

CENTRE FOR CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH OF SOCIALISM



NEWS FROM CKPIS

NINE YEARS OF CKPIS

Established on 9th July 2012, our Centre is now nine years old. Its founding members were Igor Duda, Lada Duraković, Boris Koroman and Andrea Matošević. As long time ago the daily Vjesnik would have hopefully reported...



Self-managing the brotherhood and unity



On July 19 the CKPIS members had the pleasure to follow a lecture by Nemanja Stanimirović, who is spending three months in Pula thanks to the Erasmus+ Traineeship. The lecture was based on his MA thesis 'Self-managing' the 'brotherhood and unity'. Understanding Tito's approach to nationalism, recently submitted at the CEU (advisors Michael Laurence Miller and Mate Nikola Tokić).

TURN TO LAST PAGES FOR OUR NEW SECTION

A series of four interviews in issues no. 56-59

Thanks to the Erasmus+ Traineeship, Nemanja Stanimirović, who is completing his two-year MA in Nationalism Studies at the CEU, is staying at CKPIS in Pula from early June to early September. One of his many tasks will be to prepare four interviews for the Newsletter, with researchers whose work he finds important.

Following in August: 7th Doctoral Workshop



Last year we were forced to hold the 6th Doctoral Workshop online, but this year with the topic *Microhistories of Socialism* it seems we will succeed in returning to the in-person mode. More information is available at our webpage in English or Croatian.

Following in September: 5th Socialism on the Bench

Approximately 120 participants are included in the programme of the 5th Socialism on the Bench: *Antifascism*, which will be held online via Zoom from September 30 to October 2. There are 20 panels with 4-7 participants, book launches, round tables and three keynote speakers. The event is organised by CKPIS, hosted by the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula and financially supported by Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung's Regional Office for Southeast Europe. Please, follow the news at the conference webpage in English or Croatian.





Coming soon: Edited volume of the 4th Socialism on the Bench: Continuities and Innovations

Kontinuiteti i inovacije. Zbornik odabranih radova s Četvrtog međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa Socijalizam na klupi, Pula, 26-28. rujna 2019.

Edited by Anita Buhin & Tina Filipović

Srednja Europa & Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, Zagreb & Pula, 2021

Authors: Nikola Baković, Lea Horvat, Goran Krnić i Marko Zubak, Dejan Segić, Dimitrije Birač, Dora Kosorčić, Oszkár Roginer, Anne Madelain, Jelena Đureinović, Tamara Petrović Trifunović i Ivana Spasić

Find out more about the collection CeKaPISarnica!



Socialist Constitutionalism and Diversity Management since the 1970s – Heidelberg, 12-13 May 2022

This conference aims to explore the role of constitutions and parliaments for diversity management and political community-building in socialist single-party regimes in Europe and Asia since the 1970s. Even though in the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and other socialist states the various branches of power were taken over by extraconstitutional organizations – the ruling socialist or communist parties – nominal constitutions and parliaments remained in place in all single-party regimes. This meant that these institutions, novel to most Eurasian contexts, were seen as necessary for legitimizing the parties' programs and policies, both domestically and internationally. While scholars have studied socialist constitutionalism and its impact on the evolution of socio-economic human rights, its significance for the management of diversity, related to nationality (ethnicity), language, religion, gender, urban/rural differences, occupation, and class, has remained understudied. (Read more)

Application deadline: 15 October 2021

The Role of Memory in Economics and History – Berlin, 7 October 2021

How are individual and collective memories of extreme economic moments produced in a community? How do these memories translate into the political economy and shape the realm of possibility of macroeconomic policies? Why are some statistical data and economic policy represented more factual than others in the historical narration of national economies? How do some economic indicators become more powerful symbolic frameworks than others and receive different degrees of affective intensity? How can methods and key concepts of memory studies inform and enrich the historical and economic analysis related to these questions? In a critical thinking and discussion-focused workshop format we want to strengthen interdisciplinary conversation and provide impulses for a broad range of research topics. (Read more)

