

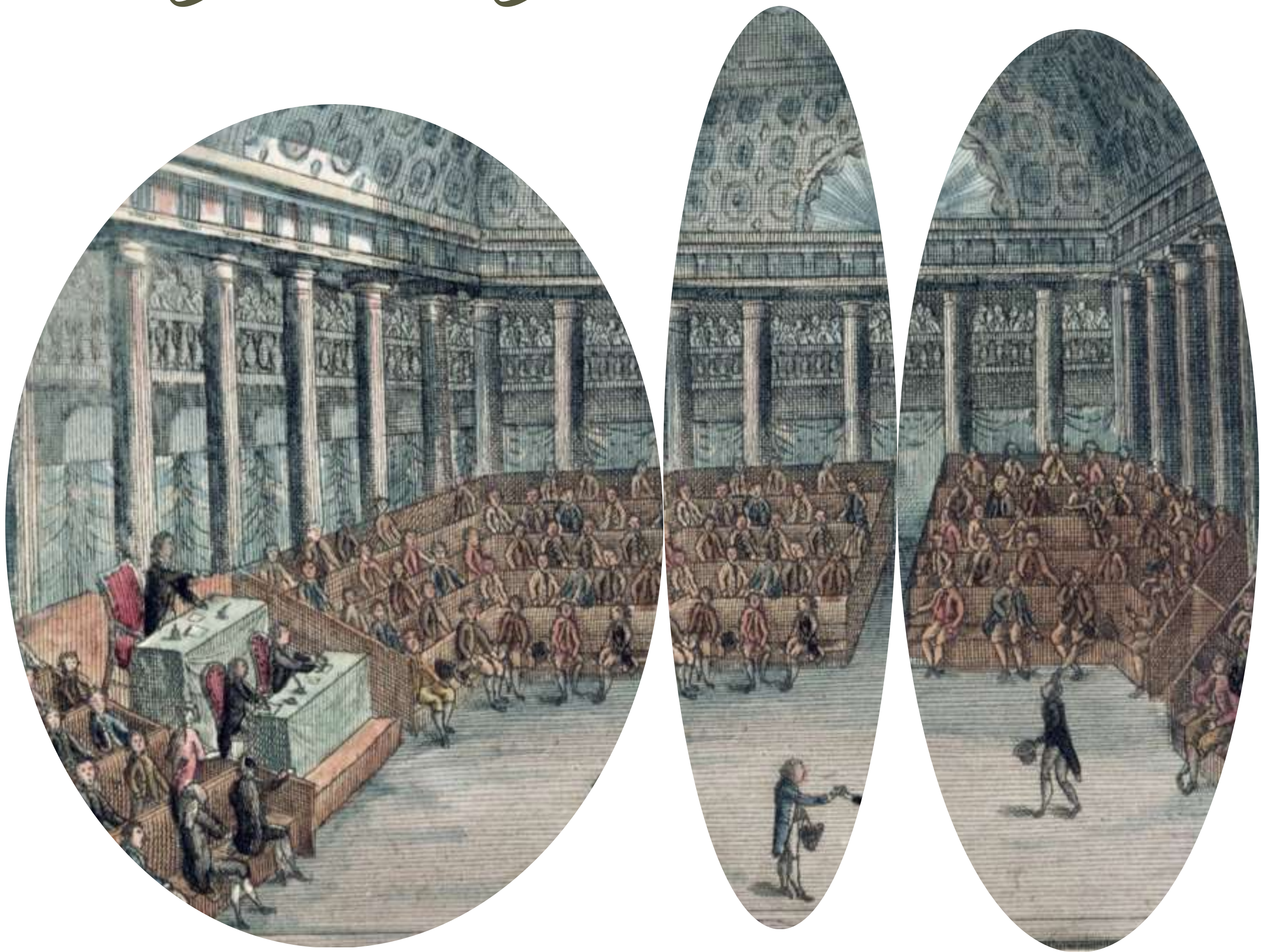
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78È. CONGRÉS DE LA COMISSIÓ INTERNACIONAL
PER A L'ESTUDI DE LA HISTÒRIA DE LES INSTITUCIONS
REPRESENTATIVES I PARLAMENTÀRIES

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SESSIÓ N°1 - AULA 40.002 - LLENGUATGE POLÍTIC I AUTORITAT: DE LES ASSEMBLEES DE PAU I TREVA A LES CORTS GENERALS (SEGLES XII-XVII) / SESSION N°1 - ROOM 40.002 - POLITICAL LANGUAGE AND AUTHORITY: FROM THE ASSEMBLIES OF PEACE AND TRUCE TO THE GENERAL COURTS (12TH-17TH CENTURIES)



THE PAU I TREVA ASSEMBLIES AND THE FORMATION OF PUBLIC AUTHORITY IN MEDIEVAL CATALONIA

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This paper examines the development of the “Pau i Treva” assemblies in Catalonia between the 11th and 13th centuries, emphasizing their role in consolidating the political primacy of the counts of Barcelona and in shaping the earliest Catalan pactist institutions. Beginning with the conciliar assemblies associated with the Pax Dei (“Peace of God”) movement, which spread throughout the medieval West amid the ecclesiastical reforms of the 11th century, the study seeks to understand how these gatherings initially functioned as mechanisms for restraining seigneurial violence and protecting ecclesiastical immunities, before gradually becoming spaces of political mediation and juridical norm-making. The paper proposes a critical reassessment of traditional historiographical interpretations that describe Catalan feudalism as a condition of “feudal anarchy” characterized by the absence of effective public authority. Against this perspective, it argues that the Peace and Truce assemblies did not simply restore a lost political order, but rather reorganized pre-existing customary practices and arbitral mechanisms, later appropriated by the comital and royal authorities as instruments of legitimacy and jurisdictional expansion. Through an analysis of the “Pau i Treva” constitutions, the Usatges de Barcelona, and conciliar documentation produced between the reigns of Ramon Berenguer I and James I, the paper demonstrates how the so-called “Peace of God” was progressively transformed into a form of “territorial peace” attached to the authority of the Barcelonan rulers. This process fostered the expansion of royal competences, the integration of ecclesiastical and secular powers, and the formation of deliberative structures that would eventually culminate in the Catalan “Corts Generals”.



SEMÀNTICA DE LA PALABRA ‘NACIÓ’ EN LAS ACTAS PARLAMENTARIAS DE LA CATALUÑA MEDIEVAL

SEMANTICS OF THE WORD ‘NATION’ IN THE PARLIAMENTARY MINUTES OF MEDIEVAL CATALONIA

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La comunicación presenta los resultados de una investigación consistente en un análisis cuantitativo, cronológico, lingüístico y semántico del concepto ‘nación’ contenido en las actas parlamentarias de las Asambleas de Paz y Tregua y de las Cortes y Parlamentos Generales de Cataluña celebradas entre los años 1173 y 1479. Se presta especial atención a la evolución en el uso del concepto y a su semántica, estudiando tanto su grado de politización como los colectivos a los que aludía, básicamente: de un lado, a grupos de personas diferenciadas y ajenas a los catalanes y, de otro lado, a colectivos hacían referencia directa a los catalanes, ya fuera como naturales del Principado de Cataluña, como parte del conjunto de cristianos católicos catalanófonos o como porción o conjunto del colectivo de súbditos de la Corona de Aragón.

The communication presents the results of an investigation that consists of a quantitative, chronological, linguistic, and semantic analysis of the concept of ‘nation’ as it appears in the minutes of the Peace and Truce Councils and the General Courts and Parliaments of Catalonia between 1173 and 1479. It focuses on the evolution of the use of the concept and its semantics, studying both its degree of politicization and the groups to which it referred, distinguishing, basically, between the meanings that allude to non-Catalan groups and those that refer directly to Catalans, whether as natives of the Principality of Catalonia, as part of the group of Catalan-speaking Catholic Christians or as part or all of the subjects of the Crown of Aragon.



CORTES Y PARLAMENTOS DEL REINO DE ARAGÓN EN LA EDAD MEDIA

CORTES AND PARLIAMENTS OF THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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En la Corona de Aragón (con junto de reinos, dominaciones y señoríos del rey de Aragón entre los siglos XIII-XV), las Cortes del reino cabeza de la misma tuvo sus asambleas parlamentarias, como también Cataluña y Valencia, pero con algunas singularidades. Aparte de las Cortes Generales para el común de los estados, siempre en Monzón (Aragón), los tres conjuntos peninsulares tuvieron también las suyas particulares, a veces derivadas de las generales.

Y en el caso aragonés, se dio la circunstancia de que, excepcionalmente, la nobleza representada tuvo dos brazos o estamentos, el de los ricoshombres o superior y el de la nobleza media de caballeros, mesnaderos, etc; los cual no se dio ni en el resto de la Corona ni en el resto de Europa. Además, tan solo en Aragón, la figura institucional del Justicia Mayor fue protagonista importante.

Por otro lado, cuando el trono quedó vacante por la muerte sin sucesión alguna del rey Martín I el Humano en 1410, hubo durante el interregno (1410-1412) hasta tres reuniones sucesivas en Calatayud, Alcañiz y Caspe de los representantes de los estados peninsulares para tartar de resolver la cuestión, estudiando los derechos de cada uno de los aspirantes. Lo cual hace que, al no haber monarca, puesto que solo el rey podía convocar y celebrar cortes, dichas reuniones son consideradas parlamentos: otra peculiaridad del reino de Aragón, en cuyo territorio tuvieron lugar las convocatorias antedichas.

In the Crown of Aragon (the collective group of kingdoms, dominions, and lordships under the King of Aragon between the 13th and 15th centuries), the parliaments of its leading kingdom held their own parliamentary assemblies, as did Catalonia and Valencia, though with certain unique characteristics. Aside from the General Courts (Cortes Generales) for the common territory of all states—which were always held in Monzón (Aragon)—the three peninsular territories also had their own particular courts, which were sometimes derived from the general ones.

In the Aragonese case, an exceptional circumstance occurred: the represented nobility was divided into two branches or estates (brazos o estamentos): that of the ricoshombres (high nobility) and that of the medium nobility consisting of knights, mesnaderos (retainers), etc. This structure did not exist anywhere else in the Crown of Aragon or in the rest of Europe. Furthermore, only in Aragon did the institutional figure of The Justice of Aragon (El Justicia Mayor) play a major, leading role.

On the other hand, when the throne became vacant due to the death of King Martin the Humane in 1410 without any succession, up to three consecutive meetings were held during the interregnum (1410–1412) in Calatayud, Alcañiz, and Caspe. These meetings brought together representatives from the peninsular states to resolve the succession issue by studying the rights of each claimant. Given that there was no monarch—and considering that only the king had the power to summon and hold Cortes—these meetings are considered parliaments. This represents yet another peculiarity of the Kingdom of Aragon, in whose territory these aforementioned assemblies took place.





LA PRESIDÈNCIA DE LES CORTS GENERALS EN MANS DE REINES LLOCTINENTS A LA CORONA D'ARAGÓ BAIXMEDIEVAL. DISCURSOS, ACCIÓ POLÍTICA I RESISTÈNCIES
QUEENS-LIEUTENANT PRESIDING OVER THE GENERAL COURTS IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL CROWN OF ARAGON. DISCOURSES, POLITICAL ACTION, AND RESISTANCES

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La comunicació que es presenta té com a principal objectiu la presentació de l'estudi d'aquelles Corts generals i particulars que, a finals de l'Edat Mitjana, van ser encapçalades per reines consorts de la Corona catalanoaragonesa en qualitat de lloctinents (s'atendran els casos d'Elionor de Sicília, r. 1349-1375, Maria de Luna, r. 1396-1406, i Maria de Castella, r. 1416-1458). Especialment, se centrarà l'atenció en les convocatòries, en les proposicions o discursos inaugurals que plantejaren a l'inici de les assemblees representatives que van presidir, en la seva activitat política en relació amb els estaments i en les resistències que generà el fet que actuessin en nom del monarca, tot analitzant si la condició femenina fou un dels arguments esgrimits per anar en contra de l'exercici de les funcions que se'ls havien assignat.

The main aim of this paper is to examine those General and Particular Courts that, in the late Middle Ages, were presided over by the consort queens of the Crown of Aragon acting as royal lieutenants (focusing on the cases of Eleanor of Sicily, q. 1349-1375, Maria de Luna, q. 1396-1406, and Maria of Castile, q. 1416-1458). Particular attention will be paid to the circumstances surrounding the convocation of these assemblies, the opening addresses or inaugural speeches delivered at the beginning of the representative gatherings they presided over, their political activity in relation to the estates, and the resistance generated by their exercise of authority on behalf of the monarch. The paper will analyse whether their status as women was invoked as an argument against the performance of the functions entrusted to them.



EL DRET A DISSENTIR. LES CORTS CATALANES DE 1626 COM A EXEMPLE.
THE RIGHT TO DISSENT. THE CATALAN COURTS OF 1626 AS AN EXAMPLE

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L'any 2026 es commemoren quatre-cents anys de les primeres sessions de Corts catalanes fallides del segle XVII –la seva represa va tenir lloc sense èxit l'any 1632. Són unes Corts que, per la falta d'acord entre la monarquia de Felip III d'Aragó (IV de Castella) i els estaments catalans, han estat objecte de debats historiogràfics molt intensos. Tanmateix, no s'han estudiat amb l'atenció deguda. Un element especialment controvertit són els dissentiments que van posar moltíssims membres dels estaments, sobretot militar i reial, al llarg de les sessions. Des de la distància dels segles, alguns els han vist en clau obstruccionista i de defensa miop d'interessos particulars, en contrast amb l'amplitud de mires de l'aparell regi. La meua comunicació, sense defugir unes apreciacions polítiques sobre alguns casos, pretén fer una anàlisi el més jurídica possible de la institució del dissentiment a partir de la seva praxi entre març i juny de l'any 1626. Com es plantejava, es desenvolupava i sovint es resolva un dissentiment, un instrument ben arrelat en les antigues Corts catalanes i d'altres territoris de la Corona d'Aragó. I com el percebien els coetanis. Amb el contrast creixent entre les cultures polítiques pactista i regalista, per als oficials monàrquics cada dia havia de ser més capriciós i menys intel·ligible l'eina que havia estat històricament hàbil i útil per forçar negociacions o fer escoltar veus minoritàries.



The year 2026 marks the 400th anniversary of the first failed sessions of the Catalan Courts (Corts) of the 17th century—the resumption of which took place, also unsuccessfully, in 1632. Due to the lack of agreement between the monarchy of Philip III of Aragon (IV of Castile) and the Catalan estates (estaments), these Courts have been the subject of intense historiographical debate; nevertheless, they have not yet received the attention they deserve. A particularly controversial element is the formal dissents (dissentiments) lodged by numerous members of the estates, especially the military and the royal ones, throughout the sessions. Looking back across the centuries, some have viewed these actions through an obstructionist lens, seeing them as a short-sighted defense of private interests in contrast to the broad-minded vision of the royal apparatus. Without avoiding political assessments of specific cases, this paper aims to provide an analysis that is as strictly legal as possible of the institution of dissent, based on its practice between March and June 1626. It examines how dissent—a tool deeply rooted in the ancient Courts of Catalonia and other territories of the Crown of Aragon—was raised, developed, and often resolved, as well as how it was perceived by contemporaries. Amid the growing clash between pactist and royalist political cultures, royal officials increasingly viewed as capricious and unintelligible a mechanism that had historically been both adept and useful for forcing negotiations or making minority voices heard.

SESSIÓ N°2 - AULA 40.004 - L'ARQUITECTURA DE LA SOBIRANIA: PARLAMENTS, DIVISIÓ DE PODERS I CONFLICTES DE COMPETÈNCIA (SEGLES XVI-XXI) / SESSION N°2 - ROOM 40.004 - THE ARCHITECTURE OF SOVEREIGNTY: PARLIAMENTS, SEPARATION OF POWERS, AND CONFLICTS OF COMPETENCE (16TH-21ST CENTURIES)



THE CONSTITUTIONAL DIVISION OF POWERS. THE PARLIAMENT AND KING AS LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH FROM THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURIES

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Pursuant to an Act of the Sejm passed in 1505, it was established that the enactment of laws could only be effected with the consent of the representatives of the territories comprising the Chamber of Deputies of the Polish Parliament. In this manner, a separation of powers was effected, distinguishing between the legislature—embodied by the Parliament—and the executive, which at that time also encompassed judicial authority and remained vested in the hands of the monarch. This arrangement was formally codified in an Act of the Coronation Sejm of King Stephen Báthory in 1576—known as the **Articuli Henriciani**—which served as a fundamental law constitutionally adopting and affirming the principles of the political system; these principles included the doctrine of the separation of powers, as well as rights and liberties, together with their constitutional guarantees. In the years that followed, the relationship between these two branches of power—the Parliament and the King—underwent a process of continuous evolution. Indeed, the center of gravity regarding the exercise of power by the legislature and the executive was fluid, manifesting in various modes of interaction—ranging from conflict to cooperation—even though these relationships remained grounded in law.





PARLIAMENTARY CULTURE AND THE PUBLIC DOMAIN: EARLY MODERN POLAND-LITHUANIA AND ENGLAND/BITAIN COMPARED

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This paper focuses on the flows of information and argument between representative assemblies, both general and local, and a broader public domain. It compares the cases of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and England/Britain, the only two early modern composite states which evinced parliamentary unions, in 1569 and 1707 respectively. The paper explores the development of an elaborate culture of 'news' – both scribally published and printed corantos, newsbooks, and newsletters – as well as attempts by outsiders to influence the debate within each assembly. In doing so it probes the value of political assemblies as conduits of communication. Very little attention has been given to either of these topics on a transnational basis; and we have no broader account even in the best studied case of England of change over time. This paper, therefore will provide a comparative account of the way in which ideas and opinion were communicated between the assemblies and the public at large.



BETWEEN LEGAL DISCOURSE AND POLITICAL RHETORIC: DISPUTES OVER PARLIAMENTARY POWERS IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH AT THE GENERAL SEJM OF 1724

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The Warsaw Sejm of 1724 (completed in Grodno in 1726) occupies a distinctive place in eighteenth-century Polish-Lithuanian parliamentary history as the only assembly under Augustus II Wettin after 1717 not dissolved by the liberum veto. The debates in October and November 1724 centered on three relatively specific issues: the trial following the Toruń confessional tumult, the dispute over succession to the Ostrogski family fideicommissum, and command over so-called "foreign" troops. In those three cases, the deputies employed complex legal argumentation regarding the scope of the Sejm's powers and its relationship with other authorities (the king, central courts, and military authorities). The aim of the paper is to examine the legal arguments advanced in these disputes. What levels of legal knowledge and skill in constructing arguments can be identified among the deputies? Was their rhetoric grounded in established legal concepts, or formulated ad hoc in the course of debate? Did legal argumentation serve more as an autonomous mode of reasoning or an instrument of political conflict? The analysis will be based on private accounts of proceedings (the Sejm diaries). For the 1724 Sejm, thirty-two survived (not all complete). They offer insight into different levels of legal awareness and various political perspectives.





UNE ASSEMBLÉE FRANÇAISE DOMESTIQUÉE. LE CORPS LÉGISLATIF
A TAMED FRENCH ASSEMBLY. THE CORPS LÉGISLATIF (1852-1870)

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Cette communication présente un modèle d'analyse de la domination d'une institution parlementaire à partir d'une enquête consacrée au Corps législatif du Second Empire (1852-1870). L'hypothèse centrale consiste à montrer que la domination de l'exécutif sur le parlement ne repose pas uniquement sur des contraintes juridiques ou constitutionnelles, mais sur un ensemble de dispositifs qui encadrent le recrutement, les pratiques et les ressources des députés. La présentation articule trois dimensions indissociables de la domination : les règles institutionnelles qui limitent l'autonomie de l'assemblée, les conditions de sélection et de légitimation des parlementaires par le processus électoral, et les formes concrètes de l'activité parlementaire qui structurent les marges d'action des élus. Empiriquement, ce modèle repose sur un travail d'archives réalisé pour une thèse de science politique croisant plusieurs matériaux : analyse prosopographique des députés (392 au total), étude des trajectoires sociales et électorales, exploitation des comptes rendus des séances et observation des formes de participation parlementaire.

This communication develops a framework for analysing executive domination over a parliamentary institution, drawing on a study of the Corps législatif under the Second French Empire (1852–1870). Its central argument is that executive dominance does not rely solely on legal or constitutional constraints, but also on a broader set of mechanisms that shape the recruitment, practices, and resources of members of parliament. The paper examines three interconnected dimensions of domination: the institutional rules that restrict the assembly's autonomy; the processes through which parliamentarians are selected and legitimised via elections; and the concrete forms of parliamentary activity that define the opportunities and constraints shaping representatives' actions. Empirically, the framework is grounded in archival research conducted for a Phd in political science and draws on several sources, including a prosopographical analysis of all 392 deputies, an examination of their social and electoral trajectories, an analysis of parliamentary proceedings, and a study of patterns of parliamentary participation.



RELIGIÓN E IDENTIDAD: UN CONFLICTO ENTRE LA IGLESIA Y EL GOBIERNO EN GRECIA
A PRINCIPIOS DEL SIGLO XXI
RELIGION AND IDENTITY: A CONFLICT BETWEEN CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT IN GREECE
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

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Uno de los conflictos más intensos entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la Grecia posdemocrática giró en torno a la indicación de la religión en los documentos de identidad policiales. El entonces arzobispo Christodoulos, adoptando las prácticas de un líder político, se opuso en el año 2000 a que no se indicara la religión en los documentos de identidad policiales de los ciudadanos griegos, tras una declaración del ministro de Justicia del gobierno del PASOK, Michalis Stathopoulos, quien afirmó que la religión constituye datos personales sensibles y que su indicación en los documentos de identidad policiales contraviene una ley vigente desde 1997. El partido de oposición Nueva Democracia aprovechó el conflicto para intentar vincular políticamente a la Iglesia. En esta presentación, analizaremos las causas de este conflicto entre la Iglesia griega y el gobierno griego, así como las relaciones específicas entre la Iglesia y el Estado en un contexto político.

One of the most intense conflicts between Church and State in post-democratic Greece concerned the indication of religion on police identity cards. The then Archbishop Christodoulos, adopting the practices of a political leader, in 2000 opposed the non-indication of religion on police identity cards of Greek citizens, following a statement by the Minister of Justice of the PASOK government, Michalis Stathopoulos, that religion constitutes sensitive personal data and its indication on police identity cards contradicts a relevant law in force since 1997. The conflict was exploited by the opposition party of New Democracy, trying to politically associate the church. With this presentation, we will seek the causes of this conflict between the Greek church and the Greek government and the specific relations between church and state in a political context.

SESSIÓ N°3 - AULA 40.006 - ORATÒRIA I RETÒRICA PARLAMENTÀRIA: DISCURSOS DE LEGITIMACIÓ, ODI I RESISTÈNCIA (SEGLES XVII-XXI) / SESSION N°3 - ROOM 40.006 - PARLIAMENTARY ORATORY AND RHETORIC: SPEECHES OF LEGITIMATION, HATE AND RESISTANCE (17TH-21ST CENTURIES)



MEMORY, REMEMBRANCE, AND TRAUMA IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY RECORD

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The Irish parliament sat relatively rarely in the early modern period. For, at best, about twenty-one years of the seventeenth century and within those years inconsistently, it was at best an intermittent part of the Irish constitution. Whilst it could be the fulcrum of politics in the kingdom, it was so rarely. When it was sitting it dealt with many contemporary issues of importance – the usual things that parliaments did: voted taxation, represented communities (at least some of them), considered the common weale, heard grievances, and legislated. It also looked back, and so the Irish parliament had an institutional memory – one that was both concerned with the past (recent and further back) of the kingdom and matters of concern to the communities within, as well as a memory of how parliament operated and what it did on a day-to-day basis.

This paper will discuss these matters. In addition to how parliament remembered, invented, and purposefully forgot its own past, it will also consider how parliament remembered the past of the kingdom. Unsurprisingly in a country so riven by division, there was little consensus as to what this past was, how it had developed, and what was to be officially remembered and what was to be officially forgotten. The events of late-1641 are an obvious issue in this paper, but there were many other instances when the Irish parliament considered the past. Studying such remembrances can tell us much of the state, the institutions, and the communities it sought or pretended to represent.



PARLIAMENTARY ORATORS AND POLITICAL ACTORS: THE OPENING SPEECHES OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER AND THE CHANCELLOR IN THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT OF 1703-07

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This paper looks at the official speeches given by the Chancellor of Scotland and the High Commissioner at the opening sessions of the final Scottish Parliament of 1703-07. The function of these speeches is examined within the context of absentee monarchy, the instructions of Queen Anne that were given to the Chancellor and High Commissioner for forthcoming parliamentary sessions, the crisis in Anglo-Scottish relations and the transition from a dynastic union to a union of incorporation. These issues are discussed in the context of the post-Revolution Scottish Parliament. A committee for answering the monarch's letter was employed in the Scottish parliamentary sessions of 1693-1702 (for King William then Queen Anne) as one of parliament's standing committees. The 1703-1707 Parliament, on the other hand, did not follow this model of standing committees. This paper considers will also how these speeches were received, and their perceived quality and delivery. Such an approach is extended to speeches given in the 1706 treaty negotiations and speeches given in the 'Union debates' in the 1706-07 Scottish parliamentary session that ratified the Treaty of Union.





**DE L'ACTEUR À L'ORATEUR PARLEMENTAIRE, DE L'ORATEUR AU MONSTRE JACOBIN :
« HATE SPEECH » ET DÉLÉGITIMATION POLITIQUE DE COLLOT D'HERBOIS DANS LA
RÉACTION THERMIDORIENNE (1794-1795)**

*FROM ACTOR TO PARLIAMENTARY ORATOR, FROM ORATOR TO JACOBIN MONSTER:
"HATE SPEECH" AND THE POLITICAL DELEGITIMATION OF COLLOT D'HERBOIS DURING
THE THERMIDORIAN REACTION (1794-95)*

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Cette communication analyse la délégitimation politique de Jean-Marie Collot d'Herbois, comédien et auteur dramatique devenu représentant national français, orateur jacobin et membre du Comité de salut public, dans le contexte de la réaction antijacobine post-thermidorienne. Elle n'étudie pas seulement une transformation mémorielle ultérieure, mais un conflit discursif contemporain, produit dans et autour de la Convention, qui transforme un acteur parlementaire en figure repoussoir de la République radicale.

L'étude croisera entre discours parlementaires, écrits et discours de défense, pamphlets antijacobins et récits mémoriels. Elle montrera que la délégitimation vise moins les seuls actes politiques de Collot que les conditions mêmes de sa parole représentative : style oratoire, émotions, comportement, réputation privée et moralité. Son ancienne profession d'acteur devient un stigmate pour disqualifier sa parole comme excessive ou mensongère, tandis que les accusations de corruption, d'ivrognerie, de débauche ou de sexualité jugée déviante transforment le représentant en anti-modèle institutionnel.

La communication interroge ainsi la légende noire comme forme de « hate speech » politique et de mémoire antijacobine: née dans les institutions représentatives de la réaction thermidorienne, elle contribue à redéfinir la légitimité parlementaire post-thermidorienne et structure durablement les mémoires antijacobines.

This paper analyses the political delegitimation of Jean-Marie Collot d'Herbois, an actor and playwright turned French national representative, Jacobin orator, and member of the Committee of Public Safety, in the context of the post-Thermidorian anti-Jacobin reaction. It does not merely examine a later memorial transformation, but a contemporary discursive conflict, produced in and around the Convention, which transformed a parliamentary actor into a foil for the radical Republic.

The paper will examine the articulation between parliamentary speeches, writings and speeches of self-defence, anti-Jacobin pamphlets, and later memorial narratives. It will show how delegitimation targeted less Collot's political actions alone than the very conditions of his representative speech: oratorical style, emotions, behaviour, private reputation, and morality. His former profession as an actor became a stigma used to disqualify his speech as excessive or deceitful, while accusations of corruption, drunkenness, debauchery, or sexuality judged deviant transformed the representative into an institutional anti-model.

The paper thus examines the black legend as a form of political "hate speech" and anti-Jacobin memory: born within the representative institutions of the Thermidorian reaction, it contributed to redefining post-Thermidorian parliamentary legitimacy and durably shaped anti-Jacobin memories.



**LA FORÇA DE LA PARAULA: EL DISCURS ORAL COM A EINA DE RESISTÈNCIA DAVANT L'ANTIPARLAMENTARISME****THE POWER OF THE WORD: ORAL DISCOURSE AS A TOOL OF RESISTANCE AGAINST ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM**

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En un context marcat per la desafecció política i l'auge de discursos antiparlamentaris, aquesta comunicació analitza el paper central del discurs oral en la consolidació i la defensa de les institucions representatives. Lluny de ser un element merament formal o retòric, la paraula pronunciada en seu parlamentària esdevé un instrument de construcció simbòlica, legitimació democràtica i articulació del conflicte polític dins dels marcs institucionals. Partint de les aportacions desenvolupades a Paraules de President (Afers, 2024) i Nació i Estat (Afers, 2024), es proposa una lectura del discurs parlamentari com a espai de performativitat política, on el llenguatge no només descriu la realitat sinó que contribueix a configurar-la. A través de l'anàlisi de discursos institucionals, especialment en contextos de tensió nacional i redefinició de sobirania, s'examina com la retòrica parlamentària pot reforçar el vincle entre representants i ciutadania, així com contrarestar narratives de deslegitimació del sistema parlamentari.

