

Social and Economic Transitions at Different Scales in Modern Central- and Southeast-Europe

Soziale und wirtschaftliche Transitionen im modernen Mittel- und Südosteuropa

1945



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International
Workshop

Budapest,
20 March 2015

Program
and Abstracts

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**Social and Economic Transitions at Different Scales
in Modern Central- and Southeast-Europe**

**Soziale und wirtschaftliche Transitionen
im modernen Mittel- und Südosteuropa**

20 March 2015, Friday

Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for Humanities

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Room: Jakobinus terem

Organisers:



MTA

Bölcsészettudományi
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Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Centre for Humanities



Collegium Carolinum Munich

Program

9.00–9.20 *Opening Session*

Greetings by the organisers

Dr. Pál Fodor – Director General of the HAS RCH

Dr. Jana Osterkamp – Senior Research Fellow of the Collegium Carolinum,
Project Leader

9.30–11.00 *Panel 1: Die Eigentümlichkeiten der Beziehungen Österreich–
Ungarns zu den von Albanern bewohnten Gebieten / Austria–Hungary’s Peculiar
Relations with the Areas Inhabited by Albanians*

Chair: Dr. Imre Rész (HAS RCH)

Language: German

- Dr. Eva Anne Frantz (Vienna): Zwischen Gewalt und Koexistenz –
Muslime und Christen im spätoomanischen Kosovo, 1870–1913 /
Between Violence and Coexistence – Muslims and Christians in Late
Ottoman Kosovo, 1870–1913
- Dr. Kurt Gostentschnigg (Graz): Die österreichisch–ungarische
Albanologie 1867–1918 – ein Fall für Kulturimperialismus? /
Austro–Hungarian Albanology 1867–1918 – A Case of Cultural
Imperialism?
- Dr. Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics (Budapest): Die Internationale
Kontrollkommission Albaniens (1913–1914) – Staatenbau von
ausen / The Albanian International Commission of Control (1913–
1914) – State-building from outside / abroad

11.00–11.30 Coffee break

11.30–13.00 *Panel 2: Interdisziplinäre Ansätze für eine Geschichte Österreich–Ungarns / Interdisciplinary Approaches to the History of Austria–Hungary*
Chair: Dr. Zoltán Szász (HAS RCH)

Language: German

- Dr. Jana Osterkamp (Munich): „Multinational federalism“. Eine politikwissenschaftliche Perspektive für die Habsburgermonarchie / 'Multinational Federalism'. Insights of Political Sciences for a History of Federalism in Late Imperial Austria
- Björn Lemke (Munich): Eine Kulturgeschichte der Ökonomie. Institutionengeschichtliche Fragestellungen über den Dualismus in Österreich–Ungarn / A Cultural History of Economics. An Institutional Perspective on Dualism in Austria–Hungary
- Dr. Bálint Varga (Budapest): Historiker zwischen Nationalismus, Reichsidee und den Ansprüchen der Objektivität / The Historians of Austria–Hungary between Nationalism, Imperial Idea and the Standards of Objectivity.

13.00–14.00 Lunch

14.00–15.30 *Panel 3: Empires in the Making and Breaking*

Chair: Dr. Miklós Zeidler (ELTE University Budapest)

Language: English

- Dr. Gábor Egry (Jena, Budapest): Negotiating Post-Imperial Transitions, 1918–1925. A Comparative Study of Local and Regional Transitions from Austria–Hungary to the Successor States
- Dr. Gábor Demeter (Budapest): The Problems of Measuring Economic Growth on the Balkan Peninsula
- Dr. Florian Kühner-Wielach (Munich): Vaida-Voivod, the Royalist from Café Wien. A Biographical Sketch between Habsburg and Hohenzollern

15.30–16.00 Coffee break

16.00–17.30 *Panel 4: Nation-building in Socialism*

Chair: Dr. Eszter Bartha (ELTE University Budapest)

