of the manuscript papers follows a progressive trend indicating the simple recto or verso. Bardi’s comments on *Crisol*: “Unos minutos con Bardi ...,” *Crisol*, January 26, 1934. On Argentine Journal’s different voices, see Vanni Blengino, “La marcia su Buenos Aires (Il Mattino d’Italia),” in *Fascisti in Sud America*, 205–33.
- 33 See Bardi, *Amer* pp. 30r, 31r, 33r, 41r, 45r.
- 34 A study that analyses these practices is *Littérature et document autor de 1930. Hétérogénéité et hybridation générique*, eds. Sarah Bonciarelli, Anne Reverseau and Carmen Van den Bergh (Rennes: La Licorne, 2014).

- 35 ASCMi/FB, Cartella 9 bis, fasc. Zavattini, 2/32, Cesare Zavattini, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, undated.
- 36 ASCMi/FB, Cartella 9 bis, fasc. Zavattini, Pietro Maria Bardi, Letter to Cesare Zavattini, undated.
- 37 Ivi.
- 38 Pietro Maria Bardi, *Un fascista al paese dei soviet* (Rome: Edizioni d'Italia, 1933).
- 39 See Bardi, *Amer* p. 4r.
- 40 Pietro Maria Bardi, *Belvedere dell'architettura italiana d'oggi* (Milan: Edizioni Quadrante, 1933). On the relation between photography and publishing architecture see Giovanni Fanelli, *Storia della fotografia di architettura* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2009), 287–386. See also H el ene Janni ere, “Distilled Avant-Garde Echoes: Word and Image in Architectural Periodicals of the 1920s and 1930s,” *Architectural Histories* 4 (2016): 1–21 and H el ene Janni ere, “Images d’une ville moderne pour l’Italie fasciste. La Photographie publi ee, Quadrante 1933–1936,” in *Figures de la ville et construction des savoirs*, edited by Fr ed eric Pousin (Paris: CNRS  ditions, 2005), 17–127.
- 41 On Guido Modiano and *Quadrante* see Paolo Rusconi, “Nella tipografia di *Quadrante*: le pagine, i caratteri di stampa e una copertina,” in *I modernismi delle riviste: tra Europa e Stati Uniti*, eds. Caroline Patey and Edoardo Esposito (Milan: LED, 2017), 193–213.
- 42 We do not have the precise number of tables shown. The press speaks of 50, but a document from the Central State Archive of Rome reveals that, for the exhibition, 31 retouched photographic enlargements (1 m by 65 cm) were made. See ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Alberto Cartoni. Industria Fotografica, Letter to Ministero degli Esteri, 11 December 1933.
- 43 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Piero Parini, Letters to Mario Camperio, Raffaele Mattioli, Piero Pirelli, Ciro Prearo, Alfredo Bossi, Giacinto Motta, Italo Bonardi, Antonio Stefano Benni, Emilio e Felice Damioli, Camillo Olivetti, Giovanni Agnelli, 24 and 29 November 1933.
- 44 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Mario Arlotta, Cable to Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 18 September 1933.
- 45 ACS, Segreteria Particolare del Duce, 334, fasc. 114.407.
- 46 “Mostra di pittura argentina a Roma, Milano e Genova,” *L’Ambrosiano*, March 15, 1933; The exhibition was visited by Mussolini. See “Mostre d’arte a Roma,” *L’Ambrosiano*, April 3, 1933; “Alla Galleria di Roma,” *Rassegna dell’Istruzione artistica*, no. 2 (April 1933): 111.

- 47 See “Una mostra di pittori argentini in Italia,” *Il Messaggero*, 14 March 1933; “La Mostra dei pittori argentini. Una riunione in onore del Prof. Pagano,” *Il Messaggero*, 18 March 1933.
- 48 “Mostra di pittura argentina a Roma, Milano e Genova,” *L’Ambrosiano*, 15 March 1933.
- 49 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Bruno Biagi [Ministero delle Corporazioni], Letter to Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 18 January 1934.
- 50 See, for example, the traveling exhibitions of contemporary Italian art organized by the Società Dante Alighieri in Germany and Geneva in 1933.
- 51 ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1480, [Draft Cable], 31 October 1933.
- 52 On the success of the exhibition see ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1531, Armando Marotta, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, 23 February 1934.
- 53 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Mario Arlotta, Express to Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 8 December 1933. ‘... e tenuto conto dell’alto interesse che presenta lo sviluppo della nostra penetrazione in Argentina, proprio in quelle classi culturali presso le quali tuttora ha buona presa l’influenza francese, la venuta quanto più frequente possibile di nostre personalità del mondo intellettuale intonato al Regime ...’.
- 54 ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1494, B. Zucchini [Circolo Italiano], Postcard to Pietro Maria Bardi, [1933–1934].
- 55 ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1479 and 1496, Felice Felicioni, Letter to Pietro Maria Bardi, with an attachment, 16 October 1933.
- 56 ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1478, Giuseppe Berti, Letter to Piero Parini, 12 October 1933.
- 57 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Michele Barillari [Fasci Italiani all’Estero], Note for Direzione Generale degli Italiani all’Estero, 9 October 1933.
- 58 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Alberto Cartoni. Industria fotografica, Letter to Ministero degli Esteri, 11 December 1933.
- 59 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d’architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Piero Parini, Draft Cable to Ambasciata d’Italia, 16 October 1933; Piero Parini, Cable to Ambasciata d’Italia, 28 October 1933; Piero Parini, Draft Cable to Ambasciata d’Italia, 9 November 1933; Piero Parini, Cable to Ambasciata d’Italia, 12 November 1933.
- 60 Bardi, *Amer*, p. 7r.
- 61 See Nicolas Olivari, “Hay que derribar Buenos Aires,” Press clipping from *Voces* magazine without date ASCMi/FB, Cartella 3, doc. 811;

- “Una excelente impresion recibio de Buenos Aires el animador de la Arquitectura Moderna Italiana,” *La Razón*, 17 December 1933.
- 62 “Se inaugurara hoy una muestra de la moderna Arquitectura italiana,” *El Diario*, December 19, 1933; Emiliano Pettoruti, “Una Expresión de la Nueva Arquitectura de Italia. Pedro Maria Bardi,” *El Argentino*, 25 December 1933.
- 63 See “Se inaugurara hoy una muestra de la moderna Arquitectura italiana,” *El Diario*, 19 December 1933; “P.M.Bardi alla Sociedad Central de Arquitectos,” *Il Mattino d’Italia*, January 19, 1934; Even after his return to Italy, his photographs appear in magazines such as Nicolas Olivari, “El tango que llega a Europa es un producto frigorífico, dijo P.M. Bardi a Juan de Dios Filiberto,” *Sintonía*, 17 March 1934.
- 64 During his stay in Buenos Aires, Bardi hosted a sale of a group of photographs with the effigy of the Duce. ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1482, Italianissima Libreria Mele, Sales receipt on consignment, 7 December 1933. On Ghitta Carell see Roberto Dulio, *Un ritratto mondano. Fotografie di Ghitta Carell* (Milan: Johan & Levi, 2013).
- 65 Autographed photographs are published in *Il Mattino d’Italia*, *La Scena illustrata*, *El Vademecum del constructor*. For a list of people to whom autograph photos with dedication see ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1476, [List of dedication]. In the list of photographs to donate with autographs are Victoria Ocampo and María Rosa Oliver. A portrait of Bardi with Le Corbusier is dedicated to them, in memory of common knowledge. Maria Rosa Oliver’s relations with Italy were established thanks to Lamberti Sorrentino and Anton Giulio Bragaglia. The same writer published several articles for the “Corriere del Mare,” a magazine published by the Italian Navigation Society. See Paula Bertúa, “María Rosa Oliver: apuntes de viaje y crítica cultural,” *Boletín/17 del Centro de Estudios de Teoría y Crítica Literaria* (December 2013): 3–11.
- 66 See *Quadrante*, 10 (February 1934), 27.
- 67 Surely photography was a common practice of the Quadrante group: Bottoni, Bardi, Peresutti, Figini, Pollini and Terragni used this instrument extensively.
- 68 L. Moholy-Nagy, *Architects’ Congress*, 1933.
- 69 See “Des yeux qui ne voient pas ... I. Les paquebots in Le Corbusier,” in *Vers une architecture*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Crès, 1924), 65–80.
- 70 Bardi, “Cronaca di viaggio,” 33.
- 71 Bardi, *Amer*, pp. 9r, 11r, 13r, 14r, 18r. Some satirical drawings by Bardi are published in *Almanacco degli artisti. Il vero Giotto 1932* (Rome: La Laziale, 1932). For the post-war period see Marco Biagi, “Pietro Maria Bardi inedito. 40 vignette satiriche,” *Casabella* 883 (March 2018): 39–40.
- 72 Bardi, “Cronaca di viaggio,” 20.
- 73 Bardi, *Amer*, p. 26r.

