

Workshop Programme

Labour Migration in the Cold War and Beyond: New Questions, Methods and Sources 28th-30th June 2021

Online: Zoom Platform. Please register at the link below to receive the link
<https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/workshop-labour-migration-in-the-cold-war-and-beyond-tickets-159481189531>

Monday, June 28th 2021 (12:00 to 16:00 BST)

12:00 – 12:15 Welcome

Organisers:

Sara Bernard (University of Glasgow)

Yannis G. S. Papadopoulos (University of Brasilia)

Rory Archer (University of Konstanz & University of Graz)

12:15 - 13:00 Panel 1. Research on migration at the University of Glasgow

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

Francesca Stella (University of Glasgow). *Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network (GRAMNET)*

Rebecca Kay (University of Glasgow). *Postsocialist Migrations: geopolitical transformations, social in/securities and the search for a 'better life'*

Panos Theodoropoulos (University of Glasgow). *Using covert participant observation to understand experiences of labour migration, precarity, and resistance*

David Smith (University of Glasgow). *Europe-Asia Studies journal*

13:00-13:15 short break

13:15-14:15 Panel 2. Guestworker Migration, Colonialism and Development: European and American experiences

Chair: **Rory Archer** (University of Konstanz & University of Graz)

Ismael Garcia Colon (College of Staten Island and CUNY Graduate Center). *Regulating Colonial Migration: The Farm Labor Program of the Government of Puerto Rico 1940-1990s*

Michelle Lynn Kahn (University of Richmond). *Third World Development Aid and the Politics of Return Migration: The case of Turkish Guest Workers in West Germany, 1970s-1980s*

Discussant: **Emmanuel Comte** (CIDOB Barcelona)

14:15-14:30 short break

14:30-15:30 Panel 3. International labour migration in state-socialist Eastern Europe and the USSR

Chair: **Vladimir Unkovski-Korica** (University of Glasgow)

Dariusz Stola (Polish Academy of Sciences & Center for Migration Research, Warsaw University). *Temporary migrations within the Soviet bloc: the case of Poland*

Raia Apostolova (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences). *Socialism, Social Reproduction and International Migration*

Discussant: **Ondrej Vojtechovsky** (Charles University & The Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes, Prague)

15:30-16:00 Coffee break

Tuesday, 29th June 2021 (12:00 to 15:45 BST)

12:00-13:15 Panel 4. Yugoslav labour migration: Between the (semi)periphery and the Global South

Chair: **Rory Archer** (University of Konstanz & University of Graz)

Mladen Zobec (University of Graz). *Culturally redundant: Albanian 'oriental confectioners' in early socialist Ljubljana (1945-1955)*

Deana Jovanović (University of Utrecht) and **Dragan Stojmenović** (Public Library Bor). *The export of „know-how“ and improvisation at the (semi)peripheries: the case of Yugoslav-Iranian industrial collaborations between 1980 and 1991*

Dora Tot (University of Bologna). *Expatriates or Highly Skilled Migrants? Categorizing Yugoslav Labour Migration in the Global South*

Discussant: **Anna Calori** (University of Jena)

13:15-13:30 short break

13:30-14:45 Panel 5. Blurring divides between labour and refugeeism in the Cold War and in postcolonial settings

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

Ekata Bakshi (Jawaharlal Nehru University, India). *Rethinking Partition induced-migration in West Bengal: A study through the lens of gender, caste and region*

Máté Zsolt (University of Pecs). *The qualifications of the 1956 Hungarian refugees in the U.S.*

Yannis G.S. Papadopoulos (University of Brasilia) and **Maria Damilakou** (Ionion University). *The migration of 1956 Hungarian refugees to South America: Cold War priorities and local development strategies*

Discussant: **Francesca Rolandi** (Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences)

14:45-15:00 short break

15:00-15:45 Panel 6. Archiving labour migration: Collections, repositories and methods

Chair: **Yannis G. S. Papadopoulos** (University of Brasilia)

Ruud Bruijns (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). *OECD and the documentation on labour migration*

Verena Lorber (Franz und Franziska Jägerstätter Institut, Linz). *Collection of Migrant letters*, University of Salzburg