Language: English

- Dr. Péter Apor (Budapest): The Dilemmas of Communist Nationalism
- Dr. György Lukács (Budapest): National Aspirations in Socialist Yugoslavia (1966–1971) – the Cases of Croats and Serbs
- Sevan Pearson (Munich): Muslim Nation-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1960s

17.30–17.45 *Final Conclusion:* Dr. Attila Pók (HAS RCH)

19.00 Dinner for the lecturers



Abstracts

Panel 1: Austria–Hungary’s peculiar relations with the areas inhabited by Albanians

Austria–Hungary is not considered to be a colonial great power and neither is Albania regarded as a colonial area. However, from 1896 until 1914 the Habsburg Monarchy adopted a policy towards Albania and the Albanians that fits into the discourse of colonialism.

The present panel demonstrates the diverse relations Austria–Hungary tended with Albanian territories. These relations were based on the consulary reports that provided not only the analyses of the current political situation but detailed and elaborate accounts on the everyday life of the Albanian-inhabited regions. The so-called ‘Albanian Lobby’ operating alongside the Ballhausplatz played the role of an external ethnic entrepreneur in the Albanian nationbuilding process. Furthermore, the International Commission of Control in 1913–1914 operated not only as one of the most important institutions of the statebuilding but it also secured the active participation of the Austro–Hungarian commissar in the process.

Dr. Eva Anne Frantz (Vienna): Between Violence and Coexistence – Muslims and Christians in Late Ottoman Kosovo, 1870–1913

The analysis of the dynamics and mechanisms of living together of Albanian Muslims, Albanian Catholics and Orthodox Serbs in late Ottoman Kosovo in the period between 1870 and 1913 shows that interreligious and interethnic relations in everyday life were characterised by a mixture of peaceful coexistence and cooperation, but also conflicts and violence. The research takes up approaches of the historical sciences, but also includes research questions of the cultural sciences and sociology.

The concept of the lifeworld is well-suited for analyzing different forms of living together of various religious and ethnic groups and occupies a central position in the investigation. A special emphasis concerns the aspect of social communication including both peaceful interaction and orientation towards agreement and as well violence caused by disagreement. Interreligious and

interethnic relations destabilised in consequence of the political, economic and military crisis of the Ottoman Empire exacerbated by its reform policy, the growing influence of the European Great Powers and territorial ambitions in the neighbouring Balkan states as well as the increasing presence of the Christian denominations in public spheres. In particular, it was the diverging Serb and Albanian experiences of violence during the Great Eastern Crisis in the years 1875 until 1878 and the Serbo-Ottoman War 1877/78 as well as the First Balkan War 1912/13 that lead to separate lifeworlds and worlds of experience as well as exclusive forms of boundary drawing.

Dr. Kurt Gostentschnigg (Graz): Austro–Hungarian Albanology 1867–1918 – A Case of Cultural Imperialism?

The primary aim of the project is to give a clear answer to the question whether Austro–Hungarian Albanologists let themselves being instrumentalised by Austro–Hungarian politics and military or was it a mutual exertion of influence between the academic, political and military field with a multitude of players? In addition, there are some detailed questions to be answered such as the formation and history of the field of Albanian studies, its relationship with the field of power or the problem of the belonging of several famous Albanologists to various fields.

For the resolution of the mentioned research questions a combination of Johan Galtung's concept of cultural imperialism and Pierre Bourdieu's field theory in relation to individual and institutional social actors has been chosen. Whereas Galtung's concept constitutes an instrument for the analysis of the asymmetric relations between Austria–Hungary and the emerging Albania, Bourdieu's field theory offers a significant potential for the analysis of the relationship between the Austro–Hungarian field of foreign policy on the one hand and the military and the academic field on the other hand.