La comunicació defensa que l'antiparlamentarisme no només s'alimenta de factors estructurals o institucionals, sinó també d'una crisi del relat polític. En aquest sentit, recuperar la qualitat, la densitat i la capacitat evocadora del discurs oral esdevé una eina clau per restablir la confiança en les institucions representatives. S'explora com el discurs oral institucional no només articula la identitat política i la voluntat nacional, sinó que actua com a dic de contenció davant els relats d'odi i la simplificació populista. L'estudi sosté que l'antiparlamentarisme sovint s'alimenta del buit comunicatiu i de la desconexió entre la institució i la ciutadania. En aquest context, la recuperació de la dignitat de la paraula des del faristol —entesa com un exercici de pedagogia democràtica— és clau per revalidar la legitimitat de les institucions representatives. A través de l'anàlisi de discursos presidencials i la seva vinculació amb la construcció de l'Estat, es demostra que un parlamentarisme fort requereix una oratòria capaç d'interpellar la nació, transformant el debat estèril en una eina de cohesió i de combat contra el descrèdit de la política. Finalment, es planteja la necessitat de revalorar el discurs parlamentari com a patrimoni immaterial de la democràcia, capaç de generar marcs compartits de significat i de vehicular projectes col·lectius en societats pluralistes.

In a context marked by political disaffection and the rise of anti-parliamentary discourse, this paper analyzes the central role of oral discourse in the consolidation and defense of representative institutions. Far from being a merely formal or rhetorical element, the spoken word within parliament becomes an instrument of symbolic construction, democratic legitimization, and the articulation of political conflict within institutional frameworks. Drawing on the contributions developed in Paraules de President (Afers, 2024) and Nació i Estat (Afers, 2024), a reading of parliamentary discourse is proposed as a space of political performativity, where language not only describes reality but also helps to shape it. Through the analysis of institutional speeches, especially in contexts of national tension and the redefinition of sovereignties, this study examines how parliamentary rhetoric can reinforce the bond between representatives and citizens, as well as counteract narratives that delegitimize the parliamentary system.

The paper argues that anti-parliamentarism is fueled not only by structural or institutional factors but also by a crisis of the political narrative. In this sense, recovering the quality, density, and evocative capacity of oral discourse becomes a key tool for restoring trust in representative institutions. It explores how institutional oral discourse not only articulates political identity and national will, but also acts as a bulwark against hate speech and populist simplification. The study contends that anti-parliamentarism often feeds on a communicative void and the disconnection between the institution and the citizenry. In this context, recovering the dignity of the word spoken from the podium—understood as an exercise in democratic pedagogy—is key to revalidating the legitimacy of representative institutions. Through the analysis of presidential speeches and their connection to state-building, it demonstrates that a strong parliamentarism requires an oratory capable of challenging the nation, transforming sterile debate into a tool for cohesion and a weapon against the discredit of politics. Finally, it raises the need to revalue parliamentary discourse as an intangible heritage of democracy, capable of generating shared frameworks of meaning and conveying collective projects in pluralistic societies.



“WRECKERS” AND “SABOTEURS”: THE RISE OF ANTIPARLIAMENTARY RHETORIC IN THE UNITED KINGDOM DURING THE BREXIT PROCESS.

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In three years, that took the United Kingdom to leave the European Union, the country witnessed the rise of the antiparliamentary rhetoric not seen for centuries. Parliament itself was not responsible for either the political decision to leave the European Union or for delivering Brexit after the decision had been made in referendum in June 2016. Its role, however, was significant because, without Parliament's consent, the government could not finalize the process of leaving the European Union. As both Conservative governments, led first by Theresa May and later by Boris Johnson, faced strong opposition in Parliament, frustration grew in both the government and the pro-Brexit part of the public. Parliament was blamed for unnecessarily prolonging Brexit at the expense of the people. Antiparliamentary rhetoric was becoming more open and fiercer. MPs were accused of undermining the will of the people. They were called “wreckers” and “saboteurs”, and even “traitors”. This paper discusses the rise of antiparliamentary rhetoric in the United Kingdom during the Brexit process and asks whether the emergence of antiparliamentary rhetoric and its embrace not only by prominent politicians, including prime ministers, but also by a significant part of the press and the public signals deeper distrust in Parliament and can have long-lasting repercussions for the representative body itself and for the political system.

SESSIÓ N°4 - AULA 40.008 - GOVERNANÇA, REFORMES I ORDRE INTERNACIONAL: LES INSTITUCIONS REPRESENTATIVES DAVANT ELS REPTES DEL SEGLE XX / SESSION N°4 - ROOM 40.008 - GOVERNANCE, REFORMS AND INTERNATIONAL ORDER: REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS FACING THE CHALLENGES OF THE 20TH CENTURY



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND NATIONAL MINORITIES: LIBERAL PRINCIPLES IN NON-PLURAL OUTCOMES

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The Assembly of the League of Nations was the first multilateral intergovernmental “parliament”; the legitimacy of its programs, decisions, and recommendations relied primarily on Member State equality (one state, one vote), and universalism. Peace-keeping depended on these principles. Yet some of the League's actions were neither universal nor egalitarian. This presentation examines Assembly debates regarding national minority protection. Government delegates divided sharply on this issue: some sought to universalize minority rights, while others strongly opposed such measures. A paradox emerged: most West liberal countries were reluctant to support universal minority protection, whereas states often characterized as less liberal or democratic championed its generalization. What motivated these positions? The League's Secretariat only harmonized its conception of citizenship: a political, non-identitarian notion that functioned in practice as pro-majority culture (Cussó, 2019). This clashed with states that inherited alternative citizenship models—distinguishing imperial citizenship from nationality, for instance. The First Czechoslovak Republic provides a particularly useful case which illustrates how the League's ostensibly universal language of equality and citizenship could coexist with state-building practices that transformed imperial plurality into a hierarchy of state-forming and minority populations (Tóth–Novotný–Stehlík, 2012, 2018). Ultimately, the League crystallized a dilemma that remains urgent today: the tension between a multilateral assembly, which should embrace plurality of ideas and practices, and adherence to pre-established international frameworks (Rodrik, 2011).



**THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC AND INTERWAR GOVERNANCE: AN AMBITIOUS DEMOCRACY IN A FRAGILE INTERNATIONAL ORDER**

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The paper examines the crisis and collapse of the Weimar Republic by situating its democratic institutions within the unstable international order of the interwar years. It argues that the difficulties of Weimar cannot be explained only by domestic factors such as constitutional rules, party fragmentation or presidential powers, but must also be read against a background shaped by the Versailles settlement, the Dawes and Young Plans, and the 1925 Locarno Treaties. By tracing the impact of reparations, financial dependence and Germany's late and precarious integration into the League of Nations, the paper shows how a fragile democracy operated under intense external constraints with few reliable international instruments to stabilise crises. Particular attention is paid to the interaction between parliamentary decision-making, foreign policy commitments and economic vulnerability in key moments of the 1920s and early 1930s. In this light, the Weimar Republic appears as an ambitious democratic experiment embedded in a weak and selective system of interwar governance. The paper suggests that this experience remains a highly relevant historical case, not only because of its well-known internal dysfunctions, but also because of the international context in which it developed and ultimately failed.

**THE JAPANESE ELECTORAL REFORMS OF 1945 AND THE REPRESENTATIVE DIET OF 1946**

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Following Japan's occupation by the Allied Powers in September 1945, one of the first fundamental objective was to carry out the democratisation of Japan. The electoral law reforms of 17 December 1945 granted all men and women aged 20 years and above the right to vote, thereby the electoral franchise was significantly widened. The first postwar general election in Japan was held on 10 April 1946 with voters' turnout of 72 per cent, representing a relatively high social interest and participation, which was upheld during the following decades as well. The House of Representatives consisted of 468 members that time, with 39 women MPs elected for the very first time. The April 1946 general elections marked a pivotal transition from imperial militarism to parliamentary democracy. It reconstituted political legitimacy through mass participation and provided a representative mandate for drafting the 1947 Constitution, the so-called Peace Constitution. This also means that the Imperial Meiji Constitution of 1890 provided the constitutional framework for the democratisation process as it was only repealed by the 1947 Constitution. The paper intends to present this decisive period of the birth of Japan's democracy and the end of militarism.





FROM THE CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FROM NATO COUNTRIES TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY: THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE ATLANTIC INTERPARLIAMENTARY FORUM DURING ITS FIRST TWO DECADES OF ACTIVITY

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Compared to the founding process of other interparliamentary bodies established in the post-war period, that of the North Atlantic Assembly – now known as the NATO Parliamentary Assembly – was distinguished by certain distinctive features. First and foremost, the fact that the Assembly was not established through the formal signing of a treaty, but developed, essentially, thanks to the initiative of small groups of parliamentarians who were interested both in establishing a permanent platform for dialogue between representatives of Western countries and in promoting within the framework of NATO – closer political and economic cooperation among allied nations. Building on these premises, this study therefore aims to analyse the development of the Assembly during its first twenty years of activity, reconstructing the various initiatives, the projects devised and the events that helped define its international role and the nature of the relations it maintained with NATO during the Cold War period.



LA CONVENCION EUROPEA DE 2002-2003: CUESTIONES, ESTRATEGIAS POLITICAS Y PRAXIS

THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION OF 2002-2003: ISSUES, POLITICAL STRATEGIES AND PRAXIS

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La ponencia analizará los principales aspectos de la Convención Europea, que se reunió bajo la presidencia de Valéry Giscard d'Estaing entre febrero de 2002 y julio de 2003. Examinará su composición, sus métodos de trabajo y su relación con la opinión pública. ¿Cuáles fueron las principales fortalezas de este novedoso tipo de institución representativa, integrada por representantes de los gobiernos nacionales, la Comisión, el Parlamento Europeo y los parlamentos nacionales? Por el contrario, ¿cuáles fueron sus principales debilidades? ¿Cómo se estructuró la interacción entre sus distintos componentes? ¿Hasta qué punto las perspectivas nacionales, por un lado, y las estrategias político-ideológicas transnacionales, articuladas por los partidos políticos europeos, por otro, condicionaron el proceso?

The paper will analyse the main aspects of the European Convention, which met under the presidency of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing between February 2002 and July 2003. It will examine its membership, its working methods, and its relationship with public opinion. What were the principal strengths of this novel type of representative institution, comprising representatives of national governments, the Commission, the European Parliament, and national parliaments? Conversely, what were its main weaknesses? How was interaction among its various components structured? To what extent did national perspectives, on the one hand, and transnational political-ideological strategies, as articulated by European political parties, on the other, shape the process?



SESSIÓ N°5 - AULA 40.002 - INSTITUCIONS REPRESENTATIVES I PODERS TERRITORIALS AL SUD DE L'EUROPA MODERNA (SEGLES XIV - XVII) / SESSION N°5 - ROOM 40.002 - REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND TERRITORIAL POWERS IN EARLY MODERN SOUTHERN EUROPE (14TH-17TH CENTURIES)



REPRESENTACIÓN Y GESTIÓN DE LOS CONFLICTOS FISCALES ENTRE IGLESIA Y CONCEJOS EN LAS CORTES DE CASTILLA BAJO LOS PRIMEROS TRASTÁMARA (1366-1406)

REPRESENTATION AND MANAGEMENT OF FISCAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND TOWN COUNCILS IN THE CORTES OF CASTILE UNDER THE EARLY TRASTÁMARA (1366-1406)

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Esta comunicación pretende analizar cómo se manifestaron las tensiones fiscales entre la Iglesia y los concejos en el marco de las Cortes de Castilla durante el reinado de los primeros reyes Trastámara (1366-1406). En un contexto de creciente presión fiscal, vinculado al fortalecimiento de la Hacienda regia y a las dificultades políticas y económicas por las que atravesaba el reino, el privilegio fiscal eclesiástico se consolidó como el principal foco de enfrentamientos entre clérigos y laicos. A partir del examen de los cuadernos de peticiones presentados por los procuradores de las ciudades en Cortes, se estudiarán los principales asuntos generadores de conflicto, las estrategias discursivas desplegadas por los procuradores para legitimar sus demandas, y las respuestas institucionales articuladas por la monarquía en el seno de las Cortes para tratar de contener la conflictividad entre los dos grandes poderes, ciudades e Iglesia, de los que entonces dependía en gran medida la estabilidad política de la nueva dinastía. Se busca con ello analizar una vertiente fundamental del papel de las Cortes como espacio de escenificación y canalización de conflictos sociales entre estamentos, en un momento decisivo para la configuración de los equilibrios y relaciones de poder entre monarquía, ciudades e Iglesia en la Castilla bajomedieval.

This paper aims to analyze how fiscal tensions between the Church and the town councils (concejos) manifested within the framework of the Courts of Castile (Cortes) during the reign of the early Trastámara kings (1366–1406). In a context of growing fiscal pressure, linked to the strengthening of the royal Treasury and the political and economic difficulties facing the kingdom, ecclesiastical tax privilege became the primary source of conflict between clerics and laymen. Based on an examination of the petitions (cuadernos de peticiones) presented by the city representatives (procuradores) in the Cortes, this study will examine the main issues driving the conflict, the discursive strategies deployed by the representatives to legitimize their demands, and the institutional responses articulated by the monarchy within the Cortes to contain the conflict between these two major powers—cities and the Church—upon which the political stability of the new dynasty largely depended. The ultimate goal is to analyze a fundamental aspect of the Cortes as a space for the staging and channeling of social conflicts between estates, at a decisive moment for the configuration of the balance and relations of power among the monarchy, cities, and the Church in late medieval Castile.





LES INSTITUTIONS PARLEMENTAIRES SAVOYARDES FACE À LA CRISE DU POUVOIR DUCAL (XVE-XVIE SIÈCLES)

THE SAVOYARD PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS IN THE FACE OF THE CRISIS OF DUCAL POWER (15TH–16TH CENTURIES)

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Cette communication vise à illustrer le rôle joué sur le plan politique et législatif par les assemblées représentatives des territoires savoyards entre la seconde moitié du XVe siècle et les trente premières années du XVIe siècle, dans un contexte de crise profonde du pouvoir ducal provoquée par une situation économique désastreuse, aggravée par des contingences politiques liées à de multiples facteurs internes et externes, parmi lesquels la succession, sur plusieurs décennies, de ducs inaptes à gouverner ou voués à une mort prématurée, ainsi que deux régences rapprochées dans le temps, les rivalités au sein de la dynastie elle-même, les dissensions au sein de la noblesse savoyarde et les divisions entre les communautés piémontaises, et, de l'extérieur, l'expansionnisme, de plus en plus menaçant, de la monarchie française, du duché de Milan et des cantons suisses. En particulier, la communication se propose de mettre en lumière l'influence exercée par les assemblées des états sur la production législative des ducs de Savoie en matière de réforme de la justice dans une époque de crise du pouvoir ducal.

This paper aims to illustrate the political and legislative role played by the representative assemblies of the Savoyard territories between the second half of the 15th century and the first thirty years of the 16th century, against a backdrop of a profound crisis in ducal power caused by a disastrous economic situation, exacerbated by political contingencies linked to multiple internal and external factors, including a succession, over several decades, of dukes unfit to govern or destined for premature death, as well as two regencies occurring in close succession, rivalries within the dynasty itself, dissensions among the Savoyard nobility and divisions among the Piedmontese communities; and, from outside, the increasingly threatening expansionism of the French monarchy, the Duchy of Milan and the Swiss cantons. In particular, this paper aims to highlight the influence exerted by the assemblies of the estates on the legislative output of the Dukes of Savoy regarding judicial reform during a period of crisis in ducal power.



A LOS PIES DE UN ZAPATERO: LAS CORTES EN LA ESPAÑA DE CARLOS V, VISTAS POR UN EMBAJADOR VENECIANO

AT THE FEET OF A SHOEMAKER: THE CORTES IN CHARLES V'S SPAIN, FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A VENETIAN AMBASSADOR

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Este trabajo analiza el viaje de Gasparo Contarini en España entre 1522 y 1525, durante su misión como embajador de la República de Venecia en la corte de Carlos V. La relación final de su estancia, presentada al Senado en noviembre de 1525, constituye una fuente excepcional para el conocimiento de la península ibérica en esos años. Desde la perspectiva singular de un embajador-humanista, Contarini no solo recoge datos sobre la organización institucional, sino que observa también las dinámicas políticas concretas que la sustentan, en paralelo a la redacción de su obra *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*. A través de su relato, Contarini ofrece una "fotografía" penetrante del sistema político hispánico, prestando especial atención a la relación entre el emperador y las Cortes. Destaca, en particular, la capacidad de estas últimas para suspender decisiones y la concesión de servicios si sus demandas no eran atendidas. El objetivo de esta intervención es presentar dicha relación de viaje y subrayar el interés de Contarini (no por casualidad, como veneciano) por las formas de representatividad política y los mecanismos que concretamente limitaban el poder monárquico.

*This paper examines the journey of Gasparo Contarini through Spain between 1522 and 1525 during his mission as ambassador of the Republic of Venice to the court of Charles V. The final report of his stay, presented to the Senate in November 1525, constitutes an exceptional source for understanding the Iberian Peninsula during those years. From the distinctive perspective of a humanist ambassador, Contarini not only records information about the institutional organization of the realm but also observes the concrete political dynamics that sustained it, while simultaneously composing his work *De magistratibus et republica Venetorum*. Through his account, Contarini provides a penetrating “snapshot” of the Spanish political system, paying particular attention to the relationship between the emperor and the Cortes (representative assemblies). He highlights, in particular, the ability of the Cortes to suspend decisions and withhold the granting of subsidies (*servicios*) when their demands were not met. The aim of this presentation is to introduce this travel account and to emphasize Contarini’s interest - hardly coincidental, given his Venetian background - in forms of political representation and in the mechanisms that effectively limited monarchical power.*



LOS JURISTAS NAPOLITANOS EN LAS INSTITUCIONES REPRESENTATIVAS Y JURÍDICAS DURANTE EL SIGLO XVII

NEAPOLITAN JURISTS IN REPRESENTATIVE AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

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El informe examina el papel desempeñado por los juristas durante la revuelta de 1647-1648, tanto en el seno de la principal institución política popular, el Seggio del popolo, como en los tribunales del Reino. El análisis se centra en los capítulos, privilegios y indultos solicitados por el pueblo en julio y agosto. El estudio de los documentos y las biografías de los magistrados que administraron esas instituciones permite interpretar los acontecimientos de 1647-1648 en el marco de un proceso de conservación del poder. El favor de la corona hacia los juristas se había manifestado desde mediados del siglo XVI para poner freno a la arrogancia de la nobleza en los principales tribunales de la capital. La tendencia sufrió un giro durante la Guerra de los Treinta Años. Los togados, hostiles a la presión fiscal que pesaba sobre una economía débil, fueron sustituidos progresivamente por juristas nobles inclinados a satisfacer las demandas españolas. La breve fase revolucionaria de Masaniello (9-16 de julio) dio paso al conflicto entre los juristas de origen popular y los juristas nobles por el control de las instituciones representativas. Los líderes del Seggio, tras obtener el favor de la corona por haber asesinado a Masaniello, hicieron caso omiso de las peticiones formuladas por sus propios consultores togados, quienes desde el mes de agosto gestionaron la revuelta mediante el control de la plebe. Expulsaron a los nobles de los tribunales y firmaron los acuerdos para el regreso de los españoles.

The report examines the role played by jurists during the uprising, both within the main popular political institution, the Seggio del Popolo, and in the Kingdom’s courts. The analysis focuses on the charters, privileges and pardons requested by the people in July and August. The study of the documents and the biographies of the judges who administered those institutions allows us to interpret the events of 1647–48 within a process of power consolidation. The Crown’s favour towards the jurists had been evident since the mid-16th century as a means of curbing the arrogance of the nobility in the capital’s major courts. This trend was reversed during the Thirty Years’ War. The magistrates, hostile to the tax burden weighing on a weak economy, were gradually replaced by noble jurists inclined to accommodate Spanish demands. Masaniello’s brief revolutionary phase (9–16 July) gave way to a conflict between jurists of popular origin and noble jurists over control of the representative institutions. The leaders of the Seggio, having secured the favour of the crown for having killed Masaniello, disregarded the demands made by their own togged councillors, who from August onwards had managed the revolt by controlling the plebs. They ousted the nobles from the courts and signed the agreements for the return of the Spanish.





EL CONSELL DE CENT I LES GUERRES DE CARLES II: ENTRE LA DELIBERACIÓ I EL SERVEI

THE CONSELL DE CENT AND THE WARS OF CHARLES II: BETWEEN DELIBERATION AND SERVICE

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Durant el regnat de Carles II, Catalunya va esdevenir un escenari de guerra gairebé permanent. Entre la guerra de Devolució i la dels Nou Anys, la lluita es va desplegar a Catalunya, provocant un esforç per part de la monarquia en la defensa del Principat que també va involucrar al consistori barceloní. S'analitzaran els processos de petició de tropes, negociadors i deliberatius desenvolupats al llarg de mig segle per part del Consell de Cent. Malgrat tenir la guerra lluny de la ciutat fins el 1697, el consistori va esdevenir un referent polític català en l'organització de la defensa catalana i l'aportació de tropes (juntament amb la Diputació del General), sent un intermediari necessari en la negociació amb el poder reial sobre les peticions militars, altres institucions polítiques catalanes o, fins i tot, l'estructura gremial.

Amb el seguiment de les deliberacions, ordinacions, correspondència entrant i sortint del consistori i la documentació generada pels gremis, és possible mostrar l'arrelament de la guerra dins la societat barcelonina de l'època (que anava molt més enllà de la Coronela) i la importància del Consell de Cent dins l'esforç col·lectiu de la defensa catalana.

During the reign of Charles II, Catalonia became a scene of almost permanent warfare. Between the War of Devolution and the Nine Years' War, the conflict unfolded across Catalonia, prompting an effort by the monarchy to defend the Principality that also involved the Barcelona town council. This study analyzes the troop recruitment, negotiation, and deliberative processes carried out by the Consell de Cent (Council of One Hundred) over the course of half a century. Despite warfare remaining far from the city until 1697, the council became a Catalan political benchmark in organizing Catalonia's defense and providing troops (alongside the Diputació del General). It acted as a necessary intermediary in negotiations regarding military demands with the royal power, other Catalan political institutions, and even the guild structure.

By examining the council's deliberations, ordinances, incoming and outgoing correspondence, as well as the documentation generated by the guilds, it is possible to demonstrate how deeply rooted the war was within Barcelona's society at the time (extending far beyond the Coronela militia) and the significance of the Consell de Cent within the collective effort for Catalan defense.

SESSIÓ N°6 - AULA 40.004 - PARLAMENT, SOCIETAT I EMPRESA, REGULACIÓ DEL TREBALL, CORRUPCIÓ I INTEGRACIÓ (SEGLES XVI-XX) / SESSIÓ N°6 - ROOM 40.004 - PARLIAMENT, SOCIETY AND ENTERPRISE, LABOUR REGULATION, CORRUPTION AND INTEGRATION (16TH-20TH CENTURIES)



SOBRE LA LEGITIMITAT DELIBERATIVA DEL TREBALL CORPORATIU: LES CORPORACIONS D'OFICI I EL DRET DE REUNIÓ A LA CATALUNYA MODERNA (SEGLES XVI-XVIII)

ON THE DELIBERATIVE LEGITIMACY OF CORPORATE LABOUR: CRAFT GUILDS AND THE RIGHT OF ASSEMBLY IN EARLY MODERN CATALONIA (16TH-18TH CENTURIES)

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La present proposta planteja una anàlisi transversal de la legitimitat de reunió de la institució gremial a la Catalunya moderna. Les corporacions d'oficis, altrament anomenades gremis, foren actors públicament reconeguts dins l'Europa de l'Antic Règim amb capacitat, validada legalment, de reunir-se en consells, deliberar, i aplicar el resultat de les seves decisions en la regulació del seu corresponent ofici. Tanmateix, la legitimitat d'aquestes assemblees i la seva validesa es trobà íntimament marcada per un fort rol dels poders públics coexistent, alhora, amb pràctiques de reunió més enllà de la legalitat.

Per tal d'adreçar aquesta qüestió a la Catalunya moderna, plantejem una anàlisi que posi en diàleg la legislació responsable d'aquesta legitimació al Principat –de caire general, present a les Constitucions, però també particular, en la legislació municipal–, la seva interpretació en tractats de dret catalans contemporanis, i la pràctica real de la deliberació gremial. Com a conseqüència, es pretén presentar una imatge complexa del dret de reunió de les corporacions d'ofici catalanes modernes que vagi més enllà dels límits explícits del dret i abasti dimensions pràctiques que matisin l'aparent rigidesa del control legal.

The present paper proposes a transversal analysis of the legitimacy of assembly within craft guilds in early modern Catalonia. Craft guilds were publicly recognised actors within early modern European societies, legally empowered to convene in councils, deliberate, and implement the outcomes of their decisions in the regulation of their respective trades. Nevertheless, the legitimacy of such assemblies and their legal validity was intimately shaped by the pervasive role of public authorities, which coexisted, in turn, with assembly practices that operated beyond the bounds of legality.

In order to address this question within the context of early modern Catalonia, the paper proposes an analysis that brings into dialogue the legislation responsible for this legitimisation in the Principality –both general in character, as found in the Catalan Constitutions, and particular, as expressed in municipal legislation–, its interpretation in contemporary Catalan law treatises, and the actual practice of guild deliberation. The aim is thereby to present a complex picture of the right of assembly among early modern Catalan craft guilds, one that moves beyond the explicit limits of law to encompass practical dimensions that qualify the apparent rigidity of legal control.



'NECESSARY SERVANTS: THE PARLIAMENTARY CODIFICATION OF SCOTTISH COLLIERS' BOUND LABOUR, 1606–1701'

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Between 1606 and 1799, Scottish coal mine workers (colliers) toiled under a unique system of bound labour which has hitherto been imprecisely understood. Traditional scholarship, which takes a top-down approach and focuses primarily on legislation and court records, sees the system as analogous to chattel slavery. While more recent work uses social history to identify colliers' independent action and agency, some authors still compare the bound labour system to slavery and indenture, with little critical engagement or precision in this definition. This paper moves beyond a strict focus on legislation. It engages with parliamentary debates and assesses the impact of parliament's measures through analysis of estate records. The paper outlines how the Scottish Parliament engaged with the mine owning aristocracy to implement a clearly codified form of bound labour which laid the groundwork for the exploitation of both people and the environment for profit. Inspired by Eric Williams' (1944) thesis on capitalism and Caribbean slavery, the paper traces the codification of bound labour by parliament through several provisions in the long seventeenth century. It concentrates on the introduction of bound labour in 1606, and then charts the impact of expansions and re-ratifications in 1641, 1661, 1672, and 1701.





LA ILEGALIZACIÓN DE LA COMPAÑÍA TELEFÓNICA EN EL PARLAMENTO DE LA SEGUNDA REPÚBLICA

THE OUTLAWING OF THE TELEPHONE COMPANY IN THE PARLIAMENT OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC

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La despedida de unos trabajadores de la central de Girona considerada ilegal por los sindicatos estuvo en el origen del proceso de ilegalización del contrato que la Compañía Telefónica Nacional de España había firmado en abril de 1924. Todo se desencadenó a finales de 1931, en la primavera de 1931, el ministro de Comunicaciones, Diego Martínez Barrio, promovió un proyecto de ley que declaró ilegal la concesión del servicio telefónico otorgada a la Compañía Telefónica en 1924, desde ese momento en noviembre y diciembre personas ligadas a la CTNE, a la Dirección de Correos y Telégrafos comenzaron a emitir declaraciones a la prensa a favor o en contra de la ilegalización. Al comienzo de 1932 el presidente de la República Manuel Azaña comenzó a intervenir en el parlamento mientras fuera continuaban las declaraciones aunque a menor nivel. Una intervención final de Azaña cerró el proceso definitivamente. La Compañía Telefónica siguió funcionando y nadie volvió a solicitar su ilegalización. Realmente desde antes de su creación la sociedad española y la opinión pública habían mostrado su descontento con la Compañía Telefónica por la presencia en su capital de la poderosa compañía estadounidense ITT. Debido a esto era llamada "La extranjera"

The dismissal of a number of workers at the Girona exchange, which the trade unions deemed unlawful, was the catalyst for the process of declaring the contract that the Spanish National Telephone Company had signed in April 1924 to be illegal. It all began in late 1931; in the spring of 1931, the Minister of Communications, Diego Martínez Barrio, introduced a bill declaring the telephone service concession granted to the Spanish National Telephone Company in 1924 to be illegal; from that point on, in November and December, individuals linked to the CTNE and the Post and Telegraph Directorate began issuing statements to the press either in favour of or against the annulment. At the beginning of 1932, the President of the Republic, Manuel Azaña, began to address Parliament, whilst outside the building the statements continued, albeit on a smaller scale. A final address by Azaña brought the process to a definitive close. The Telefónica Company continued to operate and no one ever again called for its outlawing. In truth, even before its creation, Spanish society and public opinion had expressed their dissatisfaction with the Telefónica Company due to the presence in its capital of the powerful American firm ITT. Because of this, it was known as 'The Foreigner'.



'EXPLORING MIGRANT INTEGRATION IN A DEVOLVED POLICY FRAMEWORK: THE CASE OF SCOTLAND

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Since devolution in 1999, an important element of opposition between Scotland and Westminster has been immigration. While the United Kingdom (UK) government has increasingly been shaping more restrictive policies in that area, Scotland has demonstrated a clear political will to welcome and integrate migrants, for demographic, economic and moral reasons. This qualitative research examines the extent to which Scotland's public and third sectors can leverage their devolved powers, and the absence of a UK-wide integration policy, to integrate asylum seekers and refugees more effectively. Ultimately, the article aims to show that while devolution establishes the constitutional framework of the UK, nations such as Scotland have attempted over the past twenty-five years to forge distinct social policies which are better adapted to their specific needs and interest.