Tillmann Tegeler (Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies). *IOS research data repository LaMBDa*

Wednesday 30th June 2021 (12:00 to 16:00 BST)

**12:00-13:00 Panel 7. Changing loyalties, shifting identities.
Migrant workers' communities in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s**

Chair: **Yannis G. S. Papadopoulos** (University of Brasilia)

Christian Jacobs (Humboldt and Freie University, Berlin). *From Anti-Imperialism to Multiculturalism. (Post)-Migrant media in Postcolonial France*

Elena Bouleti (Panteion University, Athens) *Greek and Turkish Cypriots migrating to Great Britain from 1960 until 1974. Cypriot labour migration in Great Britain and the USSR*

Discussant: **Nikolaos Papadogiannis** (University of St Andrews)

13:00 to 13:15 short break

**13:15-14:15 Panel 8. Theoretical debates on the legal and welfare regimes of labour migrants in
(post)socialist societies**

Chair: **Rory Archer** (University of Konstanz & University of Graz)

Jake Lin (Bielefeld University) and **Minh Nguyen** (Bielefeld University). *The cycle of commodification. Migrant Labour, Welfare and the Market in Global China and Vietnam*

Rustam Urinbojev (Lund University and Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki). *Migration and Hybrid Political Regimes. Navigating the Legal Landscape in Russia*

Discussant: **Thuc Linh Nguyen Vu** (University of Vienna)

14:15 to 14:30 short break

14:30-15:30 Round Table & Conclusion

Chair: **Sara Bernard** (University of Glasgow)

Speakers:

Sevasti Trubeta (University of Applied Sciences Magdeburg-Stendal)

Alena Alamgir (Georgia Institute of Technology)

Ulf Brunnbauer (University of Regensburg & Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, Regensburg)

15:30-16:00 coffee break (opportunity to speak informally in breakout rooms after the event concludes)



Workshop Abstracts

Labour Migration in the Cold War and Beyond: New Questions, Methods and Sources 28th-30th June 2021

Panel 2. Guestworker Migration, Colonialism and Development: European and American experiences

Ismael Garcia Colon (College of Staten Island and CUNY Graduate Center). *Regulating Colonial Migration: The Farm Labor Program of the Government of Puerto Rico 1940-1990s*

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the long history of the administrative and legislative attempts by the government of Puerto Rico to manage farm labor migration to reveal how U.S. colonialism in Puerto Rico and the political economy of U.S. agriculture intersected with projects of citizenship and guest work. The author argues that self-rule within the United States provided the government of Puerto Rico with the resources and legal framework to lobby U.S. federal officials and shape U.S. policies of immigration. Migrant farmworkers' experiences and the Puerto Rican government's attempts to manage those experiences reveal what is new about modern colonialism: that colonial entities have more agency than was previously assumed, even though that agency is limited by the unequal power relationship between metropolis and colony. The Puerto Rico Farm Labor Program (1947-1993) placed workers in more than 400,000 farm jobs, indirectly fostering the migration of thousands of non-contract workers and the emergence of many stateside Puerto Rican communities. The U.S. federal government used Puerto Rico as a laboratory and example for policies of development, including population control through migration. This research contributes to an understanding of migration from the intersection of the government of Puerto Rico's development policies with the U.S. federal government's efforts at regulating the labor market during the Cold War.

Michelle Lynn Kahn (University of Richmond). *Third World Development Aid and the Politics of Return Migration: The case of Turkish Guest Workers in West Germany, 1970s-1980s*

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the intersection of xenophobia, "Third World" development aid, and return migration during the Cold War 1970s-1980s through a case study of Turkish labor migration to West Germany. As West German policymakers sought to financially incentivize Turkish guest worker families' mass remigration to Turkey amid rising anti-Muslim xenophobia, they confronted resistance from the Turkish government, which, for largely financial reasons, strove to prevent the migrants' return. Using previously untapped archival and oral history sources from both Turkey and Germany, in both the Turkish and German languages, the paper offers several contributions to our understanding of labor migration amid the Cold War. First, it illuminates the understudied connection between the international politics of xenophobia, return migration, and development aid. Second, it provides agency to a peripheral non-"western" country—Turkey—as a crucial actor in dictating the contours of West German migration policy. Third, it argues that the Turkish government's opposition to the migrants' return reflects a new conception of national belonging that I call "financial citizenship": the migrants were valued not for their physical *presence* in their home country but rather for the financial benefits reaped precisely from the *absence*.

