



Abstracts

La figure de l'expert dans la politique afghane des autorités britanniques dans les années 1830-1850

ANDRE, Nadine
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Abstract

Cet article s'attachera à montrer les fortunes variées rencontrées par les recommandations de deux experts de la question de la frontière du nord-ouest du sous-continent indien, Sir Alexander Burnes (1805-1841) et son adjoint Mohan Lal (1812-1877), ainsi que par ces experts eux-mêmes, dans les années 1830-1850. Ils servent, en effet, des autorités de tutelle distinctes, le gouvernement britannique et le gouvernement de l'Inde, aux préoccupations très différentes : volonté de ne pas s'aliéner l'opinion publique britannique, de développer le commerce en général et de prendre en compte des considérations de politique intérieure, européenne et impériale pour l'un ; besoins d'affermir la position britannique dans le sous-continent indien que l'on appelle alors *British India* mais qui n'est que pour partie gouverné directement, d'assurer sa défense face aux pays voisins mais aussi face à ce qui est perçu comme une avancée russe en Iran et en Asie centrale et, donc, comme une menace potentielle pour le sous-continent, tout en prenant part au commerce alors existant dans le sous-continent et à sa périphérie pour l'autre.

Si le renseignement est essentiel au maintien et au renforcement du *British Raj*, les informations collectées ne font pas toujours, loin s'en faut, la fortune des experts qui les ont collectées ; ou comment les meilleures informations peuvent mener au désastre.

Bio

MCF en civilisation britannique LLCER à l'Université Grenoble Alpes

J'ai rédigé une thèse de doctorat nouveau régime, spécialité « Etudes anglaises », sur la gouvernance britannique dans le sous-continent indien intitulée « Politique territoriale et enjeux stratégiques sous le mandat de Lord Dalhousie en Inde (1848-1856) » (566 pages, 2 volumes) dirigée par le Pr François Piquet et soutenue à l'université Jean Moulin Lyon 3 en 2003. Cette thèse a été publiée en 2007 sous le titre *L'Inde de Lord Dalhousie, 1848-1856. Le sous-continent indien, nation en devenir* (553 pages). J'ai ensuite élargi mes recherches à l'expansionnisme britannique en Asie.

Je suis notamment intervenue sur les sujets suivants (ouvrage, articles ou séminaires) :

Alexander Burnes, *Mission à Kaboul, La Relation de sir Alexander Burnes (1836-1838)*, Préface de Michael Barry; dossier cartographique, traduction et dossier historique de Nadine André, Paris, Chandeigne, 2012. 490 pages.

« Alexander Burnes, un héritier des Lumières écossaises dans le ___ sous-continent indien à l'âge des réformes », *Etudes Ecossaises* N°14 ___ Empire (2011), Ellug, Grenoble, pp. 33-48.

« Cabool (1842) d'Alexander Burnes : du récit de voyage au plaidoyer politique ? », in *Revue électronique LISA*, Dossier « Culture et Société », Presses Universitaires de Rennes, Février 2015. (<http://lisa.revues.org/7137>)

« L'East India Company, l'Inde et la Chine de 1770 à 1833 » Séminaire transversal CREOCEMRA de l'ILCEA4, 28 mars 2017.

« Gouvernance britannique dans le sous-continent indien, 1798-1858. Entre idéologie et pragmatisme. » 16 novembre 2018. Séminaire « Empires et impérialisme, hier et aujourd'hui ». ILCEA4. UGA.

Lord Acton et le dogme de l'Infaillibilité Pontificale : La fin de l'histoire ?

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Abstract

Dès la Révolution française se pose la question de la religion comme garante du maintien de l'ordre, de la liberté et de la paix mais aussi comme matrice de toute civilisation moderne, fondatrice des mœurs et de la société civile, et sont interrogés les liens entre révolution et histoire, révolution et politique et révolution et religion. Dans le passage délicat d'un âge libéral à un âge démocratique, la place de la religion en tant qu'autorité politique, religieuse et morale oppose les libéraux qui voient dans le bouleversement révolutionnaire une « rupture avec la civilisation » tel Edmund Burke ou au contraire ceux qui syncrétisent une nouvelle façon de penser l'histoire et le politique tels Lord Acton. Privilégiant tantôt la liberté et/ou l'égalité, l'individu et/ou le collectif, la tradition et/ou l'innovation, l'histoire et/ou la raison, tous s'interrogent sur les acquis de la Révolution française dans une volonté de redéfinition des rapports entre État, Église et Société, entre pouvoir et individu, entre individu et Dieu mêlant vision aristocratique et vision démocratique de la société moderne postrévolutionnaire tout au long du XIXe siècle. L'affirmation de l'infailibilité pontificale par le concile de Vatican I en 1869-1870, remettant fondamentalement en cause les principes et les doctrines du libéralisme, ne fait que renforcer les divisions et les incertitudes liées à ce courant de pensée et plus précisément celles du libéralisme catholique. Nombreuses furent les études qui ont souligné les racines anticatholiques de la culture whig, construite sur une identité protestante. Non seulement le particularisme protestant nourrirait la laïcité et la démocratie libérale mais Réforme et Révolution seraient indissociables dans la philosophie de l'histoire whig. Pour autant, l'historien whig de Cambridge, Lord Acton, libéral et catholique, défenseur de Burke puis son pourfendeur, glorifie l'héritage de 1789 et sanctionne la Révolution française non pas tant en vertu de la Réforme protestante qu'en vertu de l'universalisme catholique. La Révolution française personnifie le 'renouveau de l'histoire', le progrès de l'humanité et de la liberté qu'a annoncé le christianisme primitif. C'est en liant universalisme catholique et universalisme démocratique que Lord Acton s'élève ainsi contre 'une conspiration qui tente d'établir un pouvoir qui serait l'ennemi le plus redoutable de la liberté et de la science dans le monde' (1870). A l'heure de la professionnalisation de l'histoire, il s'agit de voir comment le savoir ecclésiastique, le savoir historique et le sens de l'histoire chez Lord Acton doivent affaiblir le pouvoir de la papauté et permettre une réconciliation entre histoire ecclésiastique et histoire libérale, entre providentialisme chrétien et bonheur social.

Bio

<https://centrehistoire19esiecle.panthéonsorbonne.fr/aude-attuel-hallade>

Populism and Technocracy: An Uneasy Alliance

BALLACI, Giuseppe

University of Minho, Portugal

and

BIBA, Jan

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Abstract

Populism and technocracy are generally assumed as two incompatible, even if both inimical to liberal democracy, phenomena. A number of scholars, however, have questioned this position arguing that a new form of technocratic populism has emerged in many democratic states. Bickerton and Invernizzi Accetti's recent book *Technopopulism*

represents the most compelling example of such perspective. According to them a new ‘technopopulist’ logic has become structural in contemporary democracies, displacing traditional ideological politics and its pluralist and mediated view of society.

In this paper we engage critically with this piece of scholarship to argue that populism and technocracy are two conflicting phenomena that both react to and shape differently political reality. Bickerton and Invernizzi Accetti are right in identifying significant analogies between populism and technocracy, especially in the connection they establish between a putatively objective knowledge of the general interest and the right to rule. However, we believe that they overemphasize their analogies due to an underdeveloped analysis of populism and technocracy, oblivious to the links between their ideational and stylistic/performative profiles. Our analysis, instead, assesses populism and technocracy as constitutive forms of representation and focuses on the different styles/performances they use to legitimize their claim to rule.

Scholars such as Sophia Rosenfeld and Mark Brown have showed that how to combine competing claims to expertise and popular sovereignty is a founding dilemma for representative democracy. Indeed, taken in an exaggerated form both claims can, in the words of Nadia Urbinati, ‘disfigure’ representative democracy by threatening its institutions and principles: in the former case, through an attempt to replace the partisan confrontation of opinions with an ambiguously depoliticized pursuit of truth; in the latter, through a voluntarist attempt to hegemonize power that promotes a *pars pro parte* logic. Despite some similarities, these are processes with different premises, developments, and outcomes.

Bio

Giuseppe Ballacci is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Ethics, Politics and Society at the University of Minho in Portugal. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Theory from the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and has been visiting scholar at the Humboldt University of Berlin and the University of Chicago, associate researcher of the Centre de Théorie Politique (Université Libre de Bruxelles) and visiting professor at the IE University (Madrid) and Vesalius College (Brussels). He has written and researched on questions related to democracy, representation, populism and rhetoric. His essays have appeared in journals such as *Contemporary Political Theory*, *The Review of Politics*, *Theoria*, *Redescriptions*, and *The Philosophical Journal*. In 2018 he published *Political Theory between Philosophy and Rhetoric* (Palgrave MacMillan) and currently he is working (together with Rob Goodman) on an edited book on the history of populism titled *Populism, Demagoguery and Rhetoric in Historical Perspectives*, under contract with Oxford University Press.

Jan Bíba is an Assistant Professor at the Political Science Department, Charles University, and a Senior Researcher at the Systemic Risk Institute (SYRI), Czech Academy of Sciences. His main research areas are theories of democracy, political representation, and history of political ideas. He has authored (or co-authored) four books on these topics both in Czech and English. Karolinum Press published his most recent book *An Aesthetic Reding of Machivelli's The Prince* in 2022. He has also published in many academic journals, including *Human Affairs* and *European Political Science*.

La maîtrise problématique du langage et de la communication au sein de l'espace public

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Abstract

L'une des particularités de Gramsci, dans l'histoire de la pensée politique, est de considérer que, si une idéologie n'est vécue par les classes populaires que comme une foi, c'est qu'elles ne peuvent pas développer des discours équivalents à ceux des classes dominantes. Une telle préoccupation à l'égard du langage et de la communication se situe dans le prolongement de celles qui se sont manifestées chez les idéologues de la République française et, plus largement, chez les socialistes tout au long du XIX^e siècle. En effet, beaucoup d'entre eux se sont intéressés aux transformations des modes de diffusion des opinions politiques au sein d'un espace public en expansion.

Tout autant, le débat sur le rôle du langage dans les divisions sociales, qui s'est développé à l'initiative de la gauche britannique et française au cours des années 70 du XX^e siècle, avec Hoggart, Williams, Bernstein ou Bourdieu, a renoué avec les prises de position de Gramsci sur la sociologie de la culture et de la communication. Ce débat a ainsi attiré l'attention sur la nécessité d'examiner et d'évaluer les limites que les membres des classes populaires peuvent rencontrer dans leur relation au fonctionnement de l'espace public. Il s'est agi notamment de se pencher sur la détermination du type de langage que ces classes sont obligées (ou non, selon certaines analyses) d'apprendre à maîtriser afin de s'y intégrer.

