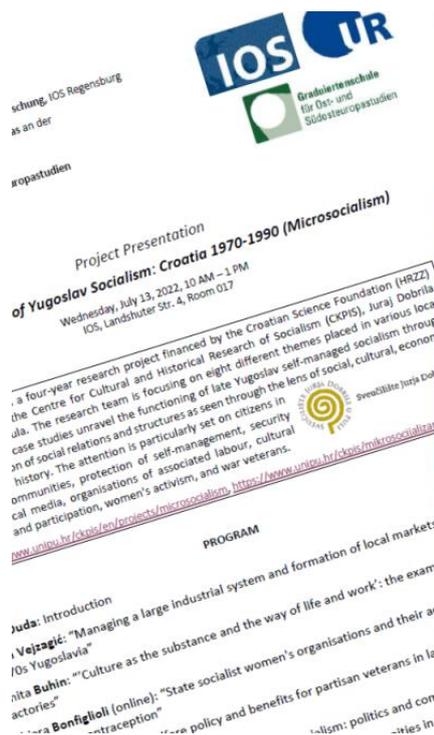


# NEWSLETTER

CENTRE FOR CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH OF SOCIALISM  
CENTAR ZA KULTUROLOŠKA I POVIJESNA ISTRAŽIVANJA SOCIJALIZMA

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## Project Microsocialism at the IOS Regensburg



On July 13, the Leibniz Institute of East and Southeast European Studies (IOS) in Regensburg, the University's Chair for the History of East and SE Europe, and the Graduate School for East and Southeast European Studies hosted the presentation of current research results of the project Microsocialism. The programme included the research team members, the host Ulf Brunnbauer, also in the role of the moderator and project's consultant, and the audience at both IOS and online. After the introduction by Brunnbauer and the PI Igor Duda, the presentations followed: online by Anita Buhin (*"Culture as the substance and the way of life and work": the example of two factories*), Chiara Bonfiglioli (*State socialist women's organisations and their activism on health and contraception*) and Magda Najbar-Agičić (*Local media in socialism: politics and community*), and the in-person contributions by Saša Vežzagić (*Managing a large industrial system and formation of local markets in the 1970s Yugoslavia*), Tina Filipović (*Social welfare policy and benefits for partisan veterans in late socialist municipalities*) and Duda (*Wishes, needs or deeds? Financing of local communities in Yugoslavia from the 1960s to the 1980s*). CKPIS and IOS have a nearly ten years long successful cooperation through different projects and exchange programmes.

Also in this issue at pp. 6-8: interview with Christian Axboe Nielsen

CKPIS was founded in July 2012 as a new unit of the University of Pula. We will celebrate the Centre's 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary throughout this year. There will be a series of lectures within the *CKPIS Summer Semester*, a round table and, here on the *Newsletter* pages, short interviews with our researchers. Moreover, in the section *Interview of the Month*, month after month, we hope to present colleagues with whom we have closely cooperated.



## TEN YEARS OF CKPIS: They said about us...

[The recording is a courtesy of Nevena Trgovčić & Radio Rojc]

On June 14, the University Library in Pula hosted the celebration of CKPIS's tenth anniversary. What follows are the excerpts from the introductory greetings and round table discussions by Robert Matijašić (the University Rector 2009-13), Tanja Petrović (Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, ZRC SAZU, Ljubljana), Torko Jakovina (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb), Damir Agičić (publishing house *Srednja Europa*, Zagreb), and Ines Prica (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb).

**Robert Matijašić:** It is difficult to say what would have happened if it had not been the way it was. The Centre started operating ten years ago. Ten years is a lot and not so much at the same time. It was the first centre that we founded at the University. We had to discover administrative ways how to do it. I am glad that the idea has succeeded, that the Centre has come to life, that it works well, and studies topics that in our society today evoke diverse feelings. However, there was

no opposition, no controversy about the establishment of the Centre, and there were no controversies after that. I am extremely glad that I participated in it, at least in that initial impulse. What members of the Centre did in these ten years of its existence confirms that they were right in convincing me to found it.