Panel 3. International labour migration in state-socialist Eastern Europe and the USSR

Dariusz Stola (Polish Academy of Sciences & Center for Migration Research, Warsaw University).

Temporary migrations within the Soviet bloc: the case of Poland

ABSTRACT: This paper presents temporary migrations from communist Poland: temporary labor flows and the transnational mobility of petty-traders, set against the background of the overall cross-border mobility, 1956-1989. After the unprecedented reduction of travel abroad in the years of high Stalinism, since mid-1950s there gradually developed large and diverse streams of mobility, mainly to other countries of the Soviet bloc. They provided ample opportunities for petty trade, which exploited price disparities between the communist countries, and soon attracted a major part of Polish travelers abroad. In 1960s and 1970s, new ideas of economic socialist cooperation made Polish government establish a few channels for legal labor migration, first within the Soviet bloc. Meanwhile, benefiting from the liberalization of passport policy for travel to the West, irregular labor migrations developed, which in late 1970s took bigger scale than the legal ones. In the 1980s, along acute economic crisis and liberalization of passport policy, these streams of gainful transnational mobility grew to unprecedented levels, attracting millions of Poles.

Raia Apostolova (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences). *Socialism, Social Reproduction and International Migration*

ABSTRACT: While in 1973 the *Gastarbeiter* programs were coming to a halt in the West, the socialist bloc was preparing to implement a large-scale migration program. The Eastern Bloc stepped upon the premises that the international migration between socialist states must appeal 'to an internationalist doctrine of solidarity and struggle against the capitalist West' and against the 'exploitive and racist' practices that the *gastarbeiter* programs adhered to (Göktürk, Gramling and Kaes, 2007: 11). I engage with two interrelated subjects: the theoretical grounds of and the practical implementation of the international labour contracts. I focus on the work of Minko Minkov who developed a complex methodological apparatus that sought to establish "mutually beneficial" relations in the field of migration. Minkov's program outlines a methodology where labour power's social reproduction was conceived of as the pivot around which socialists must build "just" migration regimes. The second part of the paper delves into three different temporalities of the actual labour contracts (1973-1979; 1980-1986; 1987-1990) signed between Vietnam and Bulgaria and traces the economic and political forms that the movement of labour power. These temporalities are not void of political contradictions and show a certain rupture between Minkov's theoretical grounds and the actuality of the contracts.

Panel 4. Yugoslav labour migration: Between the (semi)periphery and the Global South

Mladen Zobec (University of Graz). *Culturally redundant: Albanian 'oriental confectioners' in early socialist Ljubljana (1945-1955)*

ABSTRACT: Albanians were the largest non-Slavic population in Yugoslavia, reaching up to 8 percent of the population by the 1980s. Predominantly rural in origin, Albanian labour migrants gravitated to industrial centres around the country in search of work, particularly from the early 1950s when a liberalisation of residence registration coincided with industrial expansion across Yugoslavia and growing tourism along the Adriatic coast. Today, however, Albanians in Slovenia are synonymous with confectioners, bakers, fast food sellers, and fruit and vegetable vendors. This paper explores the period that preceded the socialist industrial expansion and the migration of unskilled or low skilled labourers from Kosovo and Macedonia. It focuses on the Albanian community of 'oriental confectioners' that worked in socialist Ljubljana between 1945 and 1955. Albanian confectioners, many of whom ran their businesses even during the fascist occupation, struggled in the early post-war years to obtain and keep

their craftsmanship licences. Being categorised almost exclusively by the authorities into the category of 'oriental confectioners,' Albanian migrants were often the subject of practices of Othering, being subjected to the elusive operating and hygienic standards and hefty fines, while simultaneously being treated as redundant privateers in a young socialist society.

