

THE BAN OF ASSOCIATION OF CROATIAN THEATRE VOLUNTEERS BY COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES IN CROATIA (1945 – 1947)*

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The article describes the ban of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers in Zagreb [Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca, Zagreb], umbrella theatrical-volunteer organization in Croatia since the mid-1920s until Second World War. It was active in the country and abroad on popularisation of the art of drama, creation of the folk repertoire, as well as on bringing together acting societies, clubs and choirs. When the war ended, the Association applied for permission to restore its activities, but only in the Zagreb area. Its activities would be mainly related to education of actors – theatre volunteers and improving of theatre literature. The procedure of banning lasted from the autumn of 1945 until 5 February 1947, when the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia (PRC) [Vlada Narodne Republike Hrvatske] confirmed the ban order previously adopted by Ministry of Interior of the PRC [Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Narodne Republike Hrvatske]. Also, its whole property was confiscated in favour of the State. The article also draws attention to the engagement in that ban case, showed by Aleksandar Freudenreich, a prominent architect and theater worker, as well as secretary of the Association in whole period since its founding. The ban case was analyzed in a broader context of creating a new socialist culture, in accordance with the revolutionary ideology of the new communist government.

Keywords: The Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers, theatre, cultural policy, socialist realism, Croatia, Yugoslavia, period 1945 – 1947

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The communist party as the holder of revolutionary changes in culture

The communist government established in Yugoslavia/Croatia after Second World War, actively used culture and arts for its political and ideological goals.¹ Imposed direction in culture and arts was a socialist realism. Cultural and artistic creativity – which did not comply with criteria imposed by communist party – was attacked by political criticism.² As concluded M. Beus, the most important goal set in culture was “people’s enlightenment”. Besides the handling of a cultural backwardness, by widening the network of cultural institutions and a range of users (in early period especially rural population), it also included elimination of remains of ideological opposition, providing re/education in socialist spirit, as well as developing awareness of meaning and advantages of socialist system.³ As K. Spehnjak explains, from the theory of people’s authority over the government, in postwar period was also concluded that the people are owners of all cultural goods and subject of cultural production. In practice, that meant “bringing of culture to the people” and development of “mass cultural production”. This aimed to develop habits of attendance at all kinds of cultural events, and encourage different forms of cultural amateurism.⁴

For carrying out such objectives, it was established a branched system of party and state bodies, mass political organisations, cultural-educational and cultural-artistic societies.⁵ To serve effectively in achievement of the uniform state educational and cultural policy, as describes K. Spehnjak, all societies had to be a part of Popular front [Narodna fronta]. Later was established even stronger control of content aspects of their work by forming the Union of Educational and Cultural Associations [Savez kulturno-prosvjetnih društava], as coordinating body for operation of state policy on that field.⁶

Thereby, the supreme authority in implementation of cultural policy was reserved for party, and not for governmental bodies, especially for Department

¹ Tatjana Šarić, “Matica hrvatska u prvim poslijeratnim godinama (1945-1948) [Matrix Croatica in the early postwar years 45-1948]”, *Arhivski vjesnik*, 54 (2011): 116.

² Tatjana Šarić, “Djelovanje Agitpropa prema književnom radu i izdavaštvu u NRH, 1945-1952.” [Activity of the Agitprop in regard to Literary Work and Publishing in the People’s Republic of Croatia in 1945-1952]”, *RADOVI – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest*, 42 (2010): 393.

³ Marina Beus, “Prosvjetna politika u službi ideološkoga pre/odgoja u Hercegovini (1945.-1952.)” [Educational policy in the service of social reform of education in Herzegovina (from 1945 to 1952)], *Hercegovina: Časopis za kulturno i povijesno naslijeđe*, 2 (2016): 254.

⁴ Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda: Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945. – 1952.* [Publicity and propaganda in Croatian politics and culture 1945-1952] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Dom i svijet, 2002), p. 167.

⁵ Ibidem, p. 166.

⁶ Ibidem, p. 220.

for Agitation and propaganda (Agitprop) at Central Committee of Communist party of Yugoslavia (CC CPY) [Odjeljenje za agitaciju i propagandu (Agitprop) Centralnog komiteta Komunističke partije Jugoslavije] and equivalent bodies in party committees of republics, districts and towns. In circular sent in 1945 to all republican central committees, as basic task, CC CPY underlined the aggregation of whole agitation, propaganda, cultural and educational work under the authority of party committees.⁷ Such attitude was also taken in discussion on results and tasks of agitation and propaganda in Croatia, at the meeting of the Politburo of Central Committee of Communist Party of Croatia (CC CPC) [Politbiro Centralnog komiteta Komunističke partije Hrvatske] held on 27 December 1946. It was pointed out that holder of cultural and artistic work in Croatia should be party organisation, as well as that cultural and artistic work should be implemented through party grassroots organisations. Regarding to the role of the Ministry of Education [Ministarstvo prosvjete] – state administrative authority, formally competent to manage cultural and artistic operations, as well as to organise and control cultural and artistic organisation (theatres, artistic schools, art galleries, museums, publishing, literature, music, etc.) – it was pointed out that it “cannot be the centre of work, but needs to be material provider, and nothing more”. Political secretary of CC CPC and president of the Government of the PRC Vladimir Bakarić, repeated that such work “must be implemented through Party”.⁸

⁷ HR-HDA-1220. Centralni komitet Saveza komunista Hrvatske. Agitprop. Direktive, upute CK KPJ za rad 1945. – 1950., Okružnica CK KPJ iz 1945. svim CK-ima i PK-ima o reorganizaciji agitacije i propagande [HR-HDA-1220. Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. Agitprop. Directives, instructions from CC CPY, 1945-1950, Circular from 1945 about reorganisation and agitation and propaganda], box 1. Compare: Marina Beus, “Prosvjetna politika u službi ideološkoga pre/odgoja u Hercegovini (1945.-1952.)” [Educational policy in the service of social reform of education in Herzegovina (from 1945 to 1952)], *Hercegovina: Časopis za kulturno i povijesno naslijeđe*, 2 (2016): 253-254.

⁸ Branislava Vojnović, ed., *Zapisnici Politbiroa Centralnoga komiteta Komunističke partije Hrvatske 1945-1952. Svezak 1. 1945-1948.* [Minutes of Politburo of Central Committee of Communist Party of Croatia 1945-1952. Volume 1. 1945-1948] (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2005.), pp. 281, 283, 291 and 369. For more details about Ministry of Education of PRC see: “Odluka o Narodnoj vladi Hrvatske” [Decision on People’s Government of Croatia], *Narodne novine NRH [Official Gazette of PRC]*, 2 (1945); “Odluka o reorganizaciji Vlade Narodne Republike Hrvatske” [Decision on reorganisation of Government of People’s Republic of Croatia], *Narodne novine NRH [Official Gazette of PRC]*, 27 (1951); Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda: Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945. – 1952.* [Publicity and propaganda in Croatian politics and culture 1945-1952] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Dom i svijet, 2002.), Chapter 3.2. Activities of the Ministry of Education of PRC, p. 172-177; Egon Kraljević, *Ministarstvo prosvjete Narodne Republike Hrvatske 1945-1951: sumarni inventar fonda* [Ministry of Education of People’s Republic of Croatia 1945-1951: summary inventory] (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2003.), p. 4-15; Ana Holjevac Tuković, *Institucije središnjih tijela Narodne Republike Hrvatske 1945.-1953.: magistarski rad* [Institutions of the central authorities of the People’s Republic of Croatia 1945-1953: master’s thesis] (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2004.), p. 103-107.

