

NEWS FROM CKPIS

7th Doctoral Workshop held in Pula



Nemanja Stanimirović, Saša Vejzagić, Igor Duda, Bruno Raguž, Petar Markuš, Martin Babička, Mira Markham, Anita Buhin, Katarina Beširević | Jonathan Raspe, Zoran Vučkovic, Valentina Kezić | Olha Martyniuk, Tina Palaić, Sara Žerić | Dora Tot, Milena Błahuta, Mirjam Vida Blagojević, Tina Filipović

Organized by the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism (CKPIS) and the Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, the 7th Doctoral Workshop with the topic **Microhistories of Socialism** was held in Pula, August 25-28, 2021. Among some twenty participants there were doctoral students in history or related humanities and social sciences who came from thirteen universities (North Carolina - Chapel Hill, Princeton, Oxford, Giessen, Cologne, Regensburg, Prague, Warsaw, Pécs, Bologna, Ljubljana, Zagreb, Belgrade). They all presented their PhD projects or another research.

This year's theme originated from the research project **Microstructures of Yugoslav Socialism: Croatia 1970-1990 (Microsocialism)**, financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, which focuses on social, cultural, political and economic processes at the micro level, in the municipalities selected as case studies. However, the presentations at the workshop covered space and time beyond those specified in the project. A microhistorical look at a series of case studies from Central and Eastern Europe, from the mid-twentieth century to post-socialism, was an opportunity to compare and contextualize, as well as to link project results to postgraduate research.

Lecturers **Chiara Bonfiglioli** (Microhistories of women's activities: finding women's agency in the archives, 1950s-1970s), **Anita Buhin** (Culture from below: selfmanagerial transformation of culture at the local level), **Saša Vejzagić** (Formation of large production companies and the effects of the associated labor on their consolidation) and the project and workshop leader **Igor Duda** (In pursuit of direct socialist democracy: local communities in Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 1980s) presented the results of their research within the Microsocialism project.



The organizing committee consisted of Igor Duda, Anita Buhin, **Tina Filipović**, **Sara Žerić** and guest student **Nemanja Stanimirović** (Central European University, Erasmus+ Traineeship). Financial support was provided by the University and the Faculty of Humanities. As organizers, we are especially grateful to the Student Centre and the staff of the Student Dorm, in whose indoor and outdoor premises the workshop was held, as well as to the Historical and Maritime Museum of Istria and to Punkt for catering. Links to the programme, photos and videos are available at the workshop's 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](#).

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.



CONFERENCES AND CFP

Migration to/from/within Central & Eastern Europe: Decolonial perspectives on race, gender, sexuality & class – online, late November – early December (date TBA)

Questions about the position of Central and Eastern Europe in relation to European and global geographies continue to be relevant and are attracting increasing scholarly interest. Long considered peripheral to wider European geographies, Central and Eastern Europe is highly diverse with changing histories of dependence, domination, and ambivalent entanglements in global colonial relations. In recent years theoretical insights from postsocialist, postcolonial, postdependence and decolonial thinkers have enriched academic discussions and contributed to the pushback of the epistemic marginalisation of Central and Eastern Europe. In migration studies, critical discussions around coloniality and racism are overdue. This online workshop hopes to merge the recent developments in decolonial thinking on CEE with a focus on migration, particularly across race, gender, sexuality and class. ([Read more](#))

Application deadline: 17 September 2021

Reimagining Citizenship in Postwar Europe – online, February/March and June/July 2022

This two-part workshop will explore how, in the years after World War II, citizenship took on new significance as states and individuals began renegotiating their positions in society vis-a-vis race, nationality, class, gender, and sexuality. It aims to draw attention to the complex and diverse ways that citizenship was being debated, constructed, and experienced. It will do so by examining this issue from a wide range of geographical, methodological, and social perspectives. The workshop will produce an edited volume that will shed light on groups and regions that have been relatively neglected in previous studies. In particular, we are interested in exploring citizenship and belonging from the perspectives of race, gender, and sexuality. Geographically, we are keen to account for the experiences of individuals and groups in Eastern/Central Europe and the Soviet Union as well as Western Europe. ([Read more](#))

Application deadline: 4 October 2021



Biblioteka CeKaPISarnica

3. znanstveni kolokvij “Povijest u javnom prostoru: markiranje prostora – spomenici i spomen-obilježja”, Zagreb, 3 December 2021