Application deadline: 31 August 2021

Cold War (A)symmetries: Conflict, Cooperation and Trade, 28-29 October 2021, online

This conference aims to explore how asymmetric/unequal relationships shaped the Cold War in bilateral, multilateral, regional or global frameworks. More specifically, it intends to discuss the relationship between small and weaker actors versus great and stronger international actors, both in theory and in practice. During the last few decades, benefiting from the opening of a multitude of state and party archives from the 'Eastern side' of the Cold War, a flourishing scholarship on the role and policies of small powers has emerged. In many cases, it has shown that the weaker actor could impose its preferences on the stronger one or that the stronger actor could not always impose its preferences on the weaker one. Observing the imbalanced relationships between the small and the great powers, this scholarship usually focused on the interplay between the hegemons and their clients investigating how the hegemon struggled to maintain its dominance and control or how the client tried to break the hegemon's hold or find more room for manoeuvre.

(Read more)

Application deadline: 12 September 2021

Language of the Revolution. The Discourse of Anti-Communist Insurgencies in Central and Eastern Europe, Eugen Wohl, Elena Păcurar (eds.)

Intended as an interdisciplinary addition to the 'Palgrave Studies in Languages at War', the present volume aims at investigating the linguistic implications of the many shapes and forms that the 1989 anti-communist revolutions took, from the fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9 to the bloody December revolution that brought about the end of Nicolae Ceaușescu's dictatorial regime in Romania, as well as of their aftermath in the first years of transition to democracy. Our hope is to bring together specialists in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, translation studies, intercultural communication, history, politics, international relations and cultural studies, able to shed light on the linguistic particularities of the aforementioned social upheaval that led to the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe and preceded the transition to democracy. (Read more) Application deadline: 1 October 2021

Balkan Express 2021 - Neighbors and Neighborhood in the Balkans, 12-13 November 2021, Prague

This year the conference will aim to rethink the Balkans through concepts and ideas of neighbors, neighborhood and neighborly relations. The central role of the notion of neighborhood (komšiluk) in the daily lives of people in the Balkans and the importance of neighborly relations in Balkan societies in general seems to be beyond doubt. On the one hand, the traditional Balkan notion of neighborhood, formed under Ottoman and Mediterranean social and cultural influences, tends to be conceptualized in an inclusive manner, emphasizing the special relations, respect and mutual assistance among close neighbors regardless of their faith and ethnicity. On the other hand, the Balkans are also frequently conceptualized as a region characterized by deep and long-lasting mutual animosity and repetitive violence among neighbors. Neighborhood is thus represented as a breeding ground of distrust, jealousy, hatred and conflict. In this view, Balkan neighbors simply kill, loot, rape and expel one another with greater frequency and fury than other Europeans. (Read more)

Application deadline: 31 August 2021



PUBLICATIONS

Andrea Matošević, Almost, but Not Quite Bored in Pula: An Anthropological Study of the Tapija Phenomenon in Northwest Croatia (Berghahn, 2021)

Based on interviews and fieldwork conducted among residents of Pula, a coastal city in Northwestern Croatia, this study explores various aspects of a local feeling of boredom. This is mirrored in the term tapija, a word of Turkish origin describing a property deed, and in Pula's urban slang it has morphed from its original sense describing a set of affective states into one of lameness, loneliness, unwillingness, and irony. Combining lively conversations with a significant bibliography of the topic, the result is a compelling local anthropological study of boredom in a wider historical and global context. (Read More)

Branislav Radeljic, Carlos Gonzalez-Villa, *Researching Yugoslavia and its Aftermath:* Sources, *Prejudices and Alternative Solutions*, (Springer: 2021)

In Researching Yugoslavia and its Aftermath, a common thread is the authors' path through the time and space context in which fieldwork has taken place. Accordingly, this collection tackles problems that have always existed but have not been dealt with in a single volume. In particular, it examines a range of methodological questions arising from the contributors' shared concerns, and thus the obstacles and solutions characterising the relationship between researchers and their objects of study. Being an interdisciplinary project, this book brings together highly regarded historians, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, cultural and social theorists, as well as experts in architecture and communication studies. They share a belief that the awareness of the researcher's own position in fieldwork is a precondition of utmost significance to comprehend the evolution of objects of study, and hence to ensure transparency and ultimate credibility of the findings. (Read More)



