

Croatian Society in Communist Yugoslavia Shown in Cartoons in Zagreb Daily *Vjesnik* in the 1950s

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SUMMARY

The major social problems in Croatia in the 1950s were detected using cartoons published in the Zagreb daily Vjesnik as a source of historiography. The cartoons clearly illustrate the major social problems of communist Croatia as follows: bureaucracy, alcoholism, nepotism, and unfavourable social status of women, society's negative attitude towards children and youth, insufficient efforts in the tourist industry, unfavourable housing conditions for large parts of the population, high prices of food and other necessities. The cartoons proved to be a very accurate indicator of social problems since the bulk of problem areas they dealt with was corroborated in literature, in other words historical and sociological research showed the justification of caricaturing individual issues. For part of the cartoons whose problem areas have not been researched, one could assume, based on the accuracy of the social problems researched and analysed, that they are also an authentic presenter of society and its issues.

Keywords: cartoons, communist society, daily *Vjesnik*, social problems

Hypothesis

The author considers that despite the fact that changes in Yugoslavia's (Croatia's) home policy were not the topic of cartoons, some conclusions about them can be drawn from cartoons, in terms of an increase or decrease in their numbers published, as well as the topics that cartoons dealt with, which were often, directly or indirectly, connected with ideology. In view of this, one can see to what extent the re-

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gime was rigorous in individual periods. In other words, one can see that the 1950s were nevertheless a time of change and slight loosening of the grip of the communist regime, which would be much more perceptible in the 1960s and finally result in the Croatian Spring Movement.

Methodology

Cartoons published in the *Vjesnik* daily are analysed using methods of induction and analysis, as well as a historiographical approach including reconstruction of events, analytical interpretation of sources, criticism of sources, and explanation of the social context, which was relevant for conducting the planned research.

Why were the newspapers and the Zagreb *Vjesnik* daily selected for research purposes? In the period covered by the research, newspapers were the most widespread medium in Yugoslavia, and *Vjesnik* was the chief newspaper in the Republic of Croatia, thereby the most widespread newspaper. This means that its cartoons had the greatest outreach in the population and thus could exert the largest influence on the shaping and changes of public opinion.

The 1950s decade was selected because at that time Yugoslavia, including Croatia, was undergoing dramatic changes, both in its foreign and home policy. In foreign policy, Yugoslavia distanced itself from the countries of the Eastern Bloc and drew closer to the countries of the Western Bloc, and since 1956 Yugoslavia was one of the front runners of the Non-Aligned Movement. The changes in foreign policy were accompanied by the changes in home policy – the country was culturally and economically opening up to the West and becoming susceptible to its influence (music, film, fashion...).¹

Introduction

In any modern society, the press plays an important role in shaping public opinion. In communist countries, this role is additionally emphasised. A published text has greater weight and, consequently, cartoons, as a socially engaged art, have an important place in the Croatian press. All major social developments (with the exception of home policy) are accompanied by cartoons, making them an important source of historiography. When researching cartoons, it is necessary to pay attention to historical circumstances and events, as well as their context (Dulibić, 2009: 34). Due to an ignorance of the context, many cartoons in time become hard to understand, which is especially pronounced in political cartoons. At the same time, however, there are themes that do not lose their topicality, provocativeness and wittiness (to be illustrated later on). Also, one should be aware that each social period and

each social class / stratum / group, just like an individual local community, has its own understanding of humour, which can greatly differ from that of others (Kris, 1970: 199).

Newspaper cartoons and, primarily, socially engaged cartoons,² gradually turn into a good political commentary, sometimes articulating more than a serious editorial or newspaper article on the same topic. A good cartoon is successful due to the fact that it expresses its critical judgement wittily and tersely. With their witty presentation, socially engaged cartoons strive to unmask social (most frequently political) negative sides, ridicule the behaviour of those responsible for events or for the situation in society, or simply take over the role of a medium for promoting certain ideas and views thus attempting to influence public opinion and bring about changes. It should, however, be noted that they do not always pursue positive goals; they may also serve propaganda and political purposes (which is not always negative) and serve to encourage negative stereotypes (Dulibić, 2009: 10-15). The whole domain of social behaviour and identity, including the one relating to foreign cultures, becomes the focus of social cartoons. Due to the similarity of their topics, it is even considered that political and social cartoons exist in parallel, since both deal with one and the same subject (for example abortion, women's right to vote, etc.). There is, however, one significant difference between political and social cartoons. The objective of political cartoons is to mock, unmask and expose to the general public's criticism a person, group or organisation participating in social life and division of power, whereas social cartoons are in most cases uninterested in political issues and political protagonists, but place social issues in the focus of their interests (Wigston, 2002: 76).

The Zagreb daily *Vjesnik* was selected for the purposes of this analysis since it was the highest circulation and most widespread daily in Croatia after the Second World War, and at the same time the most influential. *Vjesnik* was first published in 1940 and, with short intervals during the Second World War, kept appearing until 2012 when it ceased due to a lack of funding. Cartoons were published in *Vjesnik* from the very first issues and experienced a strong boom in the 1950s, for example in 1952 an average of one and a half cartoon was published on a daily basis (Bencetić, 2014: 178).

Cartoons as a Historiographical Source

As outlined earlier, cartoons are a good historiographical source given their topicality and social conditionality since they describe current social developments. Consequently, cartoons have different functions. They indicate how topical a set of problems is, they detect social developments and problems, they criticise social

phenomena, problems and people, are a medium for propaganda and agitation, a tool to 'shape' and 'direct' public opinion.