Through its organisational units (commissions, sectors), Agitprop controlled and directed whole intellectual production, from literature and art to education and press. It also monitored activities of theatres and acting schools, controlled repertoires of theatres and public performances, and dealt with activities of theatre, singing and musical troupes.⁹

In the organisation of theatre life throughout the whole Yugoslavia, particular importance was given to reception of works of Russian actor, theatre director and theatrologist Konstantin Sergeievich Stanislavski (1863 – 1938).¹⁰ As concludes I. R. Žigo, Stanislavski's work was to communist government primarily useful as "productive method in actually rigorous control of theatre activities". Acceptance of Stanislavski's system was identified as acceptance of direct state supervision of art, i.e. creation of theatre with primary role to promote communist political ideas.¹¹

Formal constitutional and legal freedom of association and artistic work

A part of revolutionary process in Yugoslavia/Croatia, that in first post-war years essentially changed earlier social relations, was also legislative work. In such revolutionary process, earlier legal order was abolished. Gradually was formed the new one, with the ambition of communist authorities to regulate a newly-created social relationships with their own rules. In laws and other re-

⁹ Compare: Mario Fabekovec, Mirela Vukšić, *Sumarni inventar serije HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3. Komisija za agitaciju i propagandu CK SKH/Komisija za ideološka pitanja CK SKH (1945-1965)* [*The summary inventory of archival unit HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3. Commission on agitation and propaganda of Central Committee of Communist Party of Croatia/Commission on ideological questions of Central Committee of League of Communists of Croatia (1945-1965)*] (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2013.), p. 2; Dušan Bilandžić, *Hrvatska moderna povijest [Croatian modern history]* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999.), p. 240; Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda: Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945. – 1952. [Publicity and propaganda in Croatian politics and culture 1945-1952]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Dom i svijet, 2002.), p. 98.; Marina Beus, "Prosvjetna politika u službi ideološkoga pre/odgoja u Hercegovini (1945.-1952)." [Educational policy in the service of social reform of education in Herzegovina (from 1945 to 1952)], *Hercegovina: Časopis za kulturno i povijesno naslijeđe*, 2 (2016): 254; Tatjana Šarić, "Djelovanje Agitpropa prema književnom radu i izdavaštvu u NRH, 1945-1952" [Activity of the Agitprop in regard to Literary Work and Publishing in the People's Republic of Croatia in 1945-1952], *RADOVI – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest*, 42 (2010): 391-392.

¹⁰ *Proleksis enciklopedija online [Proleksis encyclopedia online]*. "Stanislavski, Konstantin Sergejevič". URL: <http://proleksis.lzmk.hr/46718/>.

¹¹ Iva Rosanda Žigo, "Recepcija sovjetskoga teatra u riječkoj kazališnoj povijesti" [Reception of the Soviet Theatre in Rijeka's Theatre History], *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina*, 8/2 (2013), no. 8: 446-447; Teodora Vigato, "Narodno kazalište u Zadru od 1945. do 1955. godine" [The People's Theater in Zadar from 1945 to 1955], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 54 (2012): 328, 348.

gulations was reflected policy and class ideology of ruling communist party. Among basic objectives for their adoption were “people’s enlightenment” and protection of “values of national – liberation war”.¹² In such way was designed normative framework for removal from public space all those whose activities, according to the communist government’s assessments, were or might be outside of the default political and ideological framework.¹³

The Provisional National Assembly of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (DFY) [Privremena narodna skupština Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije] adopted on 25 August 1945 *Law on associations, musters and other public meetings*. It entered into force on 31 August 1945, on the day of publication in the *Official Journal od DFY*. By that Law, to DFY’s citizens was declared freedom of integration in political, cultural, scientific, technical, gymnastical and other associations “with a purpose of developing political, cultural and social activities of the masses”. More specifically, the Law provided the possibility of founding new societies or renewal of societies which acted in Kingdom of Yugoslavia [Kraljevina Jugoslavija], i.e. before its occupation by the Axis powers on 6 April 1941. A registration form should be submitted to the competent authority, depending on the territory within which the society would operate. Societies which would operate in the territory of one settlement, one or more districts of the same county or whole county, should submit a registration form to the Executive Board of County People’s Committee [Izvršni odbor Okružnog narodnog odbora]. Those societies whose activities would spread in the territory of more counties of the same federal unit, in the territory of autonomous province or in the whole territory of one federal unit, should a registration form submit to the provincial/republic ministry of interior. For those societies whose activities would spread in the territory of more than one federal unit or in the whole territory of DFY, a registration form should be submitted to the federal ministry of the interior. A registration form should be signed by at least ten founders, and the programme and rules of the association should be attached. Competent authorities should adopt a decision within 15 days after the registration form has been submitted. In the absence of a decision in that period, “it shall be deemed that competent authorities have adopted approval decision”. The same procedure was for submission of applications for renewal of associations which existed before 6 April 1941, but in that cases application

¹² Hodimir Sirotković, “Propisi ZAVNOH-a o organizaciji narodne vlasti u prvoj godini njegova djelovanja” [ZAVNOH’s regulations on organization of people’s government in first year of its activity], *Zbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, 17 (1967), no. 3-4: 380; Nenad Bukvić, *Sabor Narodne Republike Hrvatske: organizacija i djelovanje (1945. – 1953.): doktorski rad [Parliament of the People’s Republic of Croatia: organisation and activity (1945-1953): doctoral thesis]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2017), p. 356.

¹³ Compare: Katarina Spehnjak, *Javnost i propaganda: Narodna fronta u politici i kulturi Hrvatske 1945. – 1952. [Publicity and propaganda in Croatian politics and culture 1945-1952]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Dom i svijet, 2002.), p. 36.

form should be signed by members of all its body (main board, management board, supervisory board, etc.).¹⁴

Yet, in line with revolutionary ideology, the Law provided cases in which renewal or foundation of a society shall be banned (article 16, paragraph 2). Public authorities had the obligation “to ban foundation and activities of such societies whose work is fascist or pro-fascist, or serves to the purpose of provoking and inciting national, racial and religious inequality, hatred and intolerance”. Foundation or renewal of activities should be also banned “if founders or leaders of societies are engaged in such work, as well as if activities of society do not correspond to published programme”. In such cases, Law provided a right of appeal: against the decision of County People’s Committee to republic ministry of interior, against the decision of republic ministry of interior to republic government, and against the decision of federal ministry of interior to federal government. The decision by appeal bodies was final, and they were obligate to adopt it also within 15 days after the appeal has been submitted.