POSITIONS, GRANTS AND STIPENDS

Research Group 2023/24, Center for Interdisciplinary Research (ZiF), Bielefeld

ZiF Research Groups aim at a long term interdisciplinary collaboration. They provide the frame in which scholars from various disciplines work together on a broader research theme. For an extended time, generally one year, they work and live at the ZiF. For several months up to one year fellows live and work together at the ZiF. The ZiF provides funding, support by a research group coordinator, and a professional infrastructure (i. e. accommodation, conference facilities). Joint seminars on a regular basis, occasional workshops or discussions with visiting scientists as well as the preparation of joint publications and conferences are typical forms of collaboration. (read more)

Application deadline: 1 October 2021

Marie S. Curie FRIAS COFUND Fellowship Programme, Freiburg

The Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies is offering individual FCFP fellowships for the academic year 2022/23. Up to 25 FCFP fellowships are available to researchers from all nationalities and disciplines. Fellowships of 3 to 10 months in the senior scheme and of 12 months in the junior scheme may be applied for. Fellowships are awarded to individuals with challenging and innovative research projects of top academic quality. The all-important selection criteria are the academic excellence of both the applicant and the project proposal. Personal qualifications with regard to experience and capability to conduct the research project will also be taken into account during the evaluation of the applications. Application is open to proposals from all disciplines that can be supported at the University of Freiburg. (read more)

Application deadline: 3 September 2021

്രൂട്ട് INTERVIEW OF THE MONTH

by Nemanja Stanimirović (CEU), Erasmus+ Traineeship at CKPIS

Goran Musić is a research fellow at the Research Platform for the Study of Transformations and Eastern Europe, University of Vienna. (read more)



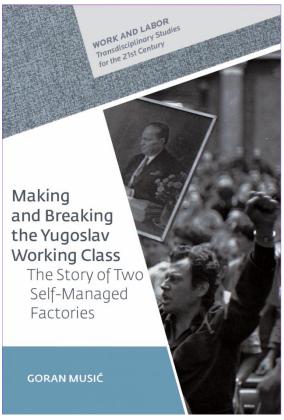
Goran Musić

In your book Making and Breaking the Yugoslav Working Class: A Story of Two Self-Managed Factories (CEU Press, 2021), you have mainly focused on the processes ongoing at the shop floor, on the position and action of the working class in Yugoslavia. Why is it essential to study labor history? What does it tell us about the other processes ongoing in Yugoslavia or about the Yugoslav project as a whole? What insights does such social history focus on the working class provide for the question of the Yugoslav dissolution?

The Yugoslav path to socialism was constructed on three main ideological pillars: brotherhood and unity, nonworkers' selfalignment, and management. The nature of the Wars of Yugoslav Secession has led historians to emphasize the national question and the elite actors. I wanted to see how different the story of Yugoslavia's development and its ultimate demise would be if we take a class-based approach in analysis. After all, Yugoslavia was a workers' state. The primary justification for the one-party rule apart from national equality and state sovereignty was improving the living conditions of the working people, decreasing social inequalities, and introducing democratic decision-making in the economy. The working class was not just one political constituency that communists recognized among many others. It was supposed to be the main actor of social progress, leading to a more humane future. My book's central question is what the makeup of the Yugoslav working class was beyond ideologized presentations, statistical data, and sociological block concepts. The elite actors such as nationalist politicians, engaged intelligentsia, and army staff do not operate cut-off from society. They could never achieve their goals without mobilizing or demobilizing sections of the population. That is why it was vital for me to uncover the main ideas about socialism and understandings of the crisis that existed inside the Yugoslav self-managed factories.

You are observing the processes of class formation, which is theoretically inspired by E. P. Thompson. What would you say were the main findings and contributions your book has made to the field? How successful was the Yugoslav working class in protecting its interests and acting independently from the managerial class and the party-state?

