

International PhD Students' Conference „Revolutions and Upheavals in History“, May  
4th and 5th, 2018, Zagreb  
*Programme*

**Venue:** *Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Council Hall (Filozofski fakultet, Vijećnica)*

**Organizing Committee:** *Vinko Drača, Igor Drvendžija, Nikola Tomašegović*

**Friday, May 4th**

15:00-15:30: *Conference Opening and Introductory Speeches*

15:30-16:30: **Faiz Sheikh** (University of Exeter): *The 2011 Arab Revolutions in a Historical Perspective: Continuity and Change in Middle East Studies*

16:30-17:00: *Coffee Break*

17:00- 18:30: *First Session*

Chair: Nikola Tomašegović

**Karlo Jurak** (Archive of Serbs in Croatia, Zagreb): *Obstacles to a Revolution and Its Consequential Resignifications*

**Marija Dejanović** (University of Zagreb): *Teacher, Student, Class - Who Is the Revolutionary Subject in the Critically-Pedagogical Paradigm of Education*

**Vinko Drača** (University of Zagreb): *Transforming Anxiety to Form a Political System: Fear and Anxiety on the Example of the October Revolution*

**Saturday, May 5th**

11:00-12:00: *Keynote Lecture*

**Mark Cornwall** (University of Southampton): *The Changing Face of Traitors During the Austro-Hungarian Revolution*

12:00-13:30: *Second Session*

Chair: Vinko Drača

**Karlo Držaić** (University of Zagreb): *Marx, Marxism and the Croatian Workers' Movement: the History and Ideology of the Workers' Movement in Croatia and Slavonia from Its Beginnings to 1897*

**Nikola Tomašegović** (University of Zagreb): *Political Ideas of the fin de siècle Croatian Youth Movement*

**Zrinka Breglec** (University of Zagreb): *The Meaning(lessness) of Rebellion in Krleža's Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh*

13:30-15:00: *Lunch*

15:00-16:30: *Third Session*

Chair: Igor Drvendžija

**Andrija Popović** (University of Novi Sad): *Danube Swabians Between the Banat Republic and the November Revolution*

**Márk Turóczi** (Eötvös Loránd University): *The Romance of Revolution? The Discourse of Revolutionism of the Youth in Hungary 1957-1970*

**Pedro Ponte e Sousa** (New University of Lisbon): *Portuguese Foreign Policy, NATO, and the Transition to Democracy (1974-76): No Communist Revolution at All?*

16:30-16:45: *Coffee Break*

16:45-18:15: *Fourth Session*

Chair: Marija Dejanović

**Marino Badurina** (University of Zagreb): *Nationalism and Socialism in the Yugoslav Revolution: the Question of Transformations and Continuities*

**Igor Drvendžija** (University of Zagreb): *Attitudes towards the Revolution of the Peoples of Yugoslavia in Post-Yugoslav Countries*

**Filip Mitričević** (University of Belgrade): *The Unwanted Heritage of the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution and the Legacy of Antifascism - the Case of World War II Memory in Serbia*

18:15-18:30: *Coffee Break*

18:30-: *Okrugli stol: Nasljeđe revolucija 20. stoljeća (Roundtable: The Heritage of 20<sup>th</sup> Century Revolutions)*: **Branimir Janković, Dejan Jović, Ivana Peruško**

