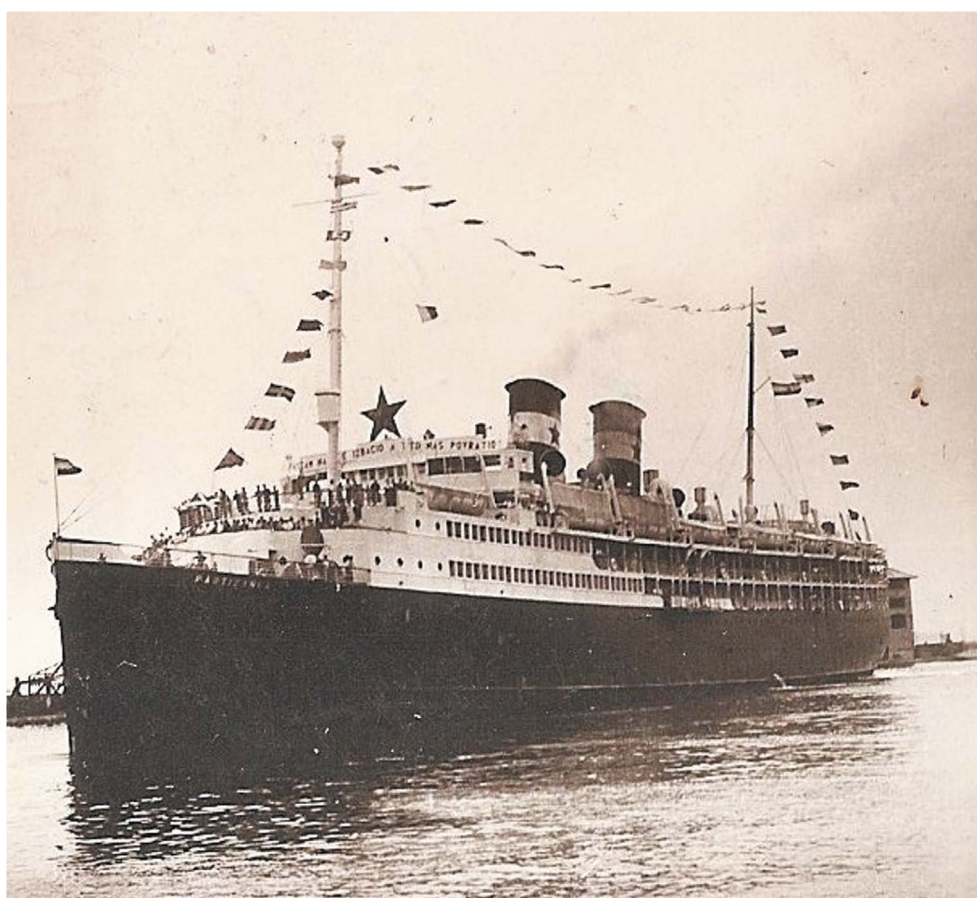


(De)constructing Yugoslavia: migrants, exiles, refugees

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS



Workshop at ZRC SAZU

Ljubljana, Slovenia
18-19 April 2024



ZRC SAZU



University
of Glasgow



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Edited by: Sara Bernard, Miha Zobec

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About the workshop

Migrations have played a major role in the history of Yugoslavia – its creation, evolution and final collapse. Yugoslavia came into being after the First World War, but émigrés in Europe and communities of settlers of South Slav origins in the Americas played an important role in its creation. New diasporas of considerable size came into being in the Americas and Western Europe, and affected the country's economic, political and cultural evolution in the interwar period. They once again played an important role in campaigning for different groups vying for political power during the Second World War and after. During the Cold War, policing diasporas became a major challenge for the Communist authorities, who had to combat new diasporas of fleeing political dissidents. To this was added the large worker emigration to Western Europe and Australia from the 1960s, a proportion of whom returned to Yugoslavia following the recessions of the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, other forms of movement came into play, like the transfer of Yugoslav experts and workers to the Eastern bloc and developing countries in the Global South, the so-called Third World, as Yugoslavia navigated the Cold War as a leader of the non-aligned world. Yugoslav developmental aid was a major showcase not just of Yugoslav socialism in the world. The commitment to an alternative world order to the Cold War divisions was, along with socialism and multi-cultural (federal) coexistence, one of the pillars of Yugoslav national identity. Towards the end of the Cold War and during the wars of the 1990s, hundreds of thousands more left, creating new diasporas alongside the old. 'Yugoslavs abroad' once again played a major role in the home country, this time in the dissolution of the common state, the wars of Yugoslav succession, and the creation of new nation-states.