Furthermore, the Law provided fines for the participation in activities of societies to whom acting has not been granted. For leaders, a fine was deprivation of liberty up to one year, and for members up to three months or payment, on the condition that they have not committed a more serious offense. All fines were imposed by competent district people’s courts. There was a right of appeal to competent county court, within 15 days.¹⁵

People’s Assembly of Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) [Narodna skupština Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije] confirmed that Law, and amended it on two occasions during the 1946 and 1947.¹⁶ Those rights of freedom of association and artistic work were also included in group of constitutional rights of citizens in Constitution of FPRY adopted on 31 January 1946, and Constitution of PRC adopted on 18 January 1947.¹⁷

¹⁴ “Zakon o udruženjima, zborovima i drugim javnim skupovima” [The Law on associations, musters and other public meetings], *Službeni list FNRJ* [Official Journal of FPRY] 65 (1945), articles 1 and 12-16.

¹⁵ Ibidem, articles 16-17 and 26.

¹⁶ “Zakon o potvrdi i izmjenama Zakona o udruženjima, zborovima i drugim javnim skupovima od 25. kolovoza 1945.” [The Law on confirmation and amending the Law on associations, musters and other public meetings from 25 August 1945], *Službeni list FNRJ* [Official Journal of FPRY] 51 (1946); “Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o udruženjima, zborovima i drugim javnim skupovima” [The Law amending the Law on associations, musters and other public meetings], *Službeni list FNRJ* [Official Journal of FPRY] 29 (1947).

¹⁷ “Ustav FNRJ” [Constitution of the FPRY], *Službeni list FNRJ* [Official Journal of FPRY] 10 (1946), Articles 27 and 37; “Ustav NRH” [Constitution of the PRC], *Narodne novine NRH* [Official Gazette of PRC] 7 (1947), articles 28 and 38; For more details on the constitutional arrangement of civil rights in Yugoslavia and Croatia in analysed period see: Josip Mihaljević, “Ustavna uređenja temeljnih prava u Hrvatskoj 1946.-1974.” [The Constitutional Arrangement of Fundamental Rights in Croatia, 1946-1974], *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 43 (2011), no. 1: 25-51.

Yet, in practice such rights stayed declarative. This is also confirmed by the ban of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers in Zagreb, described further in the article.

Activities of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers until and during the Second World War

In the interest of a more comprehensive analysis of article issue, I find it necessary to briefly describe activities of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers until and during the Second World War. It gives base for a discussion on real reasons for banning its activity. At the same time, it illustrates the potential of contribution to theatre art in post-war period, which would Association be able to give, in case if its further work was permitted.

About the Association's activities in that period, more detailed wrote Branko Hećimović. In doing so, he warned on fragmentary of preserved sources.¹⁸ Association's activities can also be described on the basis of the information contained in the annexes to the registration form from 1945, preserved in the appeal case considered by the Government of the PRC. In short, following can be said.

As umbrella theatrical-volunteer organization, Association was founded on 20 June 1926, with origins dating back to 1 March 1923, when was founded Ameteurish Department of Wilson Croatian Sokol in Zagreb [Diletantski odsjek Hrvatskog sokola Wilsonovog, Zagreb]. It was founded on the initiative of Central Association of Czechoslovakian Theatre Volunteers from Prag [Središnja matica čehoslovačkih kazališnih dobrovoljaca, Prag], which that same year (1926), organised in Prag First international congress of associations of theatre volunteers. On 4 July that year, also was founded International Board for Folk Acting [Međunarodni odbor za pučku glumu]. Association soon be-

¹⁸ Branko Hećimović, *U zagrljaju kazališta [In theatre's embrace]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski centar ITI-UNESCO, 2004), Chapter "Fragmenti o postojanju i djelovanju Matice hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca" [Fragments Regarding the Existence and Activities of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers], p. 219-235; Branko Hećimović, "Fragmenti o postojanju i djelovanju Matice hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca" [Fragments Regarding the Existence and Activities of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers], in: Branko Hećimović, ed., *Krležini dani (2001; Osijek). Hrvatska dramska književnost i kazalište – inventura milenija: drugi dio [Krlježa's days (2001; Osijek) Croatian drama literature and theatre – inventory of millennium: part two]* (Zagreb: Zavod za povijest hrvatske književnosti, kazališta i glazbe HAZU, 2002), p. 135-156.; In State Archives in Zagreb, there is archival fond HR-DAZG-1005. Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca [Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers], 1926/1935, 1 archival box. It includes the approved Rules of society from 1926, invitation from 1935 for membership in Association and billboard for garden party from 1934. URL: <http://www.daz.hr/vodic/site/article/hr-dazg-1005-matica-hrvatskih-kazalisnih-dobrovoljaca>.

came its member, connecting in this way with related european associations of theatre volunteers.¹⁹

The rules of society were unanimously adopted by Constituent General Meeting of Association, held on 20 June 1926, and on 10 September of the same year were approved by governor of Zagreb county in Zagreb. According to such rules, Association aimed to work systematically on the popularisation of dramatic arts, especially domestic in the broad layers of Croatian people. Such results should be achieved by: bringing together and consulting acting societies, clubs and choirs engaged in acting; creating of the folk repertoire; compiling statistics about domestic folk theatre with the objective of influencing its development; proposing to competent authorities measures for improvement of volunteer folk acting and theatre; arranging of courses for volunteer theatre directors; maintaining of contacts with similar organisations in other countries and participating in activities of International Board for Folk Acting; arranging of guest performances in settlements in which its members (societies, clubs and choirs) are active; arranging of theatrical performances, academies, lectures, recitals and the like, as well as competitions of volunteer organisations in propaganda purposes; obtaining a copyright licences for individual theatrical performances; publishing and distributing among its members original Croatian dramas suitable for performances of theatre volunteers.²⁰

According to the report accompanying the registration form, during the period until the beginning of Second World War, Association developed branched activities home and abroad, gathering 248 societies. Inter alia, it compiled repertoire and founded library of folk dramas. It organised 13 competitions for original folk dramas and 6 competitions for radio dramas. Also, it played 442 performances, mostly in Zagreb (397 times), but also in other places (in Bjelovar, Čazma, Dubrovnik, Hvar, Jaska, Karlovac, Križevci, Osijek, Sisak, Sombor, Stenjevec, Subotica, Varaždin, Virovitica and Vukovar, altogether 32 times). Association also organised open-air events, and several courses for theatre volunteers and volunteer theatre directors. On its initiative was written and published Aleksandar Freudenreich's book *Acting: manual for the ideology and practical implementation of Croatian folk acting* [*Gluma: stručni priručnik za ideologiju i praktičnu primjenu hrvatske pučke glume*]. Association also studied Croatian folk dances and artistically shaped them. On the basis of them, on XI. Olympiad in Berlin in 1936, it took first prize in the competition of dancing ensembles representing 18 nations. Along with Czechoslovakia, France,

¹⁹ Branko Hećimović, *U zagrljaju kazališta [In theatre's embrace]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski centar ITI-UNESCO, 2004.), p. 220, 225-226.

²⁰ HR-HDA-279. Predsjedništvo Vlade Narodne Republike Hrvatske. Opći spisi. Spis br. 348/47 – Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca [HR-HDA-279. The Presidency of the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia. General files. File no. 348/47 – Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers], box 53.