Dr. Krisztián Csaplár-Degovics (Budapest): The Albanian International Commission of Control (1913–1914) – Statebuilding from outside / abroad

The idea of establishing the Albanian International Commission of Control (ICC) was put forward by the great powers at the London conference (1912–

1913). The primary aim of which was that in the aftermath of the two Balkan wars certain issues be decided by the great powers rather than the warring parties. Such issue was the creation of an independent Albania.

On 28 July, 1913, the participants of the London conference adopted a statute that contained the most important resolutions regarding the Albanian issue. Points 4-7 specified how the Commission was to be created and elaborated on its tasks. The purpose of the Commission was to supervise the Albanian state-building process on behalf of the great powers and to settle controversial issues on the spot.

An important tool of international peacemaking, the 'International Commission of Control' had become one of the provisional means of the great international and interventional peacekeeping in the aftermath of the world wars. One may rightly assume that the 'Albanian International Commission of Control' served as an example for the various commissions of control created by the great powers in Europe in the wake of World War I and II, which exercised a fundamental influence on the 20th century development of the European nations concerned.

Panel 2: Interdisciplinary Approaches to the History of Austria-Hungary
Historiography on late Austria–Hungary can not be told only as a mere prehistory of the later successor states. In order to go beyond national narratives, this panel combines different interdisciplinary and supranational perspectives. Political science – both with the approach of 'multinational federalism' and with an institutionalist perspective – sheds fresh light on multiethnicity, multiconfessionality as well as on socioeconomic and political cleavages within the Dualist Empire. Last not least, historiography on Austria–Hungary has to become aware of its own supranational history as well.

Dr. Jana Osterkamp (Munich): 'Multinational Federalism'. Insights of Political Sciences for a History of Federalism in Late Imperial Austria

In recent years, the interest of political sciences in federalism has shifted from mere state-organizational questions towards an interest in societal

conditions of federalism. A very prominent keyword and concept is ‘multinational federalism’, stressing the importance of integrative and separative policies, of loyalties, identities and belonging for the functioning of federal states. In the Habsburg Monarchy, the history of federalist and federative ideas has always been interlinked with the history of societal diversity. It is tempting to adopt the perspective of multinational federalism for historic research. On the one hand, multinational federalism enhances our understanding of ethnofederative plans for late imperial Austria and its shortcomings. On the other hand, however, one has to keep in mind the specificities of an imperial order, that are hardly comparable with federal systems of today. Thus, the paper deals with the question, which advantages and disadvantages are provided by this approach.

Björn Lemke (Munich): A Cultural History of Economics. An Institutional Perspective on Dualism in Austria–Hungary

Since the cultural turn, perspectives on history have been shifted towards new theoretical approaches. Innovative interdisciplinary insights into the object of research might be the consequence. One of these interdisciplinary potentials could be an understanding of economic history as cultural history. In combination with additional theoretical approaches stemming from the field of social sciences, such as multi-level governance and new theories of institutionalism, the economy is integrated into society beyond materialistic or developmental approaches. The Habsburg monarchy with its unique political structure and wide range of socioeconomic variety is a proper research objective to test these kinds of approaches. Starting with Dualism as a framework for political regulation of the common market, the paper tries to develop an institutionalist point of view towards the Habsburg Monarchy. This regulatory approach is combined with some insights into the (cisleithanian) contemporary view of the functioning of Dualism as a regulatory framework.

Dr. Bálint Varga (Budapest): The Historians of Austria–Hungary between Nationalism, Imperial Idea and the Standards of Objectivity

While historians in Austria–Hungary of the late 19th century were mostly preoccupied with establishing national master narratives to forge an ideal and usable past of their respective nations, there were a handful of institutions and intellectual circles which aimed at creating an imperial historical scholarship. Established in 1854, during the last attempt to centralize the Habsburg Monarchy, the Austrian Institute of Historical Research was the central institute to train future historians according to current academic standards and a Habsburg agenda.