Deana Jovanovic (University of Utrecht) and **Dragan Stojmenovic** (Public Library Bor). *The export of „know-how“ and improvisation at the (semi)peripheries: the case of Yugoslav-Iranian industrial collaborations between 1980 and 1991*

ABSTRACT: The paper focuses on labour migrations of between 1980 and 1991, a result of industrial collaboration between "Mining and Smelting Combine Bor", called "RTB Bor", state-owned copper-processing "giant" in former Yugoslavia, and the biggest copper company in Iran named "National Iranian Copper Industries Co." (NiCiCO). In this period, more than 150 engineers, experts and technicians from Yugoslav RTB Bor were sent to Iran to finish setting up the mining and smelting operations in one of Iran's most important mining sites - Sarcheshmeh Copper Complex, the site that previously American companies left unfinished after the Iranian Revolution (1979). Based on interviews with those who were involved in managing Yugoslav project and with the engineers, supplemented by the analysis of documents, newspapers, the paper explores the dynamics of Yugoslav export the "know-how" to the Iranian company.

The paper argues that through the practices of managerial bureaucratic and worker's improvisations, employed as strategies for overcoming socialist excessive bureaucracy during the period of stabilization in Yugoslavia and conditions at work, made Yugoslav entrepreneurial capitalist ventures possible. While pointing to the very specificity of this kind of labour migration of very privileged part of the working class and the privileged economic status of the Yugoslav industrial "giant", we argue that through the framework of Non-Aligned Movement, as a geopolitical attempt to overcome Cold War binaries through which these collaborations were initially made, these labour migrations and the work performed cannot be seen as resistance and/or alternative to the Western/Northern hegemonies, but as practices through which capitalist ventures at semi-peripheries were made possible.

Dora Tot (University of Bologna). *Expatriates or Highly Skilled Migrants? Categorizing Yugoslav Labour Migration in the Global South*

ABSTRACT: Strongly focusing on East-West movements, the scholarship overlooked alternative paths of labour migration from socialist Yugoslavia. One of the reasons behind this is that the actors undertaking alternative mobility routes were not defined by the scholars nor policy makers within the category of "migration". This equally reflects the then reality of migrant classification and understandings determined by the Global North. Therefore, the paper proposes to address crucial aspects of Yugoslav labour migration in the Global South during the Cold War. Because the topic remains under-researched, recent publications referring to the issue missed out to set a clear distinction among Yugoslav labour in the Global South. I argue that due to the significantly different recruitment processes, work and daily life experiences, we can differentiate the group of workers contracted under technical cooperation programmes from the group of workers accompanying investment projects across the Global South. I propose to study the former group, usually labelled as "experts" or "cooperants", within the category of "highly skilled migrants" rather than describing them as "expatriates". Moreover, this type of labour mobility holds particular importance for it was promoted and sponsored by the Yugoslav government, which was contrary to its stance on the employment of the highly skilled labour in the West, where it imposed multiple restrictions to inhibit migration. I demonstrate these arguments by comparing the two groups and anachronistically applying contemporary migration theories. Due to relatively high migration rates, I focus on Yugoslav workers in

Algeria from the 1960s to the 1980s. The research is set within the current historiographic practices investigating the expansion of networks between Eastern Europe and the Global South. The paper contributes to further understanding of how decolonization and the Cold War dynamics shaped and directed mobility flows.

Panel 5. Blurring divides between labour and refugeeism in the Cold War and in postcolonial settings

Ekata Bakshi (Jawaharlal Nehru University, India). *Rethinking Partition induced-migration in West Bengal: A study through the lens of gender, caste and region*

ABSTRACT: The paper critically rethinks Partition-induced forced-migration and rehabilitation in the Indian subcontinent, especially Bengal, by locating it in a non-metropolitan town of West Bengal, Asansol; through the hitherto ignored categories of forced-migration research- caste, gender, region and generation. The erstwhile rural, lower caste migrants, completely dependent on the government were rehabilitated to Asansol from the camps for development- both of a nascent industrial town and an impoverished, uprooted population who were to provide cheap labour for the former. Women from the refugee families however, were never direct subjects of development, being excluded from becoming blue collar labourers because of existing socio-cultural conventions. Their underpaid, unpaid labour; both in the home and outside though was crucial to the survival of these families. Further, the little stability gained by these families have been threatened by industrial closure and widespread informalization in the neo-liberal times; predictably with even graver, gendered ramifications.