This workshop critically discusses how Yugoslav nation- and state-formation were imagined, re-imagined and contested globally by 'Yugoslavs on the move'. The twelve contributions offer a new understanding of the controversies which have surrounded the evolution of Yugoslavism(s) as the idea(s) of a political unity of the South Slavs/Yugoslavs.

The workshop is hosted by the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) in Ljubljana (Slovenia) and co-organised by ZRC SAZU and the University of Glasgow. It is funded by the research programme National and Cultural Identity of the Slovene Emigration in the Context of Migration Studies, research grants Between the "Tenth Banovina" and the "Seventh Republic" and Slovenian History on a Small Scale (all three financed by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency under agreements P5-0070, J6-50191 and J6-3143) as well as by the University of Glasgow.

Keynote lecture

Yugoslav migration history and migration research: Slovenia as a laboratory

Aleksej Kalc, ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute & University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities

The territory of present-day Slovenia was among the European regions most significantly impacted by migration during the 19th and 20th centuries. Due to historical ruptures and geopolitical reconfigurations, Slovenian territory has been subject to various ideological orders and migration policies. These factors have played a crucial role in shaping the nature, scope, and orientation of migration processes, as well as influencing attitudes toward migration phenomena and migrants. Although it provides insights into the diversities and complexities of migratory movements in a crucial geopolitical area over an extended historical period, the 'Slovenian case' is largely overlooked, if not entirely absent, in discussions about the history of migration in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Starting from the key moments in Slovenian migration history, this paper will examine the related studies and approaches in the historiography, and discuss the contextualisation of the 'Slovenian case' in Yugoslav and broader migration history.



ZRC SAZU



Workshop
(De)constructing Yugoslavia: Migrants, Exiles, Refugees
18-19 April 2024
Prešernova dvorana, Novi trg 4, Ljubljana

18 April

8:45 – 9:00 Arrival of participants

9:00 – 9:15 Welcome and introduction to the workshop

Sara Bernard, University of Glasgow

Miha Zobec, ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute and University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities

Marina Lukšič Hacin, Director of the Slovenian Migration Institute

9:15 – 10:15

Keynote

Yugoslav migration history and migration research: Slovenia as a laboratory

Aleksej Kalc, ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute and University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities

10:15 – 11:30

Session 1: The establishment of the first Yugoslavia: Adaptation and resistance in migration and exile

The Montenegrin Royal Government in exile and Yugoslav unification: A case within the League of Nations, 1920-1922

Nikola Zečević, Institute for Advanced Studies, University of Montenegro, and Ludwig Maximilian University

&

An Italian citizen living in Argentina and identifying with Yugoslavia: Rudi Guštin and his travels between Venezia Giulia/the Julian March, Argentina and Yugoslavia

Miha Zobec, ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute and University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities

Chair: Sara Bernard, University of Glasgow

Discussant: Petra Kavrečič, University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities

15-minute break

11:45– 12:55

Session 2: World War Two and the birth of the second Yugoslavia: Alternative visions of Yugoslavism in emigration

Yugoslav emigration to North America and the prospect of a new Yugoslav state (1942-1945) – from acceptance to resentment