SESSIÓ N°7 - AULA 40.006 - CULTURES PARLAMENTÀRIES EN TRANSICIÓ: ELITS, PERSONAL POLÍTIC I REPTES INSTITUCIONALS / SESSION N°7 - ROOM 40.006 - PARLIAMENTARY CULTURES IN TRANSITION: ELITES, POLITICAL PERSONNEL AND INSTITUTIONAL CHALLENGES



LAS LÓGICAS DEL HEMICICLO. LA DISTRIBUCIÓN DE LOS ESCAÑOS Y LA CONCEPCIÓN DEL PARLAMENTO EN LAS CORTES ESPAÑOLAS DESDE 1850

THE LOGIC OF THE HEMICYCLE: THE SEATING ARRANGEMENT AND CONCEPT OF PARLIAMENT IN THE SPANISH CORTES SINCE 1850

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La limitación del pleno del Palacio de las Cortes a 350 diputados, así como una estricta separación de los grupos parlamentarios en el hemiciclo en derecha, izquierda y centro constituye un marco rígido en la historia parlamentaria española. La ponencia abordará las siguientes cuestiones al respecto: (1.) ¿En qué tradiciones históricas se basaba el tripartidismo isabelino (1850-1868) y el bipartidismo de la monarquía restaurada (1876-1923)? (2.) ¿De qué manera se integraron las nuevas fuerzas políticas – republicanos, socialistas, comunistas, Falange, partidos regionalistas – en el esquema de derecha-izquierda de la distribución de escaños durante la Segunda República (1931-1936) y la nueva democracia española (desde 1977)? (3.) ¿Cómo se plasmó la concepción corporativa del Estado en la distribución de los escaños durante las dictaduras de Primo de Rivera y Franco? (4.) ¿Cómo se organizó la representación parlamentaria de la Segunda República en tiempos de la Guerra Civil (1936-1939) en los parlamentos provisionales del Ayuntamiento de Valencia y de la Abadía de Montserrat? Partiendo de los estudios historiográficos sobre el parlamentarismo español (Forcadell, 1978; Pérez Ledesma, 1995; Giménez Martínez, 2017) y basándonos en constituciones, actas parlamentarias, así como reglamentos de sesiones plenarias, pretendemos aclarar cómo el parlamentarismo español integró y organizó a nuevas fuerzas políticas a través de la distribución de los escaños en el parlamento o cómo las rechazó y jerarquizó.

The rigid limitations of the plenary chamber of the Palacio de las Cortes to the number of 350 deputies, as well as the strict separation of parliamentary groups within the hemicycle into right, left, and center, constitutes a rigid framework in Spanish parliamentary history. In this regard, the presentation will address the following questions: (1.) On what historical traditions were the tripartite system of the Isabeline era (1850–1868) and the two-party system of the restored monarchy (1876–1923) based? (2.) How were new political forces – Republicans, Socialists, Communists, the Falange, and regionalist parties – integrated into the right-left framework of the parliamentary seat distribution during the Second Republic (1931–1936) and the new Spanish democracy (since 1977)? (3.) How was the corporatist conception of the state reflected in the distribution of seats during the dictatorships of Primo de Rivera and Franco? (4.) How was parliamentary representation of the Second Republic organized during the Civil War (1936–1939) in the provisional parliaments of the Valencia City Council and the Abbey of Montserrat? Drawing on historiographical studies of Spanish parliamentarism (Forcadell, 1978; Pérez Ledesma, 1995; Giménez Martínez, 2017) and by analyzing constitutions, parliamentary records, and rules of procedure for plenary sessions, my aim is to clarify how Spanish parliamentarism integrated and organized new political forces through the distribution of seats in parliament, or how it rejected and hierarchized them.





CAMBIO Y CONTINUIDAD DEL PERSONAL PARLAMENTARIO EN LAS CORTES DE LA PRIMERA REPÚBLICA ESPAÑOLA (1873-1874): DE LAS TRAYECTORIAS PERSONALES A LAS TENDENCIAS PROSOPOGRÁFICAS

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY OF THE PARLIAMENTARIANS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FIRST SPANISH REPUBLIC (1873-1874): FROM INDIVIDUAL PATHS TO PROSOPOGRAPHIC TRENDS

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Este trabajo tiene por objetivo analizar, a través de las perspectivas biográfica y prosopográfica, los cambios y continuidades del personal parlamentario durante las legislaturas de la Primera República Española –Asamblea Nacional y Cortes Constituyentes–. Si bien la renovación del personal político durante la legislatura constituyente ha sido bien atendida por la historiografía tomando como explicación el retraimiento electoral, apenas se ha dedicado atención a detallar las continuidades, ni cómo se produjo el salto al Congreso de aquellos hombres nuevos consideradas figuras de segundo orden. Nos centraremos en aquellos que habían ocupado un escaño con anterioridad a las Cortes republicanas –304 habían sido diputados y 73 senadores–, así como para quienes la República supuso el inicio de su carrera en las altas instancias políticas del Estado, tomando en consideración que casi 430 parlamentarios tan solo lo fueron en aquella ocasión. La comunicación se centrará pues en el estudio de las legitimidades, el arraigo y las influencias dinamizadas en el distrito por él o sus correligionarios, así como las prácticas fraudulentas empleadas durante los procesos electorales, así como los perfiles socio-profesionales.

The aim of this research is to analyse, from biographical and prosopographic perspectives, the changes and continuities in parliamentary membership during the legislatures of the First Spanish Republic –the National Assembly and the Constituent Assembly–. The renewal of political personnel during the constituent legislature has been well documented by historiography, with electoral decline as explanation. However, the continuities and how the first election of those newcomers received little attention. This communication will focus on those who had previously held a seat in Parliament –304 had been members of parliament (deputies) and 73 senators–, as well as on those for whom the Republic represent the start of their career in the highest rank of national politics. Nevertheless, almost 430 parliamentarians served only on those legislatures. Therefore, the study focusses on the legitimacy, local roots and influence generated during the election by the candidate or their colleagues, as well as the fraudulent practices employed during electoral processes and on their socio-professional profiles.



THE CRISIS IN PORTUGAL AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY AND THE INEFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENT

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Under the Constitutional Monarchy, the Portuguese parliament was the target of protests at rallies and in the press. The centre of public life, the school of political education, the stances and speeches presented in it were considered to be “unsavoury” because they were tainted with the “spirit of faction or party”. It was in Parliament, known as the Cortes during the Monarchy and Congress under the Republic, that much of the party activity took place. Those who aspired to a political life had to pass through the parliamentary arena. Parliamentarians were more concerned with rhetoric than with solving the country’s real problems. That’s why national representation was described as lazy and ineffective in the face of corruption, patronage and caciquism. The crisis of the late 19th century was often attributed to the incompetence of the Parliament. In the 1890s, and after the establishment of the Republic in 1910, government instability and political violence were explained by the discrediting of the representative system. From an electoral point of view, the Portuguese political system of Monarchy and Republic was dominated by the widespread influence of caciquism. The census and other restrictions imposed from 1834 to 1926, despite a period of increased openness between 1878 and 1895, transformed the general election of representatives into a constitutional form of plebiscite for the power elites.

**EL DEBUT PARLAMENTARIO DEL CATALANISMO POLÍTICO: LA LLIGA REGIONALISTA Y BARTOLOMÉ ROBERT DURANTE LA LEGISLATURA 1901-1902**

THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBUT OF CATALAN POLITICAL NATIONALISM: THE LLIGA REGIONALISTA AND BARTOLOMÉ ROBERT DURING THE 1901-1902 LEGISLATURE

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El objeto de la presente comunicación es analizar la breve pero trascendental actuación parlamentaria de Bartolomé Robert, llevada a cabo en el Congreso de los Diputados de Madrid durante la legislatura 1901-1902. El célebre doctor Robert, primer presidente de la Lliga Regionalista, será uno de los cuatro integrantes de la candidatura catalanista que la Lliga presentará por la demarcación de Barcelona ciudad en las elecciones legislativas del 19 de mayo de 1901. La candidatura, conocida popularmente con el apelativo de los “quatre presidents”, estuvo integrada por el propio Robert, catedrático de la Facultad de Medicina de la Universidad de Barcelona, exalcalde de Barcelona y expresidente de la Sociedad Económica Barcelonesa de Amigos del País; Albert Rusiñol, expresidente del Fomento del Trabajo Nacional; Lluís Domènech y Montaner, catedrático de la Escuela Superior de Arquitectura de Barcelona y expresidente del Ateneo Barcelonés; y Sebastià Torres, presidente de la Liga de Defensa Industrial y Comercial. El triunfo electoral de dicha candidatura en estos comicios va a permitir que, por primera vez en la historia del parlamentarismo español, unos diputados regionalistas tengan la posibilidad de presentar ante el Congreso de los Diputados las principales reivindicaciones catalanistas. Robert, erigido en portavoz de sus compañeros de candidatura, llevará cabo una intensa campaña en defensa de los intereses catalanes, como estudiaremos en sus diferentes intervenciones parlamentarias a lo largo de los años 1901 y 1902, que constituirán la documentación fundamental a través de la cual articularemos nuestra comunicación.

The purpose of this communication is to analyze the brief but momentous parliamentary career of Bartolomé Robert, carried out in the Congress of Deputies in Madrid during the 1901-1902 legislature. The renowned Dr. Robert, first president of the Lliga Regionalista, was one of the four members of the Catalanist candidacy that the Lliga presented for the Barcelona city district in the legislative elections of May 19, 1901. The candidacy, popularly known as the “quatre presidents”, was made up of Robert himself, professor at the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Barcelona, former mayor of Barcelona and former president of the Sociedad Económica Barcelonesa de Amigos del País; Albert Rusiñol, former president of the Fomento del Trabajo Nacional; Lluís Domènech y Montaner, professor at the Barcelona School of Architecture and former president of the Ateneo Barcelonés; and Sebastià Torres, president of the Liga de Defensa Industrial y Comercial. The electoral victory of this candidacy in these elections will allow, for the first time in the history of Spanish parliamentarism, regionalist deputies to present the main Catalan demands to the Congress of Deputies. Robert, acting as spokesperson for his fellow candidates, will carry out an intense campaign in defense of Catalan interests, as we will examine in his various parliamentary speeches throughout 1901 and 1902, which will constitute the fundamental documentation through which we will structure our argument.





EL CONSELL D'ECONOMIA DE CATALUNYA A TRAVÉS DE L'ESTUDI BIOGRÀFIC DE MIQUEL FERRER (1936-1939)

THE CATALAN COUNCIL OF ECONOMICS THROUGH THE BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF MIQUEL FERRER (1936 - 1939)

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El 11 d'agost de 1936, es va crear el Consell d'Economia de Catalunya a conseqüència de la revolta produïda a tota Espanya i amb la urgència d'estructurar l'economia catalana. Aquesta institució, va comptar amb la representació de tots els partits polítics i organitzacions obreres que havien lluitat contra el feixisme. Així doncs, a noranta anys de la seva creació, l'objectiu és analitzar el Consell d'Economia a través de l'estudi biogràfic de Miquel Ferrer entre 1936-1939. Durant aquest període, el personatge formà part de la vocalia d'organització de treball d'aquesta institució, del consell executiu del PSUC, i fou secretari general de la UGT de Catalunya. Per tant, es pretén entendre el catalanisme que va representar en Ferrer i estudiar les diferents forces polítiques que integraren el Consell davant la nova economia. Especialment sobre temes com les col·lectivitzacions i control obrer de la producció, així com de la municipalització de l'habitatge i la nacionalització de la banca. Finalment, explorar la vida de Ferrer durant el seu pas pel Consell ens deixa mirar un moviment que cercà superar el règim autonòmic amb la col·laboració de la classe obrera organitzada de Catalunya.

On 11 of August of 1936, the Catalan Council of Economics was created as a response to the revolts happening all over Spain and with the necessity of reshaping the Catalan economy. This institution had the support of all the political parties and workers unions that have fought against fascism.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the Council through the biographical study of Miquel Ferrer between 1936 to 1939. During this time he was a representative of this institution, an executive council of the PSUC, and secretary general of the UGT. Moreover, this study seeks to understand the Catalan movement represented by Ferrer and assesses the different political forces that were part of the Council of Economics in the context of the new economy. Specifically, about subjects like the collectivization and workers control of the means of production, the municipality of the housing, and the nationalization of the banking system. In conclusion, exploring the life of Ferrer during his time in the Council gives us a unique perspective of a popular movement that sought to overcome the autonomous regime with the support of the organized Catalan working class.

SESSIÓ N°8 - AULA 40.008 - REPRESENTACIÓ I ELITS POLÍTIQUES A L'ESPANYA DEMOCRÀTICA: DE LA TRANSICIÓ A L'ESTAT DE LES AUTONOMIES / SESSION N°8 - ROOM 40.008 - REPRESENTATION AND POLITICAL ELITES IN DEMOCRATIC SPAIN: FROM THE TRANSITION TO THE STATE OF AUTONOMIES



EL GRUPO PARLAMENTARIO MIXTO EN LA LEGISLATURA CONSTITUYENTE ESPAÑOLA: DINÁMICAS Y HEGEMONÍA POLÍTICA

THE MIXED PARLIAMENTARY GROUP IN THE SPANISH CONSTITUENT LEGISLATURE: DYNAMICS AND POLITICAL HEGEMONY

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Esta comunicación examina el funcionamiento del Grupo Mixto en el Congreso de los Diputados durante la Legislatura Constituyente (1977-1979), un espacio crucial pero aún poco estudiado de la Transición democrática española. Aunque concebido formalmente como un ámbito para diputados minoritarios y no alineados, el Grupo Mixto desarrolló dinámicas internas que reflejaban asimetrías más amplias del poder parlamentario.

This paper examines the functioning of the Mixed Group (Grupo Mixto) in the Congress of Deputies during the Constituent Legislature (1977-1979), a crucial yet understudied space of the Spanish democratic Transition. Although formally conceived as an arena for minority and non-aligned MPs, the Mixed Group developed internal dynamics that reflected broader asymmetries of parliamentary power.

El estudio sostiene que el grupo estuvo, en gran medida, condicionado —y en ocasiones informalmente dominado— por el partido con mayor representación relativa en su seno, el Partido Socialista Popular (PSP). Esta preeminencia influyó tanto en las prácticas organizativas como en el posicionamiento político, planteando interrogantes sobre el pluralismo y la representación dentro de estructuras parlamentarias heterogéneas. También se abordará la exclusión de la la redacción de la Constitución, un tema controvertido y objeto de debate en la época.

La investigación se basa en materiales de archivo hasta ahora inéditos, procedentes de dos fondos completamente inexplorados: los archivos personales de Enrique Tierno Galván y Raúl Morodo, quien fue portavoz de este sector del Congreso. Al reconsiderar el Grupo Mixto, esta comunicación contribuye a una comprensión más profunda de la representación parlamentaria en el momento fundacional de la democracia española.

The study argues that the group was largely conditioned—and at times informally dominated—by the party with the largest relative representation within it, the Popular Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Popular, PSP). This preeminence influenced both organizational practices and political positioning, raising questions about pluralism and representation within heterogeneous parliamentary structures. It will also address their exclusion from the drafting of the Constitution, a controversial issue that sparked significant debate at the time.

The research is based on hitherto unpublished archival materials from two completely unexplored collections: the personal archives of Enrique Tierno Galván and Raúl Morodo, who served as spokesperson for this sector of Congress. By reconsidering the Mixed Group, this paper contributes to a deeper understanding of parliamentary representation at the foundational moment of Spanish democracy.



ÉLITES POLÍTICAS Y CONSTRUCCIÓN AUTONÓMICA: UN ANÁLISIS PROSOPOGRÁFICO COMPARADO DE LAS LEGISLATURAS FUNDACIONALES EN EL PAÍS VASCO, CATALUÑA Y CASTILLA-LA MANCHA

POLITICAL ELITES AND REGIONAL CONSTRUCTION: A COMPARATIVE PROSOPOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FOUNDING LEGISLATURES IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY, CATALONIA, AND CASTILLA-LA MANCHA

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La presente comunicación propone un análisis comparativo de los y las integrantes de las legislaturas fundacionales del Parlamento Vasco (1980), el Parlament de Catalunya (1980) y las Cortes de Castilla-La Mancha (1983). El objetivo principal es identificar los perfiles socioprofesionales, trayectorias políticas previas y niveles de representación de género de quienes lideraron el proceso de institucionalización regional en tres contextos autonómicos diferenciados.

This paper proposes a comparative analysis of the members of the founding legislatures of the Basque Parliament (1980), the Parliament of Catalonia (1980), and the Cortes of Castilla-La Mancha (1983). The main objective is to identify the socio-professional profiles, previous political trajectories, and levels of gender representation of those who led the process of regional institutionalization in three distinct autonomous community contexts.





**EL CAMBIO EN LA REPRESENTACIÓN PARLAMENTARIA EN ESPAÑA (1980-2024).
PRIMEROS RESULTADOS: LA EVOLUCIÓN EN LA FORMACIÓN ACADÉMICA DE LOS
PARLAMENTARIOS**

*THE CHANGE IN PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN SPAIN (1980–2024). PRELIMINARY
RESULTS: THE EVOLUTION OF PARLIAMENTARIANS' EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS*

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La comunicación que presentamos forma parte de un proyecto de investigación en el que estudiamos el cambio en el modelo de representación parlamentaria en España. Partimos del interés por los cambios que se han vivido en el sistema político español en los años de la democracia, y más en concreto de los producidos en la representación en las últimas dos décadas, con la emergencia de nuevos partidos políticos. Estos nuevos partidos se justifican por la distancia de una parte de la ciudadanía frente a los partidos tradicionales, lo que se suele denominar la vieja política a la que se acusa de no representar a la ciudadanía. Para conocer si se ha producido realmente un cambio en la representación hemos optado por estudiar a los actores, a los representantes en sí mismos, es decir, sus biografías. Definir quiénes son y no centrarnos en los discursos que realizan. En esta comunicación vamos a presentar los primeros resultados del modelo de análisis que estamos desarrollando. En concreto nos centraremos en el cambio en la formación académica de los parlamentarios desde los años 80 hasta la actualidad.

The paper we present is part of a research project in which we study changes in the model of parliamentary representation in Spain. Our starting point is an interest in the transformations experienced by the Spanish political system during the democratic period, and more specifically those affecting political representation over the last two decades, with the emergence of new political parties. These new parties have justified their appearance by pointing to the growing distance between part of the citizenry and the traditional parties, commonly referred to as the "old politics," which is often accused of failing to represent citizens adequately. In order to determine whether a real change in representation has taken place, we have chosen to study the actors themselves—the representatives—through their biographies. In other words, we seek to define who they are rather than focus on the discourses they produce. In this paper, we present the preliminary results of the analytical model we are developing. Specifically, we focus on changes in the educational backgrounds of parliamentarians from the 1980s to the present day.



**EL PERFIL SOCIO-PROFESIONAL DE LOS PARLAMENTARIOS VASCOS (1980-2020)
THE SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL PROFILE OF BASQUE PARLIAMENTARIANS (1980-2020)**

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La propuesta que presentamos a este congreso es un primer resultado del proyecto de investigación sobre los parlamentarios del País Vasco (la cámara legislativa de la Comunidad Autónoma Vasca) que a su vez se encuadra en una investigación mucho más amplia sobre los parlamentarios de otras comunidades autónomas españolas. A través de esta propuesta en concreto, nos gustaría mostrar una comparación de las características socio-profesionales de los diputados y las diputadas vascas que participaron en las dos primeras legislaturas (1980 y 1984) y las dos últimas (2016 y 2020). Además, en la medida en que las fuentes así lo permitan, también ofreceremos el perfil profesional tipo de dichos parlamentarios y los compararemos con los datos de los parlamentarios de otras comunidades autónomas españolas.

The proposal presented to this congress is an initial result of a research project on parliamentarians of the Basque Country (the legislative chamber of the Basque Autonomous Community), which in turn is part of a much broader study on parliamentarians from other Spanish autonomous communities. Through this specific proposal, we aim to present a comparison of the socio-professional characteristics of the Basque MPs who participated in the first two terms (1980 and 1984) and the last two (2016 and 2020). Furthermore, to the extent that the sources allow, we will also outline the typical professional profile of these parliamentarians and compare them with data from parliamentarians in other Spanish autonomous communities.

SESSIÓ N°9 - AULA 40.002 - CORTS, PARLaments I REPRESENTACIÓ POLÍTICA A LA MEDITERRÀNIA (SEGLES XIV-XVIII) / SESSION N°9 - ROOM 40.002 - COURTS, PARLIAMENTS AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (14TH-18TH CENTURIES)



EL PRIMER PARLAMENTO DEL REINO DE 'CERDEÑA Y CÓRCEGA' (1355): ENTRE LA GUERRA, LA CRISIS DEMOGRÁFICA Y LAS EPIDEMIAS

THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF SARDINIA AND CORSICA (1355): BETWEEN WAR, DEMOGRAPHIC CRISIS, AND EPIDEMICS

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Entre febrero y junio de 1355, tuvo lugar en Caller la primera reunión del Parlamento del recién formado Reino de 'Cerdeña y Córcega'. Esta «Primera Asamblea General» fue convocada y presidida por el soberano Pedro el Ceremonioso, no solo para la pacificación de los territorios sardos, sino, sobre todo, para la «exaltación de la real magestat e utilitat e bo estament de la illa de Cerdunya». De hecho, desde al menos la década de 1320, la isla fue devastada por guerras: primero entre el Reino indígena de Arborèa y los pisanos; posteriormente por el ejército de la Corona de Aragón en la conquista de los territorios pisanos (1323-1324); finalmente, los aragoneses se enfrentaron a los genoveses y luego al Reino de Arborèa (1347-1355). El Ceremonioso se vio obligado a intervenir en la isla y, tras estipular la paz, en un contexto de crisis demográfica, cambio climático y epidemia de peste, reformó la administración y convocó el Parlamento. Este se estableció siguiendo el modelo de las Cortes catalanas, pero en su primera sesión se caracterizó por algunas peculiaridades dictadas por la crisis: la participación de representantes de la «nació sardesca» y de los pueblos que habían vuelto a estar bajo control real.

Between February and June 1355, the first assembly of the Parliament of the newly formed Kingdom of 'Sardinia and Corsica' took place in Castel di Cagliari. This «First General Court celebrated in Castel di Cagliari» was called, convened and presided over by the sovereign, Peter the Ceremonious, not only for the pacification of the Sardinian territories but, above all, for the «exaltation of the royal magestat and utility and prosperity of the island of Sardinia». Indeed, from at least the 1320s, the island was ravaged by a series of wars: first between the indigenous Kingdom of Arborea and the Pisans; subsequently by the army of the Crown of Aragon in the conquest of the Pisan territories (1323-1324); finally, by the Aragonese against the Genoese and then against the Kingdom of Arborea (1347-1355). The Ceremonious was forced to intervene personally on the island and, after having stipulated peace, in a context of demographic crisis, climate change and plague epidemic, he reformed the administration, established and convened Parliament. The Parliament was established on the model of the Catalan Cortes but, in its first meeting, it was characterized by some peculiarities dictated by the context of the crisis, such as the participation of representatives of the Sardinian naturals and of the villages returned under royal control.





EL PARLAMENTARISME EN TEMPS PESTILENCIALS: L'IMPACTE DE LES CRISIS EPIDÈMIQUES EN LA CELEBRACIÓ DE LES CORTS DE LA CORONA D'ARAGÓ (SEGLES XIV-XV)

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLIES IN TIMES OF PLAGUE: THE IMPACT OF EPIDEMIC CRISES ON THE HOLDING OF THE CORTS IN THE CROWN OF ARAGON (14TH–15TH CENTURIES)

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Durant tota la baixa edat mitjana, la governabilitat a la Corona d'Aragó es veié condicionada per la incidència recurrent de la pesta. La gran epidèmia de 1348 suposà una disrupció sobtada que forçà reaccions improvisades. Tanmateix, amb les successives onades pestíferes, les institucions —inclosa la monarquia— desenvoluparen protocols d'actuació davant les crisis sanitàries.

En el cas de la casa reial, aquests mecanismes es basaren en l'establiment de xarxes d'informació sanitària, articulades a través de funcionaris reials i metges. Mitjançant enquestes a les poblacions, es recollien dades sobre malalts i morts, amb la participació de metges, clergues i autoritats locals. Aquesta estratègia comportà modificacions constants de l'itinerari regi, que afectaren el funcionament del govern.

En aquest context, el parlamentarisme es veié profundament alterat. Les corts generals, així com les de Catalunya, Aragó i València, patiren interrupcions i trasllats recurrents als segles XIV i XV. Aquesta intervenció analitza, a partir de la documentació cancelleresca, les implicacions de la pesta en la celebració de les corts i el procediment que se seguia quan les epidèmies afectaven els municipis que les acollien. L'objectiu és entendre la pesta no com una anècdota o una crisi puntual, sinó com un factor estructural que condicionà l'activitat parlamentària.

Throughout the Late Middle Ages, governance in the Crown of Aragon was recurrently shaped by the impact of plague outbreaks. The major epidemic of 1348 caused a sudden disruption that required improvised responses. However, as successive waves of plague followed, institutions — including the monarchy — gradually developed more stable procedures for responding to sanitary crises.

In the case of the royal household, these mechanisms were based on the creation of sanitary information networks, articulated through royal officials and physicians. Through inquiries conducted in local communities, data on illness and mortality were collected with the participation of medical practitioners, clerics, and local authorities. This system led to continuous adjustments of the royal itinerary, thereby affecting the functioning of government.

Within this context, parliamentary practice was profoundly affected. The general Corts, as well as the assemblies of Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia, experienced repeated interruptions and relocations throughout the 14th and 15th centuries. Drawing on documentary evidence from the Royal Chancery, this paper analyses the implications of plague outbreaks for the holding of parliamentary assemblies and the procedures followed when epidemic conditions affected the towns designated as meeting places. The aim is to understand plague not as an anecdotal or exceptional crisis, but as a structural factor shaping parliamentary activity.





ELS APUNTAMENTS PER A CORTS DELS TRES ESTAMENTS DEL REGNE DE VALÈNCIA, 1701-1702. PROPOSTES LEGISLATIVES COMPARADES AMB LA LEGISLACIÓ CONSOLIDADA EN LES CORTS CATALANES I ARAGONESES

THE PREPARATORY DRAFTS OF THE ESTATES OF THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA FOR A SUMMONING OF CORTES, 1701–1702: LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS COMPARED WITH THE ENACTED LAWS OF THE CATALAN AND ARAGONESE PARLIAMENTS

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L'any 1701, inicialment mantenint el sistema polític de la Monarquia Hispànica per refermar la seva legitimitat en un context interior i exterior difícil, el primer rei de la nova dinastia, Felip V de Borbó, va convocar les Corts de gairebé tots els seus territoris nuclears ibèrics: Navarra, Castella, Catalunya i Aragó. Tanmateix, a causa de l'esclat de la guerra al Ducat de Milà, i no considerant el Regne de València com una prioritat, no va convocar les seves Corts. Malgrat això, els seus Tres Estaments van preparar una sèrie d'esborranys de propostes (Apuntaments) en previsió d'una convocatòria, mentre seguien de prop els esdeveniments en els altres regnes peninsulars de la Corona d'Aragó: el Principat de Catalunya i el Regne d'Aragó. En ambdós casos, les Corts es van celebrar i cloure entre 1701 i 1702; les segones, presidides per la reina regent, Maria Lluïsa de Savoia. Com la història revelaria, serien les últimes. L'objectiu d'aquesta comunicació posar en valor aquests Apuntaments per a una convocatòria de Corts Valencianes que mai va tenir lloc, comparant els seus eixos temàtics principals amb la legislació promulgada a Catalunya i Aragó en aquell moment.

In 1701, initially upholding the political system of the Spanish Monarchy to assert his legitimacy amidst a difficult domestic and international context, the first king of the new dynasty, Philip V of Bourbon, convened the Parliaments (Cortes) of nearly all his core Iberian territories: Navarre, Castile, Catalonia, and Aragon. However, due to the outbreak of war in the Duchy of Milan, and not considering the Kingdom of Valencia to be a priority, he did not convene its Parliament. Nevertheless, its Three Estates prepared a series of Draft Proposals (Apuntaments) in anticipation of a summoning, while closely monitoring developments in the other peninsular realms of the Crown of Aragon: the Principality of Catalonia and the Kingdom of Aragon. In both instances, Cortes were held and concluded between 1701 and 1702; the latter presided by the Queen Regent, Maria Luisa of Savoy. As history would later reveal, these would be the final sessions of these institutions. The objective of this communication is to highlight the significance of these Preparatory Drafts for a session of the Valencian Cortes that never took place, by comparing their primary thematic axes with the legislation enacted in Catalonia and Aragon at the time.



LES CAPITULACIONS MATRIMONIALS COM A INSTRUMENT NORMATIU DE LES CORTS VALENCIANES: CONTINUÏTAT DOCUMENTAL DESPRÉS DE LA SUPRESSIÓ FORAL DE 1707
MATRIMONIAL CAPITULATIONS AS A NORMATIVE INSTRUMENT OF THE VALENCIAN COURTS: DOCUMENTAL CONTINUITY AFTER THE FORAL SUPPRESSION OF 1707

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Les Corts valencianes, com a institució representativa dels tres estaments del Regne de València, van exercir una funció legislativa pròpia en matèria de dret privat plasmada, entre altres instruments, en la regulació del règim econòmic matrimonial. La supressió d'aquesta institució pels Decrets de Nova Planta de 1707 no sols va eliminar un òrgan representatiu, sinó també el marc normatiu que aquest havia generat. El present treball analitza les capitulacions matrimonials atorgades a València durant el segle XVIII per determinar en quina mesura la desaparició de les Corts com a font del dret privat foral va modificar la pràctica notarial ordinària en matèria matrimonial. La investigació es basa en protocols notariais de l'Arxiu del Regne de València. Els resultats mostren que les fórmules documentals pròpies del dret foral, generades per la legislació de Corts, van persistir en la pràctica notarial més enllà de la seua derogació formal, evidenciant una tensió entre el nou ordenament imposat i la memòria jurídica institucional. En conclusió, l'estudi de les capitulacions matrimonials postforals permet precisar l'abast real de la ruptura institucional de 1707 i contribueix a una comprensió més matisada de com la supressió d'una assemblea representativa afecta el dret viu dels particulars.