Máté Zsolt (University of Pecs). *The qualifications of the 1956 Hungarian refugees in the U.S.*

ABSTRACT: In 1956-1957 almost 32 thousand Hungarian refugees arrived to the United States in the Operation Safe Haven and Operation Mercy programs. The United States was the number one country in the list by the number of accepted Hungarian refugees. In my presentation I would like to examine a special and important archival record group, what contains the final forms of the job interviews made with the refugees. These documents are available for thousands of refugees and were digitized by our research group. These contain information not just personal data of the refugees, but also a recommended job category and many cases data about language skills, work experience. Every refugee had to pass a bureaucratic process, what contained medical, tax, personal, immigration examinations and also labour interview. The refugees at the end could meet with their sponsors or their relatives and could leave Camp Kilmer. The general view of the Hungarian refugees, that their were mainly men below the age of 30 and with mechanical experiences. The research shows that it is true and especially relevant to be able to show how many cases a refugee could work only in less qualified work just with the lack of language knowledge. The general view is also true, that almost none of the refugees could speak Western foreign languages. My research will be also combined with job offers for refugees and it shows that the job offers and the skills were close together. Mostly less educated people needed for beginner, lower level handy jobs. In my presentation I would like to show diagrams and of these trends to be able to highlight the main results.

Yannis G.S. Papadopoulos (University of Brasilia) and **Maria Damilakou** (Ionion University). *The migration of 1956 Hungarian refugees to South America: Cold War priorities and local development strategies*

ABSTRACT: The flow of Hungarian refugees into Austria, a short time after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country, appeared as a menace to the Austrian government who tried to safeguard its

neutrality. At the same time, in a country that had not yet fully recovered from the war, the presence of thousands of destitute refugees put a major strain on the Austrian economy. Some even expressed fears that the social instability caused by the refugees could lead to a communist takeover. The government therefore requested for immediate financial aid in order to be able to support the refugees and asked for fast evacuation of the majority to other countries.

The Hungarian refugees' crisis could be seen as part of the general effort to support refugees from eastern European countries in order to discredit the communist regimes and to prove the superiority of capitalist system. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was charged with the refugee relief, legal representation and the integration of those who were not able to emigrate, while the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) took over the responsibility to organize their registration and migration to overseas countries. Contrary to the displaced persons of WWII who languished for many years in refugee camps before being accepted in overseas countries, the Hungarian refugees were presented as a human stock that could contribute to the development of the host countries. In that context, and in order to avoid the demoralization of the "freedom fighters" of Hungary, the US and its allies made every effort to process the transfer of Hungarian refugees to overseas countries as fast as possible. One of the main aims of the United States was to finance the resettlement of Hungarian refugees to other overseas countries. Australia and Canada received the biggest number of refugees, but the U.S. administration tried to convince Latin American countries too that Hungarians could contribute to their economic development, and social change. Many countries in South America expressed the willingness to receive refugees, mainly farmers through land settlement projects. This movement, particularly to Argentina and Brazil, and to a lesser extent to Colombia, Venezuela and Chile, was facilitated by an agreement concluded between ICEM and US Escapee Program.

The paper will present the transfer of Hungarians to South America in the context of Cold War diplomacy and propaganda strategies and will showcase the refugees' reception by governments of the region as part of their development policies and their alignment with the strategies and priorities of the Western Bloc.