Cartoons are used as a means of communication and, in particular, as a propaganda tool (mostly in totalitarian societies but frequently in democratic ones as well). The use of works of art for propaganda purposes can be explicit or implicit. If explicit, the content of the message of an individual work is manifested as a public confession and an easily understandable message. An implicit way of communication presupposes a seemingly indifferent presentation, based on one's opinion and perception, which can acquire the character '...of an unconcealed tendency or character of an unconscious and unexpected ideology' (Hauser, 1977: 35). Midhat Ajanović emphasises that the very fact that cartoons are tools of implicit criticism and rebellion against the authorities and power is the reason that they '...very frequently give a very accurate and precise picture of society and the time in which they emerge' (Ajanović, 2008: 50). Consequently, cartoons can be exploited as a relevant source for research of modern and contemporary history.

Cartoons in the 1950s Croatian Press

As in any other society, so in Croatian society cartoons are also dependent on the form of government and social order, from which derives the measure of freedom enjoyed by artists in their expression. Even democratic societies do not grant cartoonists complete freedom of expression since they are limited by the stance of their editorial boards and the policy of the owner of the paper in which they publish. In totalitarian societies, these restrictions are even greater, cartoonists work according to certain customs, there is the so-called 'government humour' or 'regime laughter' with humorous papers and cartoons that transform into their opposite, where satire strikes at unlike-minded people and every form of opposition instead of at those in power (Hadžić, 1998: 70).

In communist Croatia, cartoons played the role of political agitator. Such cartoons were called 'engaged cartoons' and were especially noticeable in the first postwar period. A characteristic of these cartoons was that they generally featured workers with a broom or a hammer in their hands striking at the external or internal enemy, at kulaks, politically unlike-minded people or the Catholic Church. This was the government's tactics (under the guise of the people) to square accounts with those who did not share its views, and such cartoons, according to Fadil Hadžić, assumed the role of 'court judgements' (Hadžić, 1998: 126). In the later period, which is covered by this research, cartoons retained the character of political agitators, but also spread their activity by commenting on many social phenomena and issues, giving their opinion, imposing, in some cases, communist ideology but, for the most

part, criticising social anomalies. Examples of such cartoons were those condemning certain social issues – alcoholism, violence, nepotism, bureaucracy, housing conditions, and others.

In communist Croatia, certain themes were taboos in cartoons – people holding power, the partisan movement, and the socialist order. There were no references to highest-ranking Yugoslav leaders, when criticising the state apparatus only low-level bureaucracy was depicted in a general way and individuals were not caricatured. Members of the People's Liberation Movement (Narodno oslobodilački pokret - NOP) were depicted in the first year after the War such as to celebrate their victory over fascism / Nazism. These cartoons conveyed the message that - based on the legitimacy arising from victory in the war - the new government would get even with all negative aspects in society. In the subsequent period, the authority of the NOP was not exploited to impose or promote views or ideas. There were no references to the socialist order but, as stated earlier, the cartoons were used to subtly impose / promote socialism and communist ideology.

Cartoons in the 1950s *Vjesnik* Daily

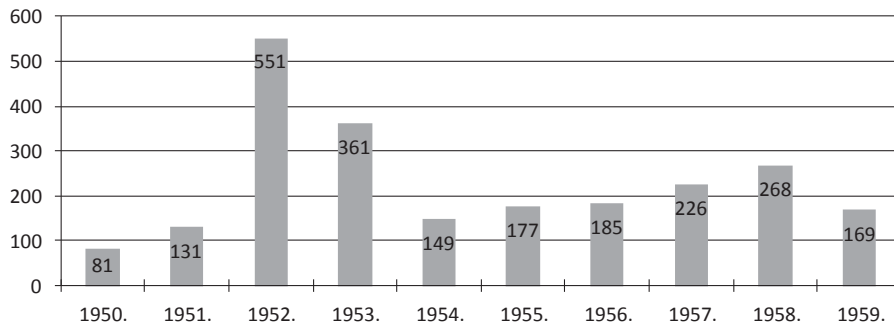
The *Vjesnik* cartoons were most frequently published on the front page and/or on page 2, and most often dealt with foreign policy issues. Foreign policy issues were at the same time the most frequently dealt with group of issues in the cartoons published in *Vjesnik* in the 1950s. Social issues were mainly discussed on pages 3, 4 or 5, but at times were dealt with on the front page or page 2. *Vjesnik's* last and second last pages were reserved for entertainment and sports cartoons. It should be emphasised that a major part of foreign policy cartoons, and frequently social ones as well, were accompanied by articles dedicated to the same topic. The cartoons were printed on different parts of the pages, sometimes on the margins, sometimes in the centre.

In the 1950s, the overall number of cartoons published in *Vjesnik* was increasing; however the frequency of their appearance depended on foreign policy and home policy circumstances. For example, in 1952 *Vjesnik* published 551 cartoons, the following year 361, but in 1954 the number dropped to 149. The large number of cartoons in 1952 can be linked to the communist regime loosening its grip and their wish to present themselves to the Western countries as a society that is becoming democratic, while the drop in their numbers in 1954 can be linked to the Milovan Đilas affair and a renewed strengthening of the regime's control.³ (See table 1)

Social and economic issues accounted for 14 per cent of the total number of cartoons published in the *Vjesnik* daily in the period 1950-1959. Foreign policy topics were most represented accounting for 33 per cent of the total number, followed by

Table 1. Number of cartoons published in *Vjesnik* in 1950s.