- 74 See the sketches in P.M. Bardi, *Lembrança de Le Corbusier. Atenas, Itália, Brasil* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1984), 53, 159. On Le Corbusier, Bardi had already published a book in 1950 on the occasion of the exhibition at the MASP. P.M. Bardi, *Leitura crítica de Le Corbusier* (São Paulo: Habitat, 1950).
- 75 Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture*, 128.
- 76 Bardi, *Amer*, p. 35r.
- 77 Le Corbusier, *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme* (Paris: Les éditions Crès, 1930).
- 78 Bardi's photograph with the architect Pollini and Le Corbusier during CIAM4 must also be mentioned. See "Una excelente impresión recibí de Buenos Aires el animador de la Arquitectura Moderna Italiana," *La Razón*, December 17, 1933.
- 79 On the Argentine stay of Le Corbusier see Ramón Gutiérrez, "Le Corbusier en Buenos Aires. Nuevas lecturas sobre el viaje de 1929," in *Le Corbusier en el Río de la Plata, 1929*, ed. Ramón Gutiérrez (Buenos Aires: CEDODAL, 2009), 21–54. See also Jacob Moore, "Presumed Influence: Le Corbusier and Buenos Aires, 1927–1935," *San Rocco* 12 (Spring 2016): 43–52. On the problematic reception of the architect from the intellectual environment porteño see the third chapter of Jorge Francisco Liernur (with Pablo Pschepiurca), *La red austral. Obras y proyectos de Le Corbusier y sus discípulos en la Argentina (1924–1965)* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes; Buenos Aires: Prometeo Libros, 2012), 75–117.
- 80 "Se inaugurara hoy una muestra de la moderna Arquitectura italiana," *El Diario*, 19 December 1933.
- 81 Pietro Maria Bardi, "Lettere a Quadrante," *Quadrante* 10 (February 1934): 42–5.
- 82 Le Corbusier, "Prologue Américain," in *Précisions sur un état présent de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme*, 1–22.
- 83 The story of his daily occupations in Buenos Aires is codified according to the normative codes of modernity at all costs. For example, Pettoruti and Olivari, in a repeated Futurist scheme, took Bardi from the arrival quay, taking him to the streets of the South American metropolis on a fast car so as to perceive its frenzy and urban dynamism. "P.M. Bardi e l'architettura moderna in Italia," *Il Mattino d'Italia*, 5 December 1933.
- 84 Olivari, "Hay que derribar Buenos Aires."
- 85 "Se inaugurara hoy una muestra de la moderna Arquitectura italiana," *El Diario*, 19 December 1933. On the Italian contribution to architecture and urban development in Buenos Aires see *Architettura e urbanistica di origine italiana in Argentina. Tutela e valorizzazione di uno straordinario patrimonio culturale*, eds. Gastone Ave and Emanuela De Menna (Rome: Gangemi, 2010) and *Italia-Argentina. Andata e ritorno. Migrazioni professionali, relazioni architettoniche, trasformazioni urbane*, edited

- by Giovanna D'Amia (Santarcangelo di Romagna (RN): Maggioli, 2015).
- 86 Olivari, "Hay que derribar Buenos Aires."
- 87 Le Corbusier, *Précisions*, 2.
- 88 Bardi, "Cronaca di viaggio," 20. See also Lamberti, "Le Corbusier e l'Italia (1932–1936)," 830–31.
- 89 On Marcello Piacentini see the comprehensive work of Paolo Nicoloso, *Marcello Piacentini. Architettura e potere: una biografia* (Udine: Gaspari, 2018).
- 90 ACS, Minculpop, Propaganda presso gli Stati esteri 1930–1943, Busta 4, Mostra d'architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, Alberto Calza Bini, Letter to Piero Parini, 24 November 1933; Piero Parini, Letter to Alberto Calza Bini, 25 November 1933. A resurgence of this of this case occurred in the summer of 1934. See Ufficio Stampa del Capo del Governo, Memorandum for Mostra di architettura italiana a Buenos Aires, 19 September 1934.
- 91 See the correspondence between Ugo Rossetto and Pietro Maria Bardi in ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1525, 1425, Ugo Rossetto, Letters to Pietro Maria Bardi, 2 and 6 February 1934; See also ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1526, 1532, Joaquin Rubianes, Letters to Pietro Maria Bardi, 6 February and 6 April 1934; ASCMi/FB, Cartella 4, doc. 1511, Vicente Leveratto, Cardboard to Pietro Maria Bardi, 20 January 1934.

Chapter 5

- 1 This research was funded by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development – CNPq. The chapter presents results enabled by the support of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES), which resulted in a PhD thesis: Leandro Pereira Gonçalves, "Entre Brasil e Portugal: trajetória e pensamento de Plínio Salgado e a influência do conservadorismo português" (PhD thesis, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo, 2012); later published in: Leandro Pereira Gonçalves, *Plínio Salgado: um católico integralista entre Portugal e o Brasil (1895–1975)* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2017) and Leandro Pereira Gonçalves, *Plínio Salgado: um católico integralista entre Portugal e o Brasil (1895–1975)* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2018).
- 2 Associate Professor at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF). PhD in History from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP) with a Junior Visiting Fellowship at the Institute of Social Sciences at the University of Lisbon (ICS-ULisboa) and a postdoctoral fellowship from the Universidad Nacional de Córdoba (Center for Advanced Studies/Argentina).
- 3 In 1937, Getúlio Vargas, who had been the president of Brazil since 1930, enacted by decree the New State coup, consolidating the

- dictatorship. Thereafter all parties and political associations were extinguished (Maria Helena Capelato, “O Estado Novo: o que trouxe de novo?” in *O Brasil republicano*, org. Jorge Ferreira and Lucília de Almeida Neves Delgado, Vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003), 107–43).
- 4 António Costa Pinto, *Os Camisas Azuis: ideologia, elites e movimentos fascistas em Portugal – 1914–1945* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1994), 143.
 - 5 The first modernist moments began in 1922, with the Week of Modern Art, the peak of cultural rupture in Brazil. Modernism in the country not only was an artistic movement, but also represented a manifestation against Brazilian politics. There was a strong Brazilian movement in the 1920s to eliminate any kind of foreign influence from Brazilian culture. The artistic class sought to form a new civilization, defending national culture.
 - 6 Eliana Regina de Freitas Dutra, *O ardil totalitário: imaginário político no Brasil dos anos 30* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG; Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 1997), 16.
 - 7 Antônio Arnoni Prado. *1922 – itinerário de uma falsa vanguarda: os dissidentes, a semana e o integralismo* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1983), 77.
 - 8 Arnoni. *1922 – itinerário*, 99.
 - 9 Letter of Plínio Salgado to Ribeiro Couto, 5 July 1933.
 - 10 Nuno Simão Ferreira, “A I República e os integralistas: a visão de Alberto de Monsaraz,” *Lusíada: história* no. 5–6 (2009): 256.
 - 11 In contrast to the Brazilian movement, Portuguese integralism did not have a unique and hegemonic leader, but rather a group of university students who had just graduated from the University of Coimbra: José Hipólito Raposo, Luís de Almeida Braga, António de Sousa Sardinha, Alberto of Monsaraz, José Pequito Rebelo and Francisco Rolão Preto. Despite this organization being based on the official nonexistence of a single and hegemonic leader, António Sardinha was seen as a sort of mentor and uncontested leader of the Lusitanian movement (António Costa Pinto, “A formação do integralismo lusitano (1907–17),” *Análise Social* 70 (1983)).
 - 12 Pinto, “A formação,” 1413.
 - 13 What was seen was a thought marked by ramifications, that is, Plínio Salgado, for having a circularity of appropriation, was using a series of ideas collected and identified throughout his life to create and segment a doctrine defended by him as innovative, unique and authentic. For Roger Chartier, between the text and the reader, there is a theory of reading which ensures the understanding of the appropriation of discourses, the way in which they affect and lead to a new form of understanding (Roger Chartier, *Formas e sentido: cultura escrita, entre distinção e apropriação* (Campinas: Mercado de Letras; Associação de