The Valencian Courts (Corts valencianes), as the representative institution of the three estates of the Kingdom of Valencia, exercised their own legislative function in matters of private law, which was reflected, among other instruments, in the regulation of the matrimonial economic regime. The abolition of these Courts by the Nueva Planta Decrees of 1707 not only eliminated a representative body, but also the normative framework it had generated. This paper analyzes the matrimonial capitulations granted in Valencia during the 18th century to determine to what extent the disappearance of the Courts as a source of foral private law modified ordinary notarial practice in matrimonial matters. The research is based on notarial protocols from the Archive of the Kingdom of Valencia (Arxiu del Regne de València). The results show that the documentary formulas specific to foral law, generated by the legislation of the Courts, persisted in notarial practice beyond their formal repeal, evidencing a tension between the newly imposed legal system and the native legal memory. In conclusion, the study of post-foral matrimonial capitulations allows for a more precise assessment of the real scope of the institutional rupture of 1707 and contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how the suppression of a representative assembly affects the living law of private individuals.



MENORCA A WESTMINSTER? EL PROJECTE DE REPRESENTACIÓ MENORQUINA A LA CAMBRA DELS COMUNS DURANT LA GUERRA DE SUCCESSIÓ AUSTRIACA

MENORCA AT WESTMINSTER? THE PROJECT FOR MENORCAN REPRESENTATION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS DURING THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

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El novembre de 1712, John Campbell, duc d'Argyll i plenipotenciari de la reina Anna a Menorca, garantí la continuïtat de les institucions municipals de l'illa sota sobirania britànica. Així, Menorca mantingué la pràctica d'enviar síndics a la Cort —ja existent en temps dels Àustries— amb la finalitat de reparar greuges atribuïts als oficials reials i de negociar disposicions normatives. Aquesta dinàmica es prolongà durant el període de dominació britànica, amb enviaments puntuals de representants a Londres.

Tanmateix, durant la Guerra de Successió Austríaca, la necessitat britànica de reclutament naval a l'illa afavorí l'emergència d'una proposta singular menorquina: la designació d'un representant permanent de Menorca a la Cambra dels Comuns. Aquesta comunicació analitza aquesta iniciativa en el seu context polític i militar, posant en relleu la circulació de coneixements sobre les institucions parlamentàries britàniques i les formes de representació política dins la cultura institucional menorquina, així com el potencial polític d'aquesta cultura institucional de l'illa.

In November 1712, John Campbell, Duke of Argyll and Queen Anne's plenipotentiary in Menorca, guaranteed the continuity of the island's municipal institutions under British sovereignty. Thus, Menorca maintained the practice of sending syndics (síndics) to the Court—already in existence during the Habsburg era—with the purpose of redressing grievances attributed to royal officials and negotiating regulatory provisions. This dynamic persisted throughout the period of British rule, involving occasional missions of representatives to London.

However, during the War of the Austrian Succession, the British need for naval recruitment on the island fostered the emergence of a singular Menorcan proposal: the designation of a permanent representative of Menorca in the House of Commons. This paper analyzes this initiative within its political and military context, highlighting the circulation of knowledge regarding British parliamentary institutions and forms of political representation within Menorcan institutional culture, as well as the political potential of these local traditions.



SESSIÓ N°10 - AULA 40.004 - PARLAMENTS, POLÍTICA MARÍTIMA I HORIZONTOS COLONIALS (SEGLE XIX) /
SESSION N°10 - ROOM 40.004 - PARLIAMENTS, MARITIME POLICY AND COLONIAL HORIZONS (19TH CENTURY)



**LAS CORTES ESPAÑOLAS Y EL DEBATE DE SOBERANÍA SOBRE LOS MARES DEL SUR:
DESDE CÁDIZ HASTA 1898**

*THE SPANISH CORTES AND THE SOVEREIGNTY DEBATE OVER THE SOUTH SEAS: FROM
CADIZ TO 1898*

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Entre 1808 y 1898, las instituciones parlamentarias españolas afrontaron un desafío singular: legislar sobre la soberanía de territorios y mares lejanos, entre ellos, Filipinas, el Mar de la China Meridional y las aguas adyacentes; cuya naturaleza geopolítica se enfrentaba o ponía en duda el concepto europeo clásico de dominio territorial. El objetivo principal de este trabajo es examinar el debate en las Cortes españolas acerca de la soberanía en estos espacios, en un contexto de intereses internacionales en competencia. Para conseguir este objetivo, el estudio se centrará en los Diarios de Sesiones del Congreso de los Diputados, los discursos presentados durante las distintas legislaturas en el periodo abarcado, así como también documentos diplomáticos que ofrezcan información sobre la trayectoria conceptual de soberanía sobre estos territorios del Mar del Sur. Este estudio, junto con un análisis de los movimientos de independencia del continente americano, permitirá determinar sus diferencias y cómo las poblaciones filipinas y de los mares del sur fueron encuadradas en un imaginario jurídico y racial parlamentario diferenciado, que afectó a las pretensiones soberanas -de ahí la importancia del análisis del concepto en su contexto histórico-jurídico- hasta que la presión exterior la hizo irreversible.

Between 1808 and 1898, Spanish parliamentary institutions faced a singular challenge: legislating on the sovereignty of distant territories and seas, including the Philippines, the South China Sea, and adjacent waters, whose geopolitical nature challenged the classic European concept of territorial dominance. The main objective of this paper is to examine the debate within the Spanish Cortes regarding sovereignty over these spaces within a context of competing international interests. To achieve this, the study focuses on the Diarios de Sesiones (proceedings) of the Congress of Deputies, parliamentary speeches from the period, and diplomatic documents that reflect the conceptual evolution of sovereignty over these South Sea territories. This analysis, along with an exploration of the independence movements on the American continent, allows us to identify their differences and explore how the populations of the Philippines and the South Seas were framed within a distinct parliamentary legal and racial imaginary—a factor that conditioned sovereign claims until external pressure rendered them irreversible.



**NINO BIXIO'S CONTRIBUTION TO SHAPING THE MARITIME POLICIES OF THE KINGDOM
OF ITALY, 1861-1873**

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This article examines the parliamentary speeches delivered by Nino Bixio (1821–1873) on naval and port-related matters. A member of the Historical Left, Bixio served as a deputy during the first three legislatures of the Kingdom of Italy (1861–1870) and later as a senator (1870–1873). A seafarer from a very young age, he went on to fight on the front lines for Italian unification alongside Garibaldi. Although frequently criticized—both for a personality often described as volatile and overbearing, and for his political views—Bixio was nonetheless widely acknowledged for his courage and for his extensive knowledge of maritime affairs, both technical and strategic. Despite the fact that his parliamentary speeches clearly reveal these abilities, as well as his sustained and well-informed engagement with the maritime policies of other countries, he never succeeded in becoming Minister of the Navy. As Garibaldi later wrote: “In 1866, while our fleet was fighting at Lissa, General Bixio, who might have been Italy’s Nelson, was at Villafranca with a division under arms, biting his lips in frustration at being unable to fight the Austrians himself”



PARLAMENTS METROPOLITANS I GUERRA COLONIAL: CUBA 1868-1874
METROPOLITAN PARLIAMENTS AND COLONIAL WAR: CUBA (1868-1874)

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La insurrecció cubana iniciada el 1868 va obrir un moment conjuntural d'excepcional potencial emancipador, situant simultàniament les Corts del Sexenni Democràtic i el Congrés dels Estats Units de la Reconstrucció davant la necessitat de deliberar sobre una guerra colonial amb implicacions abolicionistes immediates. Aquesta comunicació proposa una lectura comparativa i transnacional dels debats parlamentaris a ambdós països, prenent el reconeixement de la bel·ligerència com a fil conductor i la crisi del Virginius (1873) com a moment de convergència. A Madrid, la guerra va forçar les Corts a confrontar l'estatus dels territoris antillans, el paper dels diputats cubans i porto-riquenys, i la relació entre abolicció i ordre colonial. A Washington, la resolució Banks (1869), els debats subsegüents i la pressió del lobby dels exiliats cubans van situar el Congrés davant la contradicció entre un llenguatge emancipador recent i els imperatius de l'ordre internacional. Ambdós parlaments van acabar clausurant la possibilitat emancipadora oberta pel conflicte, mostrant el parlamentarisme del segle XIX com a lloc privilegiat de producció, més que no pas de resolució, de la contradicció imperial.

The Cuban insurrection initiated in 1868 opened a conjunctural moment of exceptional emancipatory potential, simultaneously forcing the Cortes of the Sexenio Democrático and the United States Congress during Reconstruction to deliberate on a colonial war with immediate abolitionist implications. This paper proposes a comparative and transnational reading of the parliamentary debates in both countries, using the recognition of belligerency as a guiding thread and the Virginius crisis (1873) as a moment of convergence. In Madrid, the war forced the Cortes to confront the status of the Antillean territories, the role of Cuban and Puerto Rican deputies, and the relationship between abolition and colonial order. In Washington, the Banks resolution (1869), subsequent debates, and pressure from the Cuban exile lobby placed Congress face-to-face with the contradiction between a newly adopted emancipatory rhetoric and the imperatives of the international order. Ultimately, both parliaments closed off the emancipatory possibilities opened by the conflict, revealing nineteenth-century parliamentarism as a privileged site for the production, rather than the resolution, of imperial contradiction.



VICENZO PICCOLO CUPANI FROM COLONIAL ERITREA TO THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT: REDISCOVERING A FIGURE OF LIBERAL ITALY

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The research examines the parliamentary career of Vincenzo Piccolo Cupani, a deputy of the Kingdom of Italy associated with Francesco Crispi's Left. After a long career in the judiciary, he was appointed Colonial Councillor for Internal Affairs in Eritrea in 1890. Having denounced serious crimes committed by Italian military personnel, proposed a major reform of the colony's judicial system, and challenged the military authority entrenched there, he was dismissed after the fall of the government. He then turned from the judiciary to politics and was elected to the Chamber of Deputies, where he served for six legislatures. His parliamentary activity focused on the scandals in Eritrea, the institutional weaknesses of the colonial administration, and the economic waste caused by the stubborn continuation of expansionist policy, which he regarded as a source of financial loss rather than benefit. During his parliamentary career, he was also appointed to the Supreme Court of Cassation. By focusing on the parliamentary phase of his biography, this study engages with key themes such as elite formation, the relationship between parliament and the judiciary, metropolitan-colonial institutional relations, internal political dynamics, and the nature of parliamentary debate.



SESSIÓ N°11 - AULA 40.006 - EXPERIMENTS POLÍTICS I ESTRUCTURES REPRESENTATIVES EN TEMPS CONVULSOS (1893-1939) / SESSION N° 11 - ROOM 40.006 - POLITICAL EXPERIMENTS AND REPRESENTATIVE STRUCTURES IN TURBULENT TIMES (1893-1939)



THE INTERNAL MACEDONIAN-ADRIANOPOLE REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATION AS A REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTION OF THE POPULATION IN MACEDONIA AND ADRIANOPOLE (1893–1908)

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This report examines the Internal Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organization (IMARO) as a representative institution of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia and Adrianople during the period 1893–1908, with a particular focus on its role in the struggle for national liberation. The main emphasis is placed on its organizational structure, forms of governance, and the role of the General Congress as the supreme legislative body. The study explores how the Organization developed its own normative framework through statutes, regulations, resolutions, and other acts that governed its internal life and defined the relationships between its institutions. It analyses the division between legislative, executive, and local authorities, as well as the mechanisms of representation and self-government at the district and local levels. Particular attention is given to the powers of the General Congress to adopt, amend, and repeal the fundamental acts of IMARO and to guide its political and revolutionary activities. In a broader historical context, the report highlights the Organization's efforts to create an alternative legal and governance model under Ottoman rule, serving the broader cause of liberation rather than cultural representation alone.



LA CRISE DU RAVITAILLEMENT COMME RÉVÉLATEUR DES LIMITES DE LA REPRÉSENTATION PARLEMENTAIRE AU LUXEMBOURG (1914–1918)

THE FOOD SUPPLY CRISIS AS A REVEALER OF THE LIMITS OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN LUXEMBOURG (1914–1918)

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Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, le Luxembourg, bien que neutre et occupé dès août 1914, subit une crise de ravitaillement, des hausses de prix et un accroissement des interventions publiques. La Chambre des députés agit alors comme observatoire des tensions entre la société et la politique.

Les discussions parlementaires de 1914 à 1918 révèlent que la composition sociale de la Chambre, biaisée par le suffrage censitaire, a influencé le débat sur la crise du ravitaillement. Cela a favorisé des intérêts sociaux et territoriaux concurrents plutôt que de promouvoir une politique nationale cohérente.

L'exposé met en lumière comment les oppositions (producteurs/consommateurs, ville/campagne) se manifestent par des pétitions et des revendications cantonales. Le ravitaillement devient ainsi essentiel pour analyser la dynamique entre la composition sociale du Parlement et les interventions publiques en temps de guerre, tout en soulignant les limites de la représentation dans un petit État occupé.

During the First World War, Luxembourg—although neutral and occupied as early as August 1914—suffered a food supply crisis, price increases, and a rise in public interventions. The Chamber of Deputies then acted as an observatory of the tensions between society and politics. Parliamentary debates from 1914 to 1918 reveal that the social composition of the Chamber, biased by census suffrage (the property-weighted voting system), influenced the debate on the food supply crisis. This favored competing social and territorial interests rather than promoting a coherent national policy.

The presentation highlights how oppositions (producers/consumers, town/countryside) manifested themselves through petitions and cantonal demands. The food supply thus becomes essential for analyzing the dynamics between the social composition of Parliament and public interventions in wartime, while highlighting the limits of representation in a small occupied state.



THE PORTUGUESE PARLIAMENT IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR: DEBATES, DIVISION AND POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION (1914-1921)

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This paper proposal aims at examining parliamentary debates on the First World War in Portugal between 1914 and 1921, focusing on how the conflict reshaped parliamentary culture, political legitimacy, and relations between the Republican state and its representatives. Drawing on approximately ninety debates, the paper aims at analysing divisions between interventionists and noninterventionists, controversies surrounding the Portuguese Expeditionary Corps in Flanders, the African military campaigns, wartime subsistence crises, and industrial mobilization. Special attention is devoted to the participation of parliamentarians in the war effort. Although the Constitution of 1911 exempted members of Congress from compulsory military service, sixty-two parliamentarians served in Europe, Africa, and the Atlantic theatres. By examining speeches, political conflicts, and legislative practices, this paper argues that the Great War profoundly transformed Portuguese parliamentary life, intensifying ideological fragmentation while simultaneously reinforcing Parliament as a central arena for negotiating national sovereignty, republican legitimacy, and the meaning of patriotic sacrifice in modern Portugal. The study therefore contributes to broader discussions on democratic resilience, wartime governance, and the role of representative institutions during periods of political and military crisis



A PERMANENT STATE OF EXCEPTION: THE EXTENSION OF EXECUTIVE POWERS IN THE GRAND-DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

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When facing crises or wars, parliaments may grant governments enabling powers, as happened in European countries between the two world wars. The present paper examines the history of enabling legislation during the interwar period in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg, from the first enabling act in 1915 to 1939.

During WWI, faced with a severe food and provisions crisis, the Luxembourg Chamber of Deputies unanimously passed an enabling act granting the executive emergency economic powers. Although intended as a temporary measure, a legal loophole allowed these powers to persist into the 1930s, followed by new enabling acts until 1939. Each vote reflected the shifting political landscape and the changing nature of emergency to address, from food shortage to economy to a looming war. Parliamentary debates became a stage for broader anxieties about the rise of authoritarian regimes and the perceived slowness of democratic decision-making itself, even though Luxembourg's parliamentary democracy remained functional until the German invasion of May 1940.

The paper argues that an initially intended exception became permanent. It investigates the reasons behind the enabling acts, the respective political contexts, the role of the parliament, and the causes that led executive powers to become an enduring tool.





AN EXPERIMENT WITHIN AN EXPERIMENT? THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF COUNCILS AS THE REPRESENTATIVE BODY OF THE HUNGARIAN REPUBLIC OF COUNCILS (1919)

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As a result of the revolutionary events, the Hungarian Parliament declared its dissolution and ceased to function on 16 November 1918. On the same day, the republic was proclaimed, and the National Council, which had been established earlier, assumed the legislative function until the foundation of the Republic of Councils on 21 March 1919. The new regime envisaged a fundamentally different model of representative institution, which it sought to construct on the basis of the council system. At the apex of this hierarchy stood the National Assembly of Councils, which, in formal terms, constituted the supreme organ of authority within the hierarchical structure of the councils. For a variety of reasons, however, this distinctive body of the Republic of Councils convened only once, between 14 and 23 June 1919, while its officially designated substitute body met only four times before the fall of the regime in August 1919. In my presentation, I will outline the distinctive features of the organisation and operation of this institution, from its preparatory phase to the problems that emerged in the course of its actual functioning.

SESSIÓ N°12 - AULA 40.008 - DEMOCRÀCIA EN CRISI: EL PARLAMENTARISME DAVANT L'AUTORITARISME, EL RESSENTIMENT SOCIAL I LA DECADÈNCIA INSTITUCIONAL / SESSION N°12 - ROOM 40.008 - DEMOCRACY IN CRISIS: PARLIAMENTARISM IN THE FACE OF AUTHORITARIANISM, SOCIAL RESENTMENT AND INSTITUTIONAL DECAY.



"DEMOCRACY CANNOT FUNCTION IN SUCH A WAY": DEBATES ON THE PARTY SYSTEM AND PARLIAMENT IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

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In the Indian Constituent Assembly Debates, on 18 November 1949, Ramnayan Singh reflected on Indian circumstances and what he saw as the flaws of the party system, to declare that, "democracy cannot function in such a way". Such words reflected a streak of concern about the virtues of western-style parliamentary democracy which had existed in British India for decades prior to independence. To what extent did it amount to "anti-parliamentarianism" though? Leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru showed no great naivete about parliamentary democracy, but parliamentary models were a consistent theme in constitutional documents produced by Indians from the 1895 'Swaraj' Bill through to 1947. In Nehru's eyes, the ruling classes in the west upheld democracy until it did not suit their purposes. M.K. Gandhi had also been critical of the parliamentary system – and there remained a tension between the ideals of Gandhian village democracy and a Westminster model. Muhammad Ali Jinnah was the strongest critic as the experience of British institutions confirmed his suspicions about majoritarian parliamentary architecture. Highlighting both critique of western models and use of parliamentary models for draft constitutions in the late colonial period, this paper will thus analyse the place of parliament of Indian debates on independence.





FORMING A DICTATORSHIP THROUGH PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS: REZĀ KHĀN'S RISE IN 1920S IRAN AMID THE GLOBAL CRISIS OF PARLIAMENTARISM

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This paper explores the developments of the parliamentary institution in Iran during the 1920s, a period in which Reza Khān emerged as a central figure amid a crisis of parliamentarism. In parallel with the institutional development of parliament, he quickly ascended from brigade colonel to become the first monarch (r. 1925–1941) of the Pahlavi Dynasty, establishing a military dictatorship in just five years. Previous studies have not contextualized these developments within the global crisis of parliamentarism in the interwar period, even though they often noted that ideological affinity of Iran toward Nazi Germany accelerated in the 1930s.

This study provides an overview of parliamentary politics and institutional development in the 1920s, examining similarities and differences in Iran and other countries facing the interwar crisis of parliamentarism, particularly in Eastern and Southern Europe. This investigation reveals how parliamentary authority merged with dictatorial power under the pretext of achieving stable parliamentary politics through efficient legislation. These findings contribute to situating the Iranian case within broader global contexts, building on previous studies that have compared it with neighboring Muslim states, especially the Turkish Kemalist case.



A CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY OR A CRISIS OF PARLIAMENTARISM? ON THE SOURCES OF THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN INTERWAR POLAND

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The fact that all Central European countries, except for Czechoslovakia, experienced more or less violent political upheavals in the interwar period, most often resulting in political changes, forces us to reflect on the causes of this phenomenon. In my speech, I would like to discuss this issue basing on the analysis of Polish politico - legal thought just after the enactment of the March Constitution in 1921. The time frame will be closed by the year 1926, when the May Coup took place, and then as a consequence the so-called August Amendment to the current Constitution was passed. Therefore, I will describe first assessments of the new constitution, particularly with regard to the functioning of democratic and parliamentary systems. I will indicate the main conditions of the crisis, the first symptoms of which appeared in Poland as early as 1920, when the parliament directly tried to engage in the implementation of the state's defence tasks during the Polish-Bolshevik war. In summary, I will refer to the impact of the above-mentioned experiences from the war of 1920 on specific solutions of the April Constitution of 1935, which were also aimed at improving the actions of legislation during crises and armed conflicts.





EL PARLAMENTARISMO EN EUROPA OCCIDENTAL ¿EN DECADENCIA? LOS CASOS DE ESPAÑA Y FRANCIA (1975-2025)

IS WESTERN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARISM IN DECLINE? THE CASES OF SPAIN AND FRANCE (1975–2025)

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En las últimas décadas, diversos estudios han señalado una pérdida de centralidad de los parlamentos en las democracias europeas, en un contexto de fortalecimiento del poder ejecutivo y de rápidas transformaciones políticas. Este trabajo analiza si el parlamentarismo europeo atraviesa un posible declive respecto a sus funciones históricas y teóricas clave: legislar y controlar al ejecutivo. Se estudian los casos de España y Francia entre 1975 y 2025, dos modelos institucionales consolidados pero distintos: el parlamentarismo racionalizado de la Constitución española de 1978 y el sistema semipresidencial de la V República francesa. El análisis se centra en la relación entre ejecutivo y legislativo, la creciente preponderancia de la iniciativa legislativa gubernamental, el progresivo debilitamiento de la función legislativa de sus asambleas estatales y la evolución de sus prácticas parlamentarias. A través de esta comparación, se busca identificar tendencias y desafíos comunes que contribuyan al debate historiográfico sobre la salud del parlamentarismo reciente en Europa occidental.

In recent decades, various studies have pointed to a loss of centrality of parliaments in European democracies, within a context of a strengthening executive power and rapid political transformations. This paper analyzes whether European parliamentarism is undergoing a possible decline regarding its key historical and theoretical functions: legislating and controlling the executive. The cases of Spain and France between 1975 and 2025 are studied—two consolidated but distinct institutional models: the rationalized parliamentarism of the 1978 Spanish Constitution and the semi-presidential system of the French Fifth Republic. The analysis focuses on the relationship between the executive and the legislative branches, the growing preponderance of government-led legislative initiatives, the progressive weakening of the legislative function of their state assemblies, and the evolution of their parliamentary practices. Through this comparison, the paper aims to identify common trends and challenges that contribute to the historiographical debate on the health of recent parliamentarism in Western Europe.



WHEN INEQUALITY RESENTMENT TURNS AGAINST PARLIAMENT: SOCIAL CLASS, TERRITORY, AND ANTI-PARLIAMENTARISM IN EUROPE

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Why do some citizens respond to social and economic inequalities by questioning representative institutions rather than merely criticising governments or parties? This paper develops a class-analytical and territorial interpretation of contemporary anti-parliamentarism in Europe. Its central claim is that objective inequalities become politically corrosive when they are translated into subjective disadvantage and attributed to representative institutions understood as serving distant elites rather than ordinary citizens. The paper distinguishes three mechanisms: classed experiences of economic insecurity and status decline; territorial narratives of neglect in peripheral or declining regions; and blame attribution that converts perceived disadvantage into scepticism toward parliamentary mediation, compromise, pluralism, and checks and balances. Rather than treating anti-parliamentarism as only an ideological legacy or a rhetorical style, the paper frames it as one possible institutional expression of inequality resentment. The argument links historical concerns with parliamentarism and anti-parliamentarism to current comparative research on democratic discontent. Empirically, the paper outlines a comparative European strategy using survey indicators of class position, territorial location, subjective inequality, and democratic support. The contribution is to show how the sociology of inequality can inform the study of representative institutions under conditions of democratic strain.

3 de setembre de 2026

3 september 2026



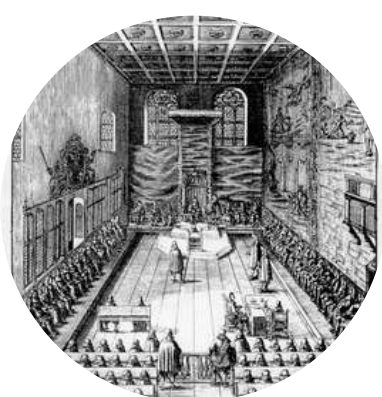
SESSIÓ N°13 - AULA 40.002 - CULTURES POLÍTIQUES I IDENTITATS REPRESENTATIVES A L'EUROPA MODERNA (SEGLES XV-XVIII) / SESSION N° 13 - ROOM 40.002 - POLITICAL CULTURES AND REPRESENTATIVE IDENTITIES IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE (15TH-18TH CENTURIES).



THE CORTES OF 1451: A ROYAL WEDDING REUNITING THE KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL AFTER A CIVIL WAR

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The Cortes of Santarém, meeting between March and April 1451, were the first to take place after the confrontation between King Afonso V and his uncle, the Infante Pedro, which ended with the latter's death on May 20, 1449, at the Battle of Alfarrobeira. King Afonso V convened this parliamentary meeting to announce that the marriage of his niece, Leonor, to Emperor of Germany, Frederick III, had been arranged and to request the kingdom's support, mostly a financial aid. The prestige of this marriage alliance encouraged the mobilization of all social bodies in the kingdom, erasing past memories of internal divisions. We will allude to the fundamental events of that civil war, and we will detail the most relevant moments of that marriage agreement, and its main protagonists, especially the Infanta's uncle, D. Afonso V, King of Aragon and Naples. Then, we will focus our attention on the Cortes of Santarém of 1451, considering its participants, objectives, and results, regarding the royal proposal and the approximately forty petitions and grievances of the people (general chapters) and the particular petitions and grievances of nine municipalities (special chapters).



TOWARDS A HISTORY OF PARLIAMENTARY CULTURE IN THE EARLY MODERN GERMANY

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This paper proposes an innovative approach to early modern representative institutions, from the later fifteenth century to the early eighteenth. It aims to sketch out the institutional, geopolitical, and historical scope of our enquiry into both the territories and the imperial diet of the Holy Roman Empire, where there was a common culture of representative assembly shared and recognized throughout Europe. This paper pay attention to parliamentary oratory in both the territorial diets and the imperial diet of the Holy Roman Empire.



NEITHER FRENCH NOR SPANISH: ANTON FITER I ROSSELL'S MANUAL DIGEST OF THE VALLEYS OF ANDORRA

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Anton Fiter i Rossell's Manual Digest de les Valls Neutres d'Andorra (completed in 1748) received new life thanks to a recently published (2018) edition, under the direction of Sr. Alberto Villaró, with the support of the Consell General of the Principat d'Andorra. The Manual Digest gathered, from original sources, the 'antiquity, government and religion of the Valls d'Andorra' along with 'its privileges, customs, preeminences and prerogatives'. I concentrate on the Manual Digest's exposition of the political culture of Andorra, which placed supreme value on the independence of the six parishes of Andorra from foreign domination. 'Equal justice (inseparable virtue of such a holy religion) has been solidly ministered in them, abhorring insolence and iniquities' with the result that inhabitants 'enjoy much greater inner peace and joys than the neighboring Valleys' (Libre 1). The Manual Digest explains how the Catalan language and Catholic faith were able to endure over the last thousand years. In conclusion, I will refer to similar studies — offering historiographic attention to political culture — looking back to Gasparo Contarini's De Magistratibus et Republica Venetorum (1543) and forward to Anton Puig's Politar Andorrà / Manual Digest (rev edn 1797), taken as an homage to Fiter i Rossell's work.



THE REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF HUNGARIAN CITIES AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO EACH OTHER IN THE 18TH CENTURY

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The development of Hungarian cities was very slow, because in the beginning (11th century) natural farming worked, and this did not change much. The backwardness of the towns was preserved by the Turkish rule (1541-1686). Later, industrialization was also abandoned, few manufactories were established, and guilded, unique handicraft production remained. The towns protected their rights and their organization remained at the level of the Middle Ages. This presentation introduces the representative bodies: the city council, the external council, the electorate and the city assembly. The internal council drafted statutes and judged, the outer council was the financial controller, the electors had the right to vote, but the rights of the general assembly were more likely to be economic. The basis of operation was customary law and local regulations. The parliament only passed a uniform city law in 1848.

SESSIÓ N°14 - AULA 40.004 - REPRESENTACIÓ, FISCALITAT I DEFENSA: LES INSTITUCIONS DAVANT LA GUERRA I EL CONFLICTE POLÍTIC (SEGLES XVII-XVIII) / SESSION N° 14 - ROOM 40.004 - REPRESENTATION, TAXATION, AND DEFENSE: INSTITUTIONS FACE TO FACE WITH WAR AND POLITICAL CONFLICT (17TH-18TH CENTURIES)



LES JUNTES GENERALS DE BRAÇOS DE 1640-1641 I 1713 I L'APARELLAMENT D'UNA ECONOMIA DE GUERRA

THE JUNTES GENERALS DE BRAÇOS OF 1640–1641 AND 1713 AND THE CREATION OF A WARTIME ECONOMY

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Aquesta comunicació analitza comparativament els esforços impulsats per les Junes Generals de Braços de 1640-1641 i 1713 per organitzar militarment, logísticament i econòmicament la defensa del Principat de Catalunya. L'estudi examina el procés deliberatiu que conduí a la creació de sots-junes especialitzades —com les de Guerra, Mitjans i Hisenda—, la seva composició a partir dels representants reunits a la Junta de Braços i l'evolució de les seves funcions durant els conflictes. També explora les possibles continuïtats entre l'experiència de 1640-1641 i la gestió de la guerra de 1713-1714, així com l'impacte que tingueren les particularitats de cada context bèl·lic sobre aquestes estructures administratives d'emergència. En aquest sentit, s'analitzen factors com el control territorial, les dinàmiques pròpies de cada guerra i la incidència d'un eventual suport exterior, francès o imperial, en la presa de decisions. Finalment, s'estudien les mesures adoptades per mobilitzar recursos humans, econòmics i materials destinats a sostenir l'esforç de guerra. La recerca es basarà en documentació conservada a l'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, l'Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona i l'Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Barcelona, entre altres fons.