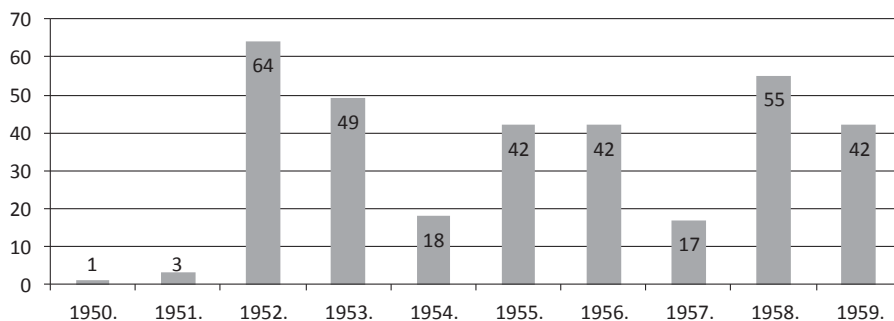
Tablica 1. Broj karikatura objavljenih u *Vjesniku* 1950-ih



Izvor: *Vjesnik*, 1950.-1959.
Source: *Vjesnik*, 1950-1959

Table 2. Number of social cartoons⁴ published in *Vjesnik* in 1950s.

Tablica 2. Broj društvenih karikatura objavljenih u *Vjesniku* 1950-ih



Izvor: *Vjesnik*, 1950.-1959.
Source: *Vjesnik*, 1950-1959

cartoons taken from other newspapers with 17 per cent, and social and economic cartoons. One could claim that social and economic cartoons appeared as late as 1952. Only 32 social and economic cartoons were published during the seven years since the end of the Second World War, while 64 of them in 1952 (See table 2). Their number varied ever since from year to year, but never dropped under 17 (in 1957) or under 8 per cent per year. The largest share of this type of cartoons in the overall number was achieved in 1959 with 25 per cent (Bencetić, 2014: 202).

Otto Reisinger was by far the most represented cartoonist in *Vjesnik* in the 1950s and in addition to him among signed cartoonists were Alojz Ševčik, Nedeljko Dragić

and Ivo Kušanić. A large number of cartoons were left unsigned; therefore, one can only guess their authors based on their drawing style. This question should, however, be left to art historians.

The basic feature of cartoons – to comment on current events – was for the most part achieved in *Vjesnik* in foreign policy cartoons, those dealing with the Free Territory of Trieste,⁵ problems related to the Church, cartoons dealing with the relationship between Yugoslavia and the Cominform.⁶ Social and economic cartoons mainly dealt with issues that were not topical for a brief period of time, but rather the problems they addressed reached far back into human history and were linked to the characteristics of an individual society and its tradition. The status of women in society, attitude towards alcoholism and pervasiveness of nepotism were just a few. On the other hand, there were social issues that were made topical by the time or that popped up in the period researched but may have lasted longer. Tourism was one such example. A more significant development of tourism in Yugoslavia began in the 1950s (although its roots date back to the 19th century). At this time, the theme began to be featured in cartoons but continued in the subsequent periods to this very day.

Political processes in Yugoslavia were not shown in the cartoons, but changes in the policy can be seen from the editorial board's attitude toward cartoon publishing. An example of this is almost complete cessation of the cartoon publication after the Cominform Resolution or a sudden increase in the number of the cartoons as a result of Yugoslav's rapprochement to the West because the state leadership wanted to show Yugoslavia as more liberal and democratic. (Bencetić, 2014: 291).

Society in the 1950s *Vjesnik* Cartoons

As pointed out earlier, cartoons are created within a certain society, they derive from that society, and in other words, the subject of cartoons is not invented but describes real social phenomena and issues. When interpreting cartoons, the only contentious point is how the cartoons present a certain issue, how they treat an individual topic and what they wish to achieve with the manner of presentation. Another important point is what set of problems cartoons deal with, or what they consider essential enough to become the subject of cartoons.

It was earlier stated that cartoons play a specific role in totalitarian societies, which is not criticising those in power, but instead they are the ones who use cartoons to criticise every opposition or any social phenomenon not in line with their ideology. Such an approach is most evident in political cartoons, but can also be found in social and economic cartoons. It is interesting how ideology is diffused in social and economic cartoons, using them as a benevolent means of entertainment for the promotion of its own views.

The *Vjesnik* cartoons were partly used to impose ideology, and partly to criticise negative and unjust phenomena in society. Observing Croatian (Yugoslav) society through the *Vjesnik* cartoons in the 1950s, the following major problems in society can be detected: poor housing conditions, alcoholism, high prices of food and other necessities, poor conditions in the health care system (uncommitted physicians and pharmacists, lack of hygiene habits of population).⁷ Additionally, the unequal position of women, nepotism, bureaucracy, unfavourable position of domestic products (people prefer imported products, a perception was created that foreign products were of better quality). Cultural issues (criticism of pornography in cinemas and magazines, criticism of poor television and radio programmes, criticism of inflation of summer festivals). Furthermore, raising children and youth, criticism of domestic tourism (poor services, short opening hours of hospitality establishments, poor ferry connections, poor bus connections, high prices, construction works during tourist season). Each of the issues mentioned was treated in its own peculiar way depending on the attitude of the authorities toward it; if the authorities had a position on a specific issue – if not – the interpretation was left to the cartoonist. The most frequent themes (and all other themes) were detected in a way that all numbers of the newspaper *Vjesnik* in the period from 1950 until 1959 were examined and each cartoon were extracted from the newspaper and analyzed. Having detected the most frequent