Envisagées déjà au XIX^e siècle, réexaminées au XX^e, ces questions ne sont probablement pas devenues obsolètes. On peut penser que leur examen garde toute sa pertinence en cette première moitié du XXI^e siècle, caractérisée par le développement de l'internet. Quelles sont, en effet, les conséquences de l'existence de moyens de communication offrant des potentialités qui renouvellent assurément – mais sans doute pas totalement – les conditions de participation à l'espace public ?

Bio

J'ai été nommé professeur des universités à l'UFR des Sciences de la communication de l'Université Paris 13 (devenue Université Sorbonne Paris Nord) en 1993. Je suis maintenant professeur émérite (depuis 2015). Mes recherches, effectuées au sein du LabSIC, portent sur l'histoire des conceptions de l'information et de la communication et de leurs implications sociopolitiques, du XIX^e siècle au XXI^e siècle.

The Critical Role of Academia in the Anthropocene

BIŃCZYK, Ewa

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland

Abstract

The context of the presentation is the interdisciplinary, vivid debate on „the epoch of man” – the Anthropocene (Crutzen, Stoermer 2000; Bonneuil, Fressoz 2016; Moore 2016; Biermann, Löwbrand 2019). It includes radical political postulates to perform a planetary, metabolic correction of all human thinking and practice. Besides the scientific and social knowledge concerning the complex environmental planetary crisis, there are exciting ideas within the so-called „university studies in the Anthropocene”. I want to discuss the selected rhetorical motives of such studies and then present a standpoint of the possible role of experts and universities in the public sphere of the Anthropocene.

I will talk about such roles as 1) academia in ruins – devastated by capitalism – as a sector of criticism of Capitalocene and arrogant anthropocentrism (Readings 1996, Tsing 2015; Monbiot 2017; Raworth 2017); 2) education confronting the collapse of extinction/education despite climate fatalism (Bendell 2018; Mann 2021); 3) academia as the laboratory of civilisational alternatives (Srnicek, Williams 2019); 4) university as a school of hope and survival – (Hornsey, Fielding 2020; Besley, Peters 2020). Inspired by the ecological economics of degrowth (Stuart, Gunderson, Petersen 2021), I want to search for ways of avoiding paralyses and boycotting the lethargy of the epoch of man (Bińczyk 2018, 2019).

Bio

Professor Ewa Bińczyk works at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Poland. She deals with the rhetoric of the Anthropocene, environmental philosophy and ecological economics of degrowth.

She is the author of several books. The last book, *The Epoch of Man. The Rhetoric and Lethargy of the Anthropocene* was nominated for the Długosz Prize in Poland and also indicated as one of the "20 books to read in the 21st century" in 2019. In 2022, the book was published in Russian, it is currently translated into Ukrainian. Scholarship holder of the Fulbright Foundation (2007). She was a visiting scholar at Harvard University (Department of History of Science) in 2016. In 2021, she co-hosted the seminar at the European Forum in Alpbach, Austria.

She is the Member of the Scientific Council of IFiS PAN, the Forecast Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Council of Experts of the Climate Coalition in Poland and the Council of the Climate Education Foundation. She cooperates with the Foundation for the Student Aid Fund (eco-coalition for eco-University).

Democratization as a Threat to Democracy: the Epistemological Challenges

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Abstract

Democracy requires an informed citizen with the possibility of rational deliberation and objective judgement. When the traditional media were the main source of this information, a huge responsibility was put on journalists. Their profession stood as the custodian of democracy; hence the idea of the fourth power with a deliberative form of checks and balances.

It is this responsibility that has been eroding with the spread of populism within the profession of journalism itself. Faced with an unsustainable competition from new sources of information, namely the internet and social media networks, journalists are struggling to keep their legitimacy. In this fight, they are torn between their civic responsibilities and their economic values. More often than not, they prefer to sacrifice quality for the sake of attractiveness. For example, many TV shows systematically blur the frontiers between news and entertainment, between facts and fiction. Since such confusion contradicts the appropriate conditions of rational deliberations, it is legitimate to ask what is the role of journalism in the development of populism.

It is tempting to hold journalists fully accountable for democracies' newly-rediscovered weaknesses. However, it is necessary not to forget that journalism, maybe more than any other democratic condition, is facing an immediate risk of irrelevancy marked by declining readership, unstable viewership and losing trust. The new technological environment has deeply modified the structure of the information market, raising a serious question about what might be described as an epistemological challenge to democracy. Since opinions can be manufactured, populism and its political successes are related to what the supposedly informed citizens know and how they know it. The threat is all the more daunting than its origin lies with the logic of democratization. Paradoxically, the horizontal world, which new technologies have created, threatens democracy by making it truly possible.

Bio

Doctor of History and Civilization from Sorbonne University, Aymen BOUGHANMI is an Assistant teacher at the University of Kairuan. Entitled *British Imperialism of Free Trade, 1846-1932: A Geoeconomic Analysis*, his PhD thesis aims at developing the historical dimension of geoeconomics. Since 2011, economic and political transitions in times of deep ruptures and upheavals have become the main focus of his work. Author of four books and many academic articles in English, French and Arabic, he published in 2015, in Arabic, a book stressing the fundamental contradiction between revolution and democracy. Its title is: *The Arab Autumn: On the contradiction between revolution and democracy*. More recently, in October 2020, Aymen BOUGHANMI published, also in Arabic, a new book entitled *Creative destruction: Heroes and victims of AI*. His last major publication appeared in April 2022 under the title *The people want: Democratization and the erosion of democracy*.

Emerging Gendered Knowledge Desperately Seeking Acknowledgement

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Abstract

Teresa Billington-Greig (suffragiste et féministe) publie en 1912 un ouvrage *The Consumer in Revolt* dans lequel elle applique la catégorie du genre à la consommation, présentant ainsi un nouveau savoir genré, en concurrence avec les théories de la consommation existantes, comme la coopération ou le libéralisme économique, toutes deux reconnues par les partis politiques et les intellectuels, même s'il s'agit de s'y opposer.

Elle développe une nouvelle catégorie d'analyse genrée pour comprendre les relations de production dominées par les hommes et celles de la consommation pratiquée par les femmes, évoquant ainsi une binarité élémentaire qu'elle s'emploie à dépasser en proposant une discussion démocratique et politique qui se fait en 1912-1913 sans les femmes. Par le biais des consommatrices, écrit-elle les producteurs pourront dépasser leur hostilité historique aux employeurs tandis que les consommatrices pourront s'allier tantôt avec les producteurs tantôt avec les employeurs dans un dialogue démocratique et féministe.

Elle produit ainsi un nouveau savoir féministe et social qu'elle décrit comme une pragmatique politique à la fois nécessaire à l'analyse des problèmes et aux solutions proposées ; diffusée et commentée dans le respect de tous les partenaires de ce nouveau trio, ce savoir affirme une éthique politique parce qu'il réclame la justice et la collaboration pour toutes et tous, faisant entrer en société les femmes comme consommatrices et suffragistes à un

moment où grèves ouvrières et violence suffragette inquiètent de multiples acteurs et commentateurs de la scène politique, encore officiellement comprise sans les femmes.

Cependant, les considérations politiques au sein des mouvements suffragiste, socialiste, syndicaliste et féministe de l'époque ainsi que la question de l'acceptabilité des nouveaux savoirs, notamment genrés, ne permettront pas un grand succès ni à son livre ni à cette idée rapidement balayée par la Première guerre mondiale. Se pose la question de la réception des nouveaux savoirs ou plutôt de la réception des nouvelles propositions de savoirs, non seulement face aux résistances politiques et sociales traditionnelles (ici des producteurs comme des employeurs), mais aussi face à une altérité constitutive et dérangeante pour les contemporains de sa théorie de la consommation. On se posera donc la question de l'émergence de nouveaux savoirs, mais surtout de leur réception dans une société médiatique fondée sur les oppositions et exclusions traditionnelles où la parole experte est déniée à celle qui, sans pouvoir, développe en 1912 un savoir sans avenir.

Bio

Professeure d'histoire britannique à l'Université Le Havre Normandie, directrice du laboratoire GRIC-UR 4314, Overseas Research Fellow de Churchill College, Cambridge University (RU), Myriam Boussahba-Bravard poursuit sa recherche en histoire des femmes et du genre au cours du long dix-neuvième siècle, principalement sur les questions de citoyenneté : son dernier ouvrage codirigé *Les Frontières de la citoyenneté* paraîtra prochainement aux Presses U. Rennes. Après ses travaux sur la campagne d'émancipation des Anglaises, dont *Suffrage Outside Suffragism. Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914* (Palgrave, 2007), elle a été conseillère historique pour le documentaire TV "Les suffragettes : ni paillassons ni prostituées" de Michèle Dominici (Arte, 2012). Elle travaille actuellement sur le premier internationalisme féminin du côté des Anglaises et s'intéresse à leurs congrès : en 1893 à Chicago (*Relations internationales 164* PUF, 2016) et en 1908 à Amsterdam (« Transnational Languages of Western Internationalism », *Engendering Transnational Transgressions*, Routledge, 2020). Elle a codirigé avec Rebecca Rogers *Women in International Exhibitions 1876-1937* (Routledge, 2018) ainsi qu'avec 11 collègues, *L'Europe des femmes XVIII-XXIe siècle* (Perrin, 2017). En 2021, elle a co-dirigé *Qu'est-ce que l'intersectionnalité ?* (Petite Bibliothèque Payot, 2021) et publié un article "Le roman sentimental historique *Regency* entre continuités et ruptures (2000-2020)" (*Le Temps des médias*, n° 37, 2021/2, 2021). Elle a commencé un nouveau projet (2019-2025) sur l'écriture de soi appliquée aux masculinités politiques britanniques avant la Première Guerre mondiale : professeure visitante à Cambridge en 2022, elle poursuit sa recherche sur le journal intime de William Bull (à Churchill Archives Centre) écrit entre 1876 et 1931.

Governing interests and transforming France into a commercial power - the strategies of Vincent de Gournay and his circle to reform the economy of the kingdom of France (1751-1758)

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Abstract

Dans le prolongement des études récentes relatives à la science du commerce française du milieu du dix-huitième siècle, nous proposons de revenir sur les projets de réformes économiques que Vincent de Gournay initia et sur les stratégies qu'il mit en place pour parvenir à ce qu'ils s'imposent.

Inspiré par les principes de la science du commerce anglaise, Gournay se servit de sa charge d'Intendant du commerce pour diffuser ses idées et réformer les réglementations économiques du royaume afin de démanteler l'ancienne police, stimuler les productions nationales et affirmer la puissance économique de la France. Pour y parvenir, il mobilisa ses relations avec le monde commerçant, administratif et politique.