England, Belgium, Netherlands, Poland and Switzerland, it was regular member of the International Board for Folk Acting.²¹

Concerning activities during Second World War in Croatia/Yugoslavia (1941 – 1945), abovementioned report indicates that Association in that period suspended public activities and restricted itself only to internal work, i.e. conducting of courses. In particular, it was claimed that in 1942 and 1943 – for the first time in Croatia – were organised training courses for actors according to Stanislavski's system. Furthermore, it was underlined that in two evenings Stanislavski's system was presented to the public, with purpose to demonstrate before liberation "everlasting ties with great fraternal Russian nation". It was also underlined that Association lost contact with societies it gathered, since most of them ceased to exist.²²

According to the Rules of society, Association's bodies were: General Meeting [Glavna skupština], Management Board [Upravni odbor] (elder, elder's deputy, first and second secretary, treasurer, librarian and three board members) and Supervisory Board [Nadzorni odbor] composed of three members. There was also Protective Court [Obranički sud] to hear all disputes involving Association's members.

In order to further emphasise the significance and the role of Association until Second World War, in report on the activities on that period, especially were listed its members – a prominent cultural and public workers. Among others, there were listed: writer, philologist and translator Nikola Andrić (1867 – 1942); composer and conductor Srećko Albini (1869 – 1933); actor and theater director Josip Bach (1874 – 1935); teatrologist and theater director, writer, art historian, lexicographer and translator Slavko Batušić (1902 – 1979); translator and jurist Milan Bogdanović (1876 – 1942); writer and pedagogue Antonija Kassowitz-Cvijić (1865 – 1936); actor Dragutin Freudenreich (1862 – 1937); sculptor Ivo Kerdić (1881 – 1953); actor, theater director and writer Nikola Milan Simeonović (1843 – 1928); actress Marija Ružička-Strozzi (1850 – 1937); writer Zlata Kolarić Kišur (1894 – 1990); writer and journalist Marija Jurić – Zagorka (1873 – 1957); composer and conductor Rudolf Matz (1901 – 1988); composer, conductor and pedagogue Slavko Zlatic (1910 – 1993); writer, actor,

²¹ Ibidem. Similar data for Association's activities specified also B. Hećimović, based on the memorial *Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers 1923 – 1943* published in 1943, and Aleksandar Freudenreich's letter sent on 13 October 1968 to Slavko Batušić, for Encyclopedia of Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb. On the basis of that letter, Hećimović states that Association performed seven more times, so a total 449 times. Compare: Branko Hećimović, *U zagrljaju kazališta [In theatre's embrace]* (Zagreb: Hrvatski centar ITI-UNESCO, 2004), p. 234-235.

²² HR-HDA-279. Predsjedništvo Vlade Narodne Republike Hrvatske. Opći spisi. Spis br. 348/47 – Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca [HR-HDA-279. The Presidency of the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia. General files. File no. 348/47 – Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers], box 53.

theater director and translator Tito Strozzi (1892 – 1970); publicist, writer and translator Ivan Esih (1898 – 1966); writer Geno Senečić (1907 – 1992); actress Ivka Kralj-Milarov (1856 – 1942); actress Darinka Simeonović Bandobranska (1867 – 1955); drama writer and critic Eustahije Jurkas (1881 – 1965).²³

Attempt of renewal of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers after the Second World War

According to available archival resources, application form for renewal, Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers submitted to the City People's Committee in Zagreb [Gradski narodni odbor u Zagrebu] on 13 October 1945, in less than two months after the adoption of the *Law on associations, musters and other public meetings*. In application, signed by secretary Aleksandar Freudenreich and Management Board's member Antun Vraneković, Association asked for approval to continue with its activities, but only in the Zagreb area. Thereby was suggested that Association would apply afterwards for approval to extend activities in a previous scope, if in time appear opportunity for action on whole territory of Croatia.

That same day, about received application, Administrative Department of City People's Committee in Zagreb [Upravni odjel Gradskog narodnog odbora u Zagrebu] asked for opinion from the Ministry of Education of PRC, state administrative authority formally competent to manage cultural and artistic activities. Response received on 14 December 1945 from Department of Culture and Arts of this Ministry [Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost Ministarstva prosvjete], included negative opinion on renewal of Association. It was explained that theatrical life in Zagreb – if it's taking place outside official institutions and theatres – is concentrated in city rayons. It was also pointed out that “if in mentioned Association there are gifted and honest individuals, they can be part of theatre troupes of city rayon's committies”. Hedging that doesn't have detailed information on Association's activities during Second World War, Department stated its view that all volunteers have enough opportunity to develop their theatrical activities within “mass organisations of Popular front, syndicate, and city rayons”, so “there is no need for setting up any other groups”.

On this subject, City People's Committee in Zagreb, also consulted organisation of Popular front. This is confirmed by the letter which Popular front of I. Rayon in Zagreb [Narodna fronta I. rajona Zagreb] sent on 11 February 1946 to its Administrative Department, Section of People's Security [Odjek narodne sigurnosti Upravnog odjela GNO-a Zagreb]. In only one sentence, it's briefly stated that “Society performed on Ustasha events”. According to the handwritten note (statement), allegations against the Association because of its co-

²³ Ibidem.

operation with Ustasha regime and occupation authorities, also were made by Ante Boglić, secretary of opera in Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb [Hrvatsko narodno kazalište u Zagrebu] since 1945, otherwise the member of communist movement and engaged left oriented poet.²⁴ Note indicates that the Association “voluntary performed on Ustasha events and events for German army, as well as went on a tour around Germany and Slovakia, which is documented by photos in Ustasha journals”.

By letter of 5 March 1946, City People’s Committee in Zagreb sent Association’s application to Ministry of Interior’s Department for National Security [Odjel narodne sigurnosti Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova], on the ground that from its Rules and list of the members, follows that it operates on the whole territory of Croatia. At the same time, respecting reports from Popular front of I. Rayon and Ministry of Education’s Department for Culture and Art, City People’s Committee in Zagreb suggested Association’s dissolution. However, ten days later, on 15 March 1946, Ministry of Interior returned file back to City People’s Committee in Zagreb. Correspondence between those two instances, i.e. transfer of authority for that issue, continued over several upcoming months. In response to the letter of 15 March 1946, the City People’s Committee’s Department for Internal Affairs, sent again whole file to Ministry of Interior’s Department for Public Administration [Odjel opće uprave Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova], reporting that Association’s representatives (to be concrete, Aleksandar Freudenreich, who was in application form listed as contact person) were on two occasions (on 2 and 19 April) called for an interview in order to supplement and clarify application, but failed to do so. As is further reported, at the end, on 8 July, City People’s Committee in Zagreb repeated its call, noting that in case that they “fale to appear, should be considered that Association withdraw from the application”.

On described call of 8 July, Association answered and on 1 August 1946 Department for Internal Affairs of City People’s Committee received updated application for renewal of its activities, with several attachments: Association’s work programme, The Rules of society from 1926, report on previous activities, list of Management Board’s members and certificates that undersigned members have right to vote (certificates of registry in permanent voters’ list, all issued in May 1946). Those, subsequently received documents, on the same day, without delay, City People’s Committee in Zagreb sent to the Ministry of the Interior’s Department of General Administration.