Znanstveni skup je zamišljen kao nastavak inicijative pokrenute prije dvije godine koja je rezultirala kolokvijem Povijest u javnom prostoru: stanje i perspektive – hrvatska i inozemna iskustva održanim 2019. te kolokvijem Povijest u javnom prostoru: stanje i perspektive – Je li Drugi svjetski rat gotov? održanim 2020. godine. Na tim se kolokvijima raspravljalo o mjestu povijesti u javnom prostoru kao i o politici povijesti u raznim njezinim aspektima. Ove godine nastavit će se rasprava o javnoj povijesti kao području javne djelatnosti i kao temi historiografskih istraživanja te njezinom mjestu u obrazovnom sustavu, odnosno o politikama povijesti. Fokus će biti usmjeren na pitanje spomenika i drugih spomen-obilježja, te na različite aspekte politike povijesti vezane uz podizanje spomenika i odnos prema njima, što je čest izvor kontroverzi u Hrvatskoj, a u zadnje vrijeme i jedna od vodećih svjetskih tema. ([Read more](#))

Application deadline: 30 September 2021



POSITIONS, GRANTS AND STIPENDS

Postdoctoral Researcher - Europe's Postwar Consensus: A Golden Age of Social Cohesion and Social Mobility?, Bochum

You will be working as part of the research group “Europe’s Postwar Consensus: A Golden Age of Social Cohesion and Social Mobility?”, funded by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung. The aim of the research programme is to analyse social cohesion and social mobility during the 1950s and 1960s in pan-European comparison. It studies state efforts to promote social cohesion and social mobility and how these efforts were received and renegotiated at the societal level. In doing so, it aims to uncover parallels and divergences between Eastern and Western Europe, probing the extent to which a properly European society still existed across the Cold War divide. This project falls under the social mobility pillar and studies how the policing of protest movements represented a struggle between the winners and losers of postwar social mobility. Proposals may approach the theme either from the perspective of the protestors (urban and/or rural social movements) or from that of the police (or both). ([read more](#))

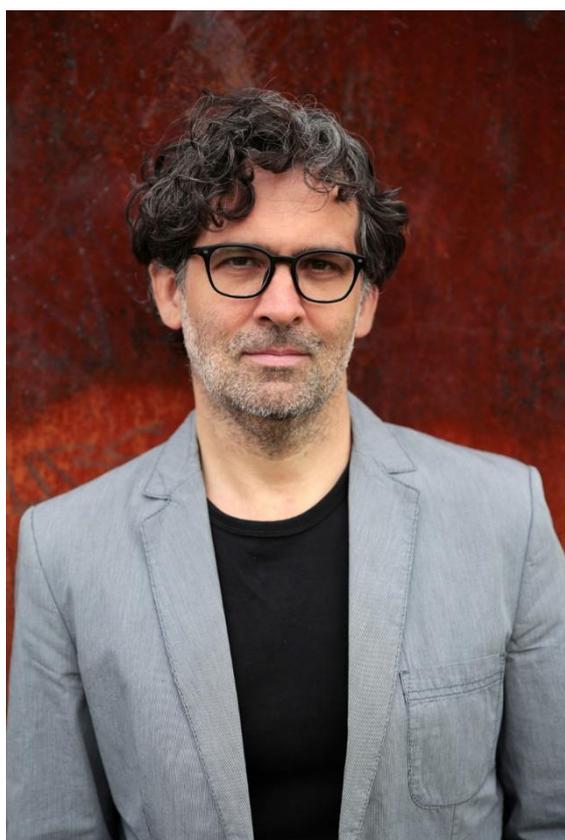
Application deadline: 15 September 2021



INTERVIEW OF THE MONTH

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

Mate Nikola Tokić is a visiting professor at the Department of History and Department of Public Policy, Central European University (CEU). ([read more](#))



Mate Nikola Tokić

You have dedicated ten years of research to your book *Croatian Radical Separatism and Diaspora Terrorism During the Cold War*, which came out last year. What has sparked your such interest in the topic overall, and what was your academic inspiration for this theme?