Leitura do Brasil, 2003); Roger Chartier, *A história cultural: entre práticas e representações* (Lisboa: Difel, 1990). On the other hand, João Fábio Bertonha affirms the ‘invalidity and fragility’ of my interpretation simply because the leader of integralism did not mention in his works elements of *Action Française*, such as Maurrasianism and aspects of Portuguese intellectuality based on Lusitanian Integralism (João Fábio Bertonha, “Salgado, Reale e Barroso. Políticos e intelectuais em circulação entre o Brasil, a Itália, a Alemanha, a França e Portugal,” *Perseu: História, Memória e Política* 12 (2018); João Fábio Bertonha, *Plínio Salgado: biografia política (1895–1975)* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2018). Plínio Salgado always made his desire for originality explicit and, at different points in time, denied political relations or even inspirations, placing integralism as a genuinely Brazilian and original movement, implying that it was the ‘ground zero’. The avant-garde vision required a modernist and innovative thought to be presented before Brazilian society and defended originality, a characteristic that radical conservative movements also adopted for the acceptance of the intellectuality. It was like this in Portugal, with the Lusitanian Integralism, and in Brazil, with the Brazilian Integralist Action. Due to the strong attachment to the documentary issue and to the detriment of interpretation, the fact that there are no citations and references of the readings by Plínio Salgado cannot be taken as a complete proof of absence. There was a cultural circularity in which Portuguese and Brazilian conservatism were embedded. With this relation, one sees the constitution of the historical trajectory of the political subject that was Plínio Salgado.

- 14 Helgio Trindade, *A tentação fascista no Brasil: imaginário de dirigentes e militantes integralistas* (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, 2016, 158–79).
- 15 “Palavras de despedida,” *Idade Nova* (1946).
- 16 Letter of Plínio Salgado to Ribeiro Couto, 5 July 1933.
- 17 Hipólito Raposo, *Dois Nacionalismos: L’Action Française e o Integralismo Lusitano* (Lisbon: Ferej Torres, 1929), 33.
- 18 Gilberto Felisberto Vasconcellos, *Ideologia curupira: análise do discurso integralista* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1979), 47.
- 19 Pinto, “A formação,” 1418.
- 20 Mendo Castro Henriques, “Perspectivas ético-económicas no integralismo lusitano,” in *Contribuições para a história do pensamento económico em Portugal: comunicações apresentadas no Seminário sobre História do Pensamento Económico em Portugal organizado em outubro de 1987 pelo Centro de Investigação sobre Economia Portuguesa (CISEP) do Instituto Superior de Economia*, ed. José Luís Cardoso (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 1988).
- 21 In 1891, Pope Leo XIII began a fight against what he called the workers exploitation, but at the same time an opposition to the class

struggle and to Marxism. He began to see and defend religion as an element of reform and social justice, while for Marx such changes could only occur through revolution. There was, in Catholic thought, an appeal to the Christian spirit in the hopes that employers would respect the workers. In this way the church reached several social segments whose main purpose was undoubtedly to keep materialistic thoughts away from power, thus preventing any kind of opposition to Western Christian domination.

- 22 Antônio Rago Filho, “A crítica romântica à miséria brasileira: o integralismo de Gustavo Barroso” (PhD diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 1989), 157.
- 23 Rago Filho, “A crítica,” 180.
- 24 Henriques, “Perspectivas,” 153.
- 25 Nuno Simão Ferreira, “Alberto de Monsaraz e a vaga dos nacionalismos e dos radicalismos político-autoritários europeus do pós-I Guerra mundial: um rumo até o fascismo?” *Lusíada: história* 4 (2007): 283.
- 26 Ferreira, “Alberto,” 256.
- 27 António José Fernandes, *Social-Democracia e Doutrina Social da Igreja: incompatíveis ou convergentes?* (Lisbon: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1979), 91.
- 28 Plínio Salgado, *Manifesto de outubro de 1932* (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Nacional de Propaganda, 1932).
- 29 Plínio Salgado, “Mensagem na semana heroica,” in *Cartas aos camisas verdes*, ed. Plínio Salgado (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1935), 131.
- 30 Teresa Malatian, *Império e missão: um novo monarquismo brasileiro* (São Paulo: Nacional, 2001), 85.
- 31 Lawyer, professor, journalist, philosopher and politician (1891–1928) who converted to Catholicism and developed a strong Catholic movement in Brazil to fight liberalism and communism. The organization created, the Dom Vital Center, has fundamental importance for understanding the Brazilian integralist movement.
- 32 The Dom Vital Center was founded by Jackson de Figueiredo in 1922, with the support of D. Leme. The definition of its role is directly linked to the Brazilian social context. “[...] A spirit of euphoria and renewal emerged in the post-war period. Political institutions were beginning to run into crisis. [...] The Dom Vital Center was organized with the purpose of catholicizing the laws, fighting for peace ... in order to contribute to the episcopacy in the work of recatholicization of intellectuals” (Romualdo Dias, *Imagens de ordem: a doutrina católica sobre a autoridade no Brasil* (São Paulo: Unesp, 1996), 89–90).
- 33 Olivier Compagnon, “Le maurrasianisme en Amérique latine: Etude comparée des cas argentin et brésilien,” in *Charles Maurras et l'étranger l'étranger et Charles Maurras: L'Action française – culture, politique, société III*, eds. Olivier Dard and Michel Grunewald (Berne: Peter Lang, 2009), 283.

- 34 Compagnon, “Le maurrasianisme,” 286.
- 35 Jayme Ferreira Silva, *A verdade sobre o integralismo: discurso pronunciado na Câmara do Distrito Federal na Sessão de 9 de julho de 1947* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1947), 7.
- 36 Plínio Salgado, “Como eu vi a Itália,” *Hierarchia* (1932): 204.
- 37 Zeev Sternhell, “Introducción: fascismo como cultura política alternativa,” in *El nacimiento de la ideología fascista*, eds. Zeev Sternhell, Mario Sznajder and Maia Asheri (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1994), 1–46.
- 38 Archivio centrale dello stato, segretaria particolare del duce, carteggio ordinario, Udienze, b. 3102, f. giugno/1930 apud Bertonha, *Plínio*, 85.
- 39 Serge Berstein, “A cultura política,” in *Para uma história cultura*, eds. Jean-Pierre Rioux and Jean-François Sirinelli (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998), 355.
- 40 The first meeting for the formation of the Society for Political Studies was held on 24 February 1932, as a result of actions by Salgado in São Paulo, at the headquarters of the newspaper *A Razão*. A group of young intellectuals participated in this meeting: Candido Mota Filho, Ataliba Nogueira, Mário Graciotti, João Leães Sobrinho, Fernando Callage and several students of the Law Faculty (Helgio Trindade, *Integralismo: o fascismo brasileiro da década de 30*. 2. ed. (Porto Alegre: Difel/UFRGS, 1979), 116).
- 41 Pinto, *Os Camisas Azuis*, 144.
- 42 He was a lawyer, politician and university professor. With outstanding performance in Law, he was one of the main names of the Brazilian Integralist Action Cf.: Pedro Ivo Dias Tanagino, “A síntese integral: a teoria do integralismo na obra de Miguel Reale (1932–1939)” (PhD thesis, Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, 2018).
- 43 Trindade, *Integralismo*, 251.
- 44 Malatian, *Império*, 67.
- 45 About Plínio Salgado’s exile: Gonçalves, *Plínio Salgado*, 2017; Gonçalves, *Plínio Salgado*, 2018.
- 46 Cf. Gonçalves, *Plínio Salgado*, 2017; Gonçalves, *Plínio Salgado*, 2018.
- 47 The Academic Centre for Christian Democracy (CADC) in Coimbra aimed to train young people who faced religious and social issues by strengthening the papal orientations, notably those of Leo XIII and his Catholic Social Teaching, since after the *Rerum Novarum* the religious and the social had a closer relationship. Cf.: António Rafael Amaro, “O *Imparcial*, um jornal de combate (1912–1919),” in *O C.A.D.C. de Coimbra, a democracia cristã e os inícios do Estado Novo (1905–1934): uma abordagem a partir dos Estudos Sociais (1905–1911), Imparcial (1912–1919) e Estudos (1922–1934)*, eds. Jorge Seabra, António Rafael Amaro and João Paulo Avelãs Nunes (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras, 1993).
- 48 António Costa Pinto, “O Estado Novo português e a vaga autoritária dos anos 1930 do século XX,” in *O corporativismo em português: estado, política e sociedade no salazarismo e no varguismo*, eds. Francisco Carlos