**Tanja Petrović:** What seems very important to me, and where I see the important role of the Centre is the networking that does not happen only every two years at the conference *Socialism on the Bench*. Although it primarily serves to get us all at one place, wonderful Pula at the end of September, I actually see it as an extremely important event for everyone, which, together with other things the Centre does, actually contributed to connecting today very fragmented area. The opportunities that appeared, not only networking, but also serious research projects, have actually largely contributed to making a change.

Important debates on socialism are no longer happening only at the ASSEES conference every year somewhere in the USA, which was the case in the 1990s and the early 2000s. I think that the local knowledge production that, among other things, was made possible by the work of the Centre, is very important, i.e. that the most important research is happening in the region.

**Tvrtko Jakovina:** Recently I gave a lecture at the Shoah Academy for 25 Croatian teachers preparing to leave for Yad Vashem, when a discussion developed between a colleague from Rijeka and another one, who said "in Istria and Rijeka, and even in Zagreb, the atmosphere is different than in my hometown". That atmosphere should be preserved, and that atmosphere was probably the reason why the four of founding members of the Centre could have organized something, and why it happened precisely in Pula, despite the circumstances that existed in Croatia, which was willing to be understanding, even normal enough to accept it. I think it was a very important thing. Another important thing, and I'm going to use again a comparison from the lecture mentioned before, where I said that the existing Holocaust research in Croatia is keeping the door opened for this country to speak out on its own about some other Second World War crimes. The Centre in Pula is keeping the door open for the topics on socialism. And until other actors engage more with that period, I think what researchers in the Centre have been doing has been a pioneer work and very important endeavour.

**Damir Agičić:** Few years before the founding of the Centre, around 2010-2011, I was doing some research on number of dissertations on socialism. There were maybe a dozen

dissertations on these topics. In the last ten years, partially due to the activities of the Centre, and some other institutions in Croatia, new young people got involved with new topics, so the number of dissertations has increased. The important factor were also new mentors to these young people. In the past, there were many books that talked about communist crimes and their victims, i.e., about the negative side of the socialist period. I think that the Centre's activity greatly directed new research activities and showed that socialist period is not only about problems of clergy, crimes immediately after the Second World War, or Goli otok, but that there also exists a history of everyday life, a history of social relations, a history of culture in the broadest sense, and that is what the Centre nourishes and what should continue to do.

**Ines Prica:** Ethnologists started dealing with these issues even before, as I call it, post-socialism. Not only in Croatia, but the specificity of Serbian ethnology was also that it dealt with socialism during socialism. So, the new input on research of socialism for us was a form of continuity, and it was only natural that our much older institute cooperates with younger Centre. We are connected in many ways. We have joint publications and programmes, but also, we both nourish so-called normal attitude to our research problematic, which was not always normal in our cultural landscape, even in academic environment. I think the Centre also demonstrates that you have to dare to do new things and act like what you do is perfectly normal. It was also important that the Centre was born in a time and space that was good, so it allowed the continuity for the research of socialism, and opened the space for new generations.



## CONFERENCES AND CFP

### **The 16th Serbian Political Science Association Annual International Conference: Social Justice in Post-Communist Societies, Belgrade, 1 August 2022**

Over 30 years have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the start of political and economic transformation of the communist world. Is it the right time to take stock of the phenomena? Granted, post-communist societies are different from communist ones. Are they also more just? We look into one particular aspect of the post-communist transformation – just society from a political, economic, and social point of view. Dominant ideas of 1989 were derived from the success of the market in the US and the UK. Central and Eastern Europe was supposed to imitate the West and catch up with it by implementing their political and market institutions. ([Read more](#))

Application deadline: 1 August 2022

### **BASEES 2023 Annual Conference, Glasgow, 31 March – 2 April 2022**

The British Association for Slavonic and East European Studies (BASEES) invites proposals for panels and roundtables, and papers for its 2023 annual conference. BASEES welcomes paper, panel and roundtable proposals in the following areas: Politics; History; Sociology and Geography; Film and Media, Languages and Linguistics; Literatures and Cultures; and Economics. In the context of Russia's war against Ukraine, we particularly welcome proposals that help to push forward the work to decentralise and decolonise the study of the former 'communist bloc' of the Soviet Union, Central and Eastern Europe and Asia. The conference especially welcomes participation by postgraduate research students and early career scholars. ([Read more](#))

