

Abstracts

■ *Augusta Dimou: Diverging Paths to Modernity: Socialism as an Intellectual Movement in the Nineteenth Century. A Comparative Approach*

The article examines the introduction of socialist theory as part of the political modernity of the nineteenth century in three Balkan countries: Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. It discusses first the dialectics between the introduction of an ideology and its context of adaptation. Then it proposes to view the transportation and adaptation of ideologies as a dynamic process involving multiple strategies. Further, the article situates socialism among other ideologies of mass representation in the nineteenth century, establishes the temporal sequence in which they were introduced in the Balkan space and assesses their relationship to the broader project of constructing modernity. The fact that socialism could assert itself as an ideological option in the predominantly agrarian Balkan societies of the nineteenth century may appear at first glance paradoxical. The article thus examines the significance of socialism against the background of „underdevelopment“, and underlines the influence of intellectuals as the principal disseminators of ideology. It highlights the catalytic influence of Russian socialism in the 1870s and 80s (predominantly populism and, to a lesser extent, Marxism) on the early Balkan socialist movement, an influence that did not limit itself to intellectual fertilization, but was also instructive for the model of „intelligentsia“ that was concomitantly adopted. It maps out the geographic contours of early socialism, pointing to the significance of Russian influence for the east-central Balkans (Bulgaria, Serbia and Romania), and traces these early itineraries of influence and networks of transfer. It singles out the case of Greece, which due to predominantly Western socialist influence was left untouched by Russian radical thought. It discusses further the passage from the populist to the Marxist paradigm and the growing influence of Western Marxism, exploring the diverse ramifications that the interplay between Populism, Marxian socialism, and agrarianism were to follow in each of these countries, and concludes with an assessment regarding broader legacies of intellectual transfer in the Balkans.

■ *Sabine Rutar: The Construction of Collective Memory in a Multinational Social Democrat Context: Trieste Prior to the First World War*

After giving an overview of recent developments within the international and Trieste-related historiography on workers and social democrat workers' movements, the article introduces the setting of the multinational social democratic milieu in Habsburg Trieste at the turn of the century, i.e. the urbanization process, the national conflict, as well as the reference points of the social democratic movements. What follows is an analysis of how memory was constructed by the local Italian and Slovene social democrats: They referred to specific role models of the past; they separated what they called erroneously constructed memories from more suitable ones; and, importantly, they were particularly successful in tying bonds between the workers of all nationalities through the retrospective enforcement of local events and personalities, which became a lasting baggage of Triestine social democratic identity. As becomes

evident, each national group constructed their own set of memories as part of their identity, with the local aspects becoming a patrimony of both Italian and Slovene social democratic workers.

■ *Rolf Wörsdörfer: Social Movements, the Political Left and the National Question of the Slovenes (1848–1991)*

The author scrutinizes the relations between social movements and the national question as they developed in the Slovene-speaking regions during a period of 150 years, starting with the revolution of 1848 and ending with the declaration of independence in 1991. The geographical framework being rather narrow, a perspective of *longue durée* has been chosen. The contacts between the movements within the society, the political programs and the cultural practice on the one hand and the search for a national identity and an international role on the other are investigated. An attempt is made to explain why the idea of an independent state – despite the growing integration in the European Union – has achieved such a strong consensus in the Slovene society, invoking some of the political programs which had mobilized a large part of the population during the last two centuries.

■ *Reiner Tosstorff: The Balkan in View of the Trade Union International*

The Balkans drew the attention of the Trade Union International, founded as a separate institution in 1901 under social-democratic dominance and led by the German Carl Legien. It organised essential support for the development of the Balkan trade unions. At the same time, it tried to mediate in the conflicts which shook the Bulgarian workers' movement, with repercussions all over the Balkans. The consequences of the First World War led to the transformation of these organisational conflicts into political ones when the communist Red International of Labour Unions was founded. A bitter struggle was waged within the Balkan trade union movement which further undermined its weak position. The reconstruction of the intervention by the two trade union internationals not only shows the organisational consequences and the mutual interdependencies, but also highlights the difficulties of the 'gaze from afar', from the centre of the European labour movement, onto such an 'exotic region'.

■ *Heinz Willemsen: The Labour Movement and the National Question: The Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Macedonia in the Inter-War Period*

In economically less developed countries, communism and nationalism tend to appear as closely related concepts, even though they might belong to ideologically different spheres. In the case of Macedonia, scholarship has viewed the domestic communist organization as an instrument in the service of a nationalist movement. However, even the still limited source material available today would allow one to draw a more complex picture of the situation. Typically East European by social background and world view, the Macedonian communists shared the scepticism of orthodox Marxists as regards nation and nationalism and resisted Soviet attempts to exploit national discontent in the Balkans in the early post-World War I era. In the wake of a severe inter-generational conflict, a group of young Belgrade students gained control of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the late 1930s. The subsequent transforma-

tion of the party according to the Bolshevik model prepared the ground for a greater emphasis on the national question, especially since the Comintern had decreed in 1935 the transition to a policy of national front.

■ *Özgür Gökmen: The State of Labour in Turkey, 1919–1938*

The dissimilarity between the labour movements in Turkey and Western Europe is admitted to a great extent. The Turkish case is frequently interpreted as a divergence from the classical pattern resulting in assessments diminishing the role of these movements. Nonetheless, new insights by historians working on various cases in the semi-periphery help us to re-appraise this often non-disputed fact. This paper does not set as an aim to re-evaluate the history in the light of these new insights, but only attempts to provide a review of these insights and an outline of the state of labour in Turkey at the beginning of the last century.

■ *Aleksander Jakir: Workers' Self-Management in Tito's Yugoslavia Revisited*

The paper examines the connection between economic development and the genesis of different forms of nationalism in socialist Yugoslavia with its specific system of workers self-management. It seems that the pivots of divergent national interests reflecting particular economic situations of industrial concerns in individual republics were engaged, on the federal level, in a fierce competition for the limited economic resources, in other words, national rivalry found expression primarily in economic terms, subsequently to be emotionally charged with the rather familiar historical, linguistic and cultural arguments (as became clear in the movement known as the „Croatian Spring“ of 1971). The preliminary results of a research project on „Socialist State Enterprises and the Spread of Nationalism on a Regional Level: the Example of Yugoslavia, 1953–1974“ seem to support the view that a national mobilization took place only after economic conflicts had taken hold of large parts of the population. At least the results of research we have conducted so far seem to support the view that a national mobilization took place only after economic conflicts had taken hold of large parts of the population. In other words, we are confronted here with an interesting case in which primarily specialist debates on economic questions developed into issues of nationalism involving larger segments of society.