Asking again permission for renewal of activities only in Zagreb area, Association pointed out in work programme five groups of activities: 1. Association’s regular administrative and organisational matters, 2. arranging of courses for theatre directors – amateurs, 3. arranging of preparatory course for

²⁴ More about his biography: *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje* [Croatian Encyclopedia online]. “Boglić, Ante”. URL: <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=8385>

amateur actors according to Stanislavski's system, 4. preparatory work for opening of the tender for best folk acting, 5. continue cooperating with Central Association of Czechoslovakian Theatre Volunteers in Prague, to restore International Board for Folk Acting.

That updated application for renewal of Association's activities was undersigned by elder's deputy Tito Strozzi (director at Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb), secretary Aleksandar Freudenreich (officer at the Ministry of Construction of the PRC in Zagreb [Ministarstvo građevina Narodne Republike Hrvatske u Zagrebu]) and Management Board's members: Slavko Batušić (writer and director at Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb), Ivan Esih (writer and officer at Commission for Demarcation of the Presidency of the Government of the PRC [Komisija za razgraničenje pri Predsjedništvu Vlade Narodne Republike Hrvatske]), as well as Miro Majer and Antun Vraneković (both officers at City People's Committee in Zagreb). The application was also undersigned by members of Supervisory board: Franjo Šojat (officer at Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb), Petar Halapir (kiln craftsman from Zagreb) and Olga Freudenreich (housewife, Aleksandar Freudenreich's wife). As Association's elder in application is listed – by then passed away – writer, philologist and translator Nikola Andrić (Vukovar, 5 December 1867 – Zagreb, 7 April 1942).²⁵

Deciding on that application, Ministry of the Interior of the PRC adopted on 16 November 1946 an order, by which renewal of activities of Association was not permitted, and was banned any of its further activity. Also, its whole movable and immovable property was confiscated in favour of the State. By the same order, until it has become final, as a temporary administrator of that property was appointed already mentioned Ante Boglić.

Referring to articles 13, 17 and 30 of *Law on association, musters and other public meetings* from 21 June 1946, its decision Ministry of Interior justified by stating that the Association “was marked by cooperation with occupiers, performing on Ustasha events for German army, and arranging tour around Germany and Slovakia”.

The Ministry of the Interior's order was handed over to Aleksandar Freudenreich as the signatory of application form, to temporary administrator Ante Boglić for purposes of executing, and to Ministry of Education to attention. A notice on adoption of order, Ministry of Interior on 16 November 1946 also sent to attention to Department for Internal Affairs of the County People's Committee of Dalmatia in Split [Odjel unutrašnjih poslova Oblasnog narodnog odbora Dalmacije, Split], to the departments of internal affairs of all municipal people's committees and to City People's Committee in Zagreb, in case that “banned Association had branches on their territory”.

²⁵ More about his biography: *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje* [Croatian Encyclopedia online]. “Andrić, Nikola”. URL: <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=2621>.

The extensive appeal (on seven pages) against described order was submitted by Aleksandar Freudenreich and Miro Majer on 29 December 1946. Since the appeal period was 15 days, they particularly emphasised that order wasn't handed over to Aleksandar Freudenreich until 15 December 1946. The order was contested on two counts. Firstly, a conclusion that Association "was marked by cooperation with occupiers", was denied. They explained that at the beginning of 1941 Association had 149 different member societies, that as an association of societies "was not, neither is a society, which would perform on events", and cannot "on the basis of collective responsibility" be responsible for activities of individual societies.²⁶ It was also underlined that Association advised all member societies to suspend their public activity during the occupation, "so that, even against their will, wouldn't be forced to cooperate with occupators". If any society, despite such Association's recommendation, however co-operated with occupators, than it "should be fully responsible alone, instead of placing responsibility for it on Association". About the concrete accusations of arranging tours around Germany and Slovakia, it was described that at the beginning of 1942 Ustasha authorities decided that Assemblage of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers [Zbor Matice hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca] (autonomous society in organisational structure of Association and its member, as other similar societies) will be performing in several German cities, on events for Croatian workers. Assemblage has refused to take part in this, such tour hasn't been realised, but previous announcements in press, "by order of the Ustasha Office for propaganda", remained not denied. Charges for arranging tour around Slovakia were also contested on the grounds that "such wording doesn't correspondent to objective truth". As was explained, after the failure of tour around Germany, Assemblage received a invitation letter from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Independent State of Croatia [Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova Nezavisne Države Hrvatske], to perform on the tour around Slovakia. After the initial rejection, under the threats of sending to concentration camp, "members of Assemblage of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers were forced to go on tour around Slovakia, where they performed on several independent art shows".

Secondly, validity of Ministry of the Interior's order was contested on formal grounds, while "it was written superficially, and were not respected applicable laws". In support of that conclusion, in appeal were listed: infringement of the law principle of hearing the parties before the adoption of the order; ex-

²⁶ Along with the application form was attached list of societies – members of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers. The list is dated 13 July 1945, undersigned by Management Board's member Antun Vraneković and endorsed by the official stamp. Alphabetically, according to workplace, there are listed 149 societies. Some of them were emigrant organisations or societies of the Croatian minority abroad. The same number was mentioned in appeal as number of societies –members at the beginning of 1941. So it can be assumed that list reflects the situation at that time, rather than situation by the middle of 1945. See Annex I at the end of article.

ceeding the time-limit set by law for issuing application; giving instructions regarding to a right of appeal to Presidency of the People's Republic of Croatia [Predsjedništvo Narodne Republike Hrvatske], which as authority at that time did not exist.

In the appeal's conclusions, it was underlined that they allow stance that Association "in its organisation and goals, in current circumstances does not correspond to State's efforts towards arts in order to develop folk culture and prosperity". But, if was taken a position that Association represents "only reactive and redundant rest of old civil society, and as such, would not be able to serve to general interests of people on the field of people's enlightenment, especially on the field of theatre and drama art", there is question why its further status wasn't solved following experiences with some other societies, whose activities by new communist authorities were not fully banned. As examples were mentioned Croatian Singing Association [Hrvatski pjevački savez] and Matrix Croatica [Matica hrvatska].²⁷ In other words – they concluded – the case could be solved otherwise, more appropriately, "and not at the cost of so many unlawfulness contained in contested order".²⁸

The Ministry of the Interior of the PRC received the appeal on 30 December 1946, and transmitted it to Presidency of the Government of the PRC [Predsjedništvo Vlade Narodne Republike Hrvatske] on 7 January 1947. The appeal was on the agenda of Government's session held on 5 February of that year. It was briefly explained by Miloš Žanko, secretary general of Government, and Ivan Krajačić, minister of internal affairs. As recorded in the minute of the session, I. Krajačić explained "anti-peoples work of Association du-