Application deadline: 30 September 2022



## PUBLICATIONS

### **Zvonimir Stopić, *Revolucionari, revizionisti, dogmatičari, pseta i luđaci. Kina i Jugoslavija od 1948. do 1971. (Srednja Europa: Zagreb 2022)***

Tijekom prvih dvadeset pet godina Hladnog rata, Jugoslavija i Kina stajale su na suprotnim stranama iste ideologije. Pripadale su skupu socijalističkih zemalja, ali se, s izuzetkom trogodišnje stanke sredinom pedesetih, nisu nimalo smatrale "bratskim" ili "prijateljskim" zemljama. Iako su događaji koji su okruživali ove dvije zemlje u prvim godinama Hladnog rata na sličan način odredili njihove njihove osnovne stavove prema razvoju socijalizma, te shodno tomu i uloge koje su bile (samo)pozvane igrati na međunarodnoj sceni, sukob Tita i Staljina 1948, kao i kasnije odbijanje Jugoslavije da se u potpunosti vrati pod okrilje i vodstvo Sovjetskog Saveza, de facto je Kinu i Jugoslaviju učinilo neprijateljima. Nemogućnost usklađivanja kineskih i jugoslavenskih postavki o tome što bi socijalizam i komunizam trebali biti te kako bi se trebali razvijati, s jedne strane značajno pojačanih smjernicama maoističke misli, a s druge jugoslavenskom verzijom "aktivne miroljubive koegzistencije", krajem pedesetih i početkom šezdesetih doveo je do potpunog raspada ikakve mogućnosti njihova međusobnog razumijevanja. ([Read More](#))

### **Husnija Kamberović, *Historičar u javnosti (Udruženje za modernu historiju: Sarajevo 2022)***

Knjiga »Historičar u javnosti« omogućuje zainteresiranima ne samo u Bosni i Hercegovini nego i drugim zemljama dodatno upoznavanje s temama koje su osobitim predmetom sveprisutne

stereotipizacije i političke (zlo)upotrebe (odnosno, kako autor navodi, "politički motiviranih interpretacija prošlosti") te koje izazivaju najviše kontroverzi i polemika u bosanskohercegovačkoj i susjednim javnostima. Knjiga nadalje pruža uvid u to s kojim se sve predodžbama, tumačenjima i argumentima te s kojih sve pozicija takva nastojanja i polemike vode i na koji način u njima sudjeluju historičari. Među ostalim i Husnija Kamberović kao jedan od sveučilišnih profesora povijesti u Bosni i Hercegovini koji se ponajviše izjašnjava u javnosti. ([Read More](#))



## POSITIONS, GRANTS AND STIPENDS

### **Summer Institute for the Study of East Central and Southeastern Europe, Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria**

The Summer Institute for the Study of East Central and Southeastern Europe (SISECSE) is a two-week residential fellowship, that provides scholars of Eastern Europe the opportunity to undertake local fieldwork in Bulgaria. ACLS in partnership with the Centre for Advanced Study Sofia (CAS) will convene leading scholars from Eastern Europe and North America for a two-week residency in Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria from June 1, 2023 to June 15, 2023. SISECSE will provide participating scholars with two weeks to dedicate to their own research and writing in a collaborative and interdisciplinary setting. Participants will be able to undertake local fieldwork, including archival research, work in museum collections, interviews, site surveys, or other forms of data collection. ([read more](#))

Application deadline: 1 December 2022

### **2023 Visiting Scholars Program of the Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies (IOS) Regensburg**

Within the framework of its Visiting Research Fellow Program, the IOS encourages applications from historians, economists and political scientists as well as scholars of cognate disciplines. The fellows are expected to conduct research relevant to the research profile of the institute. The IOS carries out research in two major research fields: Institutionalization, De-Institutionalization, Re-Institutionalization, and Mobility(s) and Inequality(s). Together with the University of Regensburg, the IOS has established the LeibnizScienceCampus "Europe and America in the Modern World. Frictions and Transformations of Globality since the 19th Century." ([read more](#))