Cette entreprise de réforme fut également soutenue par une stratégie de publication d'écrits sur le commerce destinée à légitimer le bien-fondé de ses projets nouveaux et à convaincre l'opinion publique naissante comme les législateurs du royaume. A cette fin, Gournay constitua un cercle et encouragea ses membres à publier des traductions, des articles ou des essais pour diffuser des principes économiques nouveaux mettant à l'honneur les motifs de l'action des commerçants, à savoir l'intérêt et le gain pécuniaire, non sans questionner les modalités nouvelles du gouvernement des hommes et des intérêts individuels libérés. Ceci explique la multiplication des

parutions comme des débats économiques au cours des années 1750 : débats sur les blés, sur les vignes, sur les toiles peintes, sur le luxe, sur les corporations, sur la noblesse commerçante, sur les impôts, sur les colonies, sur les finances publiques.

Cherchant à fonder une science du commerce, les membres du cercle Gournay souhaitent, sur ces fondements, qu'une stratégie commerciale et géopolitique capable de renverser la puissance de l'Angleterre soit mise en place. Le cercle Gournay est ainsi assimilable à un groupe de pression et d'experts mercantilistes.

Bio

Maître de Conférences à l'Université de Strasbourg (BETA , LinCS), mes recherches portent sur la pensée économique au 18e siècle et explorent les moments de la construction de la pensée libérale depuis la naissance de la science du commerce française des années 1750 jusqu'aux écrits d'Adam Smith en passant par la physiocratie. Elles s'articulent autour des conceptions théoriques et systémiques des auteurs ainsi qu'autour de leur questionnement relatif aux modalités d'action de la puissance publique pour gouverner l'économie.

Linking Irish Home Rule, Education and Democracy: John Francis Maguire (1815-1872) and his Novel The Next Generation (1871)

COLLOMBIER, Pauline
Université de Strasbourg, France

Abstract

Among the many scholars of nationalism, Benedict Anderson has emphasised the correlation between the rise of nationalist movements and the emergence of print capitalism. In Ireland, the struggle for home rule generated an extensive amount of political literature in the form of leaflets, posters and pamphlets. The decades during which the issue of Irish self-government was discussed coincided with several important evolutions: Britain experienced growing democratisation through the extension of the suffrage (1867, 1885); at the same time, the reading market grew massively due to improvements in education and corresponding increases in literacy rates. Reading became an eminently political activity – in Ireland, it had been the case at least since the 1840s, when networks of reading rooms had been established by movements such as the Young Ireland or the Temperance movement. Later in the nineteenth century, home rulers were still acutely aware that reading and, more generally speaking, education had the potential to stir up patriotic sentiments in the Irish population. Some of them even dabbled in fiction-writing, as was the case of John Francis Maguire (1815-1872), founder of the Cork Examiner in 1841 and later MP for Dungarvan (1852-65) and Cork City (1865-1872). In 1871, Maguire notably published *The Next Generation*, a three-volume novel of predictive fiction imagining what the future of Britain and Ireland would be like once a separate Parliament was restored in Dublin. The novel obviously gave life to ideas defended at the time by the budding home rule movement led by Isaac Butt. It also broached upon many other contemporary questions in which Maguire had also an interest as a Liberal, notably the question of women's rights and their education. Maguire's novel can therefore be read in two ways, which the proposed paper intends to explore: as a tool meant to promote the home rule cause and the women's movement; as a story connecting a local struggle for a native parliament and the possibility to allow women access to politics, employment and education to a wider question – that for greater democracy.

Bio

Pauline Collombier is a Senior Lecturer at the university of Strasbourg, where she teaches British and Irish history. After studying at the École Normale Supérieure de Fontenay St Cloud and passing the Agrégation, she was awarded her PhD from the university Paris 3 – Sorbonne Nouvelle in 2007. Her research work is focused on Irish parliamentary nationalism. Her publications include "Ireland and the Empire: The Ambivalence of Irish Constitutional Nationalism", *Radical History Review* 104 (2009), 57-76; "Myopia or utopia? The discourse of Irish nationalist MPs and the Ulster question during the parliamentary debates of 1912-14", in Gabriel Doherty (ed), *The Home Rule crisis 1912-14*, Cork: Mercier Press, 2014, 118-137; and *The Home Rule Question*, Paris: Belin, 2019.

The Power of “Useful Truths”: Political Economy and the Reshaping of Political Debate in Enlightenment Venice (1765–1797)

Della Fontana, Aris

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Abstract

This paper [MA[1] investigates the way that economic knowledge altered the boundaries and trajectories of political debate in Enlightenment Venice (1765-1797). It begins by analysing how the epistemological status of political economy, and especially its normative value, was interpreted. That is, by examining the reason why this discipline was understood as a discourse aimed at guiding and influencing the decisions of the legislator. In close relation to this, the paper then focuses on the way in which reformers who did not belong to the patriciate, and thus were excluded from power, justified their right to point out the contradictions of existing economic policy and propose appropriate reforms. In this regard, the paper emphasises that such men, aware of the value of the economic knowledge they possessed, conceived their role as a true patriotic mission. They therefore preferred constructive analysis to sterile polemics, and presented themselves to the government as partners rather than opponents. Finally, while considering the rhetorical codes they adopted, the paper gives special attention to the paradigm of the “Spirit of Legislation” that developed within the *Société Académique de Berne* and received considerable attention in Venice, thanks in particular to the Italian translation of Jean Bertrand’s *Esprit de la législation pour encourager l’agriculture, la population, les manufactures & le commerce* (1765). In fact, this notion made it possible to conceive a phenomenology of reform which, while careful not to question the constitutional structure of Venice, handed a specific role to economic experts.

Bio

Aris Della Fontana is a Ph.D. Candidate in History at the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa and at the Université de Lausanne. His doctoral research is on eighteenth-century Venetian economic reform debates, with a particular emphasis on the reception of European political economy. He is an associate of the research project *Enlightenment Agrarian Republics* (Swiss National Science Foundation, FNS).

A New Form of Mass Surveillance? NHS Personal Data Policy and the Prediction of Human Behaviour

Dimitris Dimitriou

Université Lumière Lyon-2, France

Abstract

The spread of surveillance has historically been associated with targeting known or suspected criminals. However, in recent decades, new technologies have allowed the permanent storage of personal data, literally from the cradle to the grave. This is clearly stated in the rules relating to the retention of data by NHS England. The large-scale database which has been generated as a result of these data-collecting powers has afforded academic researchers the opportunity to use personal data in their own scientific research, based on the claim that algorithms can be used not only to predict an individual’s future health but also their social behaviour. To this end, researchers in behavioural sciences create categories of people with common characteristics that are linked to specific behavioural traits.

This paper will examine how NHS data policy has allowed a form of human profiling in scientific research said to be able to measure the probabilities that an individual will develop specific behavioural traits. The argument of this paper is that such policies, based on assumptions which remain controversial in the scientific community, represent a significant expansion in the use of personal data, meaning that an individual’s biological markers and

personal history can be used to estimate not only their chances of becoming ill in the future but also the probability that they will develop “undesirable” behavioural traits. Particular attention will be paid to the concept of “patienthood”, which places on individuals/patients the responsibility to integrate the idea that their biological differences contribute to future social behaviour. They are also required to place unquestioning faith in the ability of health professionals to categorise them and predict future outcomes with unerring accuracy. “Patients” are thus locked in, as it were, to a contested, biologized model of human behaviour with the potential to significantly affect different aspects of their lives.

Bio

Dimitris Dimitriou is a PhD student in English Studies at the University of Lyon 2 and a member of the LARHRA. He has worked as a Tutor (Enseignant de Travaux Dirigés) of *British Civilization* at the Université Lumière Lyon 2 and as a Teaching Assistant at the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Cyprus and as a Research Assistant at the Department of Education of the same university. His PhD thesis is on the academic studies of probability and estimation of deviant behaviour in the English-speaking world.

The League of Learning Project: H. Jones’ Reflections on the Relationship between Knowledge, Power and State

DIVIDUS, Alessandro
University of Pisa, Italy

Abstract

The dramatic events of the First World War exponentially increased scholars’ interest in the subject of education, the manipulation of knowledge and the legitimisation of power through it. The outbreak of war was merely the high point of a deeper crisis that arose many decades earlier and was only partially concerned with the reorganisation of international relations. Indeed, according to the British idealist philosopher H. Jones, all the elements that contributed to the outbreak of war – i.e. growing militarism, the structural weakening of liberal democracies or the increasingly materialistic view of social dynamics – have an important common feature. This is identified by Jones in the progressive instrumentalisation of education and, consequently, of human existence. This characteristic, analysed mainly by Jones in the case of Germany, represents a tendency throughout the modern world and a warning sign for all those democratic governments that hold the power and responsibility to determine the nature of their citizens’ education. Moved by the conviction that the manipulation of knowledge is the evil par excellence of contemporary societies, Jones sets out a model for educational reform that provides the means to restore the value of the human being on the one hand, and teaches citizens the principles of a wise democracy on the other. This project culminates in the idea for the creation of a *League of Learning* whose work, in Jones’ view, must be complementary to that of the *League of Nations*. This League must aim to establish a worldwide network of thinkers based on the principles of freedom of knowledge and fair play. The latter, in particular, is what Jones considers to be the basis of the political superiority of democratic countries.

How to Promote the Common Good through a New “Business Ethics”: The Contribution of Charlotte Perkins Gilman

Gomes Betancourt, Rebeca
Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

Guillaume Valet
Université Grenoble-Alpes, France

Abstract

The idea to promote the common good was shared by many intellectual figures of the Progressive Era. At stake was social and economic progress, with the underpinnings of the nation-building. This paper sheds light on Charlotte Perkins Gilman's thought, an eminent figure of American feminism of the early 20th century. Her originality is to envision social progress through the reframing of business ethics, implying to build new links between household economics and the rest of the economy on a new fair basis. In the closing years of the nineteenth century in the United States, Charlotte Perkins Gilman emphasized the connection between the rules governing economic institutions of her time and those of home economics – what she called, the family “nest”. She asked for radical transformations of the economy of the “nest” as a way of promoting the “new woman” model which would help pacify society and dynamize the economy. The global emancipation of women (political, social and economic) depends on their access to economic independence, itself function of changing the domestic economics but also of promoting new types of enterprises. However, these economic changes can only occur if new ethics is put in practice. We shed light on the connection between household economics and conception of the economy through Gilman's ideas.

Bio

Rebeca Gomez Betancourt
Université Lyon 2-TRIANGLE

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‘Scientifically Grounded’ or how Contesting Ideologies Resorted to Scientific Knowledge for Vindication in Victorian England

GOMES, Carla
University of Lisbon, Portugal

Abstract

Thirty years after Charles Darwin expressed his theories on the evolution of men, Wallace (1900: 305) stated that it was ‘late in the day to deny its [natural selection's] existence without adducing some adequate and proved substitute.’ In fact, the growing popularity of natural sciences in the 19th century, and subsequent authority of scientific knowledge, was promoted, to a great extent, by the theories Darwin set forth in his *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871). However, the different interpretations of such theories within the ideological sphere were also manifest, as opposing political groups seemed to search for the vindication of their proposals in science.