²⁷ Croatian Singing Association (Union of Croatian Singing Associations) was founded in 1875. It was active until 1947, when his role was taken by Union of Cultural and Educational Associations of Croatia. That Union was founded on 30 May 1948, with goal to influence politically on all forms of cultural and educational work in PRC (theatre, music, folklore, popularisation of book, visual arts, publishing, film). For more details see: Marijana Jukić, "Od Saveza kulturno-prosvjetnih društava Hrvatske do Hrvatskog sabora kulture (1948-1991): prilog poznavanju povijesti kulturno-umjetničkih društava Hrvatske" [From the Union of Cultural and Educational Associations of Croatia to the Croatian Cultural Association (1948-1991): Contribution to the history of Artistic and Cultural Institutions in Croatia], *Arhivski vjesnik*, 52 (2009): 183-196; Matrix Croatica, founded in 1842, is the oldest and one of the most significant Croatian cultural institutions. With activities in new communist State, Matrix Croatica started in July 1945, when was taken under administration of plenipotentiaries of the Ministry of Education of PRC. That same year was still considered as a cultural and educational society, but shortly after new communist authorities started to consider it as a purely publishing organisation. For more details see: Tatjana Šarić, "'Matica Hrvatska' u prvim poslijeratnim godinama (1945-1948)" [Matrix Croatica in the early postwar years (1945-1948)], *Arhivski vjesnik*, 54 (2011): 115-140.

²⁸ HR-HDA-279. Predsjedništvo vlade NRH. Opći spisi. Spis br. 348/47. Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca [HR-HDA-279. The Presidency of the Government of the People's Republic of Croatia. General files. File no. 348/47 – Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers], box 53.

ring Independent State of Croatia”. The appeal was unanimously dismissed, and Ministry of Interior’s order was confirmed as lawful.²⁹

From the report sent by temporary administrator Ante Boglić to Department of General Administration of Ministry of Interior, it appears that the Association’s moveable property (mostly furniture and small tools and equipment) was already on 22 October 1946 –so, before the adoption of the order, and its confirmation by the Government – removed from office space it was using, and stored in depots of Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb (at the theatre building, and at location Samoborska Street no. 7). The office space in building of former Croatian Sokol which Association used until then, was possessed by administration of Croatian National Theatre.³⁰ In this regard, Aleksandar Freudenreich sent on 13 February 1947 a letter to Department of General Administration of Ministry of the Interior. He pointed out that previous Association’s Management Board was unable to comply with order and to hand over property to temporary administrator Ante Boglić, “while since October 1946 does not hold it”. He also underlined that Croatian National Theatre’s administration on these actions (appropriation of office space, removing of moveable property to another location) did not inform Association, as well as that among them were some of his personal belongings, which shouldn’t be confiscated on the basis of that order. He plainly said that such actions of Croatian National Theatre’s administration, before the order became final, “shows that such actions are arbitrary and that they impinges on Constitution and other positive laws”.³¹

²⁹ HR-HDA-279. Predsjedništvo Vlade NRH. Zapisnici sjednica Vlade NRH 1945. – 1953. Zapisnik sjednice održane 5. veljače 1947. godine [HR-HDA-279. The Presidency of the Government of the People’s Republic of Croatia. The minutes of sessions of Government of People’s Republic of Croatia 1945 – 1953. The minute of session held on 5 February 1947].

³⁰ It was building on the south side of then Kazališni trg [Theatre Square]. Throughout history, the square carried several different names: Sajmišni trg [Fairground Square] (1878 – 1888), Sveučilišni trg [University Square] (1888 – 1919), Wilsonov trg [Woodrow Wilson Square] (1919 – 1927), Trg kralja Aleksandra I. [King Alexander I Square] (1927 – 1941), Trg I. [Square No. I] (1941 – 1945). After Second World War, again was shortly named as Kazališni trg [Theatre Square] (1945 – 1946), and after that was renamed in Trg maršala Tita [Marshal Tito Square] (1946. – 2017.). Since 2017, it is named Trg Republike Hrvatske [Republic of Croatia Square]. For example, see: Ariana Štulhofer, Iva Muraj, “Sportski i sveučilišni sadržaji na Mažuranićevu i Marulićevu trgu u Zagrebu” [Sports and University Facilities on Mažuranić and Marulić Squares in Zagreb], *Prostor: znanstveni časopis za arhitekturu i urbanizam*, 14 (2006), no. 1 (31): 43-52.

³¹ HR-HDA-291. Ministarstvo prosvjete NRH. Spis br. 76061/1947 – Matica hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca, zabrana rada [HR-HDA-291. Ministry of Education of the People’s Republic of Croatia. File no. 76061/1947 – Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers, ban of activities], box 22.

Conclusion

In line with revolutionary ideology, new communist authorities in Yugoslavia/Croatia reorganized entire social and political system. This also included the culture and arts, which sought to use for their political and ideological goals. Within the policy of “people’s enlightenment”, they fostered “mass cultural production”, including different forms of cultural amateurism. Results of such approach are illustrated by data presented by secretary Mirko Božić at first plenum of Union of Cultural and Educational Associations of PRC, held on 20 February 1949. In Croatia were then active 96 cultural and artistic societies (throughout syndicates, youth organisation, Popular front), 537 branches of Seljačka sloga organisation, 165 subcommittees of Prosvjeta organisation and 7 Italian / mixed Croatian and Italian societies and reading rooms. Furthermore, then were active 138 permanent and 570 temporary theatre troupes, 201 singing choirs, 224 instrumental choirs and 280 folklore groups.³² As explained in introduction of these article, in order to establish uniform state cultural and educational policy, all such societies had to be a part of Popular front, and even stronger control of content aspects of their work was established by forming the mentioned Union of Cultural and Educational Associations in 1948, as coordinating body for operation of state policy on that field.

In providing such role for mass organisations, one should to look for real reasons for banning Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers. As umbrella theatrical-volunteer organization in Croatia with twenty-year tradition of gathering between 150 and 250 cultural and educational societies which practiced acting, Association had great potential to continue with such activities and after the Second World War. In resolving of application for renewal of its activities, didn’t help neither promoting of Stanislavski’s system, which has corresponded with orientation of communist authorities on the field of theatre arts. On the contrary, as main argument against Association – as against many other organisations and individuals in the field of cultural and public production – argument of “marking by cooperation with occupiers” was used.

Appendix I

Along with the application form for renewal of its activities, Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers attached a list of its member societies. The list is dated 13 July 1945, undersigned by Management Board’s member Antun Vraneković and endorsed by the official stamp. Alphabetically, according to workplace, there were listed 149 societies. Some of them were emigrant organisati-

³² “Prvi plenum Saveza kulturno-prosvjetnih društava NR Hrvatske” [First plenum of the Union of the Cultural and Educational Associations of PR of Croatia], *Vjesnik*, 21 February 1949, p. 1-2.

ons or societies of the Croatian minority abroad. The same number was mentioned in appeal as number of member societies at the beginning of 1941. So it can be assumed that the list reflects the situation at that time, rather than situation by the middle of 1945. The list illustrates Association's previous activities, as well as the potential of contribution to theatre arts in post-war period, which would be able to give, in the case that its further work wasn't banned.

