

## 10.7. Co-operatives under authoritarian (socialist and capitalist) regimes in Europe in the 20th century

**Panel organiser: Varga, Zsuzsanna, Lorand Eötvös University, Budapest, Hungary**

2012 was the International Year of Co-operatives. International years are declared by the United Nations to draw attention to and encourage action on major issues. Nowadays, when the global economic crisis is still deepening, the historical experience of the co-operative movement to a wide range of economic and social issues is getting more and more attention. After 1844 when the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers created the first successful co-operative, co-operatives began to expand, and contributed to poverty reduction, employment generation and social integration in various modes and at different paces. At Brighton conference, our colleague András Vári organised four panels on „co-operatives and rural society“. The participants of these panels were dealing with the developments in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. The focus of the panel is on the 20th century which was marked by the confrontation between dictatorial and democratic regimes. However, the dictatorial regimes could be characterized by two socio-economic models: capitalism and state socialism. The contributors to this panel aim at addressing comparative aspects of the co-operative movement under different types of dictatorships and democracies in Europe. To strengthen this viewpoint the following themes should be highlighted: the relationship of the co-operatives and the state, regulation of co-operatives, main fields of co-operatives's activities with special regard to the socio-economic and a socio-political functions, the role of co-operatives in crisis management.

**Chair: Swain, Nigel, University of Liverpool, UK**

Thursday, 22 August 2013 // 1000 – 1200 // Session 10 – Room A 019

### 10.7.1. The liberal, democratic and authoritarian regulation of co-operatives in Spain, 1906-1950

**Pan-Montojo, Juan, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain**

Co-operative societies were first regulated in a very broad way in 1906 by the liberal monarchy. In the following years, there were new norms concerning their organisation even though the most regulated elements were the banking co-operatives and the fiscal benefits which had been foreseen in the initial regulation. The liberal regulation was replaced in 1931 by the democratic republic and the democratic regulation was changed in different laws at the beginning of the 1940's by the authoritarian francoist regime. Co-operatives, mainly agricultural co-operatives, seem to have been therefore a very sensitive issue for Spanish political elites and projects. In our paper we will try to analyse the different norms and their differences and to explain the reasons behind the reforms and changes as well as their consequences on the actual development of the rural co-operatives.

### 10.7.2. Diverging roads from the Soviet kolkhoz-model inside and outside the Soviet Union

**Jörgensen, Hans, Umeå University, Sweden**

**Varga, Zsuzsanna, Lorand Eötvös University, Budapest, Hungary**

The aim of this paper is to explore the reorganization and structure of agricultural production in Estonia and Hungary from the 1940s up to the late 1980s. This implies a comparison between the forced collectivization and the reorganization of farm-work and management following the Soviet-model. The rationale for the comparison is due to several factors. Estonia was forced to become an integral part of the USSR and a planned economy already in 1940. Hungary had sided with the losers in the WWII and it fell under the Soviet sphere of interest as the result of the preliminary agreements between the Allied Powers. Sovietization of political and economic life started in Hungary in the late 1940s. Both countries were thus subjugated to Soviet policies and oriented towards the CMEA-market. After Stalin's death, and especially from the late 1950s, both Estonia and Hungary started to deviate. As a consequence of the 1956 Revolution, Hungary was able to do this in a more formal way, while Estonia had to find ways of neglecting some of Moscow's orders through production on the private plots. We therefore want to investigate how the Estonian kolkhozes and the Hungarian co-operatives were able to deviate from the general Soviet agricultural policy ambitions. This necessitates that we consider specific national institutional legacies, the role of informal political resistance, management, and the long-term effects on the Soviet agricultural policy. In a Soviet bloc perspective, both countries also developed a more productive agricultural production system than others.

### 10.7.3. Co-operatives, peasants and agriculture in fascist Italy: from self-organization to social control

**Mignemi, Niccolò, EHESS, Paris, France**

At the beginning of 20th century, credit, labour and production rural co-operatives are largely developed in Italy. These initiatives were dominated by socialist and catholic political forces. To contrast this hegemony, fascist regime uses direct violence to attack movement's leaders and to destroy headquarters. But, after Mussolini takes the power in 1922, the strategy of repression becomes more and more preventive, strengthening authoritarian control over social and financial sources of co-operatives' autonomy. At the same time fascism is not ideologically adverse to co-operation, on the contrary it declares the necessity to focus on its technical and economic functions, against monopoly powers and for the moralization of free market conditions. Many ancient co-operatives try also to negotiate a survival strategy, but in 1925-1927, when dictatorship is reinforced and corporative regime installed, a unique national federation is created, claiming formal neutrality and assistance functions. Control and selection often dominate fascist attitude towards co-operation. During the Thirties, a large part of existing experiences is definitely closed, but some others find development opportunities: agricultural co-operatives take progressively the place of poor peasants' co-operatives. This dynamic explains how fascist regime participates in Italian capitalism reorganization process that in agriculture originates a dualistic development model where intensive farming coexists with peasant dependency. Co-operatives thus become instruments to manage social conflicts.