On the one hand, the emphasis might be placed on the fact that those theories contributed to a change in attitude towards the role of the State in society, as it would now be seen as eminently organic, rather than contractual, in nature, since interconnectedness and cooperation between all elements in society was now emphasised. On the other hand, the approach might be centred on the transposition of the ‘survival of the fittest’ thesis to the analysis and interpretation of the human condition and progress, which, in turn, gave rise to a sudden surge of competition and conflict. The former view seemed to suit collectivist intents, whereas the latter was generally associated with extreme individualism.

In this paper, therefore, I will address the social and political impact of Darwin's theories in Victorian England, as well as the widespread authority of scientific knowledge, to which contesting ideologies resorted for the vindication of their theories and proposals, through biased interpretations and partial approaches.

Wallace, Alfred Russel (1900). *Studies. Scientific and Social*. London: Macmillan and Co.

Bio

Carla Larouco Gomes is a researcher at the University of Lisbon Centre for English Studies (ULICES) and an Adjunct Lecturer of English Language and Culture at Higher Education Institutions. At ULICES, she has been involved in two major projects: on the British Empire and on Victorianism. She holds a PhD in Culture and Literature Studies, with a specialisation in the New Liberalism and in L.T. Hobhouse's political thought. Her main areas of interest include Culture Studies, English Culture, Reformation Studies, History of Ideas, History of Political Thought and Liberalism.

Experts, laypeople and the survival of liberal democracy

GRYGIEŃĆ, Janusz

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland

Abstract

Yascha Mounk, in his *The People vs Democracy* (Mounk 2018), states that liberal democracy today has two main enemies. One is illiberal democracy, and the other is undemocratic liberalism. Both question the possibility of harmonious coexistence between laypeople and experts. Undemocratic liberals assume that laypeople will never be able to acquire the expertise crucial to governing, so a technocratic correction of democracy is necessary (Zielonka 2018; Lilla 2017; Pabst 2019). Undemocratic liberals, on the other hand, argue that citizens have the competence required to make most if not all policy decisions (Holmes, Krastev 2020). Experts, on the other hand, are corrupt, incompetent and harmful. The experts hijack public debate, defining the boundaries of what is technical and taking the most critical issues out of the general discussion (Fisher 2000, 2009; Jasanoff 2003; Gieryn 1983). The survival of liberal democracy depends on reconciling these two perspectives and developing rules for cooperation between experts and laypeople (Collins, Evans, Weinel 2010, 2017, 2020; Fuller 2006; Turner 2003). In my talk, I want to explore whether a proposal for such collaboration can be developed based on the *Studies on Expertise and Experience* (SEE) developed by Collins and Evans (2002, 2007, 2017), as well as academic discussions around the categories of interactional (Dreyfus, Collins 2007; Ribeiro, Lima 2015) and contributory expertise. I will argue that one of the political implications of SEE is a modification of liberal democratic theory going in two directions. On the one hand, what needs to be abandoned is the optimistic liberal belief that regular citizens can acquire the decision-making competence necessary for making sound political choices. On the other hand, it is essential to understand the limits of expert knowledge and appreciate the role of 'expert-laymen' in democratic procedures.

Bio

Janusz Grygieńć - associate professor at the Institute of Philosophy, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń (Poland). Interested in the theory of democracy, especially deliberative democracy and epistemic conceptions of democracy. A Kościuszko Foundation scholarship holder. Author of, among others, *General will in Political Philosophy* (Imprint Academic, Exeter 2013) and *Democracy in the Post-Truth Era. Restoring Faith in Expertise* (forthcoming with Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

Economics and Power in a New Light with Foucault and Beyond

GÜRKAN, Ceyhun

Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Department of Public Finance

Abstract

One of the thorny issues in economics is to identify the relationship between economics and power. Critical theories are close to recognizing economics and power relation around the notion of domination. Mainstream economics either is entirely ignorant of power in economic knowledge or defines it as the state force with a negative impact on the market economy. Foucault's novelty is his conception of power as something productive instead of a negative effect or domination. His other contribution is to allow consider power on the micro scales of interrelations of individuals, which provides an exceptional basis for critiquing mainstream microeconomics. Foucault is not an economist but his analytics and history of power and government opened the ways to reconsider the place of power in economic knowledge.

Particularly, Foucault dealt with the question of economic knowledge as part of his research on the archeology of knowledge and episteme. In the 1970s he was engaged with economic knowledge as part of the question of government, which also opens economics to ethics.

Knowledge, history of government, and ethics are the dimensions of Foucault's reconsideration of economics and this allows us to reconsider economic knowledge as part of his general analytics of power. This work will try to do something new about economics and power with Foucault. It will relocate the question of the relation of economics and power by considering its three dimensions: archeology of knowledge, history of government, and ethics.

The interrelations between these three dimensions of Foucault's work are weak. What is more, when it comes to economics it is all the more missing. However, a Foucauldian appraisal of economics and power relation requires setting the interrelations between knowledge, government, and ethics.

Bio

I was born in Istanbul in 1978. I have a BA in Economics (Ankara University, Turkey), Msc degree in Science and Technology Policy Studies, and PhD in Sociology (Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey). I studied my postdoc project on Foucault and public finance at the Institute of Sociology, Goethe-University (Thomas Lemke's research group). I have been a member of the Department of Public Finance, Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University and am still working at the same place as an associate professor. I focus on economic and fiscal sociology.

Radicalising Children's Education in the Romantic Period: William Godwin's Pedagogical Theory and Practice

HANSSON, John-Erik
Université Paris Cité, France

Abstract

While William Godwin (1756-1836) is perhaps best known for his 1793 *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, in which he advocated the dissolution of all governments, he was also deeply concerned with the politics of children's education and of the production and circulation of knowledge to and for children. He addressed these issues in the political and philosophical arguments of the *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, in the more conversational essays of *The Enquirer* (1797) – whose form already reflect a different perspective on the circulation of knowledge – and in the books he wrote for children at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In Godwin's analysis, the intersections of knowledge and power involved the state, society as a whole and particular relationships between individuals. As this paper will show, in his view, the key to social progress was to shed light on the relationship between the dynamics of the circulation of knowledge and power in order to challenge political inequalities and relations of domination at all levels. Against educational projects such as those of the French Revolutionaries, Godwin criticised the deployment of any form of state education, arguing that it would reinforce rather than alleviate political domination. At the same time, and although he admitted that "all education is despotism", he identified ways to limit the arbitrary power of the parent or teacher over the child. Finally, in writing children's books, Godwin sought to unsettle the political and moral commonplaces of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries. He challenged hegemonic narratives circulated in, for example, histories for children, while remaining committed to the autonomy of childreaders, who, he hoped, would go on to reform society for the better.

Bio

John-Erik Hansson is a lecturer in British history at Université Paris Cité and co-editor of the *Ideology, Theory, Practice* blog. He specializes in the history of political radicalism in Britain in the Age of Revolution and has a wider interest in the history of radicalism and radical thought from the 17th century to today. He is currently finishing a monograph on the children's books written by the late-eighteenth-century radical, William Godwin.

Citizenship as a 'Technology of Government' in Revolutionary France

HARRISSON, Samuel
University of Cambridge, UK

Abstract

Political theorist Barbara Cruikshank (1999) has interpreted citizenship as a 'technology' devised by twentieth and twenty-first century governments to secure voluntary compliance from their people without the need to resort to force. This lens has inspired such critical histories of citizenship as Gabrielle Moser's (2019) analysis of imperial citizenship, in which she examined its construction, through its symbolic representation, as a relation of power. I propose to return to what is widely regarded as the root of modern citizenship, the French Revolution, to explore these same dynamics of knowledge and power. During the Revolution, knowledge of who was and was not qualified to be a full citizen was used to organise and control the population. The voting qualifications introduced by successive constitutions required would-be voters to pay a certain amount in tax, perform military service in the National Guard, avoid particular professions, and have been permanently housed for a fixed period of time in their district specifically and in France more generally. This necessitated the production of reams of information detailing who did and did not wield sovereign power, and on what basis. This knowledge was used, variously, to produce an ideological distinction between those deemed to have an "active" and a "passive" will; to encourage particular modes of economically productive and morally upright behaviour that would qualify lesser citizens to gain full citizenship; and to define the foreign 'Other', whilst stressing the desirability of citizenship status by offering foreign residents a path to full citizenship. At the same time, "lesser" citizens and noncitizens could use the universalist pretensions of revolutionary rhetoric to define and extend their own prerogatives. Citizenship thus became a technology for subjecting the people to the revolutionary state, but also one with which this state could be challenged by those it governed.

Bio

My name is Samuel Harrison and I am a PhD candidate in History at the University of Cambridge. I am writing my thesis on the concept of citizenship in the French Revolution. I previously completed an MPhil in Political Thought and Intellectual History, also at Cambridge.

Liberal Perfectionism and Epistocracy

HEDOIN, Cyril
Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, France

Abstract

Epistocracy can be defined as a political regime that allocates political power as a function of individuals' knowledge and competence, especially in political and scientific matters. In particular, epistocracy is associated with a set of mechanisms of judgments formation and aggregation for collective decision making that empowers citizens who demonstrate a better acquaintance and understanding of the form of knowledge thought to be politically relevant. Defined in this way, epistocracy figures as a controversial alternative to dominant forms of representative democracy in liberal Western societies.

Current debates over the moral and political acceptability of epistocracy take place in the context of the growing importance given to epistemic considerations to assess political regimes (Landemore 2017b). Proponents of epistocracy mostly make their case based on a consequentialist argument according to which the fact that most voters are highly uninformed leads to bad political outcomes ((Brennan 2016); (Somin 2016)). Critics counterargue that epistocracy is actually likely to be epistemically damaging ((Estlund 2009); (Ingham and Wiens 2021); (Landemore 2017a)).

I explore however in this article a different stance from which the moral and political legitimacy of epistocracy can be evaluated. I suggest that a minimal form of epistocracy can be defended as part of a broader *liberal perfectionist* account of political morality. Liberal perfectionism contends that, at least within liberal forms of life, personal autonomy is a core ideal, the realization of which is required to live a fulfilling and flourishing life [(Mill 2013); (Raz 1986); (Wall 2008)]. In this context, I hypothesize that epistocratic mechanisms can help to foster the realization of *epistemic* autonomy as part of personal autonomy among the members of liberal societies by inducing citizens to acquire relevant information and competencies to make good decisions. I discuss the (socioeconomic, cultural, and political) conditions under which this claim is plausible.

Bio

Cyril Hédoin is professor of economics at the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne (REGARDS economics and management research center) and currently on a research leave at the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne (ISJSP). His work tackles issues at the intersection of economics and philosophy, especially normative economics and political philosophy. He is currently pursuing two related projects, one on the possibility of a liberal epistocracy, and the other articulating the idea of public reason in a social choice framework to study the political morality of open societies.