1. Aljmaš: Seljačka sloga [Seljačka sloga Organisation]
2. Andrijevi: Vatrogasno društvo [Fire Department]
3. Baumgarten, Burgenland: Pjevačko i tamburaško društvo "Radost" [Singing and Tamburitza Society "Radost"]
4. Vienna: Hrvatsko kulturno društvo "Prosvjeta" [Croatian Cultural Society "Prosvjeta"]
5. Belišće: Diletantska sekcija Hrvatskog radničkog saveza [Amateurish Section of Croatian Labour Association]
6. Bjelovar: Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Golub" [Croatian Singing Society "Golub"]
7. Bosanska Gradiška: Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Posavac" [Croatian Singing Society "Posavac"]
8. Botovo: Seljačka knjižnica i čitaonica [Peasant Library and Reading Room]
9. Brčko: Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo "Hrvat" [Croatian Singing Society "Hrvat"]
10. Brod n/s³³: Hrvatsko gospojinsko društvo dobrotvorno [Croatian Donnish and Charity Society]
11. Buenos Aires: Hrvatski sokol [Croatian Sokol]
12. Bugojno: Hrvatska narodna čitaonica [Croatian People's Reading Room]
13. Cernik, Nova Gradiška: Pjevačko društvo "Tomislav" [Singing Society "Tomislav"]
14. Čakovec: Diletantska sekcija katoličke akcije [Amateurish Section of Catholic Action]
15. Čakovec: Čakovečki športski klub [Čakovec Sports Club]
16. Čakovec: Građanski športski klub [Citizens' Sports Club]
17. Čazma: Jadranska straža mjesni odbor [Local Committee of Jadranska straža Organisation]
18. Čepin: Narodna čitaonica kralja Tomislava [People's Reading Room of King Tomislav]

³³ Name for Slavonski Brod since 1871 until 1934.

19. Daruvar: Podružnica Napredak [Branch of Napredak Organisation]
20. Daruvar: “Hrvatska žena” [Croatian Woman organisation]
21. Daruvar: Obrazovno i potporno društvo “Zora” [Educational and Supportive Society “Zora”]
22. Daruvar: Diletantska sekcija Češke besede [Amateurish Section of Češka beseda Organisation]
23. Derventa: Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo “Zrinski” [Croatian Singing Society “Zrinski”]
24. Donji Miholjac: Zadružna omladina Hrvatska seljačka zadruga [Youth Organisation of Croatian Peasant Cooperative]
25. Drenovci: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
26. Drenovci: Hrvatska čitaonica [Croatian Reading Room]
27. Dubrovnik: Dubrovačko kazališno društvo [Dubrovnik Theatre Society]
28. Duga Resa: Dramatsko i pjevačko društvo [Drama and Singing Society]
29. Đakovo: Hrvatsko pjevačko društvo Preradović [Croatian Singing Society Preradović]
30. Đakovo: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
31. Đakovo: Obrtna omladina [Youth Craft Organisation]
32. Đulaves³⁴: Hrvatski sokol [Croatian Sokol]
33. Đurđevac: Prosvjetno društvo “Zrinski” [Educational Society “Zrinski”]
34. Đurđevac: Odbor za gradnju društvenog doma [Board for Building of Community Centre]
35. Gara, Hungary: Bunjevačka diletantska omladina [Bunjevci Amateurish Organisation]
36. Garešnica: Diletantski zbor Hrvatskog doma [Amateurish Choir of Croatian House]
37. Gornji Andrijevci: Hrvatska seljačka zadruga, zadružna omladina [Croatian Peasant Cooperative, Youth Organisation]
38. Gospić: Omladinska sekcija podružnice Hrvatskog kulturnog društva Napredak [Youth Section of Branch of Croatian Cultural Society Napredak]
39. Gospić: Matija Gubec
40. Grubišno Polje: Pjevačko društvo “Tomislav” [Singing Society “Tomislav”]
41. Dobrovoljna vatrogasna četa³⁵ [Volunteer Fire Troop]
42. Hrtkovci: Hrvatska čitaonica [Croatian Reading Room]
43. Ilok: Hrvatska građanska čitaonica [Croatian Citizens’ Reading Room]

³⁴ Nowadays Đulovac, settlement near Daruvar.

³⁵ Place wasn’t specified in the list.

44. Ivanska: Dobrovoljna vatrogasna četa [Volunteer Fire Troop]
45. Jasenovac: "Svačić" hrvatsko pjevačko i seljačko društvo ["Svačić", Croatian Singing and Peasant Society]
46. Jastrebarsko: "Javor" kazališna sekcija pjevačkog društva ["Javor", Theatre Section of Singing Society]
47. Kamenica: HPD Jelačić [Croatian Singing Society Jelačić]
48. Kaniža, near Gospić: Pjevački zbor Hrvatske seljačke čitaonice [Singing Choir of Croatian Peasant Reading Room]
49. Kapela, near Bjelovar: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
50. Karlovac: Hrvatska žena [Croatian Woman]
51. Karlovac: Dramsko društvo [Drama Society]
52. Karlovac: Hrvatsko pučko kazalište [Croatian Folk Theatre]
53. Kloštar Podravski: Glazbeno i pjevačko društvo "Dobrotvor" [Musical and Singing Society "Dobrotvor"]
54. Koprivnica: HPD "Domoljub" [Croatian Singing Society "Domoljub"]
55. Koprivnica: Teško atletski klub "Zrinski" [Athletic Club "Zrinski"]
56. Koprivnica: Klub akademičara [Students' Club]
57. Koprivnica: Kazališno literarno društvo [Theatrical and Literary Society]
58. Kraljeva Velika: Diletantsko društvo "Veličan" [Amateurish Society "Veličan"]
59. Kreševo: Hrvatska narodna čitaonica [Croatian People's Reading Room]
60. Križevci: "Plug", klub đaka srednje gospodarske škole ["Plug", Student's Club of Secondary Economic School]
61. Kuna, Pelješac: Pozorišna sekcija "Omladinskog kluba" [Theatre Section of Youth Club]
62. Lipovljani: Pjevačko društvo "Lipa" [Singing Society "Lipa"]
63. Livno: HPD Napredak [Croatian Singing Society Napredak]
64. Martijanec, near Ludbreg: HPD "Gaj" [Croatian Singing Society "Gaj"]
65. Metković: HKD "Napredak" [Croatian Cultural Society "Napredak"]
66. Mitrovica: Hrvatsko ratarsko prosvjetno i pjevačko društvo Tomislav [Croatian Agricultural Educational and Singing Society Tomislav]
67. Mitrovica: HPD "Nada" [Croatian Singing Society "Nada"]
68. Našice: HPD Lisinski [Croatian Singing Society Lisinski]
69. Neuberg, Burgenland: HKD u Gradišću [Croatian Cultural Society in Burgenland]
70. Nova Gradiška: HKD Napredak [Croatian Cultural Society Napredak]
71. Nova Gradiška: Društvo trezvenosti "Ponos" [Society of Sobriety "Ponos"]