As is often the case with research projects, my interest in the subject came from the desire to explore further a small detail

that was part of a different project, namely my doctoral dissertation. For my thesis, I explored strategies for contending with the history and memory of World War II in socialist Yugoslavia, first by the state itself and then amongst those invested in creating a counter narrative to that of the regime. A very small part of the dissertation – something like three pages – was dedicated to discourses emanating from Croats living abroad and the impact this had on narratives developing in socialist Yugoslavia itself. I found this subject to be amongst the most interesting aspects of my doctoral research and was disappointed that I could dedicate so little space to it in the thesis. Upon completing the dissertation, I decided I wanted my next project to focus on diasporic engagements with the socialist regime.

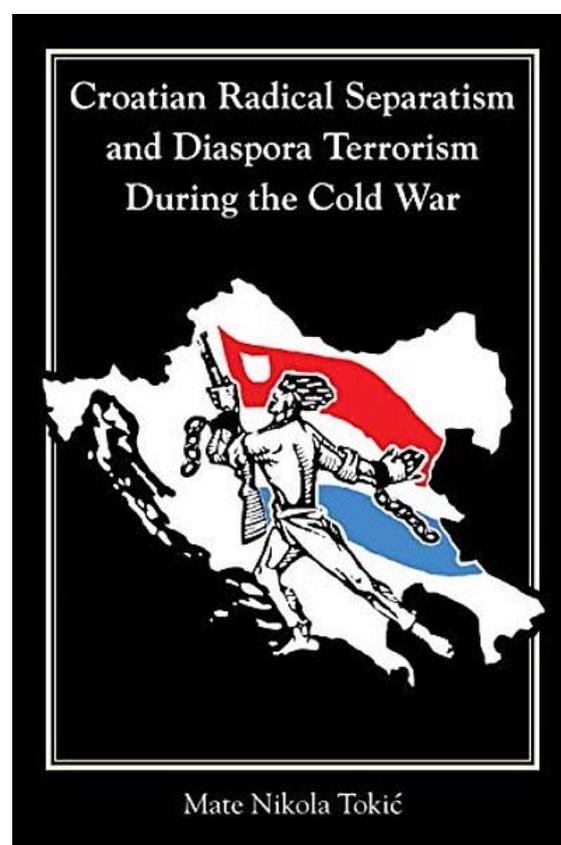
The issue of examining political violence, meanwhile, came from wanting to provide historical context to a contemporary issue. I became a historian in the first place when I realized that global – meaning, primarily, American and western European – political entanglement with the post-1991 wars in Yugoslavia thoroughly lacked historical sensitivity. I noticed a similar issue with post-9/11 engagements with Islamist political violence and terrorism amongst second and third generation migrants in western Europe and the United States. In exploring the case of terrorism among

radical Croatian separatists in the emigration, I wanted to explore an historical example of a contemporary phenomenon that was being treated wrongly as unprecedented, unforeseeable, and therefore unmanageable.

With your definition of diaspora taken from Rogers Brubaker, pertaining a non-bounded, non-essential-defined group but one defined by a collection of experiences, memories, discourses and perceptions, is it possible to speak of a Croatian diaspora? In other words, with the important aspect of your argument being the generational difference in diaspora, that is, presumption of some more-clearly-bounded groups, could you expand on the way that those groups have come to acknowledge particular experiences and interpretations of them as joint?

The point Brubaker makes – and the one I try to make – is that when exploring something like “diaspora” it is less interesting to try and determine the boundaries of the category itself than to see the ways in which perceptions of the category can and do affect individual and collective action. In this way, there is no “presumption” of a clearly-bounded group. Rather, the presumption is of a *belief* in such a bounded group, and further that this belief is formative and meaningful. Stated differently, there is no such *thing* as the “Croatian diaspora” in the same way that there is no such thing as the “Croatian nation.” But nevertheless, one cannot deny the strong emotion relationships that can and do

form with what is *imagined* as the diaspora or nation, to borrow Benedict Anderson’s famous formulation. And this belief – this imagining – arises from the referenced collection of experiences, memories, discourses, and perceptions. And just as belief in the nation – or any other category of collective identity from religion to football fandom – can influence individual action, so too can devotion to a particular understanding of what “diaspora” means.