Table 3. Featured themes in the social cartoons in *Vjesnik* in 1950s
Tablica 3. Izdvojene teme društvenih karikatura u Vjesniku 1950-ih

Year	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
Number	1	3	64	49	18	42	42	17	55	42
Bureaucracy	1	0	6	9	4	4	13	0	1	1
Alcoholism	0	0	4	5	1	0	0	1	0	0
Nepotism	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	2	0
Position of Women	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
Children and Youth	0	0	2	4	1	0	1	1	0	0
Tourism	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	0	1	18
Housing	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Food and Necessities	0	0	8	3	5	4	1	2	4	0
Other	0	3	42	24	7	24	23	13	47	22

Izvor: *Vjesnik*, 1950.-1959.
Source: *Vjesnik*, 1950-1959

themes in *Vjesnik*, one should analyse the approach to an individual theme, how it was presented, evaluated, and what kind of message was sent with it or about it.

Bureaucracy

The problem of inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy was an issue that appeared much earlier in the period under research, but continued to be a problem in the subsequent periods as well. The cartoons criticised bureaucracy at all levels, from the lowest bureaucrats to those in management positions. The cartoons clearly demonstrated the perception of excessive and unnecessary paperwork, the laziness of the bureaucratic apparatus, its lack of kindness and helpfulness.⁸ The cartoons pointed out the existence of a 'network' of bureaucracy and once one was caught in it, – it was difficult to free oneself. Inefficient bureaucracy was a problem that people faced on a daily basis and this may be the reason why the problem was so well illustrated in cartoons. In addition to cartoons, bureaucracy was also discussed in *Vjesnik* articles, leading to the conclusion that inefficient bureaucracy was a not only the population's problem but the authorities' as well.

Stjepan Haladin's Master's thesis entitled *Birokracija i njezine specifičnosti u Jugoslaviji (Bureaucracy and its Specifics in Yugoslavia)* perfectly illustrates why cartoons devoted so much space to the problem of bureaucracy.⁹ The thesis analyses the problem of bureaucracy in Yugoslavia, and in his conclusion the author asserts that bureaucracy '... is present in this country, and on all occasions it expresses its clear aspiration for economic and political positions and privileges. (...) In practice, this is manifested as some sort of consciousness, mentality and aspiration, as standards of living, work style and behaviour. If we examine closely, we shall see that bureaucracy dwells in better city quarters, that it has its own view on the value of man which is based on position, function and income instead of work. Their children will not be miners or "common people", they will pursue a career. For the lower and middle echelons of bureaucracy, very symptomatic is the inability to bring their personal desires into line, in other words meeting collective norms, and their actual subjective and objective capabilities. (...) This disharmony gives rise to a series of conflicts, often rudeness and "strictness" (if it is question of a manager) which covers incompetence, and suitably and violently supports the "authority", then intimate discontent and critical stance (in the back corridors of course) on everybody and everything' (Haladin, 1972: 116-117). Although Haladin bureaucracy described as a way of life, it is more issue of social structure and one kind of new ruling class.¹⁰

Alcoholism

The *Vjesnik* cartoons also revealed a major social problem – alcoholism. Criticism was levelled against the prevalence and deep-rooted nature of alcoholism in society,

and society's tolerant attitude to it. The cartoons depicted workers who spent their entire wages in cafes instead of spending them on their families. It was also implied that some individuals spent their working hours in restaurants and cafes instead of at work. The cartoons warned against people who drive while intoxicated which was considered normal behaviour, although this is a very dangerous practice. Criticism was also directed against the trend of opening new restaurants and cafes, which were caricatured as having a tendency of becoming the major branch of the economy.¹¹

Gačić states that alcoholism was the third cause of death in Yugoslavia, following heart and coronary diseases, and cancer (Gačić, 1985: 33). The great interest of cartoons in the problem of alcoholism should not be surprising, especially if one is aware of anti-drinking campaigns launched in Croatia (and the whole of Yugoslavia). In the late 1950s, such campaigns were targeting the population at large, as well as campaigns in schools and factories, concerts and performances whose goal was to point to the damaging effects of drinking. In 1961, the journal *Alkoholizam: stručni časopis dispanzera za lečenje alkoholičara i borbu protiv alkoholizma* (*Alcoholism: Professional Journal of Clinics for Treating Alcoholics and Fight against Alcoholism*) first appeared in Belgrade. The publication of such a specialised journal speaks for itself about the drinking problem in Yugoslavia and Croatia. The journal covered the overall impact of alcoholism on the society, family, and working abilities of alcoholics. Nevertheless, the fight was to no avail, in spite of enormous efforts. This is evident in the data from Branko Gačić's book *Alkoholizam: bolest pojedinaca i društva* (*Alcoholism: A Disease of Individuals and Society*). The author quotes UN information from 1982 indicating that alcoholism was on a steady rise in Yugoslavia affecting 6.8 per cent of the population in 1960, 9.1 per cent in 1970 and 12.0 per cent in 1979 (alcohol consumption for people over 15 years of age). Out of 21 European countries, Yugoslavia ranked 14th (Gačić, 1985: 34).