Application deadline: 16 September 2022

### **Visegrad Scholarship at the Open Society Archives in 2022/23: Lessons of the Cold War?, Budapest**

In the context of the current invasion of Ukraine and the ongoing tragic war, many analysts have claimed that we face the real end of (or the confirmation) of the Cold War and its dichotomies. What we witness would be the outright confrontation between civic liberalism and autocracy, or the "West" and the "East". According to Stephen Kotkin, even if post-communist societies have changed, a military-police dictatorship in some former satellite countries is still fighting a "West" seen as an enemy, and this has the reverse consolidating effect on the West which re-emerged and stood up against Putin. We invite historians, researchers, political scientists, sociologists, and socially engaged artists to reflect on the Lessons from the Cold War by taking cues from the Blinken OSA collections. ([read more](#))

Application deadline: 15 November 2022



## INTERVIEW OF THE MONTH

by Nemanja Stanimirović

**Christian Axboe Nielsen is a historian and an associate professor at the School of Culture and Society of the Aarhus University. ([read more](#))**



Christian Axboe Nielsen

Your previous book from 2020, titled *Yugoslavia and Political Assassinations: The History and Legacy of Tito's Campaign Against the Emigrés*, fills an important gap in the Yugoslav history literature by exploring the functioning of the Yugoslav State Security Service in dealing with political emigration. Firstly, why would you say that there exists such a huge discrepancy between a vast amount of the unscientific and publicist literature on Udba on the one side and the practically non-existent scholarly accounts of the same phenomena?

There are two obvious reasons. First of all, the subject is, like everything related to the Udba, of great public interest and has been for decades. There is something that grabs

the public's attention whenever the topic is related to matters such as the "secret police," assassinations and other covert operations. So, it is to be expected that journalists and publicists will rush to write about these matters as they can reasonably expect their articles and books to be sold and read. Conversely, scholars who work according to appropriate research methodology have been reluctant to delve into these matters because until about a decade ago, the relevant documentation was off limits in various state archives, and the informants who could have been used for oral history – both émigrés and former Udba employees – were both highly subjective and prone to providing false narratives.

**As you have aptly demonstrated, the Yugoslav State Security Service was a highly hierarchical institution, even after the 1974 Constitution. With their headquarters being in Belgrade, and the archives in Serbia still not allowing access to those files, to what extent can the "peripheralisation" of the archival work, that is relying on the archives in Slovenia and Croatia, sufficiently paint the picture? What would bring new the insights from the Belgrade archives? Are there any paths other than "peripheralisation" available currently to researchers in order to circumvent those limitations?**

I remain quite certain that a thorough scholarly understanding of the Yugoslav State Security Service ultimately will benefit significantly from access to the relevant archives in Belgrade. As I have stated elsewhere earlier, it is unacceptable and frankly inexplicable that these archives

pertaining to the state security service of a state that no longer exists have not been made available for researchers as has been done in both Slovenia and Croatia. A similar situation exists for researchers of the security services of the former Soviet Union, who have benefited from access to documentation in the Baltic states and in the Ukraine, but have not been able to access key archives in Russia. Some access is better than no access, and much knowledge can be gathered through the Udba documentation in Ljubljana and Zagreb, but particularly with respect to the military security and intelligence services, very little research can be done without access to the archives in Belgrade.

**While concentrating on the Yugoslav State Security Service's dealing with the Yugoslav emigration, occasional occurrences were contacts with the agents of some other states. What were the mechanisms for treating foreign actors, both state agents and non-governmental activists, who were somehow endangering the Yugoslav state?**

I think that the most important thing is to emphasize that the Yugoslav State Security Service operated in most respects precisely the way state security services of other modern states operate. So they were vigilant and constantly running counterintelligence operations to safeguard the Yugoslav party-state against any threats, regardless of whether these stemmed from other state actors (which in the Yugoslav case could be both from the Warsaw Pact and from NATO countries), or non-state actors such as émigrés. So this included surveillance, various kinds of other covert operations, monitoring communications, etc. While my book focuses on assassinations, which are an

extreme and obviously violent mechanism used to counter real and perceived threats to state security, it is necessary to emphasize that there was a strong preference to resolve any threats in a peaceful manner. If the threat could be "pacified" – to use the term of the Udba – without resorting to violence, then that was preferable.