Mate Nikola Tokić, *Croatian Radical Separatism and Diaspora Terrorism During the Cold War* (Purdue University Press, 2020)

You introduce a term ‘semi-émigré’ to denote a second generations of Croatian emigrants, who are neither/both economic nor/and political migrants. However, you admit that it is difficult to make a clear

definition, as the two aspects often overlap, with the Yugoslav state further politicising the economic reasons for migration. Thus, the question is, if the social history approach of personal memoirs is not available, what methodological challenges lie in denoting the motivation for migrating, and how can one find a way around them?

At its most basic, the term “semi-émigré” serves as a kind of social history category. Radicalization, in my view, is best explored through an examination of structures and processes rather than through a focus on actors or events. The label “semi-émigré,” stated simply, is meant to provide structural context for understanding the development of radical Croatian separatism in the emigration. Of course, all individual experiences – whatever they may be – are unique. But it is possible also to discern certain underlying social, political, economic, and cultural frameworks that not only inform personal experience, but help shape and form it. In this way, the term “semi-émigré” serves as a mechanism for helping to enlighten our understanding of the relationship between political and economic history on the one hand and the radical separatist movement on the other. At the same time, social history often struggles with fully comprehending how and why disparate individuals who ostensibly are embedded in the same or similar structural phenomena react to them differently. Here, social history needs to be wedded with cultural history,

meaning an examination of the beliefs and assumptions that underlie collective action. In combining social and cultural history, we can trace not only the structural changes that help lead to the formation of new movements, but also the perceptions individuals have to those structural changes that then inform the decisions that individuals and groups alike take. It is, in my view, at this nexus that we can best understand the process of radicalization.

A recurring notion in your book is the émigré movement’s ideological position. You mention several left-ish movements that defined the 1960s and 1970s culture as a violent one. Similarly, you note that Ante Ciliga, an interwar Trotskyist, was relatively prominent among the postwar émigré circles. On the other hand, the literal and ideational origins of the émigré movement was the self-admittedly fascist Ustaše movement. Some émigré factions prophesied pragmatism by setting the goal of an independent Croatian state above an ideology. Thus, how important was ideology for emigres overall, and how should historians approach this issue? Does ideology matter in evaluating movements or is the structure and activity of a group that allows for analogies to be made?

Much of the enduring appeal of nationalism – both as phenomenon and subject of study – is that in and of itself nationalism is not an ideology, even if it often has the appearance of being one.

Given the context, nationalism can be progressive or conservative, revolutionary or reactionary ... and sometimes neither and sometimes both at the same time. Of course, it is impossible to deny that, for various reasons, nationalism is far more adaptable to right-wing ideologies than those on the left. This said, what makes nationalism so fascinating is the degree to which it is malleable to various ideological stances and objectives. Stated differently, when exploring nationalism it is crucial not to simply “assume” ideology. At the same time, just as various ideologies use and even instrumentalize nationalism to fulfil their ends, nationalisms often do the same with ideology. What for me was fascinating in my research was to see which ideologies mattered to radical separatists, which were irrelevant, and which were mutable. In many ways, this interplay between nationalist aims and ideology was how I tried to get at the “-ism” in both “nationalism” and “separatism.” My interest was much less in the ideology itself – which, it should be emphasized again, unquestionably skewed far to the right among Croatian separatists – than how ideology was imagined, used, and mobilized both those seeking the establishment of an independent Croatian state.

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

Of course, in answering a question like this one my preference would be to

provide an answer that is clever or unconventional. But as I flip through the card catalogue in my mind of books on Yugoslav history that I have read and taught, I find myself returning repeatedly to just one: Ivo Banac’s “The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, Politics, History.” The work, in a word, is seminal. It is also deeply flawed. But more than anything, I believe it should be read because it hangs over the historiography of the region more than any other single text. Either consciously or unconsciously, historians are still engaging with Banac’s conclusions and assertions in their own research, even when dealing with subjects seemingly remote or even divorced from the national question. There are better and more insightful books to read on the region, but invariably they all both build on Banac’s research and use it as their departure point. For a young scholar, reading “The National Question in Yugoslavia” provides a particular kind of literacy to understand and engage with almost everything that has been written about Yugoslavia in the nearly forty years since its publication. The book may not provide the answers to understanding Yugoslavia that a young scholar may be searching for. But it will give the reader perhaps the best foundation needed to set about the journey.

NEWSLETTER

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