Labor historians used the concept of class formation to view the 20th-century Western European proletariat with a sense of predicament shared independent political outlook as the culmination of a prolonged process of stable living patterns and closed social mobility at least since the 19th century. In other words, it took many decades of steady industrialization and life under capitalism to create the working-class consciousness and its organizations. The of Yugoslavia shows contradictions and ambiguities that can occur when there is an attempt to emulate this process in a much shorter period under the rule of a heavily bureaucratized communist party. The ruling party claimed to speak on behalf of the workers and constructed a corporatist system that gave workers a voice in the political and economic sphere. Workers' self-management was not the result of demands from a well-organized labor movement from below with its own political traditions. Quite the contrary, the communists had to "create" a workingclass out of the peasant youth in its own image and integrate workers into topdown political structures. This was a challenging and conflicting task, especially in a situation of strong upward mobility, open borders, and Yugoslav consumerist



Goran Musić, Making and Breaking the Yugoslav Working Class: The Story of Two Self-Managed Factories (CEU Press, 2021)

culture. To make things even more convoluted, the economic orientation toward the market strengthened the managerial layer, which in many factories developed paternalist relations with their own workforces. Yugoslav workers, therefore, had many different options in front of them when raising demands. Unlike industrial workers in many other East European states, when raising grievances, they could switch allegiances between the local management and different levels of the party-state or opt for exit strategy by moving to Western Europe. This made it easier for workers to achieve short-term demands, but it also discouraged independent organizing.

Both of your case studies are from the automotive industry. You single out Tovarna avtomobilov Maribor (TAM)

and Industrija motora Rakovica (IMR) because they had significant strikes in 1988. You also mention some other factories from the automotive industry – like FAMOS, FAP, Zastava... Were there any strikes in those factories as well, and if not, why were TAM and IMR so different from other cases?

It is hard to find a Yugoslav enterprise in the late 1980s which did not go through internal turmoil and strikes. The reason I chose TAM and IMR is their location and the fact that their grievances have spilled out into the streets during the crucial months in the summer and autumn of 1988. In Slovenia, this is the period when civil society mobilizations reach their peak, and there are open pushes for independent political organizing. Simultaneously, in Serbia, the movement in solidarity with Kosovo Serbs spreads to large cities and makes connections with workers' strikes under the political patronage of Slobodan Milošević. The street protests of workers from these two companies offer an excellent opportunity to see how the workers were orienting amid this brewing political activity around them. I found it astonishing, for instance, that Maribor workers made minimal reference to the surrounding civil society or the Slovene party leadership. In Rakovica, on the other hand, there is a decisive move by the workers' leaders to infuse workers' demands into the ongoing political struggle against decentralized Yugoslavia launched by the Serbian communists. I explain these differences through the distinct embedding workers' self-management in both locations historically and divergent management cultures, which evolved over decades. Another crucial point is that new

political leaders did not automatically gain widespread support among the workers with populist messages. The Serbian party had to enter elaborate discussions reforms around of workers' selfmanagement inside the factories and win over workers for their political program. reform-oriented Slovenia. the communists around Milan Kučan showed no intention of forging an alliance with labor.

What book would you recommend to a young student who has just started becoming interested in Yugoslav history, and why?

Suppose you are interested in the inner workings of workers' self-management based on factory case studies. In that case, I recommend Ellen Turkish-Comisso's classic research of an anonymous Zagreb enterprise in the 1970s published under the title Workers' Control under Plan and Market: Implications of Yugoslav Self-Management. This work served as a great inspiration for my book. Another work I always warmly recommend to all those interested in grasping the liveliness and volatility of Yugoslav working-class communities developing in close contact with the surrounding countryside in the first half of the 20th century is Cvetko Kostić's ethnographic research of Bor mines in Eastern Serbia published in 1962 and illustrated with Đorđe Andrejević-Kun's famous woodcuts made during his stay in Bor in 1937 (Bor i okolina: sociološka ispitivanja).