This paper offers a comparative analysis of the efforts undertaken by the Junta General de Braços —an emergency meeting of all the available representatives of the three estates or bodies of the Catalan Courts— of 1640–1641 and 1713 to organise the military, logistical, and financial defence of the Principality of Catalonia. It examines the deliberative processes that led to the creation of specialised subcommittees—such as those responsible for War, Resources, and Finance—their composition from among the representatives gathered in the Junta de Braços, and the evolution of their functions throughout the conflicts. The study also explores potential continuities between the experience of 1640–1641 and the management of the war of 1713–1714, as well as the ways in which the specific circumstances of each conflict shaped these emergency administrative structures. Attention is paid to factors such as territorial control, the dynamics of each war, and the influence of external support, whether French or Imperial, on decision-making processes. Finally, the paper analyses the measures adopted to mobilise human, financial, and material resources to support of the war effort. The research is based on documentation preserved in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, the Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona, and the Historical Archive of Protocols of Barcelona, among other archival collections.



¿PARLAMENTARISMO SIN PARLAMENTO? FISCALIDAD, REPRESENTACIÓN Y CONFLICTO POLÍTICO EN EL REINO DE NÁPOLES (1642-1647)

PARLIAMENTARISM WITHOUT PARLIAMENT? TAXATION, REPRESENTATION, AND POLITICAL CONFLICT IN THE KINGDOM OF NAPLES (1642–1647)

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La comunicación analiza la transformación de la representación política en el Reino de Nápoles entre 1642 y 1647, tras la última convocatoria del Parlamento napolitano. Partiendo del papel que este había desempeñado como espacio de negociación fiscal entre la nobleza, el virrey y la Monarquía Hispánica, el trabajo sostiene que su desaparición no supuso el fin del parlamentarismo, sino su desplazamiento hacia fórmulas más restringidas y oligárquicas, especialmente a través de los Seggi de la capital. En un contexto marcado por la creciente presión fiscal del gobierno de Olivares y por el progresivo distanciamiento de parte de la aristocracia respecto al poder virreinal, la sustitución del Parlamento alteró los equilibrios políticos tradicionales del reino. Así, la aprobación del donativo y la gestión de las cargas fiscales dejaron de canalizarse mediante una asamblea representativa más amplia y pasaron a depender de estructuras urbanas dominadas por élites nobiliarias. Desde esta perspectiva, la revuelta de 1647 no se interpreta únicamente como una reacción popular ante la fiscalidad, sino también como el resultado de una crisis de representación y de una recomposición del poder político napolitano.

The paper analyses the transformation of political representation in the Kingdom of Naples between 1642 and 1647, following the last convocation of the Neapolitan Parliament. Building on the role it had played as a space for fiscal negotiation between the Kingdom and the Crown, the study argues that its disappearance did not entail the end of parliamentarism, but rather its shift towards more restricted and oligarchic forms, particularly through the Seggi of the capital. In a context marked by the increasing fiscal pressure of Olivares's government and the growing estrangement of part of the aristocracy from viceregal power, the replacement of Parliament altered the kingdom's traditional political balances. As a result, the approval of the donativo and the management of fiscal burdens ceased to be channelled through a broader representative assembly and instead came to depend on urban structures dominated by noble elites. From this perspective, the revolt of 1647 is not interpreted solely as a popular reaction to taxation, but also as the outcome of a crisis of representation and a reconfiguration of neapolitan political power.



PARTICIPACIÓ I REPRESENTACIÓ POLÍTiques A LA CATALUNYA DELS INICIS DEL SEGLE XVIII. UNIVERSITATS LOCALS, CORT GENERAL I DIPUTACIÓ DEL GENERAL

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN EARLY 18TH-CENTURY CATALONIA: LOCAL UNIVERSITIES, GENERAL COURT, AND DEPUTATION OF THE GENERAL

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La present comunicació té per objectiu exposar les participació i representació polítiques a la Catalunya dels inicis del segle XVIII. Al marc local, en vint universitats o comunitats de ciutats i viles: setze reials (grans, mitjanes i petites) i quatre senyorials. I al marc general, en el General o Generalitat del Principat, la comunitat dels catalans: tant la representació plenària, la Cort general, com l'ordinària, la Diputació del General. Podem concloure que hi havia una notable participació política de l'home comú a la Catalunya de l'època en el context europeu. En els regiments locals amb una intervenció de tots els estaments, inclosos els menestrals. Tot i el major tancament de la Diputació, tots ells participaren en la construcció de l'Estat des de baix a través del mandat imperatiu de les universitats locals amb els seus síndics a Cort general. A més a més, l'increment d'aquestes entre 1701-1702 i 1705-1706 provocà un augment de la participació pagesa en el braç reial.

The purpose of this paper is to examine political participation and representation in early 18th-century Catalonia. At the local level, it analyzes twenty universitats—or communities of cities and towns—sixteen of which were royal (large, medium, and small) and weeding out four under seigniorial jurisdiction. At the general level, it studies the General or Generalitat of the Principality, representing the community of Catalans: both its plenary representation, the General Court (Cort general), and its ordinary body, the Deputation of the General (Diputació del General). We can conclude that within the European context of the period, there was a remarkable level of political participation by the common man in Catalonia. This was particularly evident in local government bodies (regiments), which saw the active involvement of all estates, including artisans (menestrals). Despite the more restrictive nature of the Deputation, all groups participated in building the state from the ground up through the imperative mandate of local universitats via their syndics at the General Court. Furthermore, the expansion of these local bodies between 1701–1702 and 1705–1706 led to increased peasant participation within the royal estate (braç reial).



LA GUERRA GRAN (1793-1795): DE LA JUNTA DE LA PROVÍNCIA A LA CAIXA GENERAL
THE WAR OF THE PYRENEES (1793–1795): FROM THE PROVINCIAL JUNTA TO THE
GENERAL TREASURY

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La Guerra Gran (1793-1795) amb la República francesa va exigir el reclutament de població civil a Catalunya. Durant la campanya de 1794, la necessitat de recuperar els pobles ocupats i de defensar tota la frontera va propiciar la convocatòria d'una Junta de la Província o Assembla catalana representativa durant els mesos de desembre de 1794 i gener de 1795. Una cinquantena de representants dels partits o antigues vegueries estaven disposats a assumir competències pròpies de les Corts abolides. El seu objectiu va ser organitzar i remunerar cossos de miquelets voluntaris de manera autònoma. L'acceptació de formes de reclutament anteriors al 1714 s'explica perquè el règim borbònic de la Nova Planta no va propiciar unes pràctiques governatives eficients i acceptades per la població.

El capità general, José de Urrutia, només va admetre que es constituís una Caixa General que va trigar gairebé deu anys per reunir les recaptacions al marge de la Intendència. La present comunicació aprofundeix en el coneixement d'aquest organisme singular a partir de l'estudi del fons documental de la família Desvalls.

The War of the Pyrenees (La Guerra Gran, 1793–1795) against the French Republic demanded the conscription of the civilian population in Catalonia. During the 1794 campaign, the urgent need to reclaim occupied towns and defend the entire border prompted the convocation of a representative Provincial Junta (Junta de la Província) or Catalan Assembly between December 1794 and January 1795. Around fifty representatives from the partits—the former vegueries—were prepared to assume powers originally belonging to the abolished Catalan Courts (Corts). Their objective was to autonomously organize and pay corps of volunteer miquelets (militiamen). This acceptance of pre-1714 recruitment methods stems from the fact that the Bourbon Nova Planta regime had failed to establish efficient governance practices accepted by the population.

The Captain General, José de Urrutia, only permitted the establishment of a General Treasury (Caixa General), an organism that took nearly ten years to collect revenues independently of the royal Intendancy (Intendència). This paper delves into the understanding of this unique institution through the study of the Desvalls family documentary archives.



SESSIÓ N°15 - AULA 40.006 - L'ELEMENT HUMÀ AL PARLAMENT: BIOGRAFIES I HISTÒRIA ORAL (SEGLES XX-XXI) / SESSION N° 15 - ROOM 40.006 - THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN PARLIAMENT: BIOGRAPHIES AND ORAL HISTORY (20TH-21TH CENTURIES)



NOTES FOR AN ARCHIVE OF THE ITALIAN PARLIAMENT'S ORAL HISTORY (1968-1994)

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The paper will illustrate the results of a research concerning 15 interviews with parliamentarians (13) and senior officials (2) from both Houses of the Italian Parliament. The MPs interviewed represent the various political perspectives that characterised the period under study – the so-called First Republic, in particular the period 1968–1994 – with a particular focus on the presence and role of women in parliament. The interviews generally follow a common pattern: the opening questions concern the interviewee's background, education, approach to politics and life within political parties; they then focus on parliamentary life: the rhythm and schedule of Parliament, so to speak, with its key figures, its rules, its conventions, its venues (the Chamber and the committees), and the dynamics of its day-to-day functioning.



FORMACIÓ, TRAJECTÒRIA PROFESSIONAL I ASSOCIATIVA DELS PORTAVEUS PARLAMENTARIS DEL PARLAMENT DE LES ILLES BALEARS

EDUCATION, PROFESSIONAL, AND ASSOCIATIVE CAREER PATHS OF PARLIAMENTARY SPOKESPERSONS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF THE BALEARIC ISLANDS

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Aquest treball proposa l'anàlisi de la formació acadèmica, les trajectòries professionals i el grau d'implicació associativa dels portaveus dels grups parlamentaris del Parlament de les Illes Balears entre 1983 i l'actualitat, en el context del procés de construcció i consolidació de l'autogovern balear. L'estudi se centra en el portaveu com a actor clau del funcionament parlamentari i com a figura de mediació entre institucions, partits polítics i societat civil. L'objectiu principal és identificar les continuïtats i ruptures en els perfils dels portaveus al llarg de les diferents etapes del període autonòmic, mitjançant una anàlisi comparativa de les seves trajectòries polítiques, professionals i associatives, així com de les xarxes de relació construïdes dins i fora de la cambra. Especial atenció es dedica a les vinculacions amb entitats patronals, culturals, ecologistes i sindicals, atenent al paper central de la societat civil organitzada en la política balear. La recerca parteix de la singularitat del cas balear, marcat per la insularitat, la pluralitat territorial i una sociologia electoral caracteritzada per majories canviants i equilibris parlamentaris inestables. Des d'una primera etapa dominada pels principals partits estatals i les forces nacionalistes fins a fases més recents caracteritzades per la irrupció de noves formacions, l'estudi pretén mostrar com la transformació del sistema de partits incideix en els models de representació i lideratge parlamentari.

This paper analyzes the academic background, professional careers, and level of associative involvement of parliamentary group spokespersons in the Parliament of the Balearic Islands from 1983 to the present, within the context of building and consolidating Balearic self-government. The study focuses on the spokesperson as a key actor in parliamentary operations and as a mediating figure between institutions, political parties, and civil society. The main objective is to identify continuities and shifts in spokespersons' profiles throughout the different stages of the autonomous region's history. This is achieved through a comparative analysis of their political, professional, and associative trajectories, as well as the networks of relationships built inside and outside the chamber. Special attention is given to connections with business associations, cultural institutions, environmental groups, and trade unions, considering the central role of organized civil society in Balearic politics. The research stems from the uniqueness of the Balearic case, which is shaped by insularity, territorial plurality, and an electoral sociology characterized by shifting majorities and volatile parliamentary balances. From an initial stage dominated by the main state-wide parties and nationalist forces to more recent phases marked by the emergence of new political formations, this study aims to demonstrate how the transformation of the party system impacts models of representation and parliamentary leadership.



ENS REPRESENTEN MILLOR? EL PERFIL DELS DIPUTATS DELS NOUS PARTITS PRESENTS AL PARLAMENT DE LES ILLES BALEARES (2015-2023)

ARE WE BETTER REPRESENTED? THE PROFILE OF MPS FROM THE NEW PARTIES REPRESENTED IN THE PARLIAMENT OF THE BALEARIC ISLANDS (2015–2023)

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Entre el 2011 i el 2018, el sistema polític espanyol va experimentar un fort sacsejament, resultat de la combinació d'una greu crisi econòmica i social amb una crisi política de gran magnitud, amb episodis destacats com l'abdicació del rei Joan Carles I o l'intent independentista protagonitzat per amplis sectors socials i polítics de Catalunya. Aquestes tensions afectaren profundament els partits polítics tradicionals i afavoriren l'aparició i l'èxit, si bé parcial i, en molts casos, temporal, de noves formacions que afirmaven néixer, entre altres motius, amb la voluntat de representar més fidelment la societat i les seves vertaderes preocupacions.

En aquest context, l'objectiu d'aquesta comunicació és analitzar el perfil sociodemogràfic dels diputats al Parlament de les Illes Balears de tres partits polítics emergents durant aquest període —Podem, Ciudadans i Vox— i comparar-lo amb el dels representants dels partits tradicionals a l'arxipèlag —PP, PSIB-PSOE, MÉS i Proposta per les Illes (un partit hereu de l'espai d'Unió Mallorquina)— durant les legislatures IX (2015-2019) i X (2019-2023). L'objectiu final és determinar si el perfil sociològic dels parlamentaris de les noves formacions s'aproxima més al perfil mitjà de l'electorat balear o si, per contra, no difereix substancialment del personal polític tradicional d'aquesta comunitat autònoma espanyola que es defineix com a nacionalitat en el seu estatut del 2007.

Between 2011 and 2018, the Spanish political system underwent considerable upheaval as a result of the combination of a severe economic and social crisis and a major political crisis, marked by significant events such as the abdication of King Juan Carlos I and the independence bid led by broad social and political sectors in Catalonia. These tensions deeply affected the traditional political parties and favoured the emergence and success—albeit partial and, in many cases, temporary—of new political formations that claimed to have arisen, among other reasons, with the aim of representing society and its genuine concerns more faithfully.

In this context, the aim of this paper is to analyse the sociodemographic profile of the MPs in the Parliament of the Balearic Islands belonging to three political parties that emerged during this period—Podemos, Ciudadanos and Vox—and to compare it with that of representatives from the traditional parties in the archipelago—the People's Party (PP), the Balearic Socialist Party–PSOE (PSIB-PSOE), MÉS, and Proposta per les Illes (a party inheriting the political space formerly occupied by Unió Mallorquina)—during the 9th (2015–2019) and 10th (2019–2023) legislatures. The ultimate objective is to determine whether the sociological profile of parliamentarians from these new parties is closer to the average profile of the Balearic electorate or whether, on the contrary, it does not differ substantially from the traditional political class of this Spanish autonomous community, which defines itself as a nationality in its 2007 Statute of Autonomy.





DEL BIPARTIDISMO A LA FRAGMENTACIÓN. CASTILLA Y LEÓN EN UNA DÉCADA DE MOVILIZACIONES

FROM BIPARTISANSHIP TO FRAGMENTATION: CASTILE AND LEÓN IN A DECADE OF MOBILIZATIONS

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La Comunidad Autónoma de Castilla y León. Destaca, a juicio de la mayoría de los observadores, por una más que notable continuidad en cuanto a los resultados electorales y la conformación de su Parlamento regional que refleja, tan sólo parcialmente, una realidad más compleja debido a la aparición de nuevas formaciones políticas vinculadas a los movimientos de protesta de 2015, la diversidad provincial o los reflujos de la política nacional. Todo ello, ha dado lugar a la ruptura del tradicional bipartidismo regional -sin llegar a desbancar a los partidos tradicionales- sustituido por un panorama más complejo a la hora de formar mayorías de gobierno y también ha dado lugar a una relativa renovación del personal político con un nuevo perfil parlamentario caracterizado por una mayor presencia femenina, una relativa profesionalización de la acción política y la vinculación a nuevos movimientos sociales.

The Autonomous Community of Castile and León stands out, in the view of most observers, for its highly remarkable continuity regarding electoral results and the composition of its regional Parliament. This reflects, only partially, a more complex reality due to the emergence of new political formations linked to the protest movements of 2015, provincial diversity, or the ebb and flow of national politics. All of this has led to the breakdown of traditional regional bipartisanship—without completely unseating the traditional parties—replaced by a more complex landscape when it comes to forming governing majorities. It has also resulted in a relative renewal of political personnel, featuring a new parliamentary profile characterized by a greater female presence, a relative professionalization of political action, and ties to new social movements.

SESSIÓ N°16 - AULA 40.008 - TRANSICIONS I RUPTURES A L'EUROPA CENTRAL (SEGLES XIX-XX) / SESSION N° 16 - ROOM 40.008 - TRANSITIONS AND RUPTURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE (19TH-20TH CENTURIES).



DIE DURCH DIE REVOLUTION VON 1848 ENTSTANDENEN PARLAMENTE: ZUR ENTSTEHUNG DES MODERNEN PARLAMENTARISMUS IN DER HABSBURGERMONARCHIE

THE PARLIAMENTS BORN OF THE 1848 REVOLUTION: ON THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN PARLIAMENTARISM IN THE HABSBURG MONARCHY

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Der Konferenzbeitrag untersucht die unterschiedlichen Modelle der Etablierung moderner repräsentativer Vertretungskörperschaften in der Habsburgermonarchie während der Revolution von 1848–1849 am Beispiel der Kronländer Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien. Im Mittelpunkt steht die Frage, inwieweit die Revolution nicht nur einen politischen Einschnitt darstellte, sondern zugleich entscheidende Impulse für die Herausbildung moderner parlamentarischer Strukturen lieferte.

This conference paper examines the different models for establishing modern representative bodies in the Habsburg Monarchy during the Revolution of 1848–1849, using the crown lands of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia as case studies. The central focus is the extent to which the revolution represented not only a political turning point but also provided decisive impulses for the development of modern parliamentary structures.

Ein besonderes Augenmerk gilt dabei den Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten zwischen den neu entstehenden Parlamenten und ihren ständischen Vorgängern sowie der Frage, wie ein institutionelles Gleichgewicht zwischen dem neu geschaffenen Zentralparlament in Wien (Reichstag) und den Vertretungsorganen der historisch gewachsenen Kronländer gesucht und praktisch ausgestaltet wurde.

Darüber hinaus analysiert der Beitrag den Einfluss der sich gleichzeitig verschärfenden nationalen Konflikte auf die konkrete Ausgestaltung der Wahlordnungen, der Repräsentationsprinzipien und der in Vorbereitung befindlichen Verfassungsentwürfe. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt liegt auf den unterschiedlichen Ansätzen und der jeweiligen Wirkungsweise der verschiedenen Exekutivorgane – der Zentralregierung in Wien, der Landesregierungen sowie außerordentlicher Revolutionsorgane –, die traditionelle Herrschaftsstrukturen mit den politischen Ansprüchen der Revolutionsbewegung verbanden.

Particular attention is paid to the continuities and discontinuities between the newly emerging parliaments and their estate-based predecessors, as well as the question of how an institutional balance was sought and practically shaped between the newly created central parliament in Vienna (the Reichstag) and the representative bodies of the historically evolved crown lands.

Furthermore, the paper analyzes the influence of simultaneously intensifying national conflicts on the concrete design of electoral regulations, principles of representation, and the constitutional drafts under preparation. Another focus lies on the different approaches and respective effectiveness of the various executive bodies—the central government in Vienna, the provincial governments, and extraordinary revolutionary bodies—which linked traditional structures of rule with the political demands of the revolutionary movement.



DIE KONSOLIDIERUNG NACH DER REVOLUTION VON 1956 UND IHRE RECHTSHISTORISCHEN AUSWIRKUNGEN

CONSOLIDATION FOLLOWING THE 1956 REVOLUTION AND ITS LEGAL-HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

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Die Konsolidierungsphase nach der Revolution von 1956 (ca. 1957–1963) bedeutete die Festigung der Macht der von János Kádár geführten MSZMP, die durch Repressalien (Hinrichtungen, Inhaftierungen) und einen teilweisen Ausgleich mit der Gesellschaft gekennzeichnet war. Das Ziel war es, die Diktatur funktionsfähig zu machen, und das Versprechen eines ruhigen Alltags („Wer nicht gegen uns ist, ist für uns“) erreicht wurde. Aufgrund der Repressalien und der Verurteilung der Revolutionsführer wurde es für das neue Regime immer dringlicher, die ihm feindlich gesinnten Massen für sich zu gewinnen. Denn ohne sie war eine Konsolidierung des Regimes undenkbar. In einem ersten Schritt bemühte sich die Kádár-Führung, bestimmten Schichten der Gesellschaft Vergünstigungen und Möglichkeiten zu gewähren, die die kommunistische Macht vor 1956 nicht gewährt hatte. Unter den Industriearbeitern und den im Bildungs- und Erziehungswesen tätigen Intellektuellen wurden erhebliche Lohnerhöhungen durchgeführt, was auch einen echten Anstieg der Reallöhne bedeutete, da die Regierung den Preisanstieg verhinderte. Die Anerkennung der neuen Führung durch die westlichen Mächte war eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben der Konsolidierung. Bis Ende 1962 gelang es, eine friedlichere und prosperierende Ära einzuleiten.

The consolidation phase following the 1956 revolution (c. 1957–1963) saw the consolidation of power by the MSZMP, led by János Kádár, a period characterised by repression (executions, imprisonments) and a partial reconciliation with society. The aim was to make the dictatorship functional, and the promise of a peaceful everyday life (“Whoever is not against us is for us”) was fulfilled. Due to the repression and the conviction of the revolutionary leaders, it became increasingly urgent for the new regime to win over the masses hostile to it. For without them, consolidation of the regime was unthinkable. As a first step, the Kádár leadership sought to grant certain sections of society privileges and opportunities that the communist regime had not granted prior to 1956. Substantial pay rises were implemented for industrial workers and intellectuals working in the education sector, which also meant a genuine increase in real wages, as the government kept price rises in check. Gaining recognition for the new leadership from the Western powers was one of the most important tasks of consolidation. By the end of 1962, a more peaceful and prosperous era had been ushered in.



VERÄNDERUNGEN IM DEUTSCHEN PARTEIENSYSTEM SEIT DER WIEDERVEREINIGUNG 1990

CHANGES IN THE GERMAN PARTY SYSTEM SINCE REUNIFICATION IN 1990

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Die deutsche Wiedervereinigung des Jahres 1990 hat viele Veränderungen im vorher geteilten Deutschland mit sich gebracht, darunter auch gravierender Wandlungen im Parteiensystem, deren Folgen gerade in der Gegenwart zu spüren sind. Bis etwa 1980 bestand seit den 1960er Jahren ein System von drei Parteien, seit den frühen 1980er Jahren bis 1990 ein System von vier Parteien (CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP, Grüne). Nach der Wiedervereinigung kam eine weitere Partei hinzu, die PDS (heute „Die Linke“, Nachfolgepartei der früher in der DDR regierenden SED). Inzwischen sind noch zwei weitere Parteien hinzugekommen (AfD und BSW). Es hat bis heute nach der Konzentration des Parteiensystems auf drei Parteien um 1960/61 eine erneute Ausdifferenzierung dieses Systems auf gegenwärtige insgesamt sieben Parteien stattgefunden, die zur Zeit in den Parlamenten (Bundestag und Landtage der einzelnen Länder) der Bundesrepublik Deutschland vertreten sind. Die Hintergründe und die Folgen dieser Entwicklung werden im Vortrag kurz analysiert. Dabei soll das Phänomen der „Repräsentationslücken“ besondere Berücksichtigung finden.

German reunification in 1990 brought about numerous changes in the previously divided country, including profound transformations in the party system whose consequences are particularly felt today. From the 1960s until around 1980, a system of three parties existed, which expanded to a four-party system from the early 1980s until 1990 (CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP, Greens). Following reunification, an additional party emerged: the PDS (today "Die Linke," the successor party to the SED, which formerly ruled the GDR). Since then, two more parties have joined the landscape (AfD and BSW). Following the concentration of the party system into three parties around 1960/61, a renewed differentiation has taken place, leading to a current total of seven parties represented in the parliaments (the Bundestag and the state parliaments) of the Federal Republic of Germany. This presentation briefly analyzes the background and consequences of this development, with particular consideration given to the phenomenon of "representation gaps."

SESSIÓ N°17 - AULA 40.008 - PRESENTACIÓ DEL DICCIONARI BIOGRÀFIC DELS PARLAMENTARIS DE CATALUNYA (1810-1939) / SESSION N° 17 - ROOM 40.008 - PRESENTATION OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE PARLAMENTARIANS OF CATALONIA (1810-1939)



PRESENTACIÓ DEL DICCIONARI BIOGRÀFIC DELS PARLAMENTARIS DE CATALUNYA (1810-1939)

PRESENTATION OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF THE PARLAMENTARIANS OF CATALONIA (1810-1939)

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Presentació del "Diccionari Biogràfic dels Parlamentaris de Catalunya (1810-1939)", elaborat pel Grup d'investigació d'Història del Parlamentarisme, el GREPIIC i el servei SIBHIL·LA de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, a càrrec de Borja de Riquer, Gemma Rubí i Núria Rius

Presentation of the "Biographical Dictionary of Catalan Parliamentarians (1810-1939)", prepared by the Parliamentary History Research Group, GREPIIC, and the SIBHIL·LA service of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, presented by Borja de Riquer, Gemma Rubí, and Núria Rius

SESSIÓ N°18 - AULA 40.002 - ELS ROSTRES DEL PARLAMENTARISME: PERFILS, TENDÈNCIES I CARRERES POLÍTIQUES (SEGLES XVI-XVIII) / SESSION N°18 - ROOM 40.002 - THE FACES OF PARLIAMENTARISM: PROFILES, TRENDS AND POLITICAL CAREERS (16TH-18TH CENTURIES)



THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE CAREERS OF LESSER POLAND DEPUTIES DURING THE REIGN OF SIGISMUND III VASA (1587-1632)

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Parliamentarism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth developed from the late fifteenth century within a system shaped by the principles of a mixed monarchy. The General Sejm consisted of the king, the senate, and the chamber of deputies elected at regional noble assemblies. This system was grounded in the legal equality of the nobility, which formally enabled each nobleman to participate in political life. This paper analyses the role of education in shaping the political careers of deputies from Lesser Poland during the reign of Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632), with particular attention to the relationship between academic peregrinations and parliamentary activity. Adopting a prosopographical approach, the study draws on university matriculation records from selected European centres, alongside relevant scholarship. A comparison with the educational profiles of senators allows for an assessment of the broader significance of education within the political culture of the Commonwealth's elites.



THE POLITICAL CAREER OF PATRICK LESLIE AND CIVIC GOVERNMENT IN ABERDEEN DURING CONSTITUTIONAL CONFLICTS OF MIDSEVENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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This paper analyses the political career of Patrick Leslie (d. 1674), burgess and Provost of the royal burgh of Aberdeen, to examine shifting allegiances among civic elites within local and national representative institutions in mid-seventeenth-century Scotland. Leslie served as a commissioner for Aberdeen in the Scottish Parliaments of 1633 and 1640–41 and was elected Provost at several points between 1634–1648. His opposition to King Charles I's legislative programme in 1633, followed by royal intervention to cancel his election as Provost in 1634, positioned him early as a prominent opponent of Crown policies. He was also among the first people in Aberdeen to subscribe to the National Covenant in 1638.

Leslie's later support for the Engagement of 1647, which promoted cooperation with Charles I, highlights the contingent nature of political identities amid the crisis of prolonged conflict. His removal from office and later knighthood from Charles II in 1651 illustrate the ambiguities of political realignment. Methodologically, the paper uses biography as a starting point for a prosopographical analysis, placing Leslie's career alongside those of other members of Aberdeen's governing elite. The analysis therefore connects individual political lives to wider patterns of civic behaviour within representative structures undergoing constitutional disruption.



**LES ORATEURS DE L'ASSEMBLÉE CONSTITUANTE (1789-1791)***THE ORATORS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (1789-1791)***CRISTOPHE LE DIGOL**

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L'Assemblée constituante est souvent associée à quelques grandes figures oratoires telles que Mirabeau, Barnave ou Robespierre. Cette communication propose d'étudier les orateurs comme les acteurs d'un nouvel espace public dans lequel la parole devient un enjeu politique. Sous le regard du public et de la presse, les députés apprennent à débattre au nom de la Nation et contribuent à façonner les règles de la délibération parlementaire. L'essor de l'éloquence accompagne la division croissante du travail d'Assemblée. Tandis que certains députés se distinguent à la tribune, d'autres élaborent rapports et projets de décret au sein des bureaux et des comités. L'orateur apparaît ainsi comme une figure spécifique d'un travail politique collectif. L'étude des orateurs de la Constituante permet également d'interroger les conditions sociales de l'accès à la parole. Les compétences oratoires, souvent liées à des formations juridiques, deviennent des ressources politiques essentielles. À travers elles, se construit une nouvelle figure du représentant fondée sur la publicité et l'efficacité de la parole.

The Constituent Assembly is often associated with a few great oratorical figures such as Mirabeau, Barnave, and Robespierre. This paper examines orators as actors within a new public sphere in which speech became a central political stake. Under the scrutiny of the public and the press, deputies learned to debate in the name of the Nation and helped shape the rules of parliamentary deliberation. The rise of eloquence accompanied the growing division of parliamentary labour. While some deputies distinguished themselves at the tribune, others drafted reports and legislative proposals within bureaux and committees. The orator thus emerged as a specific figure within a broader collective process of political work. This study also explores the social conditions governing access to public speech. Oratorical skills, often rooted in legal training, became essential political resources. Through them, a new figure of the representative took shape, founded on the publicity and effectiveness of speech.