Marino Badurina

## Nationalism and Socialism in the Yugoslav Revolution: the Question of Transformations and Continuities

Instead of arguing about complete socialist revolutionizing of social reality, through this exposition we would like to emphasize the political, social and cultural elements that survived the transition from the pre-socialist to the socialist era (and later even to the post-socialist). Many features of previously formed dominant and particular national ideologies were built into the common idea of Yugoslavism, that is, a kind of Yugoslav supranationalism. During the war and revolutionary period of 1941-1945 (with a special "extension" until 1948) those features were found in a complementary relationship with proclaimed socialist internationalism (according to Mao's thesis, derived from Lenin, that "in a war for a national liberation nationalism is the same as implemented internationalism"). Indeed, while in capitalist societies the influence of national ideologies weakened, in the socialist collectivist regimes it was even strengthened and the socialist transformation became the source of inherited and rearticulated national questions as an integral part (moreover the *sine qua non*) of revolutionary programs. The Yugoslav case in that respect was not an exception, except through the fact of the internal complexity of that state, for which a dichotomy between Yugoslav state patriotism and ethnic nationalisms of the Yugoslav nations was present from the beginning, with a justified question of the share of individual national agendas in the total form and content of the new Yugoslav state. In order to offer both factually and interpretatively balanced answers to these and similar questions we believe that the entire war and post-war period of socialist Yugoslavia (1941-1991) should finally be *historicized*, deprived of usual abstractions, stereotypes, extensions of the present time into the past and, instead, be regarded in the frame of the recurrent dialectic between ideological modernity, long-lasting processes and inherent tradition.

Zrinka Breglec

## The Meaning(lessness) of Rebellion in Krleža's *Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh*

*The Ballads of Petrica Kerempuh* are usually read through the key of the language in which they had been written, and interpretations are often forgeries wrapped up in nationalist attire. Here we will not go into these kinds of polemics, but we will focus on a different question: it is about rebellion. The presentation is an attempt to interpret that aspect of the work which has to do with the attitude towards history and meaning of rebellion. The work will try to be interpreted through the key of the negation of the key ideas of Marx's historical materialism, i.e. a parallel will try to be drawn with Adorno's negative dialectics and Benjamin's term of *the expressionless*. It is, therefore, all about the negation not just of any type of possibility for "a better tomorrow", but about the absolute suspension of the possibility of thought about a better future all the way to the suspension of the thinkable as such. Having in mind the same line of thought, it is paradoxical to talk about the meaning of rebellion, because meaning presupposes the presence of a certain specified concept of thought, which is not only missing from the *Ballads*, but is intentionally reversed into meaninglessness – the signifiers are often not compatible with the signified. Benjamin coined the term *expressionless* for literature of that type. Expressionless refers to the communication between literature (or art in general) and that which cannot be uttered with words. Precisely because of that the expressionless in literature is a statement which has the possibility of being signified, but does not have the possibility of manifestation. The meaning(lessness) of the rebellion of the serf, therefore, refers only to the perverse grotesque humor of the eternal image of the serf "under the gallows", through the eyes of Petrica Kerempuh.

Marija Dejanović

## Teacher, Student, Class - Who Is the Revolutionary Subject in the Critically-Pedagogical Paradigm of Education

One of the founders of critical pedagogy, Paulo Freire, while talking about emancipatory practices of education, had actually outlined the disposition of the revolutionary subject. This subject has critical consciousness that manifests itself in *praxis* – that is, performs the process of *conscientization* – the individual reflects upon and changes their social reality. In the capitalist system, and in education that is organized by the banking model, conscientization is the reaction to the oppression of the subject. Self-empowerment is the reaction to the dehumanizing system. Despite this, in his dialogue-work with Ira Shor, he clearly states that the class of the oppressed – not the individual – is the vanguard of the revolution. Accordingly, he claims that the reality consensus is a product of dialogue, and therefore not one's individual reflection of the outside world. The relationship between the individual and the collective within this pedagogy is of relevance for this lecture. Education, as understood in the humanist sense, is leading the subject on their way to themselves. Critical pedagogy, having questioning and changing power dynamics as one of its chief theoretical tenets, prepares the individual for their own emancipation and for the emancipation of others. It strives to humanize individuals dehumanized by the capitalist system of production and education that is implemented within that system. At the same time, it cannot deal with implicitly unbalanced power relations within the performative space of the classroom because the students still had not developed the potential for conscientization (otherwise, education would not actually be needed). How does this impossibility of the true equality between teacher and students influence the possibility of the “true” emancipation? In the 1990s, critical pedagogy had incorporated critical post-modernism thus, as Liambas and Kaskaris are claiming, losing its capability to structurally analyze capital, state and educational institutions. Class was substituted for identity because structural analysis gave way to social pluralism – inclusiveness, not justice. Peter McLaren considers this turn to be theoretically deficient because, by focusing on the individual, it fails to deconstruct the ideology that legitimizes the existing modes of production and *status quo*. He suggests a return to the concepts of justice and equality. So, a relevant theoretical turn towards individuality was made, and the term “class” dropped out of focus. Is it possible to preserve the emancipatory potential of this theory and practice? To deal with this problem, it would be well to get back to the class-individual discrepancy, that had existed in the early phases of this theory and to contextualize it within the inherently unequal process of institutionalized education.