During the decades of the Dualist system, a few intellectual circles crystallized, which aimed at combining Habsburg loyalty and national identity. One example of these was the Viennese school of Hungarian historiography, marked by Árpád Károlyi, the last director of the Austrian State Archives and the historian of Southeast Europe and ministerial advisor Lajos Thallóczy. Another case was the Prague German school of history, formed mostly by professors of the University of Prague (from 1882 the German University of Prague). A third case is the University of Czernowitz, whose historians combined imperial and provincial identities.

While current research into the historiography of the Habsburg Monarchy has mostly focused on individual national scholarship, this paper aims at looking at the discourse which could function as a centripetal force in the Monarchy.

Panel 3: Nationbuilding in the Socialism

Neither did the nationbuilding aspirations of the East-European peoples cease to exist during the Socialist era. The first lecture of the present panel demonstrates the relation between the peculiar theoretical background of Socialism and these nationbuilding processes, and examines how much room Socialism allowed for these aspirations and how it adjusted its ideological framework to meet the challenges posed by these endeavours. Out of the realized Socialist models the two other lectures shall focus on the Yugoslavian case and promise to investigate the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian nationbuilding aspirations in the 1960s.

Dr. Péter Apor (Budapest): The Dilemmas of Communist Nationalism

The paper will address the intricate relationships between Communism and nationalism. Although, conventionally Communism is understood as insensitive to national identities, recent research has challenged this conceptualizations. As early as the 1930s, Stalinism re-discovered the idea of the nation. Soviet ideology built it into its propaganda and developed a theory of the socialist nation, which impacted also Soviet political practices. Following the WWII, the East Central European satellites widely used nationalist propaganda to legitimize their own dictatorships. Yet, it triggered significant troubles as most importantly the 1956 Hungarian revolt shows. Further, the paper will explore the genesis of socialist patriotism, which show astonishingly more similarity in the countries of East Central Europe than one may expect.

Dr. György Lukács (Budapest): National Aspirations in the Socialist Yugoslavia (1966–1971) – the Cases of the Croations and the Serbs

In Yugoslavia's history, the second half of the 1960s was a period of reforms resulting in significant changes in the economic, and then in the political and social system. One of the main arguments of the reform's advocates was that it may alleviate the persistent tensions between member states caused by the disputes about the allocation of the federation's resources.

In my paper I made an attempt to introduce the developments of this period particularly from this point of view. I try to discuss the events of the individual republics and autonomous provinces on a federal-based level by possibly analyzing the reactions of other Yugoslav republics and their autonomous provinces and the parallel events. Presenting the historical background of the political history of processes in details, I analyze the relevant federal and republican party events in the aspect of the struggle between party fractions and activities of the intellectuals. I especially focus on the first proposals of the Serbian question in Yugoslavia and the unfolding Croatian crisis of 1971, the process of the development of the more critical side regarding national statehood and the free market. I demonstrate how the conception, based on socialism and the brotherhood-unity ideology, based on the ethnic relation started the change during the mentioned period, as a result of which process ethnic relativity became less important as it used to be.

Sevan Pearson (Munich): Muslims' Nationbuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1960s

During the 1960s, the Yugoslav socialist authorities recognised stepwise Bosnia and Herzegovina's Muslims as a nation. The purpose of the presentation is to explain a paradox: Why a regime, which theoretically boosts the gradual vanishing of the nations and struggles against religion, decided to make of a religious community a nation? In order to understand the paradox, this nationbuilding-process must be analysed within a double dynamics. Important changes occurred indeed at two levels. At the federal one, a decentralisation process was started in the 1950s and significantly reinforced in the 1960s. The main consequence was the autonomisation of the republican elites. This coincided with the updating of the national question in whole Yugoslavia. Parallely, at the Bosnian-Herzegovinian republican level, a new elite came to power in the 1960s. This elite also grasped the national question and specifically the Muslim one, which was set onto the political agenda. The combination of these aspects led to the gradual upgrading of the Muslims from a religious community to an ethnic group at the beginning of the 1960s, and to a nation at the end of the decade.