Nepotism

The *Vjesnik* considered nepotism as one of the major social problems. The cartoons demonstrated that the population perceived nepotism as a constituent part of society and human behaviour, and that it was normal to develop (have) a society based on such a foundation. The cartoons criticised its presence throughout the vertical and horizontal structure of society.¹² Special emphasis was placed on 'universal acceptance' of nepotism in society, in other words that it was generally accepted that 'a connection' was necessary for everything (from a medical check-up, getting a job, to resolving an administrative problem). *Vjesnik* pointed out that when selecting people in individual bodies (at the state, local or factory level), the main reference was whether the candidate 'was ours' that is 'local'.¹³

Picture 1. Vjesnik, 20 May 1956, author: Otto Reisinger.
Slika 1. Vjesnik, 20. svibanj 1956., autor: Otto Reisinger.

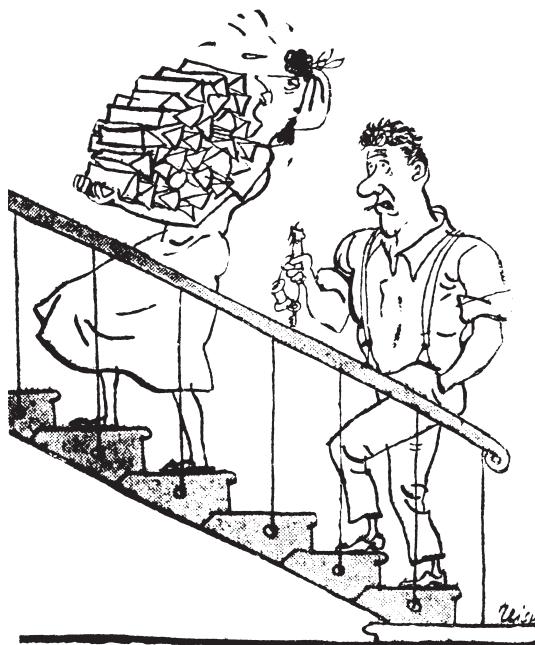


Adequate literature on the problem of nepotism that would support the previous statements about its omnipresence in Croatian society could not be found. This theme has been poorly researched. Stjepan Haladin in his Master's thesis on the problem of bureaucracy in Yugoslavia also refers to nepotism in bureaucracy – 'their children will not be miners or "common people", they will pursue careers' (Haladin, 1972: 116-117). As to why this is so, and why literature does not cover and follow this major social problem, remains unanswered.

Position of Women

The position of women in society is one of the themes that encroached upon ideological issues, being at the same time a social and economic theme. Communist ideology gave women a far greater role in society, believing that women should come out of their 'homes' and in larger numbers enter the labour market, the political and social scene. After all, women in Yugoslavia were not given the right to vote until as late as 1945, with the establishment of the communist government. The cartoons underscored the mediocre position of women in society, and the entrenchment of ideas about women as homemakers or the practice of women doing all the housework. There were references to a strong resistance to the 'breakthrough' of women

Picture 2. Vjesnik, 17 June 1956, author: Otto Reisinger.
Slika 2. Vjesnik, 17. lipanj 1956., autor: Otto Reisinger.



— Ja se prosto čudim tim nazadnim ljudima koji zastupaju mišljenje da žena jedina treba da radi u kući!

on the social and political scene. The cartoons depicted great resistance to placing women on electoral lists or leadership positions. The cartoons - and often accompanying articles as well - pointed to some backward phenomena in society, the treatment of women as possessions of males (father, husband or brother) who controlled them. It was emphasised that during the 1950s there were still parts of society, primarily rural ones, where women were forced to enter arranged marriages.¹⁴

Literature confirms such presentations from cartoons: women in Yugoslavia were indeed in a worse position than men; they were less educated and less represented on the labour market. Data on the educational background of women in 1957 indicates that there were 0.8 per cent of highly skilled women, 25.9 per cent of skilled women, 36.8 per cent of semi-skilled women, and 36.5 per cent of unskilled women (Kovačević, 1961: 13). Consequently, their presence on the labour market was slight, therefore in 1961 they accounted for 42.4 per cent of the employed, the number dropping to 39.93 per cent in 1970. Furthermore, indicators of women's employment in the socially owned sector in 1956 show that they accounted for 14.55

per cent of the total number of employed (Kovačević, 1961: 16). In 1961, women accounted for 24,891 (30 per cent) of the total number of students being 82,882 (Kovačević, 1961: 42). According to the 1953 census, women accounted for 73.5 per cent of the illiterate and according to the 1961 census for 75.17 per cent (*Statistički godišnjak SR Hrvatske*, 1971: 43).

Children and Youth

Raising children is one of the themes belonging to an ideological set of problems. Traditional Croatian society and the middle class pedagogy¹⁵ have a 'firmer' approach to raising children than communist authorities, statist or self-managing pedagogy. Consequently, the cartoons directed criticism against violent methods of raising children (both in the family and at school), and a lack of pedagogical know-how in the education of children that was in some schools manifested through violent methods by teachers. For ideological reasons, special emphasis was laid on the harmful influence of the clergy, and parents and teachers were warned that their influence should be minimized. Parents, and society at large, were criticised for neglecting children and taking insufficient care in their upbringing. There were references to addiction to cigarettes, drinking and gambling as negative examples, as well as juvenile delinquency leading to crime. The cartoons represented the view

Picture 3. *Vjesnik*, 20 June 1952, author: unknown.