For its clarification, Gramsci's concept of *organic intellectual* and Giroux's concept of *border intellectual* can be interesting.

Vinko Drača

## Transforming Anxiety to Form a Political System: Fear and Anxiety on the Example of the October Revolution

Ever since the famous French historian Georges Lefebvre wrote about the Great Fear that had swept the countryside in the eve of the French Revolution the role of emotion in social upheavals is a question that had not been widely debated in historiography. However, strong feelings people are known to express towards revolutions and upheavals, as well as the analysis of the discourse of times that preceded those events, show us that a great deal of emotion is involved in political and social upheavals. It often seems as though, even if revolutions start out as struggles for political power between different classes and social factions, no struggle for power can be solely conceptualized in purely rational terms. In my paper I will try to discern fears and anxieties felt in the Russian society in the years that preceded the October Revolution of 1917 as well as the feelings experienced by actors of these events. Also, I will try to show how anxieties present in the times of the Revolution and the Civil war that followed it were gradually transformed into different sets of anxieties - anxieties about the corruption of the socialist utopia the Soviet communists were trying to build by “class enemies”. Transformations of such fears and anxieties within the fast-moving society of the Soviet union, the country whose political and economic system was something that was not tried before in Europe, can be indicators of the transformation of the entire Soviet society, of continuities and discontinuities that had left their mark on the face of world politics. I will also try to show that the way other socialist movements were formed and the way in which other communist governments formed their policies were deeply influenced by the fears of the revolutionaries turned into elites and by certain conceptions of state power that were marked by hypocognition of fear and channeling of anxiety into various acts of authoritarian oppression. To study the fears of the time I will mostly use Russian literature, propaganda, official files and autobiographical records of Soviet officials and citizens.

Igor Drvendžija

## Attitudes towards the Revolution of the Peoples of Yugoslavia in Post-Yugoslav Countries

The Yugoslav revolution, which during the Second World War thoroughly changed the societies and power-relations in the Western Balkans, left long lasting consequences which can be felt right up to the present times, and it is to be expected that the interest for the events which occurred in that period will not wane for a long period of time. Moreover, when the Yugoslav Wars broke out in the 1990s, it ensured that the stance of historiography towards the period of revolution in the 1940s would constantly be reevaluated from different angles. One of those angles, which has already been present for a long period of time, is something which is called historic revisionism. Although, the choice for the term in question might be somewhat inelegant since it is in the nature of history as a science to revise its stance about established knowledge once new evidence is discovered. Be that as it may, it is evident that the disposition towards the Yugoslav revolution is changing in all the successor states to the SFRY, wherein the media has a more influential role than historiography as such. Nevertheless, despite the fact that it is the media which uses revisionist discourse to a greater extent than historiography, that does not mean that such phenomena should be neglected. In fact, if we take into account that the larger proportion of the populace is exposed to the information from the public sphere rather than to historiography texts, we could assume that it is precisely the media itself which has a larger impact on the collective memory than does historiography. Following modern trends of equating the fascist and communist regimes, it is evident that in the public discourse of the states descendant from the SFRY there exist the tendencies of diminishing the historic role the Yugoslav revolution played in the fight against fascism during the Second World War. The long-term consequence of such defamation of the national liberation struggle could lead to the situation where it will no longer be easy to distinguish it essentially from the local collaborationist regimes of the time. In such a confusing manner of comparison of the antifascist front and quisling factions, there is a danger that society might start to look less critically on the latter and slowly even begin to disregard their criminal character, which is something historiography is obliged to react upon.