- Palomanes Martinho and António Costa Pinto (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 40.
- 49 Philippe Schmitter specifies the automatic connection between corporatism/fascism, highlighting the error that this can cause in a historical analysis, as in the case of Salazarism. He points out that there are ‘right-wing corporatist and left-wing corporatist, nationalist and internationalist corporatist, traditionalist, modernist, etc.’ (Philippe C. Schmitter, *Portugal: do autoritarismo à democracia* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1999), 109).
- 50 Schmitter, *Portugal*, 107.
- 51 António Costa Pinto, *O salazarismo e o fascismo europeu: problemas de interpretação nas Ciências Sociais* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1992), 123.
- 52 Maria Inácia Rezola, “A Igreja Católica portuguesa e a consolidação do salazarismo,” in *O corporativismo em português: estado, política e sociedade no salazarismo e no varguismo*, eds. Francisco Carlos Palomanes Martinho and António Costa Pinto (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 253.
- 53 José Barreto, “Comunistas, católicos e os sindicatos sob Salazar,” *Análise Social* 125–126 (1994).
- 54 Paul H. Lewis, *Authoritarian Regimes in Latin America: Dictators, Despots and Tyrants* (Lanham: Roman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 135.
- 55 Pinto, *O salazarismo*, 123.
- 56 Sandra Duarte, “A Liga Operária Católica: em defesa da concepção corporativa da Doutrina Social da Igreja (1949–1974),” *Lusitania Sacra* 19–20 (2007–2008).
- 57 António Costa Pinto, “‘Chaos’ and ‘Order’: Preto, Salazar and Charismatic Appeal in Inter-war Portugal,” in *Charisma and Fascism in Interwar Europe*, eds. Roger Eatwell, Stein U. Larsen and António Costa Pinto (London: Routledge, 2007), 39.
- 58 António Costa Pinto, “Portugal contemporâneo: uma introdução,” in *Portugal contemporâneo*, ed. António Costa Pinto (Lisboa: Dom Quixote, 2004), 44.
- 59 Pinto, “O Estado Novo,” 31.
- 60 Manuel Braga da Cruz, “O integralismo lusitano nas origens do salazarismo,” *Análise Social* 70 (1982).
- 61 José Barreto, “Oposição e resistência de católicos ao Estado Novo,” in *Religião e sociedade: dois ensaios*, ed. José Barreto (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2002), 131.
- 62 José Barreto, “Oposição,” 130–31.
- 63 At first, the publishing of the papal message was restricted to the newspaper *Novidades* on 6 and 9 January 1945. “This text should be compared with the speech of Pius XII delivered the same day for the Sacred College during the Christmas vigil” (José Barreto, “Oposição,” 163).
- 64 Cf.: Bruno Cardoso Reis, *Salzar e o Vaticano* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2006).

- 65 Cruz, “O integralismo,” 182.
- 66 French philosopher with a Thomistic orientation that had a relevant participation in the Action Française. However, after disagreements with Charles Maurras and with the doctrinal thinking, he initiated new theoretical organizations around Christian democracy and mainly in defence of human rights.
- 67 Jacques Maritain, *Princípios duma política humanista* (Lisbon: Livraria Moraes, 1960).
- 68 Olivier Compagnon, *Jacques Maritain et l’Amérique Du Sud: le modele malgré lui* (Villeneuve-d’Ascq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 2003), 250–51. About the circulation of the ideas of Maritain in Brazil: Katia de Queiros Mattoso, Idelette Muzart and Denis Rolland, eds., *Modèles politiques et culturels au Brésil: Emprunts, adaptations, rejets, XIXe et XXe S* (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris Sorbonne, 2003).
- 69 Duarte, “A Liga.”
- 70 José Barreto, “Oposição,” 163.
- 71 Pinto, “O Estado Novo”; António Costa Pinto and Francisco Carlos Palomanes Martinho, eds., *O corporativismo em português: estado, política e sociedade no salazarismo e no varguismo* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 41.

Chapter 6

- 1 Francisco Homem Christo Filho, *Mussolini, bâtisseur d’avenir* (Paris: Fast, 1923).
- 2 Arquivo Histórico Diplomático-Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (AHD-MNE), *Legação em Roma (L/R) 73*, f. 1928. On this point: Annarita Gori, Rita Almeida de Carvalho, Annarita Gori and Rita Almeida de Carvalho, “Italian Fascism and the Portuguese Estado Novo: International Claims and National Resistance,” *Intellectual History Review*, www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17496977.2019.1648055. Last access 05.09.2019. DOI: 10.1080/17496977.2019.1648055.
- 3 Edourad Pommier, “Notes sur l’histoire de l’idée latine,” in *La Latinité en question*, ed. L’Union Latin (Paris: IHEAL, 2004), 31; Nicolas Berjoan, “L’idée latine du Félibrige,” *Revue d’histoire du XIXe siècle* 42 (2011): 21–36.
- 4 See Francesca Zantedeschi, “L’invention d’un espace transnational,” in *Circulations et réseaux transnationaux en Europe*, eds. Ladry Charrier et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2013).
- 5 Louis Snyder, *Macro-Nationalism: A History of Pan-Movements* (Westport: Greenwood, 1984), pp. 3–15 and 102–11; Marius Turda and Aaron Gillette, *Latin Eugenetics in Comparative Perspective* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

- 6 Amotz Giladi, "Rayonnement et propagande culturels français autour de la Pan-Latinité," *French Politics Culture and Society* 31 no. 3 (2013): 96.
- 7 Catherine Fraixe, Lucia Piccioni and Christophe Poupault, eds., *Vers une Europe latine* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2014), 279.
- 8 Pommier, "Notes," 40.
- 9 Akira Irye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).
- 10 Amotz Giladi, "L'idéologie panlatine et les méandres des rapports franco-italiens," *La revue des revues* 49 (2013).
- 11 Emmanuel Mattiati, "L'axe Rome-Paris et la campagne pour le 'Blocco latino' dans *Le Nouveau Siècle*," *Chaiers de la Méditerranée* 95 (2017).
- 12 Clara Melo Serrano, *A Arte de falar e de estar calado. Augusto de Castro Jornalismo e diplomacia* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2017).
- 13 "Portugal no mundo Latino," *Diário de Notícias*, 3 June 1923.
- 14 "Un congrès de la Presse Latine," *Paris Noticias*, 13 July 1922.
- 15 Maurice de Waleffe, advocated since the beginning of the century a rapprochement between Europe and Central and South America on the basis of Latinity, see his "Dix Congrès de Presse Latine," *Revue des deux mondes* 11 (1930).
- 16 Jacques Chonchol and Guy Martinière, "L'invention scientifique de la 'latinité' de l'Amérique et le rayonnement du laboratoire latino-américain," in *L'Amérique latine et le latino-américanisme en France*, eds. Jacques Chonchol and Guy Martinière (Paris: IHEAL, 1985).
- 17 Évelyne Cohen, *Paris dans l'imaginaire national de l'entre-deux-guerres* (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2000), 111. Regarding pan-Latinism: Amotz Giladi, *Écrivains étrangers à Paris et construction identitaire supranationale. Le cas de la 'panlatinité', 1900–1939* (PhD diss., EHESS/CSE, Paris).
- 18 *Premier Congrès de la Presse Latine* (Lyon: Noir Clerc & Fénàtrier), 1923.
- 19 Marc Cheymol, "Miguel Ángel Asturias entre latinidad e indigenismo," in *Paris 1924–1933*, ed. Miguel Ángel Asturias (Madrid: ALLCA, 1996), 873.
- 20 Mauro Forno, *La stampa del Ventennio* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2005), 65–67.
- 21 For Carrillo and Padilla Castro right-wing opinion, see: "La verdadeira fisionomia de Mussolini," *ABC*, 21 September 1927; "El doctor Padilla Castro no ha firmado ningun cable para el Presidente Ubico," *La Tribuna*, 12 November 1933.
- 22 *Premier Congrès*, 23 e ff. "A La prensa Latina!"; "Lo que fue le [sic.] Congreso de Lyon," *La Vida Latina* 1, no. 1 (February 1924): 4 and 51.