Slika 3. Vjesnik, 20. lipanj 1952., autor: nepoznat.



that society had a negative attitude towards young people, explaining this with the example of a lack of jobs for young people; even when young people found jobs, they were exploited and underestimated. The cartoons also illustrated that young people were not given opportunities for learning or professional development.¹⁶

In communist Croatia (Yugoslavia), there were two periods in pedagogy: 1. pedagogy under conditions of statism, and 2. pedagogy of self-managing socialism (Munjiza, 2009: 207). Statist pedagogy was based on the principles of Soviet socialist pedagogy,¹⁷ whereas pedagogy of self-managing socialism retained the main characteristics of socialist pedagogy but distanced itself from Soviet pedagogy (Munjiza: 2009: 209). The period under research comprises pedagogy of self-managing socialism and therefore it is necessary to enumerate its basic characteristics: '...the rigid statist attitude is abandoned. Education to a lesser extent serves the interests of the state and to a greater extent the interests of society. In addition to a pronounced social component, education gains individual importance, both in terms of its approach and its goal. (...) Difference is being made between practiced education, which continues to be determined as socially conditioned and subject to changes, and realized education or education that will be realized' (Munjiza, 2009: 223). Self-managing pedagogy pursues the goal of 'educating a new, socialist individual, shaping a young socialist generation under conditions of a struggle for achievement and victory of socialism' (Munjiza, 2009: 209). Consequently, it is evident that cartoons promoted the ideas of pedagogy of self-managing socialism.

Tourism

As tourism developed in the 1950s, especially in the late 1950s, cartoons began to depict its deficiencies and specifics. On analysing the cartoons, one can conclude that the problems of tourism in the 1950s were the following: high prices of accommodation and other tourist services, poor availability of services, short opening hours of hotels and restaurants, poor traffic connections (in particular of islands), construction works during the tourist season. High prices were one of the general objects of criticism in the *Vjesnik* cartoons, and in line with it were the high prices in the tourist sector. The cartoons showed that tourist services were expensive for foreign tourists and especially for domestic ones. Emphasis was laid on poor availability of services, and another issue related to it was short opening hours of hotels and restaurants, resulting in a short stay of guests, especially foreign guests, who would leave tourist localities after just a few days and thus minimally contribute to the revenues of these localities and Croatian (Yugoslav) tourism in general. The majority of road and construction works was carried out during the warm part of the year, in particular during the summer. The cartoons criticised the fact that these

works obstructed the tourist season, thus disturbing the tranquillity of tourists and traffic bound for the coast.¹⁸

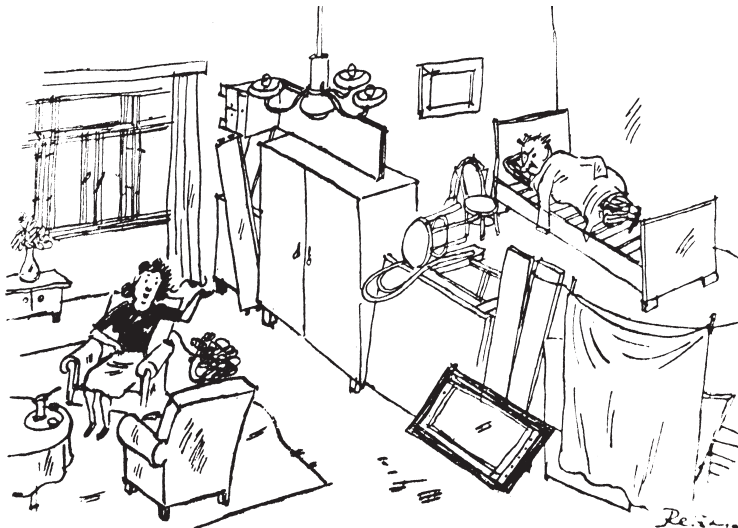
In communist Yugoslavia, Croatian tourism systematically developed from 1948 until the beginning of the Homeland War (Croatian War of Independence). Data published in the book by Stevan Stanković *Turizam u Jugoslaviji (Tourism in Yugoslavia)* demonstrates a continuous growth; in 1948, there were 1,678,256 overnights in Yugoslavia and in 1988 21,791,000 (Stanković, 1990: 274). Data on investments in 'fixed assets in hospitality business and tourism' demonstrate an increase in investments – 1,222,000,000 dinars were invested in 1951 and 7,830,000,000 dinars in 1959 (Stanković, 1990: 201). Taking into account that the majority of tourists visited Croatia and stayed there overnight, accounting for 71 per cent of the total overnight stays in Yugoslavia in 1960 and as much as 81.5 per cent of overnight visits in 1980 (Stanković, 1990: 257), one could state that Yugoslav tourism consisted mainly of Croatian tourism.

Many problems of the tourist sector of that time still persist today, as they probably do in any period, this refers to construction works during the tourist season, short opening hours of hotels and restaurants, poor availability of services. However, data show that investments in tourism were increasing and that the sector was growing and becoming an ever more important segment of the Croatian economy.