Karlo Držaić

## Marx, Marxism and the Croatian Workers' Movement: the History and Ideology of the Workers' Movement in Croatia and Slavonia from Its Beginnings to 1897

With this paper I will address a somewhat unexplored topic of both the history and the ideological preferences of the Croatian working class movement in its early years, that is, in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century presents a formative period in the history of the Croatian workers' movement, a political project that in the twentieth century played a decisive role in regional history, culminating with the establishment of socialist Yugoslavia after the Second World War. Although the beginnings of this movement can be traced back to the middle of the nineteenth century, when socialist and anarchist ideas started to gain ground in Croatia and Slavonia, the first workers' organizations, mostly for education and worker coordination, started to appear not until the late sixties onwards in towns such as Osijek and Zagreb. But it took more than twenty years from the appearance of these first educational and solidarity based organizations for the workers' movement to evolve into a politically active and relevant entity. At the height of its popularity, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, led by the Socialdemocratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia, the workers' movement represented the frontier in the struggle for democratization under the repressive regime of ban Khuen-Héderváry. Precisely because of the popular support gained by leading the struggle for democratization, in 1897 the Socialdemocratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia came under a systematic repression that succeeded, by constructing mock accusations against its leading figures, in temporary destabilizing the workers' movement and stopping its political work. While the purely historical part of this paper mostly relies on previously published works, the ideology of the workers' movement is analyzed by applying the methodology of discourse analysis to various publications that represented the working class in the fields of public and political discourse. Combining discourse analysis with the classical historical method enables me to map ideological preferences and explain them in historical context.

Karlo Jurak

## Obstacles to a Revolution and Its Consequential Resignifications

Since the end of the 19th century and Engels' warnings about structural obstacles to revolutions, an almost continuous decline of the belief in the possibility of the frontal revolutionary overturn is present. This pessimism was mitigated by the victory of the October Revolution and the victories of many other revolutions during the Second World War and in Third World countries. However, there were many other moments which were imposed through time as further obstacles to a revolution: the breakdown of the German revolution and the uprising of fascism, the role of social democracy in Western countries and the effect of the so-called real-socialist regimes, the proliferation of identity politics and particular subjectivities in the period after 1968, the fall of the Berlin wall and the breakdown of real-socialist regimes and, finally, the current world configuration in the 21st century at all levels (from the economic to the discursive). It is necessary to consider these moment, in their historical totality and context, from several points of view: from the point of view of the dominant political order (liberal democracies, authoritarian minimal liberal democracies, extremely authoritarian regimes and left governments in capitalism can be distinguished here), the revolutionary subject (which includes the working class, peasantry, popular masses in the widest sense, petty middle class, identity-defined particularities, the „multitude“, etc.), the discursive point of view (e.g. human and minority rights, social justice, immigration, political correctness, ecological themes, conspiracy theories, etc.). Taking these moments from all these points of views into consideration, some resignifications of revolutions and potential revolutionary forces towards parliamentarism in the political sphere are present; in the sphere of culture and its institutions, in the so-called human rights field and the „trans-ideological“ sphere. The latter is a commonplace of numerous populist, but ideologically syncretic movements which are imposed as alternatives. All of this leads to the conclusion which affirms the already anticipated pessimism about an immediate and momentary revolutionary overturn. It also imposes pessimism in terms of outcomes of alternative revolutionary models. Yet, on the other hand, this indicates optimism regarding the necessity of overcoming the existing order and the objective inherent limits of the system.