Changing the World with ‘Centres of Happiness’: Gabriel Tarde, Henri Bergson and Albert Kahn

JAKOBSEN, Kjetil Ansgar
Nord Universitet, Norway

Abstract

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the so-called Boulogne Circle, financed by the banker Albert Kahn and led intellectually by the philosopher Henri Bergson worked on a project of elite formation through organizations like the Around the Word society and a number of other philanthropical initiatives. Alain Petit, a member of the Circle, noted that the strategy was to create ‘centres of happiness composed from fixed groups of young men, intelligent, highly educated and closely knit together. When a centre becomes too large, it will split off a component, as when a mother cell generates a daughter, and so the centres of happiness will multiply into a vast and ever richer network, expanding till it covers humanity as a whole’.

In this paper, I will examine the intellectual links between the two philosophers Henri Bergson and Gabriel Tarde, and argue that the cosmopolitical strategies – and tactics – of Bergson and the Circle drew on and continued the

sociological analysis of Tarde. From Tarde came the understanding of the decentred nature of the modern world as well as the project of reforming society by the formation of elites that inspire imitation.

More than Tarde, Bergson was also somebody who actually sought to act in order to improve the world. I will examine also Bergson's little-known engagement related to the League of Nations, where he presided the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC).

Much critical research on elites assumes that "global elites" govern societies from a centre, either in the nation state or some kind of global subject, say the World Bank or the Davos forum. It could be argued that such research runs the risk of succumbing to paranoia and conspiracy theory unless it pays heed to the decentred nature of reality and the power of imitation.

Bio

Since 2015, Kjetil Ansgar Jakobsen is professor of intellectual history at Nord University in Bodø. He was the Henrik Steffens professor of Nordic Studies at the Humboldt university in Berlin from 2011 to 2014, and senior lecturer of intellectual history at the university of Oslo from 2009 to 11. Jakobsen currently heads the research consortium "Words and Violence: Literary intellectuals between democracy and dictatorship 1933-1952", funded by the Norwegian Research council and Nord university. The project, which involves a large number of researchers, analyses the democratic resilience and vulnerability of cultural life in the 1930s and '40s, using both statistical and qualitative approaches. The Norwegian experience is compared with that of other countries under fascist occupation during World War II, notably France.

<https://www.nord.no/en/about/faculties-and-centres/faculty-of-social-sciences/research/Pages/research-project-words-and-violence-literary>

Jakobsen's most recent book is *The Cosmopolitics of the Camera. Albert Kahn's Archives of the Planet* (Bristol, Intellect 2020). <https://www.intellectbooks.com/cosmopolitics-of-the-camera>

Whose knowledge? Whose power? Whose democracy? Adult Education and the Changing Political Balance of Class Power in Britain (1900 – 1923)

KUMBHAT, Pushpa
Newman University, Birmingham, UK

Abstract

'...you may effect a revolution, but you will be trodden down under the feet of knowledge unless you get it for yourselves; even if you win victory you will be trodden down again... if you leave knowledge in the hands of privilege; because knowledge will always win over ignorance.'

(Charles Gore, Bishop of Birmingham, address to the 7th Annual Meeting of the Workers' Educational Association, 1910)

Here Gore emphasises the significance of the relationship between knowledge, power, and class. By this statement, Gore recognised the rising challenge of the British Labour Movement, and its potential to disrupt the political status quo.

The widespread mistrust of Labour was based on the premise that those without education, without knowledge, and without experience of power, would govern poorly.

The British adult education movement aimed to make knowledge from elite British academic universities accessible to working class people to enable them to exercise political power as part of future governments.

This paper argues that knowledge, in whatever form, exists as a significant resource to support power, and that it can be re-shaped by those who acquire it (whatever their class) to change the political outlook of an expanding democracy. Using historical evidence and research, it shows how the adult education movement in Britain helped

the Labour Movement and Labour Party to become an integral part of the political establishment. The paper argues that, in the case of Britain and the Labour Party, the knowledge base remained unchanged, but the people who acquired and applied it did so in the interests of an entirely new electorate, and that this process changed how power, through knowledge, created the modern British democracy.

Bio

I am a lecturer in Foundation Year Studies at Newman University, Birmingham, UK. I was awarded my PhD in Modern British History by the University of Leeds in 2018. The title of my PhD is 'Working Class Adult Education in Yorkshire 1918-1939'. I have published articles about adult education and the labour movement in *Socialist History* (2021), *Urban History* (2020), the *History of Education Journal* (2020), and the *Journal of Co-operative Studies* (2016).

On the danger of ideology: Orwell's criticism of the English left-wing intellectuals.

LAMINE, Farouk
Université d'Angers, France

Abstract

Les liens qu'entretiennent les intellectuels avec le pouvoir constituent un des thèmes majeurs qui traverse de bout en bout l'œuvre de George Orwell. L'Etat totalitaire imaginé dans *1984* n'est, par exemple, pas tout à fait celui de Staline ou de Hitler ; le parti intérieur (*inner party*) est composé d'intellectuels radicaux anglo-américains (Shklar 1998 : 342-43), à l'image d'O'Brien qui philosophe entre deux séances de gégène (Rosat 2013 : 33). Avec le retour du débat sur Orwell au cours des dernières années, la critique orwellienne des intellectuels s'est vue taxée d'excessive, de naïve voire de populiste (Thompson 1974 ; Collini 2006 ; Lordon 2013).

Ce papier a pour but de discuter ces lectures qui, à notre sens, ne tiennent pas suffisamment compte des nuances de cette critique, des nuances que le ton polémique de l'auteur a plus ou moins tendance à masquer. Plus important encore, l'analyse de l'auteur reste incomplète voire incompréhensible si l'on ne tient pas compte des grandes transformations d'ordre économique, politique et social observées dans tous les pays industrialisés à ce moment de l'histoire. Le collectivisme, et son corollaire le managérialisme, imposent une configuration nouvelle qui favorise l'apparition d'un nouveau type d'intellectuel, à savoir non pas l'intellectuel de la libre pensée selon la tradition des Lumières, mais plutôt l'intellectuel dévoué à l'Etat, au Parti, en un mot, dévoué au pouvoir.

Au-delà de cette contextualisation nécessaire pour saisir la portée d'une critique souvent sous-estimée, il y a aussi chez Orwell une interrogation fondamentale sur les limites du savoir ou de la pensée occidentale. Le réalisme politique – c'est-à-dire l'idée que seule la force compte et que c'est elle qui fait le droit – n'est-il pas la traduction politique de plusieurs courants de pensée philosophiques qui ont façonnés le paysage intellectuel en Occident ? En effet, plus qu'une satire, historiquement située, des intellectuels et du totalitarisme, *1984* pourrait être lue comme une critique de tout un cadre conceptuel propre à la philosophie occidentale.

Bio

Docteur en études anglophones de l'université de Nantes avec une thèse en littérature et histoire des idées sur la pensée politique et éthique de George Orwell, soutenue en 2021 et rédigée sous la direction du professeur Georges Letissier. Auteur de « Common decency ou l'universel orwellien », article publié dans *Boomrang d'idées et de désirs*, Presse universitaire de Rennes, 2018 et « De Mandalay à Wigan : la lutte anticoloniale de George Orwell », publié dans la revue *Passage*, de l'université de Boumerdes (Algérie). Enseignant de langue anglaise au lycée Antoine de Saint-Exupéry.

Contestations over Power/Knowledge in a (Post-) Colonial Society: the Clash between Education Development and the Rhodes Must Fall Movement at the University of Cape Town (2015-2016)

LUCKETT Kathy

University of Cape Town, South Africa

Abstract

In 2015-2016 historically white universities in South Africa were challenged in unprecedented ways by student protests. The protests were led by black student activists, many of whom had gained access to these elite universities through Education Development Programmes.[1]. Student activists attacked the ED Programmes for being colonial and remedial and for adopting a deficit view of black students. In turn many of their (mostly white and female teachers of settler descent) were shocked and hurt by this rebuke from 'their students'.

The purpose of this paper is to undertake a genealogical analysis of this struggle around the politics of knowledge in elite South African universities. The analysis of the discursive formation of the ED project will trace its lineage to the educational endeavours of Christian missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries in Southern Africa. It will show how this paternalistic discourse of trusteeship was reinvented by anti-apartheid white liberals who founded the ED movement in the early 1980s as a means of giving access to quality university education to black South Africans during apartheid. I will also show how the work of Basil Bernstein, a British structuralist sociologist of education, was (mis)applied in the South African settler context. The analysis will further show how the retention of racialised identities for redress and equity by post-1994 state policy enabled (and funded) the persistence of this model of education, long after the demise of apartheid.

The second half of the paper will analyse the #RMF discourse and trace its political lineage to the Black Consciousness Movement as well as drawing from broader black radical and anti-colonial traditions. I will highlight the danger of simply inverting racialized (colonial) subjectivities in the binarized discourse often found in the rhetoric of the #RMF. In closing I will discuss some of the epistemic and ontological challenges involved in realizing the project to decolonize Eurocentric disciplinary knowledge.

[1] These are government-funded redress programmes with lower entry requirements for students who would have been classified black under apartheid, many of whom come from poor public schools. They are given extra tuition and an additional year in which to graduate to enable them 'catch up' with their middle-class peers.

Bio

Kathy Lockett is Emeritus Professor in the Centre for Higher Education Development and currently works for the Institutional Planning Department, University of Cape Town. She supervises in Higher Education Studies and in Sociology. Her research interests are the sociology of knowledge and curriculum studies with a focus on the Humanities, Africana, decolonial and postcolonial studies; higher education policy on equity, inclusion and multilingualism; and research methods that apply critical/ social realism to higher education.

Power, Knowledge and the White Left in South Africa: Re-Examining the Role of Radical Academics in the Liberation Struggle through a Case Study in Historical Studies (1960-1990)

MARTINIERE, Camille

Aix-Marseille Université, France

Abstract

This paper deals with the post-apartheid divisions of the South African Left (Webster et al., 2017; Friedman, 2021) through an analysis of the controversial role played by radical intellectuals invested in the anti-apartheid struggle. While some like Saunders (2018:1) suggested that “by emphasizing resistance to racial segregation in the past, South African historical writing assisted the process leading to the end of apartheid”, others have taken a more critical stance on the political role played by this group of predominantly white Marxist scholars within South African universities (Worger, 1991; Ally, 2005; Magubane, 2007). Offering a reconceptualization of power, Ally notably argued that “Marxism offered a re-positioning of race as an explanatory equation of apartheid in ways that constructed an intellectual and political role for this group of white, English-speaking intellectuals” (2005:92). Expanding on Ally (2005), I argue that in order to grasp the ambiguities of radical scholarship, the relationship between power and knowledge in South Africa needs to be understood beyond the scale of the nation-state, rather as an entanglement of “knowledge regimes” (Jansen, 2019) inscribed in the power matrix of “global whiteness” (Willoughby-Herard, 2015). This reconfiguration allows for a re-examination of the application of the Gramscian concept of the “organic intellectual” in that context. Following Mamdani’s (2016) analysis of the South African “scholar”, I reflect on the counter-hegemonic character of radical academic praxes (Allman & Wallis, 1990) within liberal universities drawing from a case study at the University of Cape Town (UCT). I will first focus on the political context of academic involvement between 1960 and 1990. I then discuss the two facets of Marxist academics as “organic intellectuals” (Gramsci, 1971) resisting the apartheid knowledge regime (Jansen, 2019) and as “scholars” reflecting dominant “ideological strategies and epistemological positions” (Bourdieu 1975: 40). Finally, I ponder on the resilient political frustrations with the post-apartheid settlement in light of the conflicting intellectual histories and trajectories of Marxism and African nationalism in South African leftist thought.