Panel 7. Changing loyalties, shifting identities. Migrant workers' communities in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s

Christian Jacobs (Humboldt and Freie University, Berlin). *From Anti-Imperialism to Multiculturalism. (Post)-Migrant media in Postcolonial France*

ABSTRACT: The paper analyzes how postmigrant media like the journals *Révolution Afrique*, *Sans Frontière*, the theater group *Al Assifa* or the pirate radio station *Radio Beur* discussed the position of postmigrant people in France. I argue that the change in the Global Cold War order and the social changes in French postmigrant communities fostered a transition from anti-imperialist to multiculturalist understandings of migration in the examined media. The paper shows how these changes affected the experiences and identities of postmigrant people. It tracks how postmigrant media offered a space to negotiate the position in France against the backdrop of global developments such as the Cold War and decolonization. The case study illustrates how the disillusion with state-centered revolutionary utopias led to the politicization of culture. Furthermore, it displays how postmigrant communities' social structure changed in France during the 1970s. In the 1970s, many migrant workers brought their families to France or founded families in France. Postmigrant communities became more female, and a new generation raised in France became adults. Postmigrant men and women, the latter

often overlooked migration histories, founded their own media outlets, and engaged in debates about identity and positionality.

Elena Bouleti (Panteion University, Athens) *Greek and Turkish Cypriots migrating to Great Britain and to socialist countries before and after the Attila invasion: a refugee and migratory process in the Cold War context.*

ABSTRACT:

After 1960, when Cyprus was annexed as an independent State with its own constitution and especially after 1974 with the Attila invasion, the occupation of Northern Cyprus and the uprooting of Greek Cypriots from the North, there were significant numbers of Greek and Turkish Cypriots leaving the island in search of safety and prospect. Initially Turkish Cypriots left after the turmoil of 1963, whereas larger numbers of Greek Cypriots left after the Attila invasion. Migrants and refugees, with the divisions between the two categories sometimes blurred, they turned to Greece, Great Britain and Turkey. Another aspect however, was the access to socialist countries. Migration there was mainly for studies after invitation through scholarships extended by the countries themselves. There was however one exception, the 1000 Greek Cypriot workers that migrated for some years to Czechoslovakia after 1974 again after invitation. It is interesting to try and trace the Cold War “politics” that lead to these scholarships for Greek and Turkish Cypriot youth, that reflected the wish for support and influence over a developing and neutral country like Cyprus that had recently absconded colonialism and was struggling for checks and balances.

Panel 8. Theoretical debates on the legal and welfare regimes of labour migrants in (post)socialist societies

Jake Lin (Bielefeld University) and **Minh Nguyen** (Bielefeld University). *The cycle of commodification. Migrant Labour, Welfare and the Market in Global China and Vietnam*

ABSTRACT: Drawing on recent literature on the institutional changes in the provision of welfare for migrant workers and the theorization of market socialist welfare, this article conceptualises the current regime of migrant welfare as integral to a cycle of commodification that encompasses the overlapping processes of socialization and marketization. After decades of collectivized labour under state socialism, the cycle begins with the commodification of labour through market reforms that led to mass rural-urban migration and the rise of the global factory alongside the dismantling of the former socialist welfare system. About two decades after the reforms, it was followed by de-commodification attempts aimed at providing forms of social protection that offset the labour precarity caused by liberalisation of the labour market. Despite the emergence of new universal welfare programs, the market has increasingly intruded into social protection, especially through financialized products targeted at the labouring masses who must compensate for the failings of public welfare programs. As such, these welfare regimes are undergoing a process of re-commodification in which the protection of labour is re-embedded into the market as a commodity to be consumed by the migrant workers with their meagre wages.

Rustam Urinboyev (Lund University and Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki). *Migration and Hybrid Political Regimes. Navigating the Legal Landscape in Russia*

ABSTRACT: While migration has become an all-important topic of discussion around the globe, mainstream literature on migrants' legal adaptation and integration has focused on case studies of immigrant communities in Western-style democracies. We know relatively little about how migrants adapt to a new legal environment in the ever-growing hybrid political regimes that are neither clearly

democratic nor conventionally authoritarian. This paper takes up the case of Russia—an archetypal hybrid political regime and the third largest recipients of migrants worldwide—and investigates how Central Asian migrant workers produce new forms of informal governance and legal order. Migrants use the opportunities provided by a weak rule-of-law and a corrupt political system to navigate the repressive legal landscape and to negotiate—using informal channels—access to employment and other opportunities that are hard to obtain through the official legal framework of their host country. This paper puts forward new theoretical perspectives for studying immigrant legal incorporation in similar political contexts.