**Previously, among other things, you have also explored the functioning of King Alexander Karadjordjević's police and Secret Service in supporting the nationalist goals of the regime. What would you say are the main similarities and differences between King Alexander's and Tito's use of the state force, and what does that tell us about the nature of Tito's regime?**

In both cases, we have dictatorial regimes that use state force to impose and maintain ideological regimes. However, the state security services in socialist Yugoslavia were much more extensive and efficient, having been developed on the Soviet model. In the socialist Yugoslav case, it is also important to differentiate between the early Stalinist period and the later, relatively speaking more "relaxed" regime. It is important that we try to be nuanced in our understandings of how the Udba's operations and methods varied both over time and geographically within Yugoslavia.

**Your latest book *Mass Atrocities and the Police: A New History of Ethnic Cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina* was just published this month, and explores the role of the police in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Why do you consider the focus on the police particularly useful in exploring the topic, and what would be the takeaways for the scholars/students of socialism from your book?**

As I state in my book, the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina started with the police, not with the Yugoslav People's Army, and the police together with the paramilitaries committed a disproportionately large number of atrocities in the war, particularly during the first year. Even after Dayton, the ethnically segregated police structures in Bosnia have remained a major obstacle to establishing any kind of positive peace. After all, much more than the army, the police are responsible for implementing the state's monopoly of force on a daily basis. The police can also obstruct and prevent any meaningful investigations of abuse of power, corruption, etc. Regardless of ethnicity, the malignant politicians who control Bosnia today know this and therefore have consistently blocked meaningful police reform.

**This year marks the tenth anniversary of the founding of the CKPIS, and you have had several collaborations with the Centre. How do you see the role of CKPIS in the academic community which deals with socialism, and has the Centre influenced your own research somehow?**

I think that CKPIS plays a very useful role in sponsoring and disseminating nuanced and

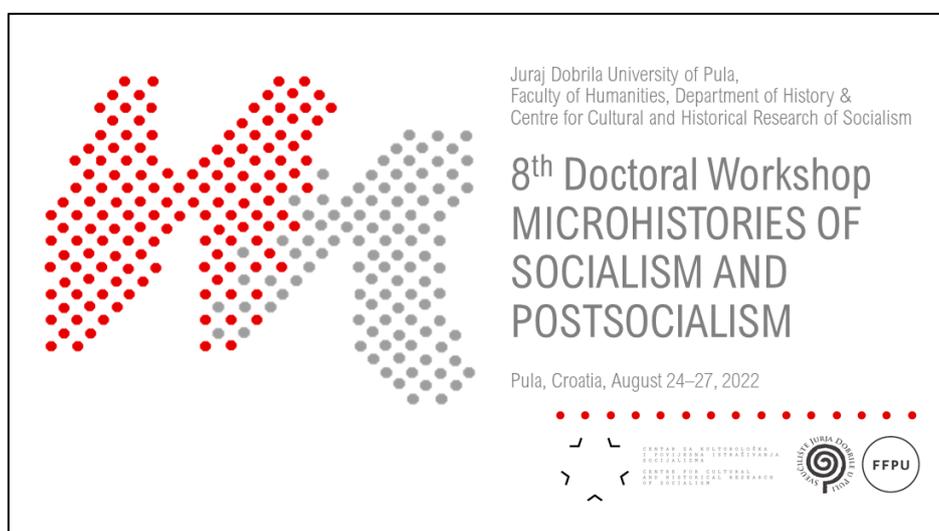
solid research on a lot of important topics about "everyday socialism" that often tend to get ignored by scholars in the region who take much more ideologically driven approaches to research. Through CKPIS, we have obtained a much more balanced understanding of various important aspects of socialist Yugoslavia.

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

That is a very difficult question, but I actually would recommend an old book - Jozo Tomasevich's classic volume, *Peasants, Politics and Economic Change* which is still a seminal work and should be mandatory reading for anyone working in the field.

## NEWSLETTER

<https://www.unipu.hr/ckpis/en/newsletter>



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**8th Doctoral Workshop**  
**MICROHISTORIES OF**  
**SOCIALISM AND**  
**POSTSOCIALISM**

Pula, Croatia, August 24-27, 2022

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