- 23 “Le V congrès de la Presse Latine se réunit a Madrid,” *La Vie Latine* 4, no. 25 (June 1927): 1–3.
- 24 Lyon 1923, Lisbon 1924, Florence 1925, Liege 1926, Bucarest and Madrid 1927, La Havana 1928, Tour 1929, Athens 1930, Cairo 1932, Rabat 1933, Toledo 1934, Port-au-Prince 1935.
- 25 “Le Quatriem Congrès de la Presse Latine,” *La vie Latine* III, no. 27 (June–August 1926): 7.
- 26 Cheymol, “Miguel Ángel Asturias,” 863.
- 27 *Prèmier congrès*, 102.
- 28 “Les projets de la Presse Latine,” *Comoedia*, 30 September 1927.
- 29 Augusto de Castro, *Dentro e Fora de Portugal* (Lisbon: Fluminense, 1924), 150 and 174.
- 30 Isabella Löhr, “Lives Beyond Borders, Or: How to Trace Global Biographies,” *Comparative* 23 (2013): 6–21.
- 31 Giladi, “Rayonnement,” 93; Laurence Badel et al., *Ecrivains et diplomates* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2012), 22.
- 32 “O congresso da imprensa,” *Diário de Lisboa*, 15 February 1924; *La Prensa Latina y sus congresos* (La Havana: Diario de la Marina, 1928), 26. “El congreso de la Prensa Latina,” *El Sol*, 13 April 1927.
- 33 “Restitución de los restos del Partenon a Grecia,” *La Epoca*, 19 December 1930.
- 34 “Que fu le X^e Congres de la Presse latine au Caire,” *Marseille Matin*, 21 January 1932.
- 35 “Les travaux et les vœux présentés au cours du Congrès du Caire,” *Comædia*, 29 January 1932.
- 36 “Les projets de la Presse Latine,” *Comædia*, 30 January 1927.
- 37 Giladi, “Rayonnement,” 96 e ff.
- 38 “Le Quatrième Congrès de la Presse Latine,” *La Vie Latine* 2, no. 7 (June 1926): 10.
- 39 *Prèmier Congrès*, 22.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 41 *Ibid.*, 90.
- 42 “O congresso da Imprensa,” *Diário de Lisboa*, 15 February 1924.
- 43 “Le congrès de Madrid,” *La Vie Latine*, 1927, 4, 26, 7; “Les projets de la Presse Latine,” *Comædia*, 30 September 1927. Battemberg, *Cuba*, 84.
- 44 *La prensa Latina*, 18.
- 45 Marc Cheymol, *Miguel Angel Asturias dans le Paris des “années folles”* (Grenoble: Pug, 1987), 70. See also: Armando Maribona, “El punto de vista latino-americano,” *El Heraldo de Cuba*, 13 June 1927.
- 46 *Premier Congres*, 70.
- 47 Battemberg, *Cuba*, 84.
- 48 David Marcihacy, *Raza Hispana* (Madrid: Centro de estudios politicos y constitucionales, 2014), 132–57.
- 49 David Marcihacy, “!Nada de latinismos !Amérique ‘latine’ ou Amérique ‘hispanique,’” *Cahiers d’études romanes* 30 (2015): 201.

- 50 *La Prensa Latina*, 21.
- 51 Sérgio Campos Matos, “Transnational identities in Portugal and Spain: Hispano-Americanism, Pan-Lusitanism and Pan-Latinism,” *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 31, no. 2 (2018): 86.
- 52 Denis Rolland, “France-Amérique latine. La crise d’un universalisme, le modèle culturel et politique français au XXe siècle,” *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome*, 114, no. 1 (2002): 190 ff. More in general on the changes that occurred in Latin America during the first decade of twentieth century see: Valdés Eduardo Devés, *El pensamiento latino-americano* (Buenos Aires: Biblios, 2000), v.1 in particular: 97–109.
- 53 See, among others: *América y la identidad española en el siglo XX*, eds. Marcela García Sebastiani and Marisa González de Oleaga, special issue of *Historia y Política* 35 (January–June 2016): 13–174.
- 54 On *hispanidad*: Marçilhacy, *Raza hispana*.
- 55 *Premier Congrès*, 39.
- 56 “Le troisième congrès de la Presse Latine,” *La Vie Latine* 2, no. 9 (June–July 1925): 7.
- 57 “El congreso de la Prensa Latina,” *El Sol*, 13 April 1927; “El congreso de La Prensa Latina,” *El Sol*, 13 February 1924. More in general: Antonio Niño Rodríguez, “Orígenes y despliegue de la política cultural hacia América Latina,” in *España, Francia y América Latina*, eds. Denis Rolland et al. (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2001): 23–163.
- 58 Armando Maribona, “Carta abierta al director de ‘El Sol’ de Madrid,” cit. in *La Prensa Latina*, 14.
- 59 The new council was led by the Spanish Francisco Rodríguez and composed by of Popescu (Romania), Ojetti (Italia), de Jouvenel (France), Castro (Portugal), Luís Martins de Sousa Dantas (Brazil), Gomes Carrillo (Guatemala) plus two rotative representants of other Latin America nations.
- 60 Iberism was born as a project that encompassed Spain and Portugal and it maintained this feature until the end of the nineteenth century. It was only at the turn of the twentieth century that Iberism could be interpreted as an ideal patriotism that in some case transcended Peninsular frontiers: an effective way of securing Portuguese and Spanish places in a world post the English Ultimatum (1890) and Spanish-American war. Campos Matos, “Transnationalism,” 79–80. See also infra Chapter 2.
- 61 David Marchilhacy, “La Hispanidad bajo el franquismo: el americanismo al servicio de un Proyecto nacionalista,” in *El imaginario nacionalista español en el franquismo*, eds. Xosé Núñez Seixas and Stéphan Michoonneau (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2014): 73–102.
- 62 José Luis Benedich Beired, “Hispanismo e latinismo no debate intelectualibero-americano,” *Varia história* 30, no. 54 (2014): 653.
- 63 Marchilhacy, *La Raza Hispana*, 449–55.

- 64 Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, *Latin America. The Allure and Power of an Idea* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017), 62–75.
- 65 Iberismo theorized a new spiritual, religious, political order that would have gathered all Hispanic civilizations. See Sérgio Campos Matos, “Conceitos de Iberismo em Portugal,” *Revista de História das Ideias* 28 (2007): 169–93.
- 66 Sardinha, Ana Isabel Desvignes. “Hispanismo e relações luso-brasileiras: a última cruzada contrarrevolucionária de António Sardinha,” *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 42, no. 1 (2016): 89–99.
- 67 Ernesto Castro Leal, “A ideia de Confederação Luso-Brasileira nas primeiras décadas do século XX,” *Estudos Filosóficos* 3 (2009): 247.
- 68 “Aos nossos leitores,” *Atlantida* 37 (1919): 3.
- 69 Rita Almeida de Carvalho and Annarita Gori, “Los intelectuales portugueses y el mito de la Latinidad,” in *Fascismo y modernismo*, eds. Cobo Romero Francisco et al. (Granada: Comares, 2016): *passim*.
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- 71 More in general on this concept: Eduardo Lourenço, *O Labirinto da Saudade. Psicanálise Mítica do Destino Português* (Lisbon: Dom Quixote, 1978); Onésimo Teotónio de Almeida, *A obsessão da portugalidade* (Lisbon: Queztal, 2017).
- 72 Annarita Gori, “Celebrate Nation, Commemorate History, Embody the Estado Novo: The Exhibition of the Portuguese World (1940),” *Cultural and Social History* 15, no. 5 (2018): 699–72.
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- 74 ACS, Segreteria Particolare del Duce (SPD), Carteggio ordinario (CO), b. 147.327. See also: Gori and Carvalho, ‘Italian Fascism and the Portuguese Estado Novo’.
- 75 Romke Visser, “Fascist Doctrine and the Cult of Romanità,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 1 (1992): 13.
- 76 Aristotle Kallis, “From CAUR to EUR: Italian Fascism, the ‘myth of Rome’ and the pursuit of international primacy,” *Patterns of Prejudice* 50, no. 4–5 (2016): 362.
- 77 Christophe Poupault, “La latinité au service du rapprochement franco-italien,” *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 95 (2017): 41. See also: Id., *A l’ombre des faisceaux. Les voyages français dans l’Italie des chemises noires (1922–1943)* (Rome: EFR, 2009), 523–600; Giladi, “L’idéologie panlatine.”
- 78 “Ce que fut le Xe Congrès de la Presse Latine au Caire,” *Marseille Matin*, 21 January 1932. On this topic: “La culture fasciste entre latinité

- et méditerranéité (1880–1940),” eds. Jérémy Guedj and Barbara Meazzi, Special Issue of *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 57 (2017): 9–189.
- 79 Almeida and Gori, “Los intelectuales.”
- 80 Cheymol, “Miguel Angel,” 864.
- 81 “El congreso de la Prensa Latina, en Toledo,” *Heraldo de Madrid*, 21 November 1934.
- 82 “Déjeuner mensuel de la Presse Latine,” *La Revue Diplomatique*, 30 April 1935; “La vie des République Latines,” *La Revue Diplomatique*, 20 November 1937.
- 83 Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Secretariado Nacional de Informação, cx 2820.