Bio

Camille Martinerie is a former student from the Ecole Normale Supérieure (Paris-Saclay) and holds a joint-PhD degree in African and Anglophone Studies at the University of Cape Town (South Africa) and Aix-Marseille Université (France) where she also teaches as a contract lecturer (ATER). Her thesis entitled “Deconstructing ‘de/colonized knowledge’ in the South African liberal university: the limits of radical academic history under apartheid (1960-1991)” investigated the complex histories of intellectual colonization and decolonization and their impact on history education under apartheid. Her research interests revolve around historiography, intellectual history and education linked to (post)colonial and radical political theories. She recently published an article entitled “The #MustFall movement and Traditions of National Liberation in South Africa: continuities and ruptures in theory and practice” in the peer-reviewed *Journal of Civil Society*.

Power and Knowledge in British Conservatism since the 1980s

NEILL, Edmund

New College of the Humanities at Northeastern University, London, UK

Abstract

This paper reflects on the relationship between power and knowledge in recent versions of British conservatism from the 1980s onwards. First it examines Thatcherite ideology. This was arguably based on combining scepticism and dogmatism. On the one hand, borrowing from Hayek, a key tenet of Thatcherism was its conviction that the market could allocate resources better than the state, since the latter lacked proper knowledge of individuals’ needs and preferences. On this basis, too, Thatcherism called for respect for traditional national institutions, on the Oakeshottian basis that self-conscious ideology could never provide a convincing substitute for accumulated traditional wisdom. But on the other hand, Thatcherism also had a dogmatic side. Simplifying Adam Smith, it tended to claim the free market was largely self-correcting – provided tight monetary control was achieved, or inflation kept low by using interest rates. And it sought to uphold *one* set of traditional values – associated with a particular *conception* of individualism and the rule of law – rather than accepting the contested nature of British tradition, with its 19th century radical demands for minority rights, and 20th century collectivist ones for increased welfare. Latterly such tensions on the Right have become even clearer. For John Gray, Thatcherites’ reliance on a

fundamentalist conception of capitalism ignored the problem that highly globalized markets undermine the very local knowledge that makes market transactions possible. For Shirley Robin Letwin, Thatcherites' utilitarian stress on productivity undermined the civilized individualism it sought to protect. And Brexit is another example. Was this designed to free the British economy from the shackles of EU regulation, or to protect British workers from unfair labour market competition? Fundamentally the paper argues, therefore, that recent tensions within British conservatism can be traced back to the conflicting ways in which Thatcherites conceptualized knowledge of the market, of tradition, and of the individual.

Bio

Dr Edmund Neill is Assistant Professor in History at the New College of the Humanities at Northeastern University, and is also Associate Head of Faculty. He has wide interests in modern British history and the history of political thought, particularly on conservatism and the Right. He is the author of *Michael Oakeshott* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), *Conservatism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2021), and the editor of a special issue of the *History of European Ideas* on 'The Impact of Positivism on Post-War European Political Thought' (2013), as well as articles for *Twentieth Century British History*, the *Political Studies Review*, and the *History of European Ideas*. Together with Dr Dean Blackburn (Nottingham University), he is currently editing a set of essays on conservatism and its historical relationship to other ideologies and social movements, and separately a research handbook on conservatism for *Edward Elgar* publishing. He is also working on articles on Ian Gilmour and conservatism's relationship to populism. He is a fellow of both the Higher Education Academy and the Royal Historical Society.

The Power of “The Best Knowledge”: Constituting State Citizens in Matthew Arnold’s *Culture and Anarchy*

NG, Anneliese
University of Hong Kong

Abstract

In *Culture and Anarchy* (1869), British critic Matthew Arnold proposes a model of human development based on “getting to know [...] the best which has been thought and said in the world”. This model of “culture” or cultivating the individual, Arnold argues, could produce a new kind of subjectivity that is needed for the formation of the State. Specially, “culture” could allow British individuals to transcend their class-based notions and desires, set aside their class politics, thereby becoming united enough to together found an authoritative State.

This paper seeks an understanding of the socially unifying property Arnold attributes to “culture”, by examining how Arnold construes “the best” kind of knowledge in his essay “The Function of Criticism at the Present Time” (1864). In this essay, Arnold establishes knowledge acquisition as a sphere of its own, called “intellectual sphere”, separate from “the sphere of politics and practice”. In so doing, Arnold uses the factional interest of political parties to underwrite the non-divisive nature of knowledge acquired in the “intellectual sphere”. I argue that Arnold’s famous model of “culture” was his attempt to draw upon the disinterested sphere he theorized about “the best knowledge”, offering it as the site where British individuals are constituted into State citizens who think nationally instead of from the partial perspective of class.

Bio

A second-year PhD student at The University of Hong Kong researching on the topic of political disinterestedness in nineteenth-century Britain.

The Theoretical Knowledge behind Identity Politics: a Criticism of Power.

ORAZI, Françoise
Lyon 2 University, France

Abstract

The purported influence of identity politics has been blamed for causing a fragmentation of the electorate and political polarisation, undermining the cohesion of political parties and for eventually leading to the weakened political power of the State (see for instance Mark Lilla, Francis Fukuyama or Laurent Bouvet). This rather common view tends to overlook the intellectual knowledge behind identity politics and to take its cue from a misconception of the theoretical research that triggered its development.

My paper will attempt a presentation of some of the essential theoretical origins of identity politics. Several key notions played a crucial role in its emergence. Multiculturalism, especially the critique of monoculturalism by authors such as Will Kymlicka or Charles Taylor who was among the first to highlight the exclusion of minorities from the alleged sovereignty of the people in democratic regimes; difference and its corollary, the politics of recognition, as expounded by Iris Marion Young and Axel Honneth, among others, as part of the debate on justice. This will lead to a reappraisal of identity politics as a robust critical knowledge aiming at the stability of the political order rather than its destabilization. Indeed identity politics can be construed as the political legacy of theoretical writings that aimed at the inclusion of individuals or groups within the political order so that power could be made to rest on equal citizenship rather than mere domination.

Bio

Françoise Orazi is a Professor of British Civilization at Lyon 2 University and a member of Triangle UMR 5206 (Research Unit). Her recent publications are

« The Elusiveness of Nationalism », *Revue Française de civilisation Britannique*, XXVII-2, 2022 *The State of the Union*, pp.141-153.

(dir.), *La tolérance politique : nouvelles perspectives sur les influences anglo-saxonnes*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, Constitution de la modernité, 2021, 190 p.

L'individu libre : le libéralisme anglo-saxon de John Stuart Mill à nos jours, Paris, Classiques Garnier, Constitution de la modernité, 2018, 200 p.

Sustaining power? Edward Smith and dietaries in British workhouses and prisons (1860s)

PAGE, Arnaud
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Abstract

This talk aims to analyse and contextualise the work of Edward Smith (1819–1874), a British physician who specialised in dietetics and physiological chemistry. Smith was a pioneer in nutritional research, conducting several dietary surveys in the early 1860, and was one of the first to devise standards of nutritional intake based on the chemical composition of aliments. This talk will focus in particular on Smith's work as a medical officer to the Privy Council and the Poor Law Board, where he campaigned in favour of a scientific standardization of rations for paupers and prison inmates, but will also show how these attempts went largely unfulfilled. Based on previously unexplored archives and official documents, this paper shows how the knowledge of food, which developed from the mid-nineteenth century, gradually became enrolled in the exercise of political power. But by looking at the various problems and contestations that Smith encountered, it will also show how the application of science to politics and administration was far from being a straightforward and consensual process.

Bio

Arnaud Page est Maître de Conférences en civilisation britannique à Sorbonne Université depuis 2010 (délégation CNRS (CRH / EHESS) en 2022-23). Situé à l'intersection de l'histoire des sciences, de l'histoire de l'alimentation et de l'histoire environnementale, son travail a notamment été publié dans les revues *History of Science*, *Environment and History* ou *Ambix*. Il prépare actuellement une monographie sur l'histoire politique des sciences de la nutrition, tant végétale qu'animale, en Grande-Bretagne de 1840 à 1914.

“Knowledge and the Good Life; R.B. Haldane on Ethical Citizenship, the Common Good and the Role of Education”

PANAGAKOU, Stamatoula
Department of Social and Political Sciences
University of Cyprus

Abstract

For the British Idealists, the good life is a cardinal aim in society and politics and reflects their holistic view of individual, society and the state which unites in a harmonious synthesis the common good politics with individual fulfilment and self-realisation. The Scottish Idealist philosopher, lawyer and politician R. B. Haldane (1856-1928) elaborated a socio-political vision which put at the centre knowledge through a system of education as a basic ingredient of the good life and a pillar of the common good politics. Central position in this discourse has the concept of ethical citizenship. In the philosophy of R. B. Haldane, the concept of ethical citizenship is the meeting point of his metaphysical theorising and his ethical vision of society and politics. Ethical citizenship is an aspect of individual development and self-realisation and signifies social being and life in a whole that is characterised by the moral effort of its members and, at the same time, provides them with the soul-moulding powers of transformation and transcendence. Education and University life, not only cultivate the individual, but also give it a unique opportunity to contribute to the betterment of society. According to Haldane, both the teacher and the student have a responsibility to elevate the moral tone of their society and to become beacons of inspiration. In this paper, I revisit the philosophy of R. B. Haldane and I explore these issues, especially the dynamics of knowledge, ethical citizenship and the common good, through a thorough investigation of Haldane's writings.