Housing

Poor housing conditions in which major parts of the population lived emerged as a widespread social problem. Attention was drawn to a lack of housing (people lived in cramped spaces where one room had several functions) and the poor quality of constructed flats and entire buildings (buildings were dilapidated, there were no investments in their renewal and new buildings were not constructed). In the aftermath of the Second World War, many people from rural areas moved to towns and cities that did not provide enough housing units for all newcomers. This gave rise to the major problem of providing housing for them, and a solution was found in accommodating more people in small flats. In addition to a lack of housing, attention was also drawn to decrepit housing as well as lack of maintenance of existing housing units. Homeowners and caretakers were primarily accused of being responsible for run-down buildings, but insufficient care of other tenants was also emphasised. The cartoons criticised all of the phenomena mentioned, pointing to the danger that dilapidated buildings posed for human lives, as well as the negative sides of cramped flats, where individuals had no private space, and members of the family focused on one another all day long.¹⁹

Picture 4. Vjesnik, 10 February 1952, author: Otto Reisinger.
Slika 4. Vjesnik, 10. veljače 1952., autor: Otto Reisinger.



Research and analysis of the housing problem in communist Croatia (Yugoslavia) demonstrate that criticism expressed in the cartoons was justified. All the studies demonstrate that Yugoslavia faced huge housing problems, and some studies suggest that there was a shortage of 700,000 flats in Yugoslavia in 1973 (Jurković, 1973: 137). Đuro Račić considered that in 1958 Yugoslavia lacked 500,000 flats (Račić, 1958: 118), and Pero Jurković maintained that it would be necessary to construct 150,000-200,000 flats per year in order to meet the needs for housing space (Jurković, 1973: 138).

Prices of Food and Necessities

The cartoons criticised the high prices of the overall market supply but most of all high food prices. This especially referred to domestic products whose prices at the market rose several times in comparison to production prices. The cartoons considered 'speculators' to be the 'culprits' who raised prices of products and made a fortune at the expense of small producers.²⁰ Emphasis was laid on high prices of tobacco products, alcohol products and hospitality services. The cartoons underlined that through such business deals a small section of the population was getting rich at the expense of others, which was unacceptable in a communist state where all should be equal (in an economic sense). The conclusion is that price problems en-

Picture 5. *Vjesnik*, 1 August 1953, author: unknown.
Slika 5. *Vjesnik*, 1. kolovoz 1953., autor: nepoznat.

UGOSTITELJSKE KALKULACIJE



— Što to radite?
— Dobilil smo zadatak, da izmjerimo zrak, pa da ga uračunamo u cijenu...!

tered the domain of ideology and that the cartoons, in addition to levelling justified criticism at high prices, also served as a medium for imposing ideology, in this case for getting even with greedy traders and middle-men.²¹

A piece of information illustrating that food prices were high in Yugoslavia is the following: in 1952, a four-member family with one provider spent 38.86 per cent of its income on food. In 1953, 46.61 per cent of the family expenditure was on food and in 1954 46.45 per cent (*Statistički godišnjak NR Hrvatske*, 1955: 398). All this indicates that food prices were continually rising and accounted for the largest part of expenses of a four-member family. Therefore, one can conclude that criticism in the cartoons was justified, that prices were increasing year after year and that the rise in income did not follow the rise in prices.

Conclusion

Research shows that cartoons are an excellent indicator of social circumstances and prevalent social problems. For example, there are a significant number of the cartoons about tourism and a large number of these cartoons coincide with the development of the tourism that started in the late 1950s. The analysis of cartoons published in the Zagreb daily *Vjesnik* in the 1950s detects major problems of the society of the

time, as it was shown in the paper. The material presented shows that the cartoons criticised many social phenomena and habits (e.g. hygiene), with the aim of exerting influence on society in the sense of it correcting and improving its deficiencies. For some cartoons, one can state that they were, 'positive', striving to target negative aspects in society and not intending to manipulate the public. A second group of cartoons contained a clearly expressed ideological trait, whereas the third group contained a hidden ideological component. The latter group can be qualified as the most 'dangerous' cartoons. Those cartoons strove to present themselves as 'the voice of the people' and such a presentation earned them legitimacy in the eyes of the readership thus giving more weight to their criticism or message. Their influence on readers was greater for the very reason that they presented themselves as benevolent and universally accepted.

Also, it can be concluded that the cartoons have played an important role in the *Vjesnik*. This is based on the mere fact that the cartoons were published and that they were published continuously, but also on their placement in the newspapers because very often they were placed on the first or the second page. A certain number of cartoons are related to the articles published mostly on the same page as the cartoon; this was used to achieve the greatest effect and to make the message of the article and the cartoon more understandable.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ See Janjetović, Z. (2011) *Od "Internacionale" do komercijale. Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*. Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije; Vučetić, R. (2012) *Koka-kola socijalizam. Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik; Duda, I. (2014) *U potrazi za blagostanjem: o povijesti dokolice i potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.
- ² Socially engaged cartoons comprise political cartoons, cartoons about the economic or social situation in the society or of an individual, cartoons of a certain social class or profession, cartoons of events related to culture or, in recent times, ecological cartoons. For more details see Dulibić, *Povijest karikature*, 10-5.
- ³ Between October 1953 and January 1954 Milovan Đilas wrote 19 articles for newspaper *Borba* where, among other things, he stated that a new ruling class was formed in Yugoslavia. For that reason in January 1954 he was expelled from the Central Committee of the party and dismissed from all political functions and in March 1954 he resigned from the Party.
- ⁴ Social cartoons are all cartoons that are not strictly related with political issues.
- ⁵ Free Territory of Trieste (FTT) was an independent territory situated between Italy and Yugoslavia in the period from September 1947 until October 1954. Its administration was divided into two areas: Zone A and Zone B. Both countries had territorial claims to FTT and there controversy was solved on 5 October 1954 with London Memorandum. Zone A was given to Italy and Zone B to Yugoslavia.
- ⁶ On 28 June 1948 Yugoslavia was expelled from the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) and was in conflict with Soviet Union and Cominform until 1955. The conflict was manifested by the military pressure on Yugoslavia, economic isolation and permanent media attacks.