Filip Mitričević

## The Unwanted Heritage of the Yugoslav Socialist Revolution and the Legacy of Antifascism - the Case of World War II Memory in Serbia

Socialist Yugoslavia represented quite a specific phenomenon in 20th century European history. It was the only Eastern bloc country to which communism did not come on a Soviet tank, but through a local antifascist resistance movement which rose to a national socialist revolution. Therefore, the building process of the culture of remembrance was very much different than in the rest of the socialist countries, and it was deprived of the dominant Soviet influence. Nevertheless, the model was quite similar. What was different was the iconography and especially the reception of this moment in history in the consciousness of the people. The memory building process in the physical sense was quite closely followed by a psychological, mnemonic aspect, and a strong narrative. For some time it served as a primary sense of identity for the process of nation-building. But, when this process failed and when Yugoslavia fell apart, the narratives experienced a brutal shift which led to a situation where this heritage became unwanted. Due to the complete denunciation of the Yugoslav identity and the socialist past and narrative, the antifascist context was (and is) in danger. Now, World War II memory in Serbia is suffering from either complete and utter neglect, a complete shift in narrative, physical change of identity when it comes to monuments, or a shift in context and purpose to which it (does not) serve. This essay will try to analyze and summarize the beforementioned aspects of a monumental legacy of a certain era via an overview of the current collective state of mind observable from historiography, school textbooks, memorials and memorization, literature, etc. This heritage now represents a chimerical mixture of wanted and unwanted heritage where the identity and its purpose, and especially its future, are in question.

## Portuguese Foreign Policy, NATO, and the Transition to Democracy (1974-76): No Communist Revolution at All?

With the April Revolution (April 25th, 1974) and the regime change, there were many and significant alterations in Portuguese society, with a clear rupture regarding the external position of the previous regime: the African (colonial) "vocation" was rejected, replaced by an adherence to the principles and values of the political process of European integration. However, the country did not abandon its "Atlantic vocation": the maintenance of a "special relationship" with the USA, the Lajes agreements and participation in the NATO. Although the Constitution of 1976 explicitly defends, to this day, "the dissolution of political-military blocs", Portugal never ceased to participate in the Atlantic Alliance; on the contrary, even during this period, the recurring public positions of high figures of the State reinforced Portugal's commitment to the NATO. If the Revolution liberated and developed the diplomatic apparatus, Portugal quickly rejected "Third World" ways and aligned itself with the Atlantic power. Using the literature and instruments provided by Foreign Policy Analysis, and in particular the studies on foreign policy change (and continuity), we will identify how three essential elements identified by the theory were combined, at that moment: the change of essential structural conditions, strategic political leadership, and some kind of crisis. Additionally, we aim to assess if, on the one hand, an artificial hegemony was built around this option of foreign policy, denying one of the ruptures of the Revolution; or, on the other hand, if it was aligned with the superpower, supporting its actions and eventually benefiting from that power for its own projects (being the new regime "comfortable" with a North American/Western world order). Trying to re-read the literature and official documentation according to this theoretical perspective, we aim, in short, to understand with a new approach if this axis of foreign policy was seen as guaranteeing the stability and security of the country, or if it refers to a defeat of the revolutionary process in itself.

Andrija Popović

## Danube Swabians Between the Banat Republic and the November Revolution

The Danube Swabians lived relatively peacefully from the mid - 18<sup>th</sup> century until World War I. They mixed in with the local population and they established themselves as the dominant economic factor in southern Hungary, parts of Slavonia and today`s Romania. They were settled in these parts by the court in Vienna, they were loyal to the Monarchy and they provided stability to the region. However, in late 1918 they found themselves in a complicated political position after the collapse of Austria – Hungary. For the first time since they had settled in southern Hungary, they were to be split up between the newly formed states that divided the territory. The situation caused turmoil amongst the Danube Swabians. For the first time in their post – migratory history, they actually needed to fight for their position as a national entity and for the recognition of their political rights. Among other factors of division, the November revolution broke out, setting Germany on fire and splitting it from Kiel and then southwards. The point of this paper is to investigate how the Danube Swabians reacted and how they perceived the chaotic historical moment. Ergo, how they reacted to the potential creation of Banatia (the Banat Republic) as a German – dominated state in former southern Hungary and how they received and processed the revolutionary ideas of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Both of these and many more influences are present in their periodicals of the time, and these ideas shaped the entire culture of remembrance of the age. Therefore, the paper will aim to answer as well as to ask some new questions regarding the development of the culture of remembrance of the Donau Swabians, as well as their own specific identity.