Chapter 7

- 1 See, among others, Annick Duraffour and Pierre-André Taguieff, eds., *Céline, la race, le Juif. Légende littéraire et vérité historique* (Paris: Fayard, 2017); Michel Leymarie, Olivier Dard, Jacques Prévotat, and Neil McWilliam, eds., *Le maurrassisme et la culture. L’Action française, culture, société, politique (III)* (Villeneuve-d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2010); Serge Bernstein and Michel Winock, eds., *Fascisme français. La controverse* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 2014).
- 2 Among others, see Michel Winock, *Nationalisme, antisémitisme et fascisme en France* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2014, 1st ed. 1990); Robert Soucy, *Le Fascisme français, 1924–1933* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989); Robert Soucy, *Fascismes français? 1933–1939 Mouvements antidémocratiques* (Paris: Autrement, 2004); Robert O. Paxton, *Le fascisme en action* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2007); Michel Dobry, ed., *Le mythe de l’allergie française au fascisme* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003); Philippe Burrin, *Fascisme, nazisme, autoritarisme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000); Olivier Forlin, *Le fascisme: historiographie et enjeux mémoriels* (Paris: La Découverte, 2013).
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- 4 Kevin Passmore, ‘L’historiographie du ‘fascisme’ en France,” *French Historical Studies* 37, no. 3 (Summer 2014): 469–99. See also Kevin Passmore, *Fascism. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 5 On this point, Olivier Dard and Ana Isabel Desvignes argue that the debate on French Fascism “did not result in substantive studies of its

- circulation, networks and transfers that would have to question this otherwise elusive object which is French fascism” (Olivier Dard and Ana Isabel Desvignes Sardinha, *Célébrer Salazar en France (1930–1974). Du philosalazarisme au salazarisme français* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2018), 11).
- 6 The first readings about fascist intellectuals in France stressed the romantic idea underlying the political choice. Paul Sérant, *Le Romantisme fasciste ... ou l'œuvre politique de quelques écrivains français* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1959, new edition Paris, Editions Pierre-Guillaume de Roux, 2017) defines that of *Je suis partout* “un fascisme de sensibilité, un romantisme” (a Fascism of sensibility, a Romanticism); an interpretation also shared by Jean Plumyène and Raymond Lasierra, *Les fascismes français 1923–1963* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1963). Since then the studies, among others, of Pascal Ory, *La France allemande. Paroles du collaborationnisme français 1933–1945* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977) and Id., *Les collaborateurs 1940–1945* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1980) and of Gisèle Sapiro, *La guerre des écrivains 1940–1953* (Paris: Fayard, 1999) on the war years and on collaboration corrected this perspective. See also David Carroll, *French Literary Fascism, Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
 - 7 Christophe Poupault, *À l'ombre des faisceaux. Les voyageurs français dans l'Italie des chemises noires (1922–1943)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2014); Caroline Fraixe, Lidia Piccioni and Christophe Poupault, eds., *Vers une Europe latine. Acteurs et enjeux des échanges culturels entre la France et l'Italie fasciste* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2014).
 - 8 See Olivier Dard and Michel Grunewald, eds., *Charles Maurras et l'étranger. L'étranger et Charles Maurras* (Peter Lang, 2009) and Catherine Pomeyrols and Claude Hauser, eds., *L'Action française et l'étranger: usages, réseaux et représentations de la droite nationaliste française* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001). For a recent biography and a more up-to-date bibliography, see Olivier Dard, *Charles Maurras. Le nationaliste intégral* (Paris: Dunod, 2019, 1st ed. 2013).
 - 9 On this topic a workshop was organized at the Institute for Advanced Study Konstanz by Sven Reichardt, Victoria De Grazia and Federico Finchelstein (*Fascist brokers: Transnational networking in and beyond Europe*) on 10–12 May 2017, See the online report by Simon Lengemann (URL: www.hsozkult.de/conferencereport/id/tagungsberichte-7220).
 - 10 See Olivier Dard, Michel Leymarie and Neil McWilliam, eds., *Le maurrassisme et la culture. L'Action française. Culture, société, politique, III*, (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2010).

- 11 See, among others, Barbara Lambauer, *Otto Abetz et les Français. Ou l'envers de la collaboration* (Paris: Fayard, 2001). See also *Entre Locarno et Vichy. Les relations culturelles franco-allemandes dans les années 1930*, eds. Hans Manfred Block, Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus and Michel Trebisch (Paris: Cnrs éditions, 1993, 2 v.).
- 12 A multi-faceted investigation of the notion of 'Latinity' and 'Mediterraneanness' can be found in the Special Issue of the *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, on the topic *La culture fasciste entre latinité et méditerranéité (1880–1940)*, eds. Jérémy Guedj and Barbara Meazzi, 95 (2017): 191–208.
- 13 Paul Sérant, *Les dissidents de l'Action française*, préface d'Olivier Dard (Paris: Pierre Guillaume de Roux, 2016, 1st ed. 1978).
- 14 The newspaper archive has unfortunately been lost. There is only one very dated monograph of Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Je suis partout, 1930–1944: les maurrassiens devant la tentation fasciste* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1974). On the war period see Valeria Galimi, "Intellettuali e collaborazionismo: l'itinerario di 'Je suis partout' tra Maurras e Hitler," *Passato e presente* XVIII, no. 49 (2000): 69–95. Sandrine Sanos, *The Aesthetics of Hate. Far-Right Intellectuals, Antisemitism and Gender in 1930s France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), offers a very good analysis of the newspaper's positions on anti-Semitism and gender issues.
- 15 See *Histoire de la librairie Arthème Fayard* (Paris: Fayard, 1952). For a general framework see Christophe Charle and Laurent Jeanpierre, eds., *La vie intellectuelle en France. 2. Le temps des combats (1914–1962)* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2019).
- 16 Lucien Rebatet, *Les mémoires d'un fasciste, I. Les décombres 1938–1940* (Paris: Plon, 1942), 42.
- 17 See Chapter 3, "Mort et resurrection de Je suis partout," in *Je suis partout, 1930–1944: les maurrassiens devant la tentation fasciste*, ed. Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1974), 109–32; Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998, 1st ed. 1939), 221–22.
- 18 See P.M. Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993).
- 19 Articles written by Mussolini: The article *Fascismo* of *Enciclopedia italiana*, 13 August 1932 and some extracts from the work of Mussolini, *Il fascismo, dottrina e istituzioni*, 20 May 1933.
- 20 Special Issue, "Dix ans de fascisme," *Je suis partout*, 22 October 1932.
- 21 On this aspect see Valeria Galimi, "Reti intellettuali fasciste fra Francia, Italia e Europa negli anni Trenta," in *L'Italia fascista nello spazio transnazionale*, eds. Alessio Gagliardi, Valeria Galimi and Camilla Poesio (Rome: Viella, in press). More generally for French intellectuals on fascist Italy see Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci, "Intellectuels français en Italie fasciste," in *Intellectuels, artistes et militants. Le voyage comme*