**1315 DÉPUTÉS. L'ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE CONSTITUANTE ET SES TENDANCES POLITIQUES (1789-1791)***1,315 DEPUTIES. THE NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND ITS POLITICAL LEANINGS (1789-1791)***MARIA BETLEM CASTELLÀ PUJOLS**

(Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

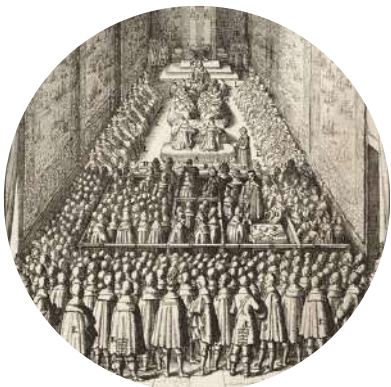
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Dans le cadre du 78e Congrès de la ICHRPI qui se tiendra à Barcelone, nous présenterons les résultats d'une méthode que nous avons développée pour identifier la tendance politique des 1 315 députés ayant siégé à l'Assemblée nationale constituante. Nous examinerons les différentes tendances politiques présentes ainsi que les membres les plus éminents qui les composaient. Nous analyserons également les tendances politiques des députés au regard de leurs origines sociales, professionnelles et géographiques.

As part of the 78th ICHRPI Conference taking place in Barcelona, we will present the results of a methodology we have developed to identify the political leanings of the 1,315 deputies who served in the National Constituent Assembly. We will examine the various political tendencies present and their most prominent members. Furthermore, we will analyze the political leanings of the deputies in relation to their social, occupational, and geographical background.



SESSIÓ N°19 - AULA 40.004 - DELS "STANDING ORDERS" A L'IA: EVOLUCIÓ DE LA PRÀCTICA I EL PROCEDIMENT LEGISLATIU (SEGLES XVII-XXI) / SESSION N°19 - ROOM 40.004 - FROM "STANDING ORDERS" TO AI: THE EVOLUTION OF LEGISLATIVE PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE (17TH-21ST CENTURIES)



THE ADOPTION OF THE FIRST WRITTEN STANDING ORDERS IN THE ENGLISH HOUSE OF LORDS IN 1621 AND OF SUPPLEMENTARY WRITTEN STANDING ORDERS TILL 1641

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The paper deals with the adoption of a first series of written standing orders in the English House of Lords in February 1621 and the adoption of further written standing orders there until 1641, the eve of the outbreak of the English Civil War. The paper gives an overview of the genesis, content and significance of the first series of standing orders in 1621 as well as of further standing orders up to 1641.



THE ACOUSTICS OF DEBATE: THE PREMODERN SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN EUROPEAN AND MODERN PERSPECTIVES

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Both general deliberation and set-piece speech making in parliamentary assemblies are influenced by sound dynamics. This is determined by the architectural dimensions and construction of particular chambers. The chamber furnishings and the numbers of representatives attending also help establish the acoustic atmosphere. The remarkable Parliament House in Edinburgh, built in the 1630s and believed to be oldest surviving purpose-built chamber in Europe, provides some interesting comparisons of scale and numerical strength with the houses of the contemporary Westminster Parliament, the House of Lords (in an ad hoc hall) and Commons (in a religious chapel), and their more modern iterations. A curious outlier is the wonderful Bishops Palace Hall, Kromeriz Castle, in the Czech Republic, venue for the Imperial Diet of 1848/9, a venue within a religious house but not itself a chapel. This paper will consider the likely transmission and reception of sound in these chambers and especially how this might intensify the nature of debate, notably at times of political controversy.



AN INTERRUPTION TO DEBATES OR A RIGHT? INTERPELLATIONS IN SPANISH AND FRENCH PARLIAMENTS OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY

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Although forms of control over political power, along with the notions of publicity, transparency, and accountability, have not been neglected by scholars, these topics have received less attention considering the 19th century. Therefore, this paper proposal aims to address these issues through a comparison of the Spanish and French cases of the mid-19th century. Particularly, the paper will analyze the interpellations addressed to governments as means of parliamentary control during the Spanish reign of Isabella II (1833-68) and the French July Monarchy (1830-48). To this end, the respective constitutions and the main parliamentary laws and regulations will be considered, as well as some of the main parliamentary debates which addressed related issues. First, the paper will examine the prevailing understanding of the function of parliamentary institutions and the concept of political representation, as well as their relationship with accountability. Then, the regulations arranging interpellations will be addressed, considering both the respective constitutions and the main parliamentary rules. Finally, based on an examination of some of the legislatures during the period under consideration, a comparative analysis of the number and topics addressed by these interpellations will be offered.



PROTOCOL AND PARLIAMENTARY COMITY IN THE WORKING PROCEDURES IN COMMITTEES AND PLENARY SESSIONS OF THE SPANISH CORTES. ON THE MODEL CHARACTER AND ITS AMERICAN PROJECTION

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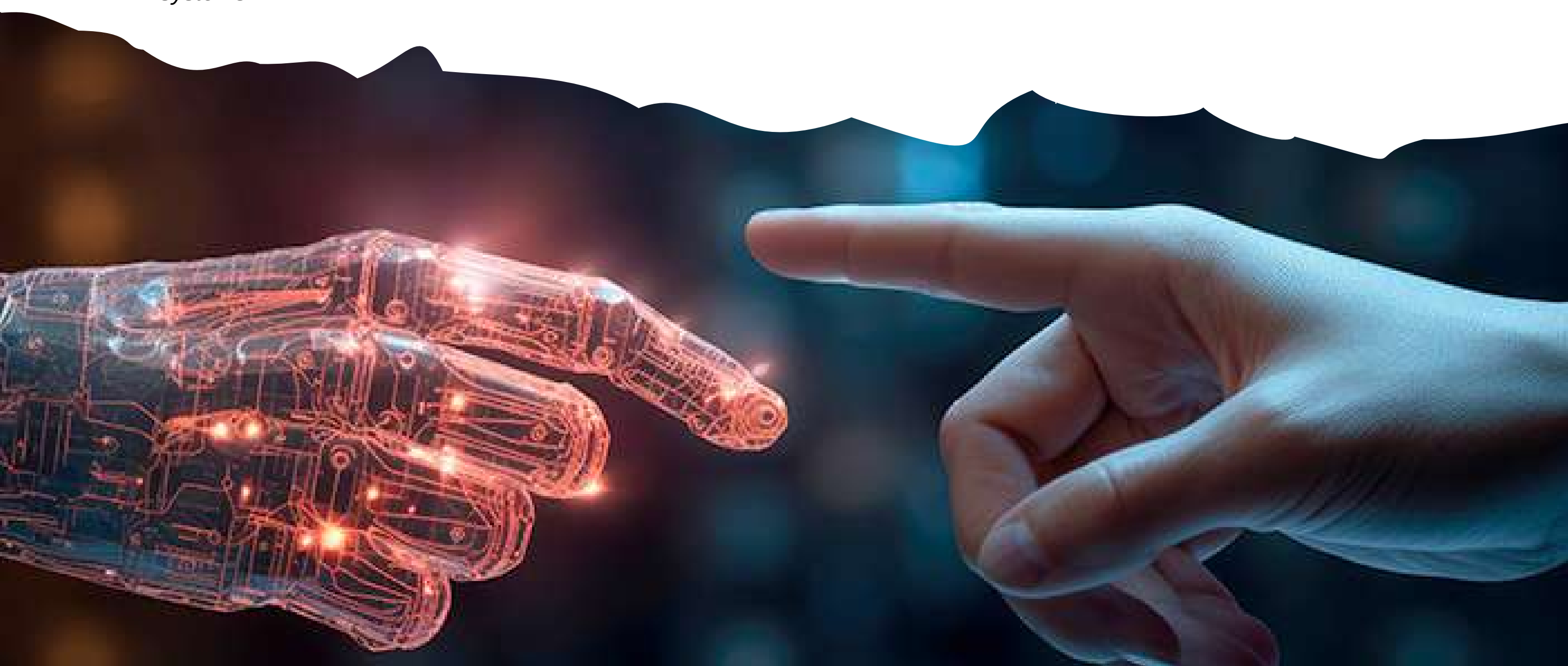
In the Spanish Cortes of 1812, the presence of deputies from American territory was a cause for debate and disquisition about the quality of those who, by right, were represented. Participation in committees for the preparation of legislation that would be submitted to the plenary of unicameral Cortes and sessions was also controversial, according to parliamentary documentation prior to the committees and the plenary sessions held; and thus, as a continuum until 1898 with the definitive independence of the territories under Hispanic sovereignty. The deputies present in the Cortes of the 19th century, an example of good practice, projected towards their territories of origin a protocol of actions in Cortes with parallels, and also divergences, which were reflected in the Regulations of future representative assemblies. The development of the parliamentary institution, which transits towards a lack of rigor in the application of regulations and laziness in condemning manifestations contrary to institutional respect, is the aim of study, developed with comparative methodology. The minutes of Commissions and sessions, as well as the regulations for the period from 1812 to 1898 found in the Archive of the Spanish Courts, constitute the sources of knowledge; and allow the analysis in projection until the middle of the last century, as a corollary of a process according to social evolution in the parliamentary framework.



BEYOND THE DEBATES: AI AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS PROCESSES

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The digital transformation of parliaments is often discussed through high-level concepts such as e-democracy or open data. Yet, the most consequential changes are occurring within the core, day-to-day legislative business processes that underpin democratic governance. This paper moves beyond the well-documented evolution of Hansard production to examine how artificial intelligence and digital automation are reshaping a broader spectrum of parliamentary workflows—including bill drafting and amendment tracking, committee agenda management, legislative scrutiny and impact assessment, voting and division procedures, constituent correspondence handling, and parliamentary question systems.



Drawing on comparative case studies from national and regional parliaments, the paper argues that legislative business processes are undergoing a quiet but fundamental shift from purely procedural, paper-based routines toward data-driven, AI-augmented workflows. For example, AI tools are now used to generate first drafts of parliamentary records (as seen in Hansard evolution), but also to flag inconsistencies in bill amendments, summarise public submissions to committees, predict legislative bottlenecks, and automate routine responses to citizen inquiries. These applications promise significant gains in efficiency, transparency, and responsiveness.

However, the integration of AI across diverse legislative functions raises common challenges. First, professional roles are evolving: parliamentary staff require new competencies in data handling, algorithmic verification, and procedural oversight rather than manual transcription or paper-based coordination. Second, institutional benchmarks for accuracy, impartiality, and security must be maintained—or redefined—when machine-generated outputs become part of the official legislative record. Third, the ethics of AI deployment in sensitive areas such as vote prediction or constituent profiling demand robust regulatory frameworks, particularly to safeguard fundamental rights and prevent algorithmic bias.

By examining Hansard systems alongside bill management, committee workflows, and citizen engagement platforms, this paper offers a holistic view of how parliaments are digitising their core business processes. It finds that successful transformation depends less on technology alone and more on institutional readiness: investment in digital infrastructure, retraining of legislative staff, and the deliberate preservation of democratic principles such as transparency, deliberation, and the rule of law. The paper concludes with a set of practical recommendations for parliamentary administrators and oversight bodies seeking to harness AI's potential while mitigating its risks across the entire legislative value chain.

SESSIÓ N°20 - AULA 40.006 - PARLAMENTARISME A L'EUROPA CENTRAL I ORIENTAL: REPTES, ELITS I TRANSFORMACIONS INSTITUCIONALS (SEGLES XIX-XX) / SESSION N°20 - ROOM 40.006 - PARLIAMENTARISM IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: CHALLENGES, ELITES, AND INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS (19TH- 20TH CENTURIES)



TWO PARLIAMENTS, ONE CAREER: FREQUENCY AND SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL PROFILES OF CONCURRENT MANDATE HOLDERS IN THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL AND THE BOHEMIAN DIET (1879-1911)

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This paper examines the phenomenon of mandate accumulation between 1879 and 1911, specifically the concurrent service of deputies elected in Bohemia to both the Bohemian Diet and the Imperial Council. Holding both offices simultaneously imposed significant temporal and logistical demands on political actors. Given the distance between Vienna and their places of residence or professional practice, prolonged stays in the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy were unsustainable for many deputies, as they threatened their civilian careers. The paper addresses two main research questions. The first part assesses the prevalence of concurrent mandates among Bohemian representatives. It also examines the duration of this practice, distinguishing between deputies who accumulated mandates for only a single parliamentary term (or resigned prematurely due to the considerable burden) and those who managed to sustain this model over multiple terms. The second part conducts a socio-professional analysis of these two groups (short-term and long-term holders of dual mandates). It aims to identify what professional and social backgrounds enabled politicians to manage this dual role successfully or, conversely, what factors led to their early withdrawal from one of the parliamentary levels.




IRAKLI (KAKI) TSERETELI, THE DISTINGUISHED GEORGIAN POLITICIAN AND STATESMAN

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This article presents a political portrait of Irakli “Kaki” Tsereteli, an outstanding Georgian politician and public figure. It discusses the main stages of his life and political activity, offering the author’s personal assessment. During his work in Russia, Tsereteli supported democracy and a united Russia, acting as both a cosmopolitan and a Russian-oriented politician. After returning to Georgia, however, he faithfully served his homeland and defended the interests of the young Democratic Republic of Georgia. He played an important role in promoting Georgia’s international recognition, especially at the Paris Peace Conference and other high-level negotiations. The author presents Tsereteli as an extraordinary political figure who left a lasting mark on Georgian history.


CIVIC GATEKEEPERS, POWER BROKERS, OR BOTH? MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, ELITE NETWORKS, AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN INTERWAR TRANSYLVANIA

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Our research investigates the phenomenon of multipositionality among the regional elite of the territories that passed in 1919 from Hungary to Romania. The core sample consists of Members of Parliament elected between 1919 and 1926 in constituencies from Transylvania, whose membership in the legislative body intersected systematically with simultaneous or successive presence at the top of several sectoral elites: 1) representative elites (parliamentary mandate), 2) executive-administrative elites (ministers, senior ministerial officials, prefects), 3) economic elites (boards of directors of banks and joint-stock companies, members of Chambers of Commerce and Industry), 4) cultural elites (the Romanian Academy, the University of Cluj, Astra Cultural Association), 5) ecclesiastical elites and lay representatives in Church assemblies. To these will be added kinship and affinity relations of the first degree (parents, siblings, spouses). The central hypothesis of the research holds that the multiple intersection of these spheres reflects mechanisms of selective recruitment and reproduction of social and symbolic capital, consolidating multipositional clusters and, possibly, an ultra-multipositional core with the structural capacity to function as a “power elite” in the theoretical sense of the concept.


THE FIRST PARLIAMENT OF GREATER ROMANIA (1919-1920): PRACTICES, CHALLENGES AND PUBLIC IMAGINARIES

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The November 1919 parliamentary elections were the first held in Romania after World War I and the Great Union of 1918, introducing universal male suffrage nationwide (with the exception of Bukovina). Although this Parliament lasted only four months (November 1919–March 1920), it attracted considerable attention. It marked the first application of universal male suffrage across most provinces, produced the largest parliamentary assembly to date, and increased geographic, ethnic, and professional diversity, including an unprecedented number of peasant MPs. This paper examines four dimensions. First, it situates the elections within the postwar context and outlines the election results. Second, it offers a preliminary quantitative analysis of MPs’ social and professional backgrounds. Third, it examines the practical functioning of Parliament, highlighting logistical challenges (travel, accommodation, and meeting spaces), the imposition of new procedural norms, and linguistic barriers among MPs. Fourth, it analyzes contemporary representations of peasant parliamentarians, often portrayed as uneducated, politically radicalized, socially marginal, and incapable of proper parliamentary conduct. By combining institutional, social, and cultural perspectives, the paper contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the early parliamentary experience in Greater Romania.



SOME NEW FINDINGS ON JUDGES IN AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENTS

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The paper is designed as a kind of continuation of my presentation "Judges in Parliament", delivered at the ICHRP conference in Toledo 2024. It will focus on two aspects: 1) Biographies show the different types of careers between judiciary, parliament and executive power. For example, recent research has shown that all presidents of the Austrian Supreme Court before 1938 had governmental and parliamentary experience. 2) A second aspect lies in the different shares of judges in the different (central state and provincial) Austrian parliaments in regard of time and origin. Concluding, the necessity of further data collection will be shown.

SESSIÓ N°21 - AULA 40.008 - DONES, PARLaments I PARAULA: CAMINS CAP A LA PARITAT I ANÀLISI DE GÈNERE / SESSION N° 21 - ROOM 40.008 - WOMEN, PARLIAMENTS, AND THE WORDS: PATHS TO PARITY AND GENDER ANALYSIS



CROSS- PARTY ALLIANCES: SUPPORT FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE AMONG MEMBERS OF THE 24TH LEGISLATURE OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY (1913-1919)

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The legislature inaugurated in Rome on November 27, 1913, set several important records: it was the longest in the history of the Kingdom of Italy and the first to be elected by universal male suffrage. But it was also the first legislature in post-unification Italian history to secure an absolute majority (across party lines) in favor of women's suffrage. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the motivations behind this change by examining the speeches delivered in the Chamber of Deputies in support of the 1919 bill to extend political and administrative voting rights to women. The dissolution of the legislature in September 1919, due to the occupation of the city of Fiume, prevented this proposal from being considered by the Senate; subsequently, the rise of fascism to power delayed the achievement of this historic goal by more than 20 years, as part of a policy aimed at completely excluding women from the public sphere.



DE LA MOVILIZACIÓN FEMINISTA A LA REPRESENTACIÓN PARITARIA: ACTORES Y DINÁMICAS EN LA REFORMA ELECTORAL BALEAR

FROM FEMINIST MOBILIZATION TO BALANCED REPRESENTATION: ACTORS AND DYNAMICS IN THE BALEARIC ELECTORAL REFORM

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La histórica infrarrepresentación femenina en los espacios públicos ha condicionado significativamente su acceso a la vida política y a las instituciones representativas. En España, aunque la participación de las mujeres en los ámbitos públicos experimentó un crecimiento desde los setenta, su presencia siguió siendo limitada en la esfera política. De hecho, la ausencia inicial de mecanismos de paridad en las leyes electorales dejó la representación femenina sujeta a las dinámicas internas de los partidos políticos. Es a partir de los 2000 el momento en que las comunidades autónomas españolas introducen reformas orientadas a garantizar una mayor igualdad en el ámbito político. La Ley 6/2002 de modificación de la Ley 8/1986, de 26 de noviembre, Electoral de la Comunidad Autónoma de las Illes Balears es la primera norma dirigida a promover este objetivo. Así mismo, la mencionada reforma fue impulsada por algunas de las figuras más destacadas del feminismo mallorquín, como es el caso de Francesca Mas Busquets, integrante del Lobby de Dones y directora del Institut Balear de la Dona. Así, esta investigación analiza el papel del colectivo feminista mallorquín en la promoción de la conocida "ley de listas cremallera", así como su impacto en las dinámicas políticas y en la progresiva consolidación de la paridad en el Parlament de les Illes Balears.

The historical underrepresentation of women in public spaces has significantly conditioned their access to political life and representative institutions. In Spain, although women's participation in public spheres experienced growth from the 1970s onward, their presence remained limited within the political arena. In fact, the initial absence of parity mechanisms in electoral laws left female representation subject to the internal dynamics of political parties. It was from the 2000s onward that Spanish autonomous communities introduced reforms aimed at guaranteeing greater equality in the political sphere. Law 6/2002, which amended Law 8/1986 of November 26 on the Electoral Law of the Autonomous Community of the Balearic Islands, was the first regulation aimed at promoting this objective. Furthermore, this reform was driven by some of the most prominent figures of Mallorcan feminism, such as Francesca Mas Busquets, a member of the Lobby de Dones (Women's Lobby) and director of the Institut Balear de la Dona (Balearic Women's Institute). Thus, this research analyzes the role of the Mallorcan feminist collective in promoting the so-called "zipper list law," as well as its impact on political dynamics and the progressive consolidation of parity in the Parliament of the Balearic Islands.



LAS DIPUTADAS EN EL PARLAMENTO DE LAS ILLES BALEARS: EVOLUCIÓN DE SUS PERFILES FORMATIVOS EN PERSPECTIVA COMPARADA

WOMEN DEPUTIES IN THE PARLIAMENT OF THE BALEARIC ISLANDS: EVOLUTION OF EDUCATIONAL PROFILES IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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Este trabajo analiza la evolución de los perfiles formativos de las diputadas en el Parlamento de las Illes Balears, comparando la primera legislatura autonómica (1983–1987) con la penúltima legislatura. A partir de un enfoque prosopográfico, se examinan variables como la formación académica, las trayectorias profesionales, la afiliación partidista y la experiencia política previa. El estudio se inscribe en el proyecto de investigación "They Do Not Represent Us". The Transformation of Parliamentary Representation in Spain during the Democratic Period (1979–2022), desarrollado en colaboración con la Universidad del País Vasco. En este marco, se analiza cómo la incorporación de las mujeres a las instituciones parlamentarias se vincula con los procesos de consolidación de las trayectorias políticas en el sistema autonómico español. Se presta especial atención a la transformación de los perfiles iniciales —frecuentemente caracterizados por trayectorias diversas y no lineales— hacia itinerarios más homogéneos en las legislaturas más recientes. El caso balear se sitúa en una perspectiva comparada con otras comunidades autónomas previamente estudiadas. Basado en un conjunto de datos original, el estudio combina análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo y contribuye al conocimiento de la evolución de las élites parlamentarias, el acceso de las mujeres a la representación política y el papel del capital educativo en las instituciones contemporáneas.

This paper analyzes the evolution of the educational profiles of women deputies in the Parliament of the Balearic Islands, comparing the first regional legislature (1983–1987) with the penultimate legislature. Using a prosopographical approach, it examines variables such as academic background, professional career paths, party affiliation, and prior political experience. The study is part of the research project "They Do Not Represent Us: The Transformation of Parliamentary Representation in Spain during the Democratic Period (1979–2022)," developed in collaboration with the University of the Basque Country. Within this framework, the paper analyzes how the incorporation of women into parliamentary institutions links to the processes of consolidating political careers in the Spanish regional system. Special attention is paid to the transformation of early profiles—frequently characterized by diverse and non-linear paths—toward more homogeneous itineraries in recent legislatures. The Balearic case is placed in a comparative perspective alongside other previously studied autonomous communities. Based on an original dataset, the study combines quantitative and qualitative analysis, contributing to the understanding of the evolution of parliamentary elites, women's access to political representation, and the role of educational capital in contemporary institutions.





LA BRETXA EN LA PARAULA POLÍTICA: ANÀLISI DE GÈNERE EN LA FUNCIO DE PORTAVEU PARLAMENTÀRIA A LES ILLES BALEARS

THE GAP IN THE POLITICAL WORD: A GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SPOKESPERSON FUNCTION IN THE BALEARIC ISLANDS

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La recerca s'inscriu en l'àmbit de la història política i de gènere i s'emmarca en la línia 4 del congrés, dedicada a l'estudi de les actrius i actors de la vida parlamentària i de les assemblees representatives. A partir d'un enfocament metodològic que combina eines quantitatives i qualitatives, els objectius del treball poden sintetitzar-se en:

a) Analitzar a nivell quantitatiu la representació femenina en les Juntes de Portaveus del Parlament de les Illes Balears entre la I i la X legislatures (1983-2023).

b) Realitzar un estudi prosopogràfic de les diputades presents en les Juntes de Portaveus de les legislatures I (1983-1987), II (1987-1991), IX (2015-2019) i X (2019-2023) en el Parlament de les Illes Balears. S'analitzaran variables com els grups d'edats, els partits polítics d'adscripció, la formació acadèmica i la trajectòria política principal.

L'estudi posa l'èmfasi en la perspectiva de gènere, amb l'objectiu d'avaluar no només la presència femenina, sinó també l'accés efectiu als espais de poder i de presa de decisions dins la institució parlamentària.

La proposta temàtica i cronològica s'insereixen en el marc del projecte estatal de recerca "No nos representan". La transformació de la representació parlamentària en España en el periodo democrático (1979-2022) (COD. PID2022-136603NB-100), liderat per la Universitat del País Basc i en la que hi participa, entre d'altres, la UIB.

This research falls within the field of political and gender history and is framed under line 4 of the congress, which is dedicated to the study of the actors of parliamentary life and representative assemblies. Using a methodological approach that combines quantitative and qualitative tools, the objectives of this work can be summarized as follows:

a) To analyze, at a quantitative level, female representation in the Spokespersons' Committees (Juntas de Portaveus) of the Parliament of the Balearic Islands between the 1st and 10th legislatures (1983–2023).

b) To conduct a prosopographical study of the women deputies present in the Spokespersons' Committees during the 1st (1983–1987), 2nd (1987–1991), 9th (2015–2019), and 10th (2019–2023) legislatures in the Parliament of the Balearic Islands. Variables such as age groups, political party affiliation, academic background, and primary political trajectory will be analyzed.

The study emphasizes a gender perspective, aiming to evaluate not only female presence but also effective access to spaces of power and decision-making within the parliamentary institution.

The thematic and chronological proposal is part of the state-funded research project "They Do Not Represent Us: The Transformation of Parliamentary Representation in Spain during the Democratic Period (1979–2022)" (Code: PID2022-136603NB-100), led by the University of the Basque Country with the participation of the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB), among others.



SESSIÓ N°22 - AULA 40.002 - SOBIRANIA I REPRESENTACIÓ POPULAR: LA GÈNESI DEL PARLAMENTARISME MODERN EN CONTEXTOS DE CANVI (SEGLES XVI-XX) / SESSION N°22 - ROOM 40.002 - SOVEREIGNTY AND POPULAR REPRESENTATION: THE GENESIS OF MODERN PARLIAMENTARISM IN CONTEXTS OF CHANGE (16TH-20TH CENTURIES)



PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH AND ENGLAND IN THE 16TH-17TH CENTURIES

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The issue of parliamentary representation in the Commonwealth and England is a highly significant problem in historiography. Although both states successfully established representative institutions, their political activities resulted in different constitutional outcomes. In England, representation decidedly fostered the consolidation of parliamentary power, whereas in the Commonwealth, it strengthened the state's decentralization.

Adopting a chronological framework of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is justified. In the Commonwealth, after the Jagiellonian dynasty's extinction and during the elective monarchy, fundamental political changes occurred. The growing importance of the Chamber of Envoys, local diets, and the magnates' position directly influenced how the nobility acquired parliamentary mandates. In England, during Elizabeth I's reign, the principle that state policy is decided by the king, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons was established. Charles I Stuart's reign was a breakthrough because, in 1642, he introduced a concept equalizing the monarch's position with both chambers. These rulers' reigns completely redefined parliamentary career models.

The main objective of this presentation will be a detailed comparison of these models. The speaker will answer whether electoral methods exacerbated state problems or fostered consolidation. Defining methodological differences and identifying appropriate research concepts for historians will also be crucial.



POPULAR REPRESENTATION IN THE AGE OF UPHEAVALS: THE SWEDISH RIKSDAG AS AN ARENA FOR CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENTS

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This paper explores the pivotal role of the Swedish Riksdag during the recurrent shifts of political regimes in Sweden, 1527–1810. The four-estate assembly was instrumental for promoting royal authority, for making constitutional settlements and giving voice to the broader political community. The main argument is that the political upheavals ultimately strengthened the role of the Riksdag as the one institution that could restore constitutional rule after periods of power abuse and internal strife.

The early modern period was ridden by political conflict and violent upheavals. This was most evident in the case of Sweden, where the conflicts produced a series of regime shifts. A period of princely rule was followed by bureaucratic government and then by royal autocracy. The latter was replaced by a parliamentary regime that was superseded by a new royal autocracy, until a mixed system of government was finally established in 1809-10. My paper discusses the reasons for the longevity and institutional resilience of the Swedish diet, and the features that might have distinguished the Riksdag from other representative assemblies in early modern Europe.





DISPLACED SOVEREIGNTY: LEGITIMACY AND THE MAKING OF PROTO-REPRESENTATIVE PRACTICES IN METROPOLITAN PORTUGAL, 1807-1821.

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In 1807, the Prince Regent of Portugal D. João and his entire court sailed for Brazil to preserve the Braganza dynasty from Napoleonic threats, carrying the bureaucratic apparatus and the monarchy's symbolic and material infrastructure overseas. While this episode, unprecedented in its duration and political-institutional consequences, has been studied primarily for its significance in Brazil, this paper investigates its effects in Portugal, where it produced not a simple power vacuum but an institutional crisis due to the sovereign's distance and the collapse of ordinary channels of royal authority.

Beyond the inversão brasileira framework and the polycentric monarchy model, this paper argues that the metropolitan response produced forms of proto-representative legitimation. Sovereignty remained formally intact, yet the 1809 Carta Régia institutionalised a paradox: metropolitan administration was accountable to an absent monarch while local operational autonomy emerged beyond Crown-delegated competences. Juntas, câmaras municipais, and the Council of Regency did not merely administer but progressively elaborated practices through which nação, bem público and vontade geral operated alongside dynastic loyalty as sources of political legitimation.

Thus, the Vintist revolution did not create parliament ex nihilo but activated as constituent power practices sedimented across a decade of forced improvisation, raising the question of what makes parliaments necessary and conceivable.



DYNAMICS OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION DURING COUP AND POST-COUP ERAS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE GHANA: NARRATIVES FROM A PUBLIC SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION PERSPECTIVE

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This paper examines how Ghana's parliamentary institution navigated extraordinary circumstances arising from military interventions between 1966 and 1992, and how these experiences shaped the institutional culture of the Fourth Republic. Drawing on autobiographical accounts, oral interviews, and published firsthand narratives of public servants and parliamentary officials who served during coup and post-coup recovery eras, the study reconstructs the lived experiences of administrative personnel who remained in office across regime changes. These narratives reveal the strategies, ethical dilemmas, and coping mechanisms adopted by public servants as they managed parliamentary functions under extraordinary institutional conditions. Preliminary analysis suggests that the resilience of Ghana's current democratic order cannot be fully understood without accounting for the accumulated administrative memory and tacit knowledge preserved by career civil servants during periods of military rule. By focusing on the voices of administrative actors who are often marginalised in political histories of Ghana's parliamentary evolution, this paper contributes to a more complete institutional history of representation under extraordinary circumstances.