Nikola Tomašegović

## Political Ideas of the *fin de siècle* Croatian Youth Movement

The crisis of liberal politics which in the 1890s caused turmoil in the Austrian half of the Monarchy affected the political and social situation in Croatia as well. The leading political parties were unable to cope with the now well established regime led by Count Khuen Héderváry. In 1895, the student protest which culminated in the burning of the Hungarian flag manifested first signs of the need for political change. The youth demanded action and chastised the old oppositional forces for their passivity. Their political ideas, however, were still largely undeveloped. The unexpected effect of the repression after the student protest was the creation of émigré youth political centres, most notably in Prague. There they developed their political ideas under the influence of diverse political ideologies and movements. The aim of this paper is to explore these political ideas, primarily focusing on their relationship to mainstream politics in Civil Croatia and Slavonia. Did these ideas constitute a clear break with the past, a revolution in political thinking of sorts, or did they, despite their antihistoricist charge, represent a continuity with the established oppositional ideas of the Croatian political elites? Was the rebellion of the youth against their „fathers“, under the influence of the new and „modern“ European trends, so relentless that there was no room for compromise or was it a symptom of the much needed generational change which inevitably adapted the political practice according to the current needs and political situation? In this paper I will focus on political ideas and conceptions elaborated by Croatian students in Prague mostly in their periodical *The Croatian Thought (Hrvatska misao)* which had been published in 1897, as well as those written by student activists at the University of Zagreb and published also in 1897 under the title *The National Thought (Narodna misao)*. Special attention will be paid to their similarities and differences that may point to pertinent conclusions as to the aforementioned questions, especially dealing with the problem of continuity and discontinuity with the established political thought and practice in Civil Croatia and Slavonia.

Márk Turóczy

## The Romance of Revolution? The Discourse of Revolutionism of the Youth in Hungary 1957-1970

After the Revolution of 1956 in Hungary, the Kádár regime revised the political and ideological tasks and aims in the field of the youth. A lot of young people participated – not only armed, but also intellectually - in the Revolution, therefore the formally new youth organization – the Hungarian Communist Youth Organization – was founded in 1957 and the forms of youth politics started to change. In these circumstances tension was caused between actual political aims and the communist ideology. According to the ideological basis, „revolutionism” had only a positive attitude, and after the communist revolution (which happened in Hungary after 1945-1948 without a „real” revolution) there could not be another revolution. The official explanation of 1956 was „counter revolution”, which was a hardly credible interpretation of the events of '56. Hence, the emphasis of revolutionism faded in the discourse. On the other hand, the regime realized, young people need the feeling of the „romance of revolution”, and the youth organisation had to control it by way of political movements (for example: „Revolutionary Youth Days”, „We Accuse Imperialism”), celebrations, symbols. The opposite of the „romanticism of revolution”, the „everyday’s revolutionism” idea was created and used in the press and public speeches. This system was challenged when the worldwide events of 1968 (invasion of Czechoslovakia, student riots in Paris and the USA, Maoism, etc.) revitalized the discourse of revolutionism in Hungary. In this paper I examine the discourse of revolutionism, and its appearance in political movements. The main question of the present writing is: first, how the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) and the Hungarian Communist Youth Organization tried to handle romantical revolutionism ideologically, and how it appeared in political movements, celebrations, symbols. And second, what kinds of changes were made in youth politics and the discourse of revolutionism after the events of 1968?