- expérience de l'étranger*, eds. Anne Dulphy and Marie-Anne Matard-Bonucci (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2009), 29–48; Christophe Poupault, *A l'ombre des faisceaux. Les voyages français dans l'Italie des chemises noires (1922–1943)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2014).
- 22 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 215–16.
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- 24 Dorsay, “Editorial,” *Je suis partout*, 28 September 1935.
- 25 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 174.
- 26 P.A. Cousteau, “L’ouverture du Congrès de Nuremberg,” *Je suis partout*, 12 September 1936.
- 27 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 222.
- 28 See the Chapter *Les amis étrangers*, in Eugen Weber, *L’Action française* (Paris: Fayard, 1985, 1st ed. 1965), 526–47; Olivier Dard, “Etat des lieux et perspectives autour du maurrassisme hors de France,” in *Charles Maurras et l'étranger. L'étranger et Charles Maurras*, eds. Olivier Dard and Michel Grunewald (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2009), 29–55. See also Pedro Carlos Gonzáles Cuevas, *Charles Maurras et l'Espagne*, ivi: 193–263, and in Portugal Ana Isabel Sardinha Desvignes, *L’Action française au Portugal (1910–1918), quelques repères pour l’histoire d’une réception*, ivi: 265–82. See also other chapters in this book.
- 29 See Olivier Compagnon, *L’Euro-Amérique en question. Comment penser les échanges culturels entre l’Europe et l’Amérique Latine?* In *Nuevo Mundo – Mundos Nuevos*, February 2009 (<http://nuevomundo.revues.org/index54783.html>). Denis Rolland considers that the Action Française had a strong interest in Latin America, “L’Action française et l’Amérique Latine: une rencontre,” in *L’Action française et l'étranger: usages, réseaux et représentations de la droite nationaliste française*, eds. Catherine Pomeyrols and Claude Hauser (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2001), 95–122. For an analysis more attentive to the dynamics of transfer and cultural mediation, see Olivier Compagnon, “Le maurrassisme en Amérique Latine. Etude comparée des cas argentin et brésilien,” in *Charles Maurras et l'étranger – L'étranger et Charles Maurras*, eds. Olivier Dard and Michel Grunewald (Peter Lang, 2009), 283–305.
- 30 See Chapters 1, 2 and 4 in this volume on Sardinha, de Maetzu e Salgado and their relationships with Charles Maurras and the *Action française*.
- 31 Olivier Dard, “Charles Maurras, le fascisme, la latinité et la Méditerranée,” in *Cahiers de la Méditerranée, Special Issue La culture fasciste entre latinité et méditerranéité (1880–1940)*, eds. Jérémy Guedj and Barbara Meazzi, 95, December 2017, 59–70.

- 32 “Maurras c’est la paix,” *Je suis partout*, 9 June 1939; see also Pierre Gaxotte, Louis Michaut, and Bernard de Vaulx, *Souvenirs sur Charles Maurras*, 1 April 1938.
- 33 See “La politique argentine,” *Je suis partout*, 3 January 1931; “La vie au Pérou,” *Je suis partout*, 17 January 1931; “Les élections argentines et la réaction conservatrice,” *Je suis partout*, 21 November 1931; “La victoire du Paraguay mets fin à la guerre du Chaco,” *Je suis partout*, 6 January 1934. The first article on Portugal: “Dictature et constitution,” *Je suis partout*, 24 January 1931; “Un entretien avec la reine Amérie de Portugal,” 6 August 1932.
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- 37 André Levinson, “Le livre du jour à ... Buenos Ayres,” *Je suis partout*, 17 January 1931.
- 38 Louis Baudin, “Une enquête sur l’Espagne nouvelle. Socialisme ou Autarchie? Autonomisme ou Séparatisme?” *Je suis partout*, 1 October, and “Une enquête sur l’Espagne nouvelle. Le problème agraire et la question religieuse,” *Je suis partout*, 8 October 1932.
- 39 Alvaro Alcala Galiano, *La Chute d’un trône 1931*, préface de Pierre Gaxotte, (Paris, Les Œuvres françaises, 1936). Alcala Galiano was killed in Madrid at the beginning of the civil war.
- 40 Adolphe de Falgairolle, “La generalitat de Catalogne,” *Je suis partout*, 25 April 1934; “L’effroyable insurrection socialo-communiste des Asturies,” *Je suis partout*, 3 November 1934; “Déclarations d’un animateur du gouvernement de Franco,” *Je suis partout*, 16 July 1937; “La maison basque de V. Hugo et les rouges d’Espagne,” *Je suis partout*, 1 October 1937.
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- 42 Yves Le Branchu, "Le corporativisme portugais et sa récente évolution," *Je suis partout*, 28 December 1935. See Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993), *ad nomen*: 56.
- 43 Louis Mouralis, "Un français au Brésil," *Je suis partout*, 31 December 1932–4 March 1933. See also Louis Mouralis, *Un séjour aux Etats Unis du Brésil. Impressions et réflexions* (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1934).
- 44 Charles Lesca, "Amérique du Sud 1936. Choses vues et entendues," *Je suis partout*, 14 November 1936. Lesca, sentenced to death in absentia after the war, fled first to Germany and then to Argentina. See Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993), *ad nomen*: 58.
- 45 René Richard, "Les colonies sud-américaines," *Je suis partout*, 3 March 1934. For another example René Richard, "L'Amérique Latine et la société des Nations," *Je suis partout*, 20 June 1936.
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- 47 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 161, 162.
- 48 Among those see "Les massacres de Barcelone. Choses vues par Paul Guitard," *Je suis partout*, 1 August 1936. On Guitard see P.M. Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993), *ad nomen*: 58.
- 49 Marcel Chaminade, "La guerre de libération espagnole. Dans le décombres fumantes d'Irun," *Je suis partout*, 5 September 1936; Jean d'Elbée, "Comment on vit en Espagne renouvelée," *Je suis partout*, 1 May 1937. On d'Elbée see Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993), *ad nomen*: 38.
- 50 After the war, André Nicolas (1904–1975) was sentenced by the *Cour de Justice* of Lyon to five years in prison. He then returned to France and made a career in industry and collaborated with some far-right magazines. See Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993), *ad nomen*: 68.
- 51 Maurice Bardèche, "L'auxilio social, oeuvre du cristianisme fasciste," *Je suis partout*, 15 July 1938 and Id., "Petits croquis de la vie espagnole," *Je suis partout*, 5 August 1938.
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- 54 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 246.

- 55 “L’ancien gouvernement coupé en deux,” *Je suis partout*, 10 October 1936.
- 56 André Nicolas, “Je suis partout interviewe Franco,” *Je suis partout*, 19 September 1936.
- 57 Pierre-André Cousteau, “Quand la France reconnaît-elle Franco?,” *Je suis partout*, 14 November 1936.
- 58 Jérôme and Jean Taraud, *Cruelle Espagne* (Paris: Plon, 1937).
- 59 Mari Carmen Rodríguez, “Voyager dans une Espagne en guerre 1936–1939,” in *Voyager dans les Etats autoritaires et totalitaires de l’Europe de l’entre-deux-guerres: confrontations aux régimes, perceptions des idéologies et comparaisons*, eds. Olivier Dard, Emmanuel Mattiati, Christophe Poupault and Frédéric Sallée (Chambéry: Université Savoie Mont Blanc, 2017), 107.
- 60 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 272.
- 61 On the trip to Spain during the civil war, see Mari Carmen Rodríguez, “Voyager dans une Espagne en guerre 1936–1939,” in *Voyager dans les Etats autoritaires et totalitaires de l’Europe de l’entre-deux-guerres: confrontations aux régimes, perceptions des idéologies et comparaisons*, eds. Olivier Dard, Emmanuel Mattiati, Christophe Poupault and Frédéric Sallée (Chambéry: Université Savoie Mont Blanc, 2017), 103–23.
- 62 On the trip to Spain the leader of *Action française* wrote this volume: Charles Maurras, *Vers l’Espagne de Franco* (Paris: Editions du Livre Moderne, 1943).
- 63 He was then appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in Spain from 1944 to 1945. For the magazine he authored an article on Calvo Sotelo (*Je suis partout*, 15 July 1938).
- 64 “Victoires d’Espagne,” choses vues par Pierre Daye, *Je suis partout*, 3 June 1938. Pierre Daye was also a deputy of the Rexist movement at the Chambre des représentants, from which he moved away in 1939. For his work as a collaborator he would be sentenced to death in 1946. Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993), *ad nomen*: 33.
- 65 Robert Brasillach and Maurice Bardèche, *Histoire de la guerre d’Espagne* (Paris: Plon, 1939). Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 258. See also Henri Massis and Robert Brasillach, *Les cadets de l’Alcazar* (Paris: Plon, 1936).
- 66 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 261. On this trip see *Je suis partout*, 19 May 1939.
- 67 Pierre Gaxotte, “Vive l’Espagne! Vive Franco!” *Je suis partout*, 15 July 1938. See also José Pemartin, “Ramiro de Maetzu et l’Action espagnole,” *Je suis partout*, 15 July 1938.
- 68 Robert Brasillach, “Pour accroître les chances de la France, établissons l’axe Paris-Burgos,” *Je suis partout*, 10 February 1939.