STATE INSTITUTIONS AND THE CRISIS OF REPRESENTATIVE AUTHORITY DURING THE ROMANIAN REVOLUTION OF 1989

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State institutions are designed to ensure political stability, public order, and governance continuity. However, their resilience and legitimacy are severely tested in extraordinary contexts such as revolutions, systemic crises, and abrupt regime breakdowns. This paper examines the functioning and response of Romanian state institutions during the Revolution of December 1989, focusing on the interaction between formal authority and crisis-induced political reality. Under Nicolae Ceaușescu's leadership, institutions such as the Great National Assembly, the Council of State, and the government operated largely as formal structures subordinated to the Communist Party, while real power was concentrated at the top of the regime. The repressive apparatus comprising the Romanian secret police, the Militia, and the army, played a decisive role in attempting to manage social unrest, reflecting the regime's reliance on coercion rather than institutional mediation. The protests that began in Timișoara and rapidly spread nationwide exposed the inability of parliamentary and executive institutions to respond autonomously to a deepening crisis. Instead of acting as channels of representation or conflict resolution, these institutions either remained passive or endorsed repressive measures. Drawing on contemporary scholarly works, press sources, and materials produced by Romanian memorial institutions, the study analyzes how state institutions reacted when confronted with revolutionary pressure. The findings highlight the structural limitations of authoritarian institutions in extraordinary situations and illustrate how the Revolution of 1989 revealed the collapse of institutional authority in the face of mass mobilization and political crisis.

SESSIÓ N°23 - AULA 40.004 - CULTURA PARLAMENTÀRIA I CONSTRUCCIÓ DE L'ESTAT A L'AMÈRICA LLATINA: REPRESENTACIÓ, DEBAT I ORDRE POLÍTIC (SEGLES XIX-XX) / SESSION N°23 - ROOM 40.004 - PARLIAMENTARY CULTURE AND STATE-BUILDING IN LATIN AMERICA: REPRESENTATION, DEBATE, AND POLITICAL ORDER (19TH-20TH CENTURIES)



THE CONSTRUCTION OF PARLIAMENTARY CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTIONS

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During the independence era of the 1810s and 1820s, Latin America witnessed an extraordinary emergence of parliamentary institutions that surpassed contemporary developments in Europe. Congresses became the seminal foundation for political legitimacy, facilitating the transition from colonial rule to diverse new systems, including sovereign provinces, republics, and monarchies. For a brief interval, they even facilitated representation within the Spanish imperial parliaments.

Far from being mere imitations of foreign models, these congresses turned Latin America into a dynamic political laboratory. The region's legislative bodies ranged from small local assemblies to formal institutional spaces designed to reconstruct authority after the collapse of colonial power. This period of intense political innovation made a profound contribution to the global definition of constitutional liberalism and democracy.

This paper situates this parliamentary evolution within a global perspective, examining the theoretical frameworks that drove the rise of representative government in the Americas. This research is part of the collective effort for the Handbook of Parliamentary History of Latin America, coordinated by Eduardo Posada Carbó at the University of Oxford, highlighting the region's central role in modern political history.



HOW PARLIAMENTARIANS SHAPED BRAZIL: THE CASE OF AMAZONAS AND PARANÁ

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Historians have famously dismissed the parliamentary politics of the Brazilian Empire as a ‘shadow theatre’ and ‘window dressing for class interests’. But this remains a misleading picture of Brazil’s nineteenth-century parliament. By examining parliament’s role in the creation of two new provinces, Amazonas (1850) and Paraná (1853), this paper will explain how parliamentarians shaped the country in the wake of domestic and international conflicts. The formation of these two borderland provinces forced parliamentarians to scrutinise national vis-à-vis local interests, indigenous citizenship, and the very meaning of provincial representation in parliament. This paper will therefore highlight parliamentarians’ protagonism in the consolidation of the Brazilian Empire and parliament’s function as a political forum. This research is part of the collective effort for the Handbook of Parliamentary History of Latin America, coordinated by Eduardo Posada-Carbó (Oxford), highlighting the region’s central role in modern political history.



PARLIAMENT, WAR, AND POLITICAL ORDER: THE ARGENTINE CONGRESS IN THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL STATE (1862-1880)

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This paper examines the role of the Argentine Congress in the consolidation of the national state during the mid-nineteenth century. It analyzes the ideas, practices, and institutions that shaped parliamentary procedures under conditions of political exceptionalism, assessing Congress’s capacity to act as a moderating force amid political violence. These conditions included both internal civil wars and major regional conflicts such as the War of the Triple Alliance (1865–1870), which pitted Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay against Paraguay. The study draws on legislative debates, statutes, and parliamentary records from the period. This research is part of the project History of Parliaments in Latin America, coordinated by Eduardo Posada Carbó (University of Oxford).



THE REVOLUTION OF THE “FREE PRESS” IN 19TH CENTURY LATIN AMERICA

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One of the most characteristic aspects of the early 19th-century revolutions of independence in Latin America was the abolition of pre-publication censorship and the consequent expansion of the political press. Following Paul Starr’s conceptualisation of the ‘media revolution’ as a profound change in legal and institutional structures, this presentation will give a comparative view of the experiences of the free press in the region between the revolutions and the consolidation of nation-states. With few exceptions in continental Latin America, the press played a revolutionary role in two main senses. First, it redefined relationships of subjecthood between rulers and the ruled by embodying dissent in the new representative governments. Secondly, it was an active factor in constitutional experiments with individual rights and the freedom of expression. Both developments shaped the emergence of modern forms of democracy. However, the success of the free press in creating a public arena of debate made it the subject of state repression and persecution. Several legislative reforms throughout the century attempted to regulate and moderate the free press, while hostile regimes managed to reimpose forms of censorship. That said, the overall experience of the free press created the conditions for civic life and for the rise of marginalised voices in the public realm. This presentation will draw on recent historiography and on archival research conducted in Argentina, Colombia and Brazil. This research is part of the collective effort for the Handbook of Parliamentary History of Latin America, coordinated by Eduardo Posada Carbó at the University of Oxford, highlighting the region’s central role in modern political history.



DEBATE, RULE AND GOVERNMENT: PARLIAMENTARY CULTURE IN ARGENTINA AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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This paper aims to analyze the role of Congress in Argentine political culture at the turn of the 19th century to add complexity to a common feature attributed to the second administration of Julio Argentino Roca (1898–1904): presidentialism. In the political regime consolidated between 1880 and 1916, the presidential figure occupied a key place in the institutional framework and the distribution of power. In recent years, research on the role of the Legislative Branch and Congress has expanded the debate regarding the characteristics of the Argentine political system. Building on these contributions, this work delves into the characterization of Argentine parliamentary culture during this period by examining legislative debates. By considering Congress as a space for discussing projects aimed at counterbalancing Executive Branch actions, this paper seeks to assess how this sphere and its actors were recognized as legitimate arenas for policymaking and conflict resolution, as well as how their role was conceived within the public sphere. This research is part of a collective effort for the Handbook of Parliamentary History of Latin America, coordinated by Eduardo Posada Carbó at the University of Oxford, highlighting the region's central role in modern political history.

SESSIÓ N°24 - AULA 40.006 - PARLAMENT, CONTROL POLÍTIC I RELACIONS INTERNACIONALS AL SEGLE XX / SESSION N°24 - ROOM 40.006 - PARLIAMENT, POLITICAL CONTROL, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE 20TH CENTURY



LA EVOLUCIÓN DEL DERECHO PARLAMENTARIO DURANTE EL PERÍODO FASCISTA, ENTRE LA COMPRESIÓN DE LOS DERECHOS DE LAS MINORÍAS Y LA CONTRUCCIÓN DEL ESTADO AUTORITARIO

THE EVOLUTION OF PARLIAMENTARY LAW DURING THE FASCIST PERIOD: BETWEEN THE COMPRESSION OF MINORITY RIGHTS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTHORITARIAN STATE

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El artículo describe de manera sintética las principales modificaciones de las normas del derecho parlamentario —en particular, aquellas relativas al Reglamento de la Cámara de Diputados— durante el período fascista.

En particular, el trabajo examina las distintas fases a través de las cuales tuvo lugar el proceso de “desarticulación” del parlamentarismo, a causa de los efectos que, sobre las normas del derecho parlamentario, derivaron de las modificaciones relativas a la fórmula electoral (la denominada “ley Acerbo” y la ley electoral de 1928) y de la organización y producción normativa del Poder Ejecutivo (leyes de 24 de diciembre de 1925, n.º 2263, y de 31 de enero de 1926, n.º 100).

This article offers a concise description of the main modifications made to the rules of parliamentary law—in particular, those regarding the Rules of Procedure of the Chamber of Deputies—during the Fascist period.

Specifically, the paper examines the distinct phases through which the process of “dismantling” parliamentarism took place. It analyzes the effects exerted on parliamentary law by changes to the electoral formula (the so-called “Acerbo Law” and the electoral law of 1928) as well as by the reorganization and law-making powers of the Executive Branch (Laws No. 2263 of December 24, 1925, and No. 100 of January 31, 1926).



THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES, 1946–1993. A POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE

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This paper aims to analyse the parliamentary representation of the Italian Christian Democrat Party (CDP) in the Foreign Affairs Committees during the Cold War period. For over forty years, the CDP were the party with a relative majority and the indispensable linchpin for the formation of parliamentary majorities. There is now established historiography on the activities of the various CDP prime ministers and foreign secretaries. However, we know very little about the work and political careers of the Members of Parliament serving on the Committees, in which other parliamentarians of considerable importance also operated. For some of them, serving on a Committee could be represent the necessary step to aspiring to higher offices: the Chairmanship of the Committee, the post of undersecretary or minister. Conversely, appointment as committee chair, following the conclusion of a government post, constituted a prestigious form of reward bestowed upon an established political leader. Through a brief biographical overview of these parliamentarians, we shall seek to understand the party's strategies, highlighting the various types of institutional activities. Finally, we will examine whether the CDP established a 'political and diplomatic school' within the committees, with the aim of preparing capable and competent leaders and future foreign ministers.



LA COMMISSION D'ENQUÊTE SUR LES ÉVÉNEMENTS DE 1964: UNE PREMIÈRE FORME DE CONTRÔLE PARLEMENTAIRE DES SERVICES DE RENSEIGNEMENT EN ITALIE?
THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE EVENTS OF 1964: AN EARLY FORM OF PARLIAMENTARY OVERSIGHT OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN ITALY?

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Ma communication propose une analyse de la Commission parlementaire d'enquête sur les événements de juin-juillet 1964, instituée par la loi du 31 mars 1969, n° 93, afin de faire la lumière sur les mesures adoptées par les organes compétents et les services de renseignement en matière de maintien de l'ordre lors de la crise du gouvernement Moro, à l'été 1964, dans le contexte de laquelle s'inscrit le «Piano Solo», un plan extraordinaire des Carabinieri interprété par une partie de la presse et par certains acteurs politiques comme une possible tentative de coup d'État. La Commission est envisagée comme un moment significatif dans l'histoire du contrôle démocratique des appareils de sécurité en Italie. À partir des sources parlementaires, la contribution examine les modalités selon lesquelles la Commission a tenté d'exercer un contrôle sur les appareils de renseignement et les structures militaires, en mettant en évidence, en même temps, les limites, les résistances et les contraintes politiques. L'objectif est de s'interroger sur la mesure dans laquelle cette expérience a pu constituer, bien que de manière inachevée, une anticipation de modèles plus structurés de contrôle parlementaire des services de renseignement, qui seront mis en place à partir des années 70.

This paper offers an analysis of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the events of June–July 1964, established by Law no. 93 of 31 March 1969, with the aim of shedding light on the measures adopted by the competent authorities and the intelligence services in the field of public order during the Moro government crisis in the summer of 1964. It was within this context that the so-called Piano Solo emerged: an extraordinary operational plan devised by the Carabinieri, interpreted by part of the press and by several political actors as a possible coup attempt. The Commission is examined as a significant moment in the history of democratic oversight of the security apparatus in Italy. Drawing on parliamentary sources, the paper analyses the ways in which the Commission sought to exercise oversight over the intelligence agencies and military structures, while also highlighting the limits, forms of resistance, and political constraints that shaped its activity. The objective is to assess the extent to which this experience may have constituted, albeit in an incomplete form, a precursor to more structured models of parliamentary oversight of the intelligence services, which would be established from the 1970s onwards.



90 YEARS OF THE ICHRPI (1936–2026) AND THE 1950 TURNING POINT : FROM FOUNDATION TO RE-FOUNDATION.

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The “Commission Internationale pour l’Histoire des Assemblées d’États” founded in 1936 as a commission extérieure of the International Committee of Historical Sciences (Comité International des Sciences Historiques-International Committee of Historical Sciences), emerged from a comparative research initiative presented at the 1933 Warsaw Congress by Emile Lousse (1905-1986) and François Olivier-Martin (1897-1952). Following the disruptions of the Second World War (1940–1945), historians undertook the reconstruction of academic networks and contributed to the development of modern parliamentary studies. In this context, John Smith Roskell (1913-1998) played a central role in re-establishing British engagement in international historical scholarship, notably by revitalizing the British subcommittee of the Commission in 1948. A decisive moment in the Commission’s re-foundation occurred in 1949 at the 1950 CISH Congress in Paris, where Helen Maud Cam, (1885-1968) nominated for the presidency, advocated expanding the chronological scope of research beyond the “ancien regime”. She also promoted the adoption of the English name “International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions,” emphasizing a broader focus on parliamentarianism. The coexistence of different official names reflects varying interpretations of the role of representative assemblies within European political culture.



AN INTERPRETATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING THE EFFECTIVITY OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

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The ICHRPI published its first collective volumes of ‘Studies presented...’ in 1937, so the Commission’s activity reached its 90th anniversary. In those years, the corporatist views brilliantly advocated by Emile Lousse until the publication in 1943 of his comprehensive book «La Société d’Ancien Régime: organisation et représentation corporatives », appeared to offer a kind of an interpretative framework for making sense of the huge diversity of institutional settings through Europe. After 1945, this vision’s demise left the ICHRPI without a coherent theory or program, and even comparative work remained scarce.

It may surprise today’s scholars that the influential ‘rule of oligarchy’ model, first published in 1911 by Robert Michels, was not received in ICHRPI publications, which were typically descriptive. Michels pointed to a crucial tendency in any big organization, particularly in the political ones. The disappearance of theoretical approaches led to the prevalence of case studies, which made any generalizing insight difficult to attain. Nevertheless, in hindsight, one can identify a kind of consensus on some valuable approaches, of which the prosopographical method, and the focus on the impact that social movements had on representative institutions may have been the most revealing. More generally, the latter’s function as fields of confrontation for particular interest groups has been highlighted, and so their various roles in specific political, social and economic contexts.

In this respect, the development of ever more influential mass media in the twentieth century proved highly revealing for a period when the social basis of parliaments was significantly broadened. This observation leads to the sensitive issue of the political impact of global industries owning rapidly developing influencing techniques on the individual level. These may quicken the erosion of the 19th-century model of rhetorical hemicycles and political parties, as well as the 20th-century model of political parties penetrating the entire public administration in welfare states. Political participation is nowadays being deeply redefined without any constitutional basis. Historians of political participation may reflect on these issues.



LA CONCEPTION «CORPORATISTE ET CONSTITUTIONNELLE» D'ÉMILE LOUSSE ET L'ÉTUDE DES ASSEMBLÉES D'ÉTATS

ÉMILE LOUSSE'S "CORPORATIST AND CONSTITUTIONAL" CONCEPTION AND THE STUDY OF ESTATES GENERAL

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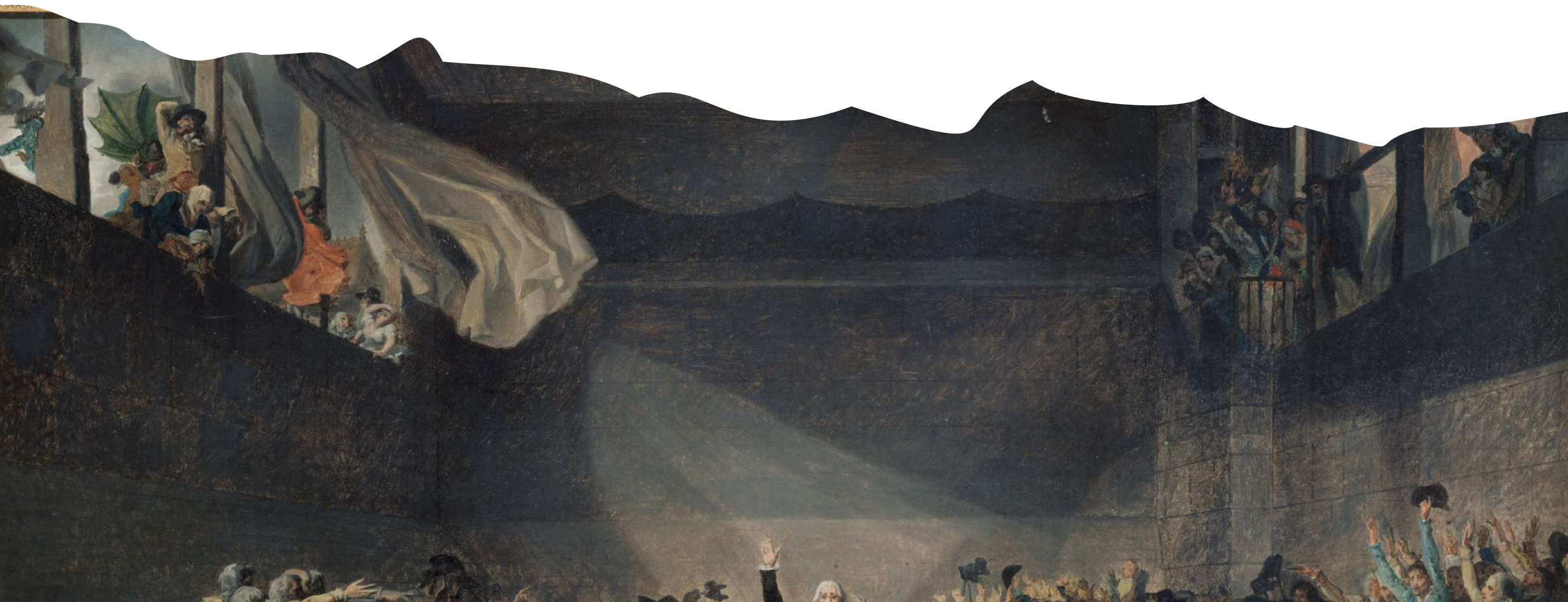
Cet intervention vise à présenter la figure et l'œuvre de l'historien belge Émile Lousse, à la fois chercheur et organisateur, et à explorer son travail scientifique. Figure quelque peu oubliée, il a joué un rôle de premier plan dans l'historiographie des institutions représentatives dès les années 1930. Plus précisément, l'intervention se concentrera sur trois thèmes principaux: 1. La contribution de Lousse à la création de la « Commission pour l'étude des origines des assemblées d'États » et ses développements ultérieurs; 2. Sa contribution au débat méthodologique sur l'étude des assemblées d'états et par rapport aux développements récents de l'historiographie des institutions représentatives; 3. La nouveauté de la conception «corporatiste et constitutionnelle» de Lousse, appliquée à l'étude des institutions représentatives et par rapport à l'historiographie sur la formation de l'État moderne.

This paper aims to present the figure and work of the Belgian historian Émile Lousse—both as a scholar and an academic organizer—and to explore his scientific contributions. Although somewhat forgotten today, Lousse played a leading role in the historiography of representative institutions beginning in the 1930s. Specifically, this paper will focus on three main themes: 1. Lousse's contribution to the creation of the "Commission for the Study of the Origins of the Estates General" and its subsequent developments; 2. His contribution to the methodological debate on the study of estates general in relation to recent developments in the historiography of representative institutions; 3. The novelty of Lousse's "corporatist and constitutional" conception as applied to the study of representative institutions and in relation to the historiography on the formation of the modern state.



AN INTERPRETATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING THE EFFECTIVITY OF PARLIAMENT. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE AND PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS (ICHRPI) AT THE MEETINGS OF THE CISH (1985-2022)

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4 de setembre de 2026

4 september 2026



SESSIÓ N°26 - SALA PERE I JOAN COROMINAS - CULTURA PARLAMENTÀRIA I CONSTITUCIONALISME: DE LA TEORIA JURÍDICA A LA PRAXI POLÍTICA / SESSION N°26 - PERE I JOAN COROMINAS ROOM - PARLIAMENTARY CULTURE AND CONSTITUTIONALISM: FROM LEGAL THEORY TO POLITICAL PRAXIS



MODERNITY AND CONSTITUTION IN NEAPOLITAN LEGAL THOUGHT OF THE EARLY 18TH CENTURY

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Gravina, in his Leges Arcadum, elaborates on the individual's ownership of political rights and explains that conferring them on the collective is the origin of the publica voluntas, while in his Specimen prisca juris (1696), he adopts Locke's right of resistance.

In his Origines, he celebrates—under Machiavelli's auspices—the Roman Republic, in which social pluralism corresponds to political pluralism, the open society that governs conflict, and rediscovers the ephorate as an institution responsible for controlling monarchical power.

P. M. Doria revisits the Spartan example, theorizing balanced government—inspired by Montesquieu—in which all the main institutional actors act to protect their own sphere of influence, mutually respecting one another, within a regulatory mechanism that perpetuates the system's equilibrium.

With G. B. Vico the theory of the division of powers matures into a complete development, which sees the subordination of the executive to the legislative, with the involvement of the class assemblies and the awareness that the constitutional evolution represents a necessary but not sufficient condition, and the need for a developmental politics emerges fully in which Neapolitan historicism finds its most secure expressions.



THE ROLE OF PARLIAMENTS AND PARLAMENTARISM IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE STATE: BETWEEN THE NOBEL PRIZE AND CRITICAL APPROACHES

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In 2024, the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences was awarded to three scholars: Daron Acemoglu (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, USA), Simon Johnson (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, USA) and James A. Robinson (University of Chicago, Illinois, USA). The prize was awarded “for studies of how institutions are formed and affect prosperity.” However, the scholarly output of the laureates extends well beyond the field of economics in a narrow sense and engages with issues central to European intellectual and legal history, including the history of political systems, constitutional law, and legal thought. Within this framework, particular attention is devoted to the historical development of constitutional and political models of parliamentarism, understood as fundamental “social and constitutional inventions” that have shaped the evolution of representative government, the rule of law, and the separation of powers. These institutional formations are presented as key determinants of long-term economic and social prosperity.

The authors of the present paper – legal historian and legal sociologist - seek to undertake a critical deconstruction of the vision of parliamentary and constitutional history advanced by the aforementioned Nobel Prize scholars, situating their interpretations within the broader tradition of European parliamentarism and subjecting them to analysis from the perspective of the history of constitutional law. As it seems, history was more complex; nevertheless, the emphasis on the role of parliamentarism and the idea of representation in ensuring prosperity cannot be overstated.

**LE PARLEMENTARISME FRANÇAIS EN QUESTION DE CHARLES DE GAULLE À EMMANUEL MACRON.***FRENCH PARLIAMENTARISM QUESTIONED FROM CHARLES DE GAULLE TO EMMANUEL MACRON.*

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Le système institutionnel de la Ve République a été créé en 1958 par le général de Gaulle pour donner la prééminence au Président de la République. C'est la raison pour laquelle a été mis en place par Michel Debré le "parlementarisme rationalisé" qui permettait à l'exécutif d'encadrer le travail du Parlement. De fait, le Parlement français est devenu le plus faible des grands pays européens. Puis deux autres étapes ont renforcé le contrôle du Président sur les assemblées: la naissance en 1962 du "fait majoritaire" puis la réforme instaurant le quinquennat en 2000 qui a couplé l'élection présidentielle et les élections législatives. Ce système très favorable à l'exécutif a fonctionné efficacement jusqu'en 2022, y compris dans les périodes de cohabitation où l'Assemblée nationale était en majorité opposée au Président. Mais l'équilibre s'est rompu en 2022 lorsque la coalition présidentielle n'a pas atteint la majorité absolue, et surtout après les élections anticipées de 2024 qui ont vu la tripartition de l'Assemblée en trois forces d'importances égales, et incapables de s'associer. C'est une révolution dans le fonctionnement de la vie parlementaire, car les groupes ont beaucoup de mal à retrouver la culture du compromis qui existait avant 1958 sous la IIIe et la IVe République. D'où ce paradoxe: une situation paradoxale de blocage parlementaire, mais en même temps une formidable opportunité de redonner une place de premier plan au Parlement.

The institutional system of the Fifth Republic was created in 1958 by General de Gaulle to give preeminence to the President of the Republic. This is the reason why Michel Debré implemented "rationalized parliamentarism," which allowed the executive to frame the work of Parliament. As a result, the French Parliament became the weakest among the major European countries. Two subsequent stages further reinforced presidential control over the assemblies: the birth of the "majority mystique" (fait majoritaire) in 1962, followed by the reform establishing the five-year term (quinquennat) in 2000, which coupled the presidential and legislative elections. This system, highly favorable to the executive, functioned effectively until 2022, including during periods of cohabitation when the National Assembly was majority-opposed to the President. However, the balance broke down in 2022 when the presidential coalition failed to secure an absolute majority, and especially after the snap elections of 2024, which saw the tripartition of the Assembly into three forces of equal weight, unable to form an alliance. This represents a revolution in the functioning of parliamentary life, as political groups struggle to recover the culture of compromise that existed before 1958 under the Third and Fourth Republics. Hence this paradox: a paradoxical situation of parliamentary deadlock, but at the same time a tremendous opportunity to restore Parliament to a leading role.



SESSIÓ N°27 - SALA NICOLAU D'OLWER - L'ARQUITECTURA DE LA LEGITIMITAT: PARLAMENTS, SOBIRANIA JUDICIAL I PODER POPULAR / SESSION N°27 - NICOLAU D'OLWER ROOM - THE ARCHITECTURE OF LEGITIMACY: PARLIAMENTS, JUDICIAL SOVEREIGNTY AND POPULAR POWER.



PARLIAMENTS AND POPULAR POWER: HISTORICAL MODELS OF THE POPULAR INITIATIVE

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In the context of modern constitutional development, a popular initiative refers to the institution through which voters can submit a proposal to parliament by collecting signatures or force a referendum on the matter. The historical roots of the popular initiative date back to the American state of Georgia, where in 1777 it was enshrined in the constitution that amendments to the constitution could only be made at the initiative of voters. This early and short-lived example was followed by similar solutions in France during the French Revolution, in the draft constitution of Marquis de Condorcet and the Jacobin (Montagnard) Constitution (1793). Later, in the 1830s and 1840s, certain Swiss cantons adopted constitutions with similar provisions, and the 1848 Swiss Federal Constitution also included a provision stating that a referendum must be held on comprehensive constitutional amendments upon the initiative of 50,000 voters. Later, the institution spread further in certain Swiss cantons, and in 1891, the popular constitutional initiative aimed at partial constitutional amendments was also incorporated into the federal constitution. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and later, some U.S. states also introduced the popular initiative, following the Swiss model. In exploring these historical roots, the presentation will focus on how various institutional solutions seek to harmonize popular representation with parliamentary decision-making.



PARLIAMENTS AND THE RISE OF JUDICIAL BRANCH: PARLIAMENTARY SOVEREIGNTY VS. JUDICIAL SUPREMACY

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Within the modern conception of the organization of government, courts - particularly the highest courts vested with the authority to review the constitutionality of laws - assumed the role of keeping parliaments within the limits of their constitutional competences. Already the framers of the U.S. Constitution were convinced that the existence of a constitutional document requires the supremacy of judicial branch. On the other hand, doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty - traditionally symbolized by the phrase 'Parliament can do no wrong' - constituted for centuries a defining principle of the British constitutional model, as well as of many Commonwealth countries. Nevertheless, from the latter half of the 20th century onward, it has been subject to increasing reconsideration, particularly under the influence of human rights instruments, including supranational and international law, accompanied by the development of specific forms of institutional dialogue between parliaments and courts. This study will present the evolution of the relationship between parliaments and the judiciary.



**THE 1901 BICAMERALISM IN SERBIA: A FAILED EXPERIMENT?**

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This year marks the 125th anniversary of the passing of the 1901 Constitution of the Kingdom of Serbia – a good occasion to assess its contribution to Serbian constitutional history. Short-lived, it was changed already in 1903, after the May coup d'état, yet for the two years during which it was in force, it had introduced into the Serbian legal system an institution that a number of politicians and lawyers in Serbia had been advocating for decades: bicameralism. The former unicameral National Assembly had been replaced with a bicameral parliament, the National House of Representatives, composed of the Senate and National Assembly.

On the one hand, a quick return to the old model in 1903 could be seen as proof of the experiment's failure. On the other hand, one could argue that the constitutional change was dominantly tied to political factors and the forceful dynastic change, thus not necessarily proving any substantial flaws of the bicameral model. Another interesting fact is that the subsequently created Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which modelled its first constitution after the Serbian Constitution of 1903, adopted bicameralism in 1931, with clear influences of the Serbian Constitution of 1901. Based on this, this paper shall aim to reassess the significance of the Serbian turn to bicameralism in 1901.

**CONSENT AND POWER: PARTY BALANCE IN HOLYROOD AND WESTMINSTER**

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The UK's asymmetrical devolution system, with a central UK Parliament in Westminster, and devolved legislatures in each of the three smaller nations, has been rather well accepted on the whole, as the main raison d'être of devolution is precisely to compensate the political imbalance between England and the other smaller British nations due to the disproportionate demographic weight of England. The Scottish Parliament is a powerful legislative institution and although it is constitutionally subordinate to Westminster, the latter has conventionally respected the decisions of the former. Consent has conventionally been sought through the Sewel Convention (made statutory in 2016) and intergovernmental mechanisms introduced with the JMC and Memorandum of Understanding have ensured the autonomy of the Scottish Parliament. However, intergovernmental relations have soured since the Brexit vote of June 2016 and the UK Government has flexed its muscles on several occasions, overriding the Sewel convention, vetoing one of the Scottish Government's flagship policies and eroding the devolution settlement more generally. This paper will argue that much of the balance of power between these two institutions rest upon three main factors which it shall examine in turn: the parties in office in Westminster and in Holyrood; the policies pursued by both governments; and inner-party balance of power at Westminster.