Bio

Dr. Panagakou teaches in the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Cyprus. She has previously taught at the Universities of York, Durham, Newcastle and Manchester in the United Kingdom. Dr. Panagakou holds a DPhil in Politics (University of York, UK), an MA in Political Philosophy (University of York, UK), and a First-Class Honours BA in Political Science and Public Administration (University of Athens, Greece). She is a Founding Member and Co-Chair (1999-2008) of the British Idealism Specialist Group of the Political Studies Association (PSA) of the United Kingdom. She has been an Honorary Visiting Fellow and a Visiting Associate in the Department of Politics, University of York (UK), an Honorary Fellow in the Scholl of Government and International Affairs, Durham University (UK), and she is currently an Associate Member of the Centre for the History of Philosophy, an Inter-University Network of Philosophers in York, Leeds, and Sheffield (UK). Dr. Panagakou has been awarded fellowships from the NATO Science Fellowships Programme of the Greek Ministry of National Economy, the Lilian Voudouri Foundation, and the State Scholarships Foundation (IKY). Dr. Panagakou is a winner of the Political Studies Association (PSA) Specialist Group Speakers Competition in 2015. She was nominated for The Sir Bernard Crick Award for Outstanding Teaching – Main Prize (2016). Dr. Panagakou is the winner of the Political Studies Association (PSA) Jennie Lee Prize (Main Entrant) for Outstanding Teaching 2018. Dr. Panagakou has published articles and other scholarly contributions in such journals as *The British Journal of Politics & International Relations*, *European Journal of Political Theory*, *Political Studies Review*, *Collingwood and British Idealism Studies*, *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, *Journal of Educational Thought*, and *Bradley Studies*. Dr. Panagakou is co-editor (with Professor James Connelly) of *Anglo-American Idealism: Thinkers and Ideas* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010). She has also co-edited (with Professor W. J. Mander), *British Idealism and the Concept of the Self* (London:

Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). Her latest publications include: (i) an article on “Empowering Migrant Women Through Poetry” (*Journal of Educational Thought*, 53:3, 2020); (ii) an article on “The New Testament and the Role of Religious Observance in Bernard Bosanquet’s Analysis of Religion” (*Collingwood and British Idealism Studies*, 25:2, 2019); (iii) an article on “British Idealism and Ethical Citizenship” (*Collingwood and British Idealism Studies*, 23:1, 2017); and (iv) two articles on the feminist philosophy of J. S. Mill: “J. S. Mill on Women’s Empowerment and the Improvement of Humankind” (*In Depth*, 14:6, 2017) & “Reflections on the Reception of J. S. Mill’s *The Subjection of Women*” (*In Depth*, 16:4, 2019). She is the Guest Editor of a Special Issue of *In Depth* on “Focus on Women: Theory, Society, Politics” (forthcoming).

Following the leaders? Parties’ influence over their supporters at the Brexit referendum

POLO DEL VIECCHO, Bianca
University of Strasbourg

Abstract

This paper will gauge the influence of the Conservative and Labour parties over the choice of their supporters at the 2016 referendum. A correlation can be observed between the public’s understanding of the EU and support for membership (Eurobarometer). As the EU is, in general, poorly understood, it is expected that the public takes ‘cues’ from politicians in forming their views on integration (Anderson, 1998). The top-down influence of parties on the opinions of their supporters varies depending on certain factors, including voter attachment, the salience of the EU issue, and party unity (Ray, 2003). As the EU issue has become more salient in political debate and the public has become more conscious, and less supportive, of integration, the top-down influence of parties has declined. In fact, Steenbergen et al (2007) argue that the bottom-up influence of supporters on political parties is generally greater than vice versa. The 2016 referendum on the UK’s membership of the EU provides an interesting case for study. This is particularly so given reduced voter attachment to the UK’s two main political parties, and the divisions within the governing Conservative party over the Europe issue, brought to the fore by the holding of a binary referendum. During the campaign, Michael Gove MP, a leading Brexiter, claimed the public had “had enough of experts.” If this was the case, would parties succeed in influencing their supporters? Data gathered through a survey of, and interviews with, MPs around the time of the referendum will provide detail on the parties’ messages beyond that provided in official party documents. The extent to which supporters followed the message of their preferred party will be gauged through the analysis of polling data carried out following the referendum.

Bio

Bianca POLO DEL VECCHIO is a lecturer in European Studies at the University of Strasbourg. She holds a PhD in British Civilisation from the Sorbonne Nouvelle University. Her thesis, defended in 2021, is entitled “Euroskepticism, Party Politics, and Political Gain: A Comparative Analysis of the UK and France from Maastricht to Brexit”. She is the author of “The United Kingdom and the European Union. The Shaping of Public Opinion”, in Martin Tamcke, Janny de Jong, Lars Klein and Margriet van der Waal (eds.), *Europe – Space for Transcultural Existence?*, Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2013.

Arendt et Hayek, deux sortes d’opposition au mythe de la caverne

POUCHOL, Marlyse
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Dans le mythe de la caverne, Platon oppose ceux qui, restés dans l'obscurité ne perçoivent que des images déformées de la vérité et ceux, tels les philosophes, qui parviennent à trouver le chemin des connaissances en s'extrayant de cet endroit sans lumière.

Hannah Arendt (1906-1975) dénonce ce mythe qui intervient dans La République de Platon dans la mesure où il fonde une vision fonctionnelle de la politique à partir d'une distinction entre des gouvernants savants et des gouvernés ignorants. Or, cette division des rôles n'a de sens que dans le domaine économique. La politique authentique suppose, au contraire, la liberté de tout un chacun de prendre part aux affaires publiques sans considération de ses compétences, ce qui revient à admettre, pour reprendre l'image précédente, que l'occupation du philosophe est accessible à tous, du moins s'il est admis que c'est l'activité de penser et non la production d'un savoir qui la caractérise.

Friedrich Hayek (1899-1992) s'oppose lui aussi à ce mythe, mais pour la raison inverse. Il dénonce les « penseurs sociaux » apparus au siècle des Lumières, qui se croient en mesure de proposer une organisation nouvelle de la société et qui, lorsqu'ils sont écoutés, nous entraînent « sur la route de la servitude » qui aboutit au totalitarisme. Hayek condamne la surestimation de leurs capacités intellectuelles qui affecte ces penseurs dont les bonnes intentions pavent le chemin de l'enfer. Il faudrait admettre que les penseurs sont logés à la même enseigne que le quidam ordinaire, autrement dit que tout un chacun se trouve dans la même situation que ceux qui subsistent dans la caverne.

Alors que Arendt voit dans la politique le fondement de l'humanité, Hayek la condamne et fait des relations économiques d'échanges la source d'un perfectionnement de l'espèce humaine.

Bio

Je suis « maître de Conférences » émérite en économie de l'Université de Reims et membre du Clersé, UMR 8019, de l'Université de Lille. Je travaille à partir de l'histoire de la pensée économique et je l'ai interrogée d'abord sur la place du travail domestique, puis sur la conception de la politique et le rôle de la monnaie.

Je suis membre du comité éditorial de la *Revue d'histoire de la pensée économique*, Classiques Garnier.

Renseignement stratégique et pouvoir politique aux Etats-Unis depuis 1947 : de la marginalisation à la politisation

RAMOS, Raphaël

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Abstract

La Seconde Guerre mondiale a consacré la dimension stratégique du renseignement.

Aux Etats-Unis, ce changement de statut s'est traduit par la création en 1947 de la Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), une agence de renseignement stratégique rattachée à la Maison-Blanche via le Conseil de sécurité nationale et chargée de produire de la connaissance afin d'éclairer les choix des responsables politiques. Cette réforme institutionnelle augurait d'une évolution de l'élaboration de la politique étrangère, ainsi que le redoutaient les diplomates du département d'Etat. En réalité, la CIA s'est initialement distinguée par sa faible influence sur le processus décisionnel.

A partir de la décennie 1960, le renseignement devient un enjeu politique. L'administration Kennedy et, plus encore, l'administration Johnson ont amorcé une politisation du renseignement afin de justifier leur politique vietnamienne. La finalité est ici de générer du consensus autour de la politique conduite, quitte à sous-estimer l'adversité à laquelle elle est confrontée. Le phénomène de politisation du renseignement s'accroît ensuite sous les administrations républicaines, en particulier celles de Ford et Reagan où il est utilisé pour accompagner un durcissement de ligne politique face à Moscou. A cette fin, la menace soviétique est abordée sous l'angle du pire scénario possible. Cette approche est reprise par Donald Rumsfeld en 2002 au sujet des armes de destruction massive irakiennes.

La politisation est un trait saillant de la relation entre le renseignement et le pouvoir politique aux Etats-Unis. Si le pays n'est pas une exception parmi les Etats démocratiques, l'intensité du phénomène n'en est pas moins remarquable. Aussi l'examen des liens entre renseignement stratégique et pouvoir politique nous éclaire-t-il sur

des aspects constitutifs de la culture politique des Etats-Unis, de la relation étroite entre la Maison-Blanche et la CIA jusqu'au rapport singulier de la société américaine à l'égard du secret.

Bio

Raphaël Ramos est docteur en histoire et chercheur associé au laboratoire CRISES de l'Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3. Ses travaux portent sur l'histoire du renseignement et la politique de sécurité nationale des États-Unis. Il est l'auteur de nombreux articles publiés dans des revues à comité de lecture, comme *Vingtième Siècle*, *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*, *Politique américaine*, *War in History* ou *The International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*. Son dernier ouvrage, paru en 2018 aux Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, s'intitule : *Une chimère américaine. Genèse de la communauté du renseignement des Etats-Unis, de la CIA à la NSA*.

Enlightenment and Capitalism: Technocratic Models and Practices between Spain and the New World in the 18th Century

ROSSI, Roberto

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 18th century, the change of dynasty on the Spanish throne, from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons, coincided with the spread of Enlightenment ideas in Europe and the Spanish elite's realization of the backward state of economic development in the mother country and the colonies. These were the prerequisites that led, in the second half of the 18th century, to a rethinking of the management model of the imperial system and the attempt to integrate the economy of the Motherland with the (very differentiated) economies of the American vice-kingdoms.

The research will analyze the formation and circulation of theoretical models of economic development generated by the Enlightenment debate and later becoming an integral part of the reformist programme of the Bourbons of Spain. This debate led to the formation of a class of 'technocrats' who were government officials (viceroys, visitors-general, auditors, etc.) in charge of carrying out market reforms, nurturing the development of manufacturing and trade and, at the same time, fostering the circulation of development models that, starting from common theoretical foundations, had processes of adaptation in their application in the different territories of the Monarchy. Economic policy and its instruments such as accounting and statistics became for the first time an indispensable element of government; in this way, reports, information and analysis formed the basis of the 'technology of government' highlighted by Michel Foucault.

The Enlightenment reforms of the 18th century have often been considered within a narrative of rationalizing state administration and overcoming the *ancien regime* model. In contrast, the research presented here intends to analyze the technocrats who implemented the Enlightenment reforms in the Spanish New World as the means of affirming the capitalist economy, its modes of production and the practices indispensable to the 'sociability of consumption' over the collective and corporatist economy of the *ancien regime*. In the same way, we intend to highlight the 'dialectic of the Enlightenment' that in the interrupted process of emancipation of the bourgeoisie sees the subjugation of the proletariat as an element consubstantial to its very existence and affirmation, and thus the re-proposition of models of economic coercion and surplus extraction.