Vesna Djikanovic, Institute for Recent History of Serbia

&

Yugoslavia and its future through the eyes of leading figures of the Yugoslav exile government during the Second World War and immediately after 1945

Milan Sovilj, Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague

Chair: Sara Bernard, University of Glasgow

Discussant: Milan Mrđenović, University of Nova Gorica, School of Humanities

Lunch break

14:00 – 15:10

Session 3: The Tito-Stalin split and the emigration question

Women Cominform migrants: Those who left and those who returned (examples from the USSR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary)

Tatjana Šarić, Croatian State Archives

&

“What happens in Yugoslavia?” Cominformist emigrants in Prague on the development in Yugoslavia in the 1970s

Ondřej Vojtěchovský, Institute of World History at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague and Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes in Prague

Chair: Sara Bernard, University of Glasgow

Discussant: Lev Centrih, University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities and Institute of Contemporary History

10-minute break

15:20 – 16:30

Session 4: Migration and nation building: Domestic migration between regional and (supra)national identities

Hej Istrijani, jošte živi – Yugoslavism and Istrianity in light of migration since the 1960s

Lorena Popović, University of Tübingen and Luca Babić, University of Tübingen

&

Internal migration and socialist Yugoslav nation-building: The case of Dalmatian colonists in Stanišić (Vojvodina)

Petar Grubišić, University of Ghent

Chair: Sara Bernard, University of Glasgow

Discussant: Jurij Hadalin, Institute of Contemporary History

15-minute break

16:45 –18:30 Screening of *Slovenec po izbiri* (Slovene by choice) followed by Q&A with Arkan Al Nawas

19 April

9:00 – 10:10

Session 5: The geopolitics of migration: Yugoslavism and the regulation of international migration

Ideological commitment, pragmatism, discretion: Socialist Yugoslavia and refugees against the backdrop of geopolitical and domestic developments

Francesca Rolandi, Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Arts and University of Florence

Navigating the international division of labour: Yugoslavs employed abroad between international socialism and the imperative of economic development

Sara Bernard, University of Glasgow

Chair: Miha Zobec, ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute and University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities

Discussant: David Hazemali, University of Maribor, Faculty of Arts

10:10 – 11:20

Session 6: Imagining (post)Yugoslav futures during and after Yugoslav unity

Yes, but what then? Croatian diasporic imaginings of a post-Yugoslav future

Mate Nikola Tokic, Central European University

Nema mira bez dijaloga: The peace initiative “Mirovni dijalog/Friedensdialog” in Vienna in the 1990s

Julia Anna Tyll-Schranz, University of Vienna

Chair: Miha Zobec, ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute and University of Primorska, Faculty of Humanities

Discussant: Mladen Zobec, University of Graz, Centre for Southeast European Studies

15-minute break

11:35 – 12:35

Round table: Reflections from other fields

Participants:

Neja Blaj Hribar, Institute of Contemporary History

Jelka Piškurić, Study Centre for National Reconciliation

Milan Mrđenović, University of Nova Gorica, School of Humanities

Tanja Petrović, ZRC SAZU, Institute of Culture and Memory Studies

Chair: Sara Bernard, University of Glasgow

Lunch break: 12:35 – 14

15:00 – 17:00 City tour: A People's History of Ljubljana (tour guide: Arne Zupančič)



BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

(In order of presentation)

SESSION 2

World War Two and the birth of second Yugoslavia: alternative visions of Yugoslavism in emigration

3 Yugoslav emigration to North America and the prospect of a new Yugoslav state (1942-1945) – from acceptance to resentment