### 10.7.4. The agrarian co-operatives and the policy of the Greek governments: from the enactment of the law of 1914 until the establishment of the compulsory co-operatives

**Angelis-Dimakis, Dimitris, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain**

The objective of this paper is to study and interpret the policy of the Greek state toward co-operatives during the first decade of their operation. It will start by examining the beginning of establishing a legislative framework about co-operatives with the law of 1914 and will continue by presenting similar government initiatives (granting of agricultural credits through the National Bank, establishment of the Ministry of Agriculture, land reclamation works) focused on the modernization of the agricultural structures. It will attempt to examine how the Greek governments in the early years of the period under study have incorporated cooperatives and their basic functions (granting credit through cooperatives) in a wider redevelopment planning of rural areas. A turning point is the year 1922 and an attempt will be made to explore the effects of the arrival of 1,200,000 refugees in Greece (the majority of which settled in rural areas) on the delineation of government decisions on co-operatives and their organization. Through legislative initiatives such as the law of 1923 about the restoration of landless farmers, the enactment of compulsory cooperatives for the refugees and the legislative act about the supervision and control of cooperatives as well as through data regarding the number of co-operatives it will be attempted to illustrate the manner and degree of interaction between the refugees' problem and the cooperative movement.

#### Participants

##### Angelis-Dimakis, Dimitris

Dimitris Angelis-Dimakis (1985). Graduate in History and Master in European History with overall grade excellent (National and Capodestrian University of Athens, 2009). He has been awarded a four year scholarship for Doctoral Studies in European History and he is currently a Ph.D. candidate at the Department of Contemporary History of the Autonomous University of Madrid. He has several publications (in greek) and he has presented papers in conferences and workshops.

##### Jörgensen, Hans

Hans Jörgensen, Ph.D., (1961) is a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Geography and Economic History, Umeå University, Sweden.

##### Mignemi, Niccolò

Niccolò Mignemi (1982). Graduate in Economics and Social Sciences (Bocconi University, Milan) and PhD in History and Civilization (EHESS, Paris 2012). He works on peasant studies and agricultural co-operatives in Italy and France in the 20th century. He has published the book «Nel regno della fame. Il mondo contadino italiano fra gli anni Trenta e gli anni Cinquanta» (Rome, 2010) on Italian peasantry between the 1930s and the 1950s. He is member of the CRH-ERHIMOR (Équipe de Recherches pour l'Histoire du Monde Rural). He participates also to the Roberto Franceschi Scientific Network and to the Groupe Petites Paysanneries.

##### Pan-Montojo, Juan

Juan Pan-Montojo (1962) received PhD in Modern History in 1992. He has been visiting researcher at the LSE, London, (1988), the New School for Social Research, New York, (1995), and the Friedrich-Alexander Universität of Erlangen-Nürnberg (2003).

He has been since 1997, Associate Professor of Modern History at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Among others he has published the following books: *La bodega del mundo. La vid y el vino en España, 1800-1936* (Madrid, 1994), and *Apostolado, profesión y tecnología. Una historia de los ingenieros agrónomos en España* (Madrid, 2005). Currently he is the editor of the academic journal *Historia agraria*.

##### Swain, Nigel

Nigel Swain has been employed since 1989 as researcher and then lecturer at the University of Liverpool, first in the Department of Economic and Social History, then in the Department of History within the School of Histories, Languages and Cultures. He is author of numerous articles, book contributions, and books, mainly on aspects of land reform, collectivisation and decollectivisation in Eastern Europe, but is also joint author with G. Swain of *Eastern Europe since 1945*, now in its fourth edition. He has just completed a comparative history of decollectivisation in the early 1990s in six Eastern European countries.

##### Varga, Zsuzsanna

Zsuzsanna Varga (1970) received PhD in Agrarian History in 1998. Since 2000 she has been teaching at the Department of Modern Hungarian History of the Lorand Eötvös University in Budapest (Hungary). She is Associate Professor. Her research interests and publications are focused on the history of socialist agriculture. In 2000 the Committee of Agrarian History and Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected Varga as a member. Since 2010 she is a Management Committee Member of EURHO. Her latest book: *The Hungarian Agriculture and Rural Society: changes, problems and possibilities, 1945-2004*. (Budapest, 2009).