Bio

Roberto Rossi (M.A., Ph.D.)

Professore Associato di Storia Economica

<http://docenti.unisa.it/020877/home>

<https://latinamericanhistory.fas.harvard.edu/people/roberto-rossi>

The Different Paths of Scientization at the Bank of England

SERGI, Francesco

Université Paris Est Créteil, France

GOUTSMEDT, Aurélien

UCLouvain, Belgique

Abstract

According to Marcussen (2009), central banks would have entered in the 1990s in a “fifth age,” that Marcussen calls the age of “scientisation.” Our contribution addresses the increasing role of “science” (namely, economics) at the Bank of England. Taking a historical perspective and adopting a long-run view (the past six decades), we document the forms taken by “scientisation” in this policymaking institution. We uncover that “scientisation” historically encompasses different types of dynamics, implying different relationships between knowledge and power. Our case illustrates that actually “scientisation” can designate: 1) the increasing role of economists within central banks, with the hiring of economists in the staff or with economists accessing executive positions. At the Bank of England, we can observe the emergence of this process in the 1970s and its acceleration in the 1980s; 2) the development of economic research activities, including (but not limited to) the increase of publications in peer-reviewed journals authored or co-authored by central bank staff. After a brief episode in the late 1980s, research (and publishing) became a central activity at the Bank of England only in the 2000s, and mainly after the great financial crisis; 3) the use, in the central bank analysis, policy, and communication routines, of conceptual devices coming from economics, like forecasting models and the related projections. In this respect, the 1990s have been crucial in transforming the practices of the Bank of England; 4) the emphasis on science/economics put by central bankers in their communication toward the public about the policies implemented. This latter phenomenon has remained marginal within the Bank of England. We argue that the occurrence of these different dynamics at different periods in the Bank's history result, on the one hand, from a trade-off between the necessity to appear at the cutting-edge of science and to attract skilled economists; and, on the other hand, scientisation patterns result from the necessity to produce analyses and devices directly and concretely useful to conceive, communicate, and legitimize policy decisions and discourses.

Bio

Aurélien Goutsmedt (UCLouvain, ISPOLE) Francesco Sergi (Université Paris Est Créteil) Clément Fontan (UCLouvain, ISPOLE), François Claveau (Université de Sherbrooke) Béatrice Cherrier (Ecole Polytechnique Paris, CREST) Juan Acosta (Universidad del Valle)

The Second Reform Act and Curricular Innovation: the ‘Content of Culture’ Debate

SOMERSET, Richard

IDEA, Université de Lorraine, France

Abstract

Because the second Reform Act of 1867 enfranchised a significant proportion of the working classes, it provoked urgent debates about educational provision. Just as significant as the provision of free primary education was the more abstract debate around modification of the higher education curriculum. The radicality of the electoral reform imposed a reconsideration of the educational underpinnings of those elites whose job it would be to manage a transformed society. What in fact *was* ‘modern culture’ and how might the university curriculum be reshaped to

reflect that modernity? The very concept of 'culture' thus came under intense political pressure, and the management of that pressure offers an interesting example of a moment in which strategies of epistemic and political identity-construction come into overt contact with one another. Whether the intention of the various actors was to accompany, to direct or to resist the popularising implications of the political transitions under way, debates about curricular reform in the late 19th century tell us much about the interaction of knowledge and power in the emergence of contemporary modernity.

This paper proposes to focus on two rival collections of essays both published in 1867, *Essays on a Liberal Education*, and *Modern Culture: its True Aims and Requirements*; the first representing the views of reformist Humanists, and the second the views of proponents of the Natural Sciences. While each group recognised the need for curricular innovation, they did not agree on the form that innovation should take. In this vying for the control of the formation of cultural elites, what was most fundamentally at stake was the shaping of the nation's political identity.

Bio

<https://idea.univ-lorraine.fr/membres/somerset-richard>

Knowledge and power in a civic democracy: British idealist and New Liberal critiques of J.S. Mill and Herbert Spencer

TYLER, Colin
University of Hull, UK

Abstract

This paper explores the critiques of J.S. Mill and Herbert Spencer launched by the British idealists and the New Liberals. It will focus particularly on the cases developed over the course of two major interwar theories of civil society: namely, that presented by H.J.W. Hetherington and J.H. Muirhead in their co-authored 1918 book *Social Purpose: A contribution to a philosophy of civic society* and by L.T. Hobhouse in his 1921 book *Rational Good: A study in the logic of practice*. While both of these works express clear admiration for Mill's liberalism, they also claim that ultimately Mill failed to defend a properly democratic system because of his commitment to a conception of personality formation that is ultimately elitist and wedded to a crude form of individualism. The paper will analyse the ways in which Hetherington and Muirhead in particular ground their critique of Mill in a parallel critique of Herbert Spencer. Both lines of attack rest ultimately on disputes over the requirements of an adequate theory of the process of democratic knowledge formation. Crucially, the critiques build on an understanding of the relationships of social power that must obtain if that process of knowledge formation is to support properly democratic civic and political societies.

Bio

Colin Tyler is Professor of Social and Political Thought, at the University of Hull, UK. He has written more than 60 articles and books covering such topics as the history of nineteenth and twentieth century political thought, as well as contemporary political theory.

Science and Power : the Question of « Social Darwinism »

YVARD, Jean-Michel
University of Angers, France

Abstract

Although science has always aimed at objectivity and detachment, defining itself, for this very purpose, as a new type of knowledge, such an epistemological aspiration has never prevented it from being used for political, social and ideological purposes. It was bound to be the case in a context of secularisation of worldviews in which scientific knowledge gradually replaced religion in the role it had played until then in the constitution and the foundation of the moral and the social order. It was particularly true in the positivistic, scientific context of the nineteenth century. Quite often, « classical », « Newtonian science », with its repetitive, planetary cycles, continued to be used to legitimate the moral and social order that existed at the time. Later on, in the nineteenth century, the new evolutionary conceptions took more and more that role, potentially opening the way to what has been called « social darwinism » -- namely the idea that human societies should be subjected to a constant struggle for life.

Was such a strong, « hobbesian » version of « social darwinism » accepted by Darwin himself and by the Darwinians, or were such conceptions more characteristic of Spencer's cosmic evolutionism, as has been suggested by quite a lot of commentators who were eager to show that Darwin himself had never been involved in such ideological drifts? Was Darwinism itself largely the product of an extension of biological conceptions to the realm of human societies? To what extent did the governments of the time use such conceptions to justify their *laissez faire* policies through science in England in the second half of the nineteenth century? The paper will address these issues, which have been a major source of controversies among historians for a very long time.

Bio

Jean-Michel Yvard is Senior Lecturer at the University of Angers (France). His field of research is the question of the secularization of religious and ethical conceptions, particularly in the nineteenth century. He has written the relation between science and religion, on Darwin, on the link between evolution and ethics, on the development of biblical criticism in Great Britain as well as on the influence of Spinoza's philosophy and German idealism on British thought. In the last few years, he has also written on more contemporary topics, particularly on « new atheism ». His Ph.D. was on William Hale-White (« Mark Rutherford ») and the crisis of Faith in Great Britain in the Victorian Period.

Immobilized Knowledge: on History and Power as Time Runs Out

ZARIKOS, Iason
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Abstract

The fundamental paradox of our times is the discrepancy between the certain knowledge of the imminence of climatic catastrophe and the impotence of societies to engage with an issue that (almost) everyone perceives as of epochal significance.

The paradox of impotent, immobilized knowledge has not escaped the attention of scholars.

A wealth of analyses has been presented about the discovery and the political handling of climate change from the 1960's to this day. Far-reaching conclusions have been drawn on the character of modernity, post modernity and human nature. Even a new regime of historicity has allegedly been established with the coming of the Anthropocene. The list of participants to this debate is suitably diverse since, apart from historians, social scientists and public intellectuals, philosophers of history (beginning with Dipesh Chakrabarty's provocative "planetary" thesis) have also contributed to the discussion designating climate change as the new frontier of historiography.

In this paper, we discuss critically some of the major interpretations and their philosophical presuppositions. The major thesis of our paper is that if we want to achieve a successful historical understanding of climate policies, Time is of the essence: we designate thus the myriad temporalities connecting scientific knowledge with political power as the key to understanding our current predicament. Our analysis revolves around the juxtaposition of the temporal deadlines set by climate science with the peculiar temporality of the ideal of eternal economic growth, the strange temporalities of mainstream social science as well as the regimes of historicity proposed by theorists of historiography.

Eventually, pursuing a historical interpretation necessitates a revisit of the long -neglected boundaries of historiography vis a vis the other disciplines. It is these boundaries, we suggest, that establish the unique role of History in resolving the fundamental paradox of our times.

Bio

Iason Zarikos is a post-doctoral researcher at the National University of Athens. He has worked in Greek and EU-funded research projects. His doctoral thesis was an intellectual history of Greek Liberalism in late 20th century. He has co-authored a monograph on the 1970's. He has also published papers on the history of Liberalism and Climate Change as well as the theory of ideology and consumerism. He is the co-editor of the two-volume project "The Making of the Atlantic Monarchy", to be published by Bloomsbury. His current research project aims to synthesize the intellectual history of the early 21st century through the prism of climate change.

University, Knowledge and Power in the Early Eighteenth-Century Kingdom of Hungary

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Abstract

The early eighteenth century Kingdom of Hungary witnessed a profound change in thinking and ideology. Newly disenthralled from the debilitating bonds of the Turkish threat, and relieved of its distress arising from decades of political and religious turmoil, the country now at last began to enjoy the peace so necessary for promoting progress in sciences and arts. A fresh spirit of nation-building enthusiasm pervaded the country's intellectual circles. The literature of the time, which in this part of Europe was almost exclusively produced in Latin, is a perfect mirror of this intellectual process.

This paper will focus on a group of selected texts published by the Jesuit-run university at Trnava (*Universitas Tyrnaviensis*), the largest and most prestigious centre of learning in the early modern Kingdom of Hungary. At the very beginning of the eighteenth century, in 1701, the university distinctly articulated, in one of its publications, its ambition to exercise intellectual authority over the entire nation, being both the mouthpiece and the shaper of public opinion. Tightly interconnected with those in power, it thus embarked on a path towards becoming the brain of the Kingdom. Among its publications, the one titled *Concilium decem-virorum Hungariae* (1722) is of particular interest in this context. Advocating comprehensive reforms, it emphasised promotion of learning and of economic knowledge in particular. The notion of the perfect ruler had also undergone substantial transformation: The model of the pious and victorious eleventh-century holy kings fighting their pagan enemies, well suited to the time before 1700, had now been replaced by that of King Matthias Corvinus, a Renaissance man advancing knowledge and education.

Whether or not the University of Trnava achieved its ambition is not the subject of this paper. Nonetheless, its intellectual influence on the political elites of the country is indisputable.

Bio

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