During the Second World War, Yugoslav emigrants in America once again became an active part of Yugoslav political life, twenty years after the First World War. One of the main reasons for this were the activities of Yugoslav politicians and the Yugoslav Government in Exile (YGiE). After the collapse of the Yugoslav state in April 1941, the YGiE hoped for moral, material, and political support from their compatriots in America. A Yugoslav government mission was sent to the United States, and close contacts were established with individuals and emigrant organisations in the hope of a joint effort to promote the interests of the old country. For their part, the emigrants themselves showed a genuine interest in participating in political activities and debates about the future of the country. However, political life in emigration was burdened by inherited divisions, not exclusively along ethnic lines, and by the continuation of differences within the YGiE. As a result, America became a political battleground, with political disputes and even open hostility between different Yugoslav ethnic groups and between official Yugoslav representatives. In an atmosphere of conflict, space was opened for the expression of different ideas and concepts about the future of the common state. In such an atmosphere, Yugoslav communists in America intensified political work among the emigrant communities resulting in the creation of a respectable network of support for the new Yugoslavia. The question is how marginal political organisations in emigrant life at the beginning of the war managed to create an institutionally based movement that united numerous emigrant organisations and prominent individuals behind the idea of a renewed state under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito. In the attempt to answer this question, it is certainly impossible to ignore the position of the old political forces and the lack of unity within the Yugoslav Government in Exile, which, even in moments of great challenge, failed to reach a minimum of political agreement on the future of the Yugoslav state. In the context of the political orientation of the emigrant communities, the position of the American state also held significance. Bearing this in mind, my argument is that this transformation and the success of the Yugoslav communists in mobilising the support of the emigrants was the result of strict party discipline within the Yugoslav communist movement, intelligent propaganda accompanied by a clear political idea, as well as the result of political pragmatism, reflected in the skilful laceration between the preservation of ideological correctness and the need to create an alliance. In the field of historiography, there are several works that focus on analysing the activities of the Yugoslav

government in emigration, including the analysis of political movements among emigrants in America (Đuretić, Stefanovski, Terzić). Several important works are devoted to Yugoslav emigrant communities during the Second World War (Klemenčič, Lees, Čizmić). A subject of interest were also individuals who left a noticeable mark on the political and public life of the Yugoslav element in America, such as Louis Adamic (Klemenčič, Novak). Certain aspects of the activities of the Yugoslav communists, as well as the involvement of individuals and organisations on American territory, have also been the subject of scientific interest and analysis (Ocak). However, as regards the activities of the Yugoslav communists and the methodology used to rally emigrants behind the idea of a new concept of Yugoslav unity, contemporary historiography does not provide a complete analysis free from the burden of ideological interpretation. The aim of this paper is to identify the main narratives and principles used by Yugoslav communists in their public appearances during the war years which helped to create useful alliances and secure the support of a respectable part of Yugoslav emigrant communities in America. The research presented is primarily based on archival sources and relevant literature.

Vesna Đikanović is Research Associate at the Institute for Recent History of Serbia in Belgrade. She is the author of one monograph and several research articles published in domestic and foreign publications. She is a member of the editorial board of *Tokovi istorije* (a peer-reviewed academic journal). Her research interests are focused on migration history, identities, social history, and history of humanitarianism. Her most recent publication is 'Between Humanitarianism and Politics: Some Aspects of the Relief Efforts by Yugoslav immigrants in the United States', *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* 55/2022, 93–109.

4 Yugoslavia and its future through the eyes of leading figures of the Yugoslav exile government during the Second World War and immediately after 1945

The Yugoslav exile governments that were settled in London during the Second World War (except for one short period, September 1943 – March 1944, when the exile government was seated in Cairo) undoubtedly wished for an early end to war and a return to their homeland and, to a lesser or greater extent, also for the political arrangement which they had been forced to leave behind. The difficult situation in the early stages of the war in Yugoslav territory had a great impact on the activities of the exile representation of Yugoslavia. For example, the Yugoslav exile government experienced problems related to the existence of the Independent State of Croatia and the crimes of the Ustashe regime, which had a detrimental effect on the mutual relations of Yugoslav exile ministers, in particular between Serbs and Croats. Tito's partisans started dominating and replacing the Chetnik movement as the most important partner of the Allies, and at the same

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