- ⁷ See *Vjesnik* (25 February 1950); *Vjesnik* (18 December 1950); *Vjesnik* (9 November 1951); *Vjesnik* (13 January 1952); *Vjesnik* (31 May 1952); *Vjesnik* (31 January 1953); *Vjesnik* (1 August 1953); *Vjesnik* (30 May 1954); *Vjesnik* (13 June 1954); *Vjesnik* (30 January 1955); *Vjesnik* (25 October 1955); *Vjesnik* (25 March 1956); *Vjesnik* (31 October 1957); *Vjesnik* (14 December 1958); *Vjesnik* (7 June 1959).
- ⁸ *Vjesnik* (18 February 1950); *Vjesnik* (7 April 1950); *Vjesnik* (18 April 1950); *Vjesnik* (24 October 1950); *Vjesnik* (1 January 1953); *Vjesnik* (10 February 1953); *Vjesnik* (14 March 1954); *Vjesnik* (6 November 1955); *Vjesnik* (17 January 1956).
- ⁹ See more in: Đilas, M. (1957) *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- ¹⁰ For more information see Đilas, M. (1957) *The New Class: An Analysis of the Communist System*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- ¹¹ *Vjesnik* (25 April 1952); *Vjesnik* (31 May 1952); *Vjesnik* (13 July 1952); *Vjesnik* (30 December 1952); *Vjesnik* (11 June 1954)
- ¹² Vertical structure means from ordinary worker to director, both in factories and in government offices. And horizontal means man and women, worker in a factory and an employee at the office.
- ¹³ *Vjesnik* (25 January 1953); *Vjesnik* (8 October 1953); *Vjesnik* (20 May 1956); *Vjesnik* (24 August 1958); *Vjesnik* (18 May 1959).
- ¹⁴ *Vjesnik* (21 November 1952); *Vjesnik* (16 October 1953); *Vjesnik* (10 April 1955); *Vjesnik* (17 June 1956.)
- ¹⁵ For middle class pedagogy see: Munjiza, 2009: 206.
- ¹⁶ *Vjesnik* (20 June 1952); *Vjesnik* (5 April 1953); *Vjesnik* (7 December 1953); *Vjesnik* (10 December 1953); *Vjesnik* (24 December 1953); *Vjesnik* (25 March 1956); *Vjesnik* (19 May 1957); *Vjesnik* (4 October 1960).
- ¹⁷ For Soviet socialist pedagogy see: Munjiza, 2009: 212.
- ¹⁸ *Vjesnik* (29 May 1953); *Vjesnik* (8 September 1955); *Vjesnik* (9 September 1955); *Vjesnik* (12 September 1955); *Vjesnik* (7 August 1959); *Vjesnik* (8 August 1959); *Vjesnik* (10 August 1959); *Vjesnik* (16 August 1959); *Vjesnik* (24 August 1959); *Vjesnik* (25 August 1959).
- ¹⁹ *Vjesnik* (10 February 1952); *Vjesnik* (30 January 1955); *Vjesnik* (7 June 1959).
- ²⁰ *Vjesnik* (15 January 1952); *Vjesnik* (24 August 1952); *Vjesnik* (9 November 1952); *Vjesnik* (16 December 1952); *Vjesnik* (18 January 1958).
- ²¹ *Vjesnik* (2 October 1955); *Vjesnik* (5 November 1957); *Vjesnik* (20 July 1958); *Vjesnik* (1 November 1958).

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Hrvatsko društvo u komunističkoj Jugoslaviji prikazano u karikaturama zagrebačkog lista *Vjesnik* 1950-ih

Lidija Bencetić

SAŽETAK

Koristeći dnevnu karikaturu *Vjesnika* kao historiografski izvor detektirani su glavni društveno-socijalni problemi Hrvatske u 1950-im godinama. Iz karikatura je vidljivo kako su najveći društveni problemi komunističke Hrvatske - birokracija, alkoholizam, nepotizam, negativan društveni položaj žena, negativan odnos društva prema djeci i mladima, nedovoljan angažman u turizmu, nepovoljni stambeni uvjeti velikog broja stanovništva, te visoke cijene hrane i svekolikih potrepština. Karikature su se pokazale kao izuzetno točan indikator društvenih problema, jer glavnina njihove problematike je potvrđena literaturom, odnosno povijesna i društvena su istraživanja pokazala opravdanost karikaturiranja pojedinih pitanja. Za dio karikatura čija problematika nije znanstveno istražena, moglo bi se, slijedom točnosti istraženih i analiziranih društvenih problema, pretpostaviti da su također vjerodostojan prenter društva i njegove problematike.

Ključne riječi: društvena problematika, karikature, komunističko društvo, *Vjesnik*