Panel 4: Empires in the Making and Breaking

The panel explores the social and political structures of modern empires in their life and afterlife. It will expose how modern empires integrated societies, how they disintegrated and how imperial institutions, practices and customs evolved and impacted successor states. The papers will focus on different aspects of these processes in order to show not only the process of integration and disintegration, but also to highlight the legacy of empires, how much they left their mark on the regions societies and states at different levels.

Dr. Gábor Egry (Jena, Budapest): Negotiating Post-Imperial Transitions, 1918–1925. A Comparative Study of Local and Regional Transitions from Austria–Hungary to the Successor States

The aim of my project is to analyze how local and regional contexts, social, economic, political settings shaped or influenced the transition from one

state to the successors at the end of WWI in East–Central Europe. Even if the result of the process was almost universally the establishment of nation states the question remains: how they functioned behind the facade of unity and how far their internal differences and differences between states were the result of different paths of transition? Our starting point is that there was no seamless transition, neither uniform implementation of nationalizing policies of the successor states and we are looking for the factors in the local and regional worlds that contributed to differences even inside the same country. Therefore we do not focus primarily on the open – political or military – conflicts of the period; rather we are interested in the lasting effects of the existing social, political and institutional structures at local and regional level and how these influenced the practices of the newly established nation states – if they influenced it at all. The chronological limits were set in order offer a glimpse of the local societies just before the end of WWI and to include the first administrative reforms of the successor states. Here we presume not only a change of institutions that could be only formal but also a potential change of the culture and practices of administration and social organization. Exactly this latter aspect justifies our approach, as seen from this angle the legal unity could be deconstructed and analyzed as a series of local negotiations with potentially different outcomes.

Dr. Gábor Demeter (Budapest): The Problems of Measuring Economic Growth on the Balkan Peninsula

Recent explorations in economic history and regional sciences suggest that the trends of economic development of European countries can be successfully reconstructed using macro-level data. In this way the divergence (or convergence) periods can be dated and the efficiency of different political regimes to overcome the gaps can be evaluated. Comparative studies in economy are largely based on such calculations of Angus Maddison, Good and Ma. However, the methods of using proxy variables in case of missing values in southern Europe has been criticized by Balkan scientists, as well as the usage of GDP as an adequate variable and its calculation methods were challenged (Ivanov and Tooze).

Beyond (1) drawing up the contradictions of different estimates on Serbian and Bulgarian economic output and the critical analysis of methods used (cliometry), this lecture aims to examine the applicability of two different approaches to substitute macro-level GDP-data. (2) In periods lacking systematically collected data economic output can be estimated using micro-level data (revealing regional versatility) instead of macro-level approach. (3) After the establishment of national statistical bureaus providing systematically collected quantified data a multivariate-approach (PCA) based on accessible variables can be adopted to estimate economic output in an attempt to substitute GDP (Maddison, Bairoch, Gini, Williamson, Pamuk) as sole, but unreliable variable.

Dr. Florian Kühner-Wielach (Munich): Vaida-Voivod, the Royalist from Café Wien. A Biographical Sketch between Habsburg and Hohenzollern

This paper depicts the Transylvanian transformation after World War I through a biographical and discourse analytical approach using the example of the politician Alexandru Vaida-Voievod (1872–1950). As his political statements oscillated between “*Kaisertreue*” (after 1918: “*Königstreue*”) and Romanian nationalism, democratic demands and authoritarian tendencies, his political biography serves as a distinct example of the interplay between continuities and breaks in the transformation process before, during and after World War I.

It will be pointed out how his (implied) “dynastic” attitude influenced his political performance as well as the perception of his person in “Greater Romania”. His memoirs will be contrasted with the political discourse of the war and the interwar period. Through this approach I will examine the persistence of cultural imprints and the associated interplay between ideological telos and political emergences in the transformation period of World War I and its aftermath.

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