- 69 René Richard, “La république espagnole est morte, vive l’Espagne!” *Je suis partout*, 3 March 1939.
- 70 Robert Brasillach, *Notre avant-guerre* (Paris: Godefroy de Bouillon, 1998), 244.
- 71 See Olivier Dard and Ana Isabel Desvignes Sardinha, *Célébrer Salazar en France (1930–1974). Du philosalazarisme au salazarisme français* (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2018), 97–178.
- 72 Bernard de Vaux, “Oliveira Salazar: une révolution dans la paix,” *Je suis partout*, 27 March 1937; on de Vaux see Pierre-Marie Dioudonnat, *Les 700 collaborateurs de Je suis partout* (Paris: Sedepolis, 1993), *ad nomen*: 89.
- 73 R.R. “Lettre du Portugal. Comme ailleurs un état nouveau,” *Je suis partout*, 1 April 1933.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 René Richard, “Le nouvel état portugais,” *Je suis partout*, 23 February 1935. See also René Richard, “L’expérience d’Oliveira Salazar,” *Je suis partout*, 29 Mai 1937.
- 76 G. Rotvand, “L’offensive révolutionnaire contre le Portugal,” *Je suis partout*, 16 June 1937.
- 77 Henri Massis, “Une dictature de l’intelligence. Entretien avec M. Oliveira Salazar,” *Je suis partout*, 8 April 1938. Of Ferro, a leading intellectual of the Estado Novo, has been translated into French the volume Antonio Ferro, *Salazar. Le Portugal et son chef*, traduit du portugais par Fernanda de Castro. Précédé d’une note sur l’idée de dictature par Paul Valéry (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1934). For more in general on Ferro, see Margarida Acciaiuoli, *António Ferro, A vertigem da palavra* (Lisbon: Bisâncio, 2013).

Chapter 8

- 1 Harold Callender, “Latin Catholics Suspicious of US South America Churchmen Not Entirely Sympathetic to Democratic Ideas,” *New York Times*, August 3, 1941.
- 2 Stefano Solari, “The Corporative Third Way in Social Catholicism (1830–1918),” *European Journal of History of Economic Thought* 17, no. 1 (February 2010): 87–113; Paul Misner, *Catholic Labor Movements in Europe: Social Thought and Action, 1914–1965* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015).
- 3 See Otto von Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1922).
- 4 Randall Morck and Yeung Bernard, “Corporatism and the Ghost of the Third Way,” *Capitalism and Society* 5, no. 3 (2010): 4.
- 5 See: John F. Pollard, *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism, 1914–1958* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

- 6 See: António Costa Pinto and Federico Finchelstein, eds., *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Europe and Latin America* (London: Routledge, 2020).
- 7 For an expanded version see António Costa Pinto, *Latin American Dictatorships in the Era of Fascism-The Corporatist Wave* (London: Routledge, 2019).
- 8 Olivier Dard, “Le corporatisme entre traditionalistes et modernisateurs: Des groupements aux cercles du pouvoir,” in *Les expériences corporatives dans L’Aire Latine*, ed. Didier Musiedlak (Berne: Peter Lang, 2010), 67–102. Valerio Torreggiani, *Stato e culture corporative nel Regno Unito: Progetti per una rappresentazione degli interessi economici nella riflessione inglese della prima metà del XX secolo* (Milan: Giuffrè, 2018).
- 9 Peter J. Williamson, *Varieties of Corporatism: Corporatism in Perspective* (London: Sage, 1989), 32.
- 10 Leo Panitch, “The Development of Corporatism in Liberal Democracies,” *Comparative Political Studies* 10, no. 1 (1977): 629.
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Chapter 9

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- 25 Lvovich, *Nacionalismo*, 296.
- 26 Zanatta, *Del Estado liberal*, 114.
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- 47 Carlos Zubillaga, *Una historia silenciada. Presencia y acción del falangismo en Uruguay (1936–1955)* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Cruz Sur, 2015), 39–40.
- 48 Barrán, *Los conservadores*, 143–44.
- 49 Carlos Lacalle was born in Huelva (Spain) and lived in Uruguay, where he worked as a history teacher. After he divorced from Herrera's daughter, he moved in 1950 to Spain, where he held an official position as Secretary of the Ibero-American Education Office in Madrid.
- 50 Carlos Lacalle, *40 Jornadas en España* (Montevideo: Impresores A. Monteverde y Cía, 1947), 7–11.
- 51 Linz, "Some notes."

- 52 Olga Echeverría and Laura Reali, “Encuentros y disidencias políticas, ideológicas e historiográficas en los revisionismos rioplatenses (décadas de 1930 y 1940),” in *Circule por la derecha. Percepciones, redes y contactos entre las derechas sudamericanas, 1917–1973*, edited by João Fábio Bertonha and Ernesto Bohoslavsky (Los Polvorines: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, 2016), 65–70.
- 53 Terra’s main supporters were *La Tribuna Popular* (conservative, Catholic, aggressively Anti-Semitic), *La Mañana* (right-winger, anti-Batllism) and *El Debate* (conservative, and sympathetic to Franco’s and Mussolini’s regimes). Opposing them were *El País* (Liberal, Anti-Fascist) and *El Día* (radical Batllism and progressive) and minor Left-wing newspapers and magazines.
- 54 Daniela Moraes de Almeida, “Representaciones y relaciones entre la Legión Cívica Argentina y el Integralismo brasileño (década de 1930),” in *Circule por la derecha. Percepciones, redes y contactos entre las derechas sudamericanas, 1917–1973*, edited by João Fábio Bertonha and Ernesto Bohoslavsky (Los Polvorines: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, 2016), 136.
- 55 The Italian or German Embassy regularly paid for friendly articles not only in *Crisol* but also in the Catholic *Los Principios* and *El Pueblo*. Zanatta, p. 296. Carlos Escudé and Andrés Cisneros (dir.), *Historia General de las Relaciones Exteriores de la República Argentina*, Vol. IX (Buenos Aires: GEL, 1998).
- 56 *Crisol*, June 5, 1932, April 1 and 22, 1936. Quoted in Lvovich, *Nacionalismo*, 296.
- 57 Lvovich, *Nacionalismo*, 300.
- 58 Lvovich, *Nacionalismo*, 324.
- 59 Moraes de Almeida, “Representaciones,” 136–45.
- 60 Ronald Newton, *El cuarto lado del triángulo. La ‘amenaza nazi’ en la Argentina (1931–1947)* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1995).
- 61 Lvovich, *Nacionalismo*, 311.
- 62 Navarro, *Los nacionalistas*, 155.
- 63 Navarro, *Los nacionalistas*, 155.
- 64 Lvovich, *Nacionalismo*, 301.
- 65 The weekly *Trabajo. Órgano del Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile* was re-branded in September 1933 as *Trabajo. Órgano oficial nacist* and between 1936 and 1941 as *Trabajo. Diario de Avanzada Nacional*. In 1935, it began to appear twice in a week and then daily in 1936.
- 66 *Trabajo*, 18 June 1936, p. 3. The MNS Propaganda Section offered *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* for \$2. Anti-Semitic notes in *Trabajo*, 20 April 1933, p. 7, 25 May 1933, p. 6, 6 May 1936, p. 3 and 17 February 1937, p. 8.
- 67 See the cover of *Acción Chilena*, May 1937, n 3. An Editorial Ercilla advertisement (*Acción Chilena*, February 2nd, 1934) pictures the

- Acción Chilena* reader: Lewis Lorwin's book on the International Labor Movement, H. G Wells's *After Democracy* (1932) Sigmund Freud's *A sexual theory and other essays* and Hans von Eckardt's *Fundamentos de la política* (*Grundzüge der Politik*, 1927).
- 68 *Trabajo*, 7 April 1936, p. 3.
- 69 *Trabajo*, 23 September 1936, p. 3.
- 70 *Trabajo*, 4 January 1934, p. 1; *Acción Chilena*, 15 March 1934, p. 237.
- 71 *Acción Chilena*, 19 April 1934, 408. *Trabajo*, 23 September 1936, p. 3.
- 72 Clara Aldrighi, "La ideología antisemita en Uruguay. Su contexto católico y conservador (1870–1940)," in *Antisemitismo en Uruguay. Raíces, discursos, imágenes (1870–1940)* (Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce, 2000), 129–224.
- 73 Victor Raoni de Assis Marques, "La extrema derecha en tierras tupiniquis y charrúas. Diálogos entre el integralismo brasileño y el revisionismo uruguayo," in *Circule por la derecha. Percepciones, redes y contactos entre las derechas sudamericanas, 1917–1973*, edited by João Fábio Bertonha and Ernesto Bohoslavsky (Los Polvorines: Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, 2016), 111–28.
- 74 For example, the third number of *Corporaciones* included 5 texts on *Integralismo*, which was distinguished as the 'most spiritual' among 'all the fascist movements'. Marques, "La extrema derecha," 121.
- 75 Bertonha, *Integralismo*.

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