SESSIÓ N°28 - SALA PI I SUNYER - TAULA RODONA / SESSION NO. 28 - PI I SUNYER ROOM - ROUND TABLE
(IN ENGLISH)



MEMÒRIA HISTÒRICA I INSTITUCIONS REPRESENTATIVES EUROPEES: EL PARLAMENT EUROPEU I L'ASSEMBLEA PARLAMENTÀRIA DEL CONSELL D'EUROPA
*HISTORICAL MEMORY AND EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS:
THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE*

**Roundtable organised by the European Observatory on Memories (EUROM)
within the 78th Congress of the International Commission for the History of Representative and
Parliamentary Institutions**

Session description

This roundtable explores the relationship between historical memory and European representative institutions, focusing on the role of the European Parliament and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in shaping public debates on democracy, totalitarianism, human rights, and the legacy of Europe's traumatic past.

Drawing on the experience of the European Observatory on Memories (EUROM), the discussion will examine the evolution of European remembrance from post-war reconciliation to a more plural and contested field of governance. Particular attention will be given to the European Parliament, which, through resolutions, debates, and commemorative initiatives, has become the EU's leading arena for shaping remembrance policies and promoting democratic values while acknowledging Europe's diverse historical experiences.

The session will then turn to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, highlighting its contribution to the defence of democratic values and the construction of a shared European memory. Finally, it will explore the historical connections between Catalan Europeanism, the cultural Cold War, and the broader European movement, drawing on recent research and publications on the subject.

**Table ronde organisée par l'Observatoire Européen des Mémoires (EUROM)
dans le cadre du 78e Congrès de la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Institutions
Parlementaires et Représentatives (ICHRPI)**

Description de la session

Cette table ronde explore la relation entre la mémoire historique et les institutions représentatives européennes, en se concentrant sur le rôle du Parlement européen et de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe dans le façonnement des débats publics sur la démocratie, le totalitarisme, les droits de l'homme et l'héritage du passé traumatique de l'Europe.

En s'appuyant sur l'expérience de l'Observatoire Européen des Mémoires (EUROM), la discussion examinera l'évolution de la mémoire européenne, de la réconciliation d'après-guerre à un champ de gouvernance plus pluraliste et contesté. Une attention particulière sera accordée au Parlement européen qui, à travers des résolutions, des débats et des initiatives commémoratives, est devenu la principale tribune de l'UE pour façonner les politiques mémorielles et promouvoir les valeurs démocratiques tout en reconnaissant les diverses expériences historiques de l'Europe.

La session se tournera ensuite vers l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, en soulignant sa contribution à la défense des valeurs démocratiques et à la construction d'une mémoire européenne partagée. Enfin, elle explorera les liens historiques entre l'eupéanisme catalan, la guerre froide culturelle et le mouvement européen dans son ensemble, en s'appuyant sur des recherches et des publications récentes sur le sujet

**Podiumsdiskussion, organisiert durch das European Observatory on Memories (EUROM)
im Rahmen des 78. Kongresses der International Commission for the History of
Representative and Parliamentary Institutions (ICHRPI)**

Beschrieb

Diese Podiumsdiskussion untersucht das Verhältnis zwischen dem historischen Erinnern und den repräsentativen Institutionen Europas. Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei auf der Rolle des Europäischen Parlaments und der Parlamentarischen Versammlung des Europarates bei der Gestaltung öffentlicher Debatten über Demokratie, Totalitarismus, Menschenrechte und das Erbe der traumatischen Vergangenheit Europas.

Ausgehend von den Erfahrungen des European Observatory on Memories (EUROM) wird die Diskussion die Entwicklung des historischen Erinnerns von der Nachkriegsversöhnung hin zu einem pluralen und umkämpften Feld der Governance beleuchten.

Besondere Aufmerksamkeit gilt dem Europäischen Parlament, das sich durch seine Resolutionen, Debatten und Gedenkinitiativen zum führenden Forum der EU entwickelt hat, um Erinnerungspolitik zu gestalten und demokratische Werte zu fördern und gleichzeitig die vielfältigen historischen Erfahrungen Europas anzuerkennen.

Anschließend wird sich die Diskussion der Parlamentarischen Versammlung des Europarates widmen und deren Beitrag zur Verteidigung demokratischer Werte sowie zum Aufbau eines gemeinsamen europäischen Gedächtnisses würdigen.

Schließlich werden auf der Grundlage jüngster Forschungen und Publikationen die historischen Verbindungen zwischen dem katalanischen Europäismus, dem kulturellen Kalten Krieg und der breiteren europäischen Bewegung untersucht.

About the speakers**Oriol López Badell**

Oriol López Badell is a historian and international relations officer who coordinates the European Observatory on Memories (EUROM) at the University of Barcelona Solidarity Foundation. He develops international partnerships and coordinates projects on memory, heritage, and public history, including exhibitions on Barcelona's contemporary history. He studied History and Communication in Barcelona and pursued further studies at the Universities of Hull and Columbia.

Martí Grau

Martí Grau Segú is Head of the European Parliament service at the Maison Jean Monnet and its curator. A historian and political scientist, he holds a PhD from Pompeu Fabra University and has studied at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Aix-Marseille University, and Johns Hopkins University (Bologna Center). He has worked at the European Institute of the Mediterranean, taught at several universities, and was a member of the academic team of the House of European History (2011–2018). A former Member of the European Parliament, he is currently Vice-President of the Catalan Council of the European Movement.

Jordi Xuclà

*Jordi Xuclà is President of the Catalan Council of the European Movement. He served as a member of the Spanish Parliament for several legislatures and participated in numerous international parliamentary bodies, including the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. He is the author of *Els catalans en la guerra freda cultural i l'europeisme*, a recent study on Catalan participation in the cultural Cold War and the Europeanist movement. His work examines the intersections between democracy, European integration, political exile, and transnational networks of intellectual and institutional cooperation.*

Fernanda Zanuzzi

Fernanda Zanuzzi is Head of Communications and Institutional Outreach at the European Observatory on Memories (EUROM) of the University of Barcelona Solidarity Foundation. She coordinates communication strategies and campaigns, public programmes, exhibitions, and educational initiatives related to memory policies, human rights, and democratic citizenship. Her work focuses on translating academic research into public engagement and fostering transnational dialogue on Europe's recent past.

SESSIÓ N°29 - SALA NICOLAU D'OLWER - CONSTITUCIÓ, DRET I DEMOCRÀCIA EN TEMPS DE CRISI: MIRADES JURÍDIQUES I POLÍTQUES / SESSION N°29 - NICOLAU D'OLWER ROOM - CONSTITUTION, LAW, AND DEMOCRACY IN TIMES OF CRISIS: LEGAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES



DIE ROLLE DER KOMITATE ALS HÜTER DER VERFASSUNG IN UNGARN (16.–19. JAHRHUNDERT)

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIVE ROLE OF THE COUNTIES IN HUNGARY. (16TH-19TH CENTURY)

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Der ungarische Adel geriet häufig in Konflikt mit den Habsburger Herrschern, die nach 1526 den Thron bestiegen. Der stärkste Hort des Widerstands war der Komitat. Die zentrale Verwaltung lag in den Händen des Königs, aber die Gesetze waren auch für sie verbindlich. Dem Reichstag waren sie jedoch nicht verantwortlich, sodass dieser keine Kontrolle über die Gesetzmäßigkeit ihrer Tätigkeit ausüben konnte.

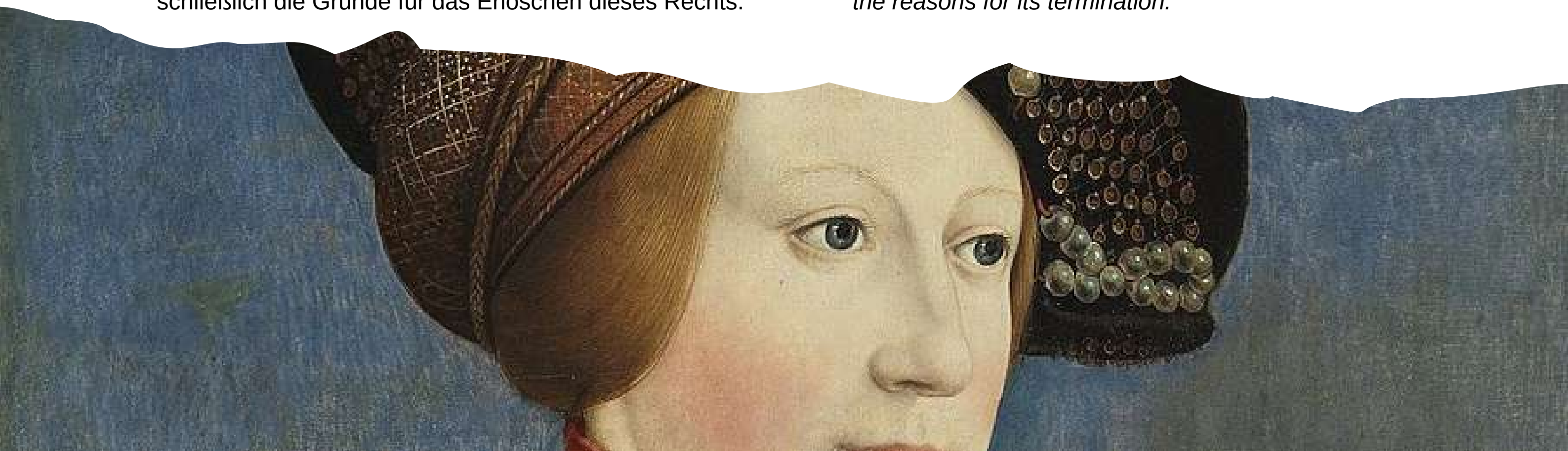
Die zentralen Regierungsbehörden verfügten jedoch über keine Außenstellen in den ländlichen Gebieten; ihre Anordnungen wurden von den Komitaten ausgeführt. Die Komitatsverwaltung hingegen lag in den Händen des Adels. Dieser versuchte, dies zu nutzen, um die Durchführung von Verordnungen der Zentralbehörden zu verhindern, die er als gesetzeswidrig ansah. Dies war die verfassungsschützende Funktion der Komitate (die „vis inertiae“).

Der Vortrag gibt einen Überblick über die theoretischen Grundlagen und die Funktionsweise dieser Institution und schließlich die Gründe für das Erlöschen dieses Rechts.

After 1526, the Habsburg monarchs ascended the Hungarian throne, but the Hungarian nobility often found itself in conflict with them. The county was the strongest centre of resistance. Central administration was in the king's hands, but the laws were, of course, binding on these bodies as well. However, this could not be verified because the central administrative bodies were not accountable to the National Assembly.

However, the central government did not have branch offices in rural areas, so it was the responsibility of the counties to enforce the government's decrees. The county administration, however, was in the hands of the nobility, who sought to use it to exert control over the central government. They refused to enforce central decrees that they deemed unlawful. This was the role of the counties in defending the constitution (the “vis inertiae”).

The lecture provides an overview of the theoretical foundations and operation of this institution, and finally, the reasons for its termination.




THEORIEN DER PARLAMENTARISCHEN DEMOKRATIE IN KRISENZEITEN: MAX WEBER UND HANS KELSEN

THEORIES OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN TIMES OF CRISIS: MAX WEBER AND HANS KELSEN

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Eine gleichartige Herausforderung verbindet die Reflexionen Max Webers und Hans Kelsens über die parlamentarische Demokratie. Obwohl diese Denker hauptsächlich in Deutschland bzw. Österreich tätig sind, sehen sie sich mit einer ähnlichen, zugleich dringenden politischen Fragestellung konfrontiert, die zuerst eine innere Reform der konstitutionellen Monarchie betrifft und sich dann anlässlich des plötzlichen Übergangs von der Monarchie zur Republik in die Frage der Gestaltung eines neu zu organisierenden demokratischen Systems umwandelt. Teilweise gleiche Aufgabestellungen treffen auf sie zu: die Vermeidung von Diktatur und Autokratie, die Festigung von Repräsentation und Demokratie durch legitimierende Gesetze und Verfahren sowie der Ausgleich zwischen dem Gleichheitsanspruch der demokratischen Staatsbürgerschaft und der Forderung nach entscheidungsfähiger Führerauslese. Webers und Kelsens Ansichten ähneln sich, wenn es beispielsweise darum geht, die Minderheit zu schützen und ihr politische Befugnisse zu gewähren. Sie unterscheiden sich jedoch, wenn es darum geht, das Verhältniswahlrecht als Verfahren zu verwenden. Ziel des Beitrags ist es, den historischen Kontext beider Denker zu rekonstruieren, ihre theoretisch-politischen Ansprüche zu analysieren und ihre vorgeschlagenen Theorien und Lösungen in einer vergleichenden Betrachtung auszulegen.

A similar challenge links the reflections of Max Weber and Hans Kelsen on parliamentary democracy. Although these thinkers were active mainly in Germany and Austria respectively, they faced a similar and urgent political issue, which initially concerned an internal reform of the constitutional monarchy and then, following the sudden transition from monarchy to republic, transformed into the question of how to shape a newly organized democratic system. To some extent, they faced the same tasks: avoiding dictatorship and autocracy, strengthening representation and democracy through legitimizing laws and procedures, and balancing the claim to equality of democratic citizenship with the demand for a leadership selection capable of making decisions. Weber's and Kelsen's views converge, for example, when it comes to protecting the minority and granting them political powers. However, they differ when it comes to using proportional representation as a procedure. The aim of this contribution is to reconstruct the historical context of both thinkers, to analyze their theoretical-political claims, and to interpret their proposed theories and solutions in a comparative perspective.


“DER LETZE GENTLEMAN DER GESCHICHTE” –DIE WESENTLICHEN ELEMENTE DES RECHTSTHEORETISCHEN WERKES VON ISTVÁN BIBÓ.

“THE LAST GENTLEMAN OF HISTORY”. THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF ISTVÁN BIBÓ'S THEORY OF LAW.

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Der Vortrag untersucht die wesentlichen Elemente des rechtstheoretischen Werkes von István Bibó (1911-1979, ungarischer Politiker, Rechtswissenschaftler), mit besonderem Hinblick auf sein von Extremen freies, im normativen Sinne verstandenen „Drittweg“- Denkens. Nach Bibós Auffassung lässt sich die Stabilität der demokratischen Ordnung durch eine institutionelle Begrenzung des politischen Pluralismus sichern. In diesem Zusammenhang betonte er, dass eine unabhängige Institution, das Verfassungsgericht, die Verfassungsmäßigkeit der Parteien überwachen solle, um die Voraussetzungen für das Funktionieren des Rechtsstaats zu garantieren. Zugleich argumentierte er für die Notwendigkeit einer starken Exekutive, die im Rahmen eines auf Gewaltenteilung beruhenden Parlamentarismus funktioniert.

Die Analyse bezieht sich auf Bibós theoretische Schriften, die eine theoretische Grundlage für das Verhältnis von Macht und Freiheit liefern, sowie mit seinen 1938 formulierten „Zehn Geboten der Politik“, die 50 Jahre später, im Jahr 1989, zu einem Pamphlet wurden, das den Systemwechsel in Ungarn einleitete.

Die Aktualität des Vortrags wird dadurch unterstrichen, dass in diesem Jahr des 70. Jahrestages der Revolution und des Freiheitskampfes von 1956 gedacht wird, in denen Bibós historische Rolle spielte.

This presentation examines the essential elements of the legal-theoretical oeuvre of István Bibó (1911–1979), with particular emphasis on his “Third Way” approach, which is conceived in a normative sense and deliberately free from ideological extremes. According to Bibó, the stability of the democratic order can be safeguarded through the institutional limitation of political pluralism. In this context, he argued that an independent constitutional institution—the Constitutional Court—should supervise the constitutionality of political parties in order to guarantee the conditions necessary for the functioning of the rule of law. At the same time, in his 1947 inaugural academic lecture, he argued for the necessity of a strong executive power operating within a parliamentary system based on the separation of powers.

The analysis also addresses Bibó’s theoretical writings, which provide the theoretical foundation for the relationship between power and freedom, as well as his political “Ten Commandments” formulated in 1938, which became a regime-changing pamphlet fifty years later, in 1989. The contemporary relevance of the presentation is further underscored by this year’s commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence, in which Bibó played a historically significant role. The aim of the presentation is to reinterpret this complex intellectual legacy in light of contemporary political and constitutional-theoretical discourses. Bibó’s analyses concerning the condition of the small states of Eastern Europe, the crisis of democracy, and the relationship between power and freedom continue to serve as important points of reference in current scholarly debates.

SESSIÓ N°30 - SALA PERE I JOAN COROMINAS - L'AGENDA SOCIAL I GLOBAL AL PARLAMENT: DRETS, DESIGUALTATS I EL REpte DEL CANVI CLIMÀTIC / SESSION N°30 - PERE I JOAN COROMINAS ROOM - THE SOCIAL AND GLOBAL AGENDA IN PARLIAMENT: RIGHTS, INEQUALITIES, AND THE CHALLENGE OF CLIMATE CHANGE



DERECHOS DE LAS MUJERES, SALUD REPRODUCTIVA E IGUALDAD EN LA ESPAÑA DE LA TRANSICIÓN: EL DEBATE PARLAMENTARIO SOBRE LA LEY 45/1978
 RIGHTS OF WOMEN, REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND EQUALITY IN TRANSITION SPAIN: THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE OF LAW 45/1978

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El objetivo de la ponencia es analizar los debates parlamentarios de la Transición española (1978) sobre la reforma del Código Penal en materia de salud y decisiones reproductivas, con el fin de examinar cómo el discurso institucional aborda la cuestión de los derechos de las mujeres en el contexto de la construcción democrática. El trabajo se centra en el proceso legislativo que condujo a la despenalización de la venta y distribución de anticonceptivos, situándolo en el marco de las reformas impulsadas por los Acuerdos de la Moncloa y de las transformaciones sociales en curso. Tras evocar el contexto normativo y cultural heredado del franquismo, el trabajo propone un análisis de las intervenciones parlamentarias para verificar si y en qué términos surgen referencias explícitas a las necesidades de las mujeres, a la planificación familiar y al control del cuerpo femenino. Se pondrán de relieve las posiciones de los diferentes partidos políticos sobre el tema, y se prestará especial atención al lenguaje utilizado, a menudo neutro y carente de referencias directas a las mujeres, a pesar de que estas son las principales destinatarias de las políticas debatidas, así como a las tensiones entre la despenalización y las formas persistentes de regulación y control.

This paper aims to analyse parliamentary debates during the Spanish Transition (1978) on the reform of the Criminal Code regarding health and reproductive decisions, with a view to examining how institutional discourse addresses women's rights in the context of democratic development. The study focuses on the legislative process that led to the decriminalisation of the sale and distribution of contraceptives, situating it within the framework of the reforms driven by the Moncloa Agreements and the social transformations underway. After outlining the regulatory and cultural context inherited from the Franco regime, the study analyses parliamentary debates to ascertain whether, and in what terms, explicit references to women's needs, family planning and control over the female body emerge. The positions of the various political parties on the issue will be highlighted, with particular attention paid to the language used—often neutral and lacking direct references to women, even though they are the primary beneficiaries of the policies under discussion—as well as to the tensions between decriminalisation and persistent forms of regulation and control.



THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION IN 1980S DEBATES ON POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

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As the European Commission prepares its first comprehensive anti-poverty strategy, the issue has returned to the centre of the European political agenda. Yet, the roots of a European approach to poverty date back several decades. This paper proposes a historical analysis of the debates on poverty and unemployment within the European Parliament during the 1980s; situating them within the broader evolution of European competences in the social field. It focuses in particular on how Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) framed poverty, whether in purely economic terms or as a multidimensional phenomenon, how they linked it to unemployment, and how they positioned themselves vis-à-vis the European Commission.

The 1980s represent a crucial moment. In the context of the economic crises of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Commission launched the first Poverty Programmes (1975–1994), which contributed to the recognition of poverty as a European-level concern. Although the Treaties granted only limited formal competences to the Parliament in social policy, this period saw the emergence of a more assertive parliamentary discourse. Against this background, drawing on parliamentary debates, committee reports, and resolutions, the paper examines how the Parliament interpreted its own role and how Parliament–Commission relations were concretely structured in this domain, particularly in terms of initiative, response, and policy influence.

By placing contemporary EU anti-poverty ambitions in historical perspective, the paper argues that many of today's debates—on competences, coordination, and the moral framing of poverty—were already present in embryonic form in the 1980s. Understanding these early discussions sheds light on both the continuities and the limits of the European social dimension.



REDEFINING EUROPE: PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON EASTERN ENLARGEMENT (1986–1995)

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This paper examines the parliamentary debates within European institutions concerning the process of eastern enlargement in the period between 1986, in the aftermath of the Single European Act, and 1994/95. Through an analysis of these discussions, it highlights the tensions between openness and caution that accompanied the accession requests of Central and Eastern European countries. At the same time, the contribution explores the discursive construction of the “idea of Europe” as it emerges within parliamentary arenas, showing how it is conceived not only as a framework of institutional integration but also as a space grounded in shared values. What emerges is a Europe in transition, compelled to confront the end of the bipolar division and new identity-related challenges. The paper thus offers a critical interpretation of the relationship between enlargement and the definition of European identity during the crucial transition from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era.



UNDERSTANDING PAKISTAN'S JOURNEY OF CLIMATE LEGISLATION THROUGH PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY (2015-2025)

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Pakistan's ever-increasing exposure towards climate vulnerabilities has necessitated a shift from executive-centric policies to an institutionalized legislative framework. This paper examines Pakistan's evolution of climate legislation between 2015 and 2025, arguing that parliamentary diplomacy has contributed significantly in shaping the country's legislative and policy responses towards climate change. It aims to highlight how parliamentary actors, committees, and institutional platforms have translated international climate commitments into domestic legislative action. Drawing on qualitative analysis of policy documents, legislative developments, and international engagements, the study demonstrates that Pakistan's climate governance framework reflects a growing alignment with global norms and practices. The findings unfold that parliamentary diplomacy serves as a critical bridge between international commitments and domestic lawmaking, reinforcing both legislative progressivism and policy alignment. By situating Pakistan within broader global climate governance processes, this study contributes to the emerging discourse on the role of parliaments in advancing climate-responsive legislation in developing countries.

SESSIÓ N°31 - SALA PI I SUNYER - PESENTACIÓ DEL LLIBRE: EL PACTISME I LA IDENTITAT NACIONAL / SESSION N° 31 - PI I SUNYER ROOM - BOOK PRESENTATION: PACTISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY



EL PACTISME I LA IDENTITAT NACIONAL

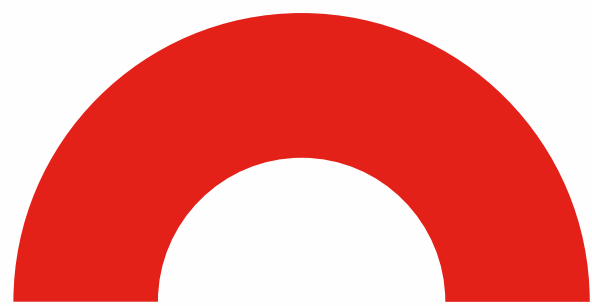
JORDI CASASSAS I YMBERT, GASPAR FELIU I MONFORT, TOMÀS DE MONTAGUT I
ESTRAGUÉS, JAUME SOBREQUÉS I CALLICÓ I ANGEL CASALS MARTÍNEZ
(Institut d'Estudis Catalans)

*Amb motiu de la publicació del llibre del Dr. Jaume Sobrequés i Callicó, *El pactisme i la identitat nacional* (2026), la sessió presenta les darreres recerques sobre aquesta temàtica dins d'un ampli espai temporal, des del segle IX al món contemporani. Entre els eixos de discussió de la sessió s'analitzen, entre altres, si el caràcter pactista i la voluntat d'entesa es poden considerar un tret identitari de la política i societat catalanes al llarg del temps; com ha estat la seva evolució i encaix en sistemes com la monarquia composta i el parlamentarisme multinivell contemporani, i quines han estat les principals fonts i tradicions historiogràfiques sobre el pactisme. A la sessió participaran els historiadors Gaspar Feliu i Tomàs de Montagut (època medieval), Àngel Casals (Edat Moderna) i Jordi Casassas (món contemporani), i l'autor del llibre, Jaume Sobrequés, un dels principals referents en l'estudi de les institucions representatives de govern, des de la Generalitat, les Corts i el Consell de Cent, i en l'estudi del pactisme basat en convinences, concòrdies, pactes i amigables composicions. La sessió serà conduïda per la Dra. Mercè Morales, especialista en la història de les institucions de govern catalanes i el parlamentarisme contemporani.*

*On the occasion of the publication of Dr. Jaume Sobrequés i Callicó's book, *El pactisme i la identitat nacional* (2026), this session presents the latest research on this topic across a broad timeframe, from the 9th century to the contemporary world. Key axes of discussion in this session include whether a commitment to pactism (pactisme) and a willingness to seek consensus can be considered an identifying trait of Catalan politics and society over time; its evolution and integration within systems such as the composite monarchy and modern multilevel parliamentarism; and the main historiographical sources and traditions surrounding pactism. The session will feature historians Gaspar Feliu and Tomàs de Montagut (medieval period), Àngel Casals (early modern period), and Jordi Casassas (contemporary world), alongside the book's author, Jaume Sobrequés—one of the leading authorities in the study of representative governing institutions (from the Generalitat to the Corts and the Consell de Cent) and in the study of pactism based on convinences, concòrdies, pacts, and amicable settlements (amigables composicions). The session will be chaired by Dr. Mercè Morales, a specialist in the history of Catalan governing institutions and modern parliamentarism.*

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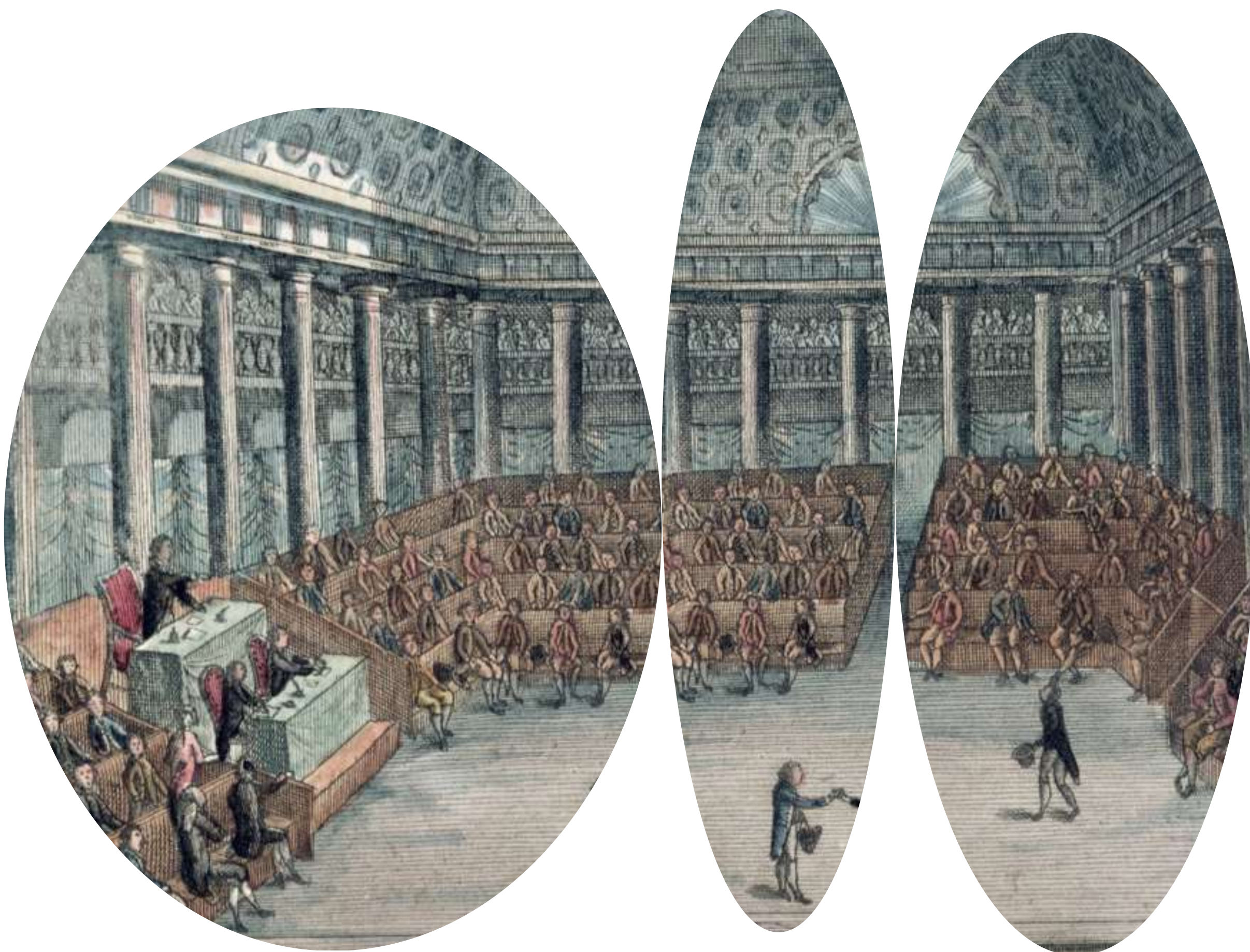
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Moltes gràcies!
Thank you!