72. Nova Gradiška: Hrvatsko dobrotvorno društvo gospojinsko [Croatian Donnish and Charity Society]
73. Nova Gradiška: HPD Graničar [Croatian Singing Society Graničar]
74. Novigrad Podravski: Narodna čitaonica [People's Reading Room]
75. Novigrad Podravski: Seljačka sloga [Seljačka sloga Organisation]
76. Novi Vinodolski: Radničko pjevačko i tamburaško društvo Mažuranić [Worker's Singing and Tamburitza Society Mažuranić]
77. Novo Sarajevo: HKD Napredak [Croatian Cultural Society Napredak]
78. Novska: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
79. Novska: Športski klub "Graničar" [Sports Club "Graničar"]
80. Ogulin: HPD "Klek" [Croatian Singing Society "Klek"]
81. Ogulin: Dobrotvorno podupirajuće društvo sv. Antuna [Charity and Supportive Society of Saint Anthony]
82. Okić: HPD Antun Radić [Croatian Singing Society Antun Radić]
83. Osijek: Hrvatski dom, diletantski zbor [Croatian House, Amateurish Choir]
84. Osijek: HPD "Kuhač" [Croatian Singing Society "Kuhač"]
85. Osijek: HPD "Lipa" [Croatian Singing Society "Lipa"]
86. Pakrac: Hrvatsko katoličko gospojinsko društvo [Croatian Catholic Donnish Society]
87. Peteranec: Hrvatska knjižnica i čitaonica [Croatian Library and Reading Room]
88. Petrinja: Diletantski kazališni zbor [Amateurish Theatre Choir]
89. Petrinja: Obrtničko društvo – radničko "Banovac" [Craft's and Worker's Society "Banovac"]
90. Petrovaradin: HPD "Neven" [Croatian Singing Society "Neven"]
91. Petrovina: Prosvjetno pjevačko društvo [Educational Singing Society]
92. Pitomača: HPD "Sloga" [Croatian Singing Society "Sloga"]
93. Potomje: Hrvatska glazba [Croatian Music]
94. Požega: Građanski športski klub, diletantska sekcija [Citizens' Sports Club, Amateurish Section]
95. Prelog: Seljačka sloga [Seljačka sloga Organisation]
96. Rajevo Selo: Športski klub [Sports Club]
97. Resnička Trnava: Diletantska sekcija komunalne organizacije [Amateurish Section of Communal Organisation]
98. Ruma: Diletantski zbor čitaonice [Amateurish Choir of Reading Room]
99. Samobor: HPD "Jela" [Croatian Singing Society "Jela"]
100. Sarajevo: Središnja uprava HKD "Napredak" [Central Administration of Croatian Cultural Society "Napredak"]
101. Sarajevo: Savez omladine sv. Ante [Yuth's Union of Saint Anthony]
102. Sarajevo: HKD "Napredak" [Croatian Cultural Society "Napredak"]

103. Selce: Hrvatska pučka knjižnica [Croatian Folk Library]
104. Selišće: Seljačka sloga [Seljačka sloga Organisation]
105. Sisak: HPD "Danica" [Croatian Singing Society "Danica"]
106. Sisak: Hrvatska žena [Croatian Woman]
107. Sombor: Omladina bunjevačkog kola [Youth of Bunjevačko kolo]
108. Split: "Slavulj", diletantska sekcija glazbenog društva ["Slavulj", Amateurish Section of Musical Society]
109. Split: Diletantska sekcija Hrvatskog radiše [Amateurish Section of Society of the Croatian Laboring Men]
110. Srijemski Karlovci: HPD "Zvonimir" [Croatian Singing Society "Zvonimir"]
111. Staza: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
112. Stupnik: Oratorijski zbor sv. Ivana Nepomuka [Oratory Choir of Saint John of Nepomuk]
113. Sunja: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
114. Sušak: Udruženje kazališnih dobrovoljaca [Association of Theatre Volunteers]
115. Šibenik: Šibensko kazališno društvo [Šibenik Theatre Society]
116. Šibenik: Seljačka sloga [Seljačka sloga Organisation]
117. Šibenik: HPD "Krešimir" [Croatian Singing Society "Krešimir"]
118. Varaždin: HPD "Napredak" [Croatian Singing Society "Napredak"]
119. Varaždin: Hrvatsko katoličko prosvjetno društvo [Croatian Catholic Educational Society]
120. Varaždin: Društvo hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca [Society of Croatian Theatre Volunteers]
121. Vareš: "Zvijezda", Hrvatsko glazbeno i čitaoničko društvo ["Zvijezda", Croatian Musical and Reading Room Society]
122. Velika: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
123. Veliki Grđevac: Hrvatska čitaonica [Croatian Reading Room]
124. Veliko Korenovo: Dobrovoljno vatrogasno društvo [Volunteer Fire Department]
125. Vinkovci: HPD Raljković [Croatian Singing Society Raljković]
126. Vinkovci: Hrvatska žena [Croatian Woman]
127. Virje: HPD Rusan [Croatian Singing Society Rusan]
128. Virovitica: Društvo kazališnih dobrovoljaca [Society of Theatre Volunteers]
129. Vrbanja: Društvo kazališnih dobrovoljaca [Society of Theatre Volunteers]
130. Vrbanja: HPD "Posavac" [Croatian Singing Society "Posavac"]
131. Vrbnik: Radničko društvo sv. Ivana [Workers' Society of Saint John]

132. Vukovar: “Dobrotvor”, društvo hrvatskih gospodja [“Dobrotvor”, Society of Croatian Ladies]
133. Vukovar: HPD “Dunav” [Croatian Singing Society “Dunav”]
134. Zagreb: Češka beseda [Češka beseda Organisation]
135. Zagreb: Trešnjevački kazališni dobrovoljci [Theatre Volunteers from Trešnjevka]
136. Zagreb: Diletantski zbor športskog kluba “Trešnjevka” [Amateurish Choir of Sports Club “Trešnjevka”]
137. Zagreb: Omladinsko kazalište saveza doma i škole [Youth Theatre of Union of House and School]
138. Zagreb: Dramska sekcija “Hrvatskog katoličkog kasina” [Drama Section of “Croatian Catholic Casino”]
139. Zagreb: Zbor Matice hrvatskih kazališnih dobrovoljaca [Assemblage of Association of Croatian Theatre Volunteers]
140. Zagreb: Hrvatska žena [Croatian Woman]
141. Zagreb: HPD “Radić” [Croatian Singing Society “Radić”]
142. Zagreb: Pučki teater [Folk Theatre]
143. Zagreb: Hrvatsko društvo Međimuraca [Croatian Society of People of Međimurje]
144. Zagreb: Privredna omladina Hrvatskog radiše [Economic Youth of Society of the Croatian Laboring Men]
145. Zagreb: Športski klub željezničara [Sports Club of Railroad Workers]
146. Zagreb: Hrvatsko katoličko pjevačko društvo “Dubravka” [Croatian Catholic Singing Society “Dubravka”]
147. Zemun: HPD “Tomislav” [Croatian Singing Society “Tomislav”]
148. Žepče: Hrvatska čitaonica [Croatian Reading Room]
149. Županja: Hrvatska čitaonica i pjevačko društvo “Tomislav” [Croatian Reading Room and Singing Society “Tomislav”]

Das Verbot des kroatischen Theaterfreiwilligenvereins durch die kommunistischen Behörden (1945-1947)

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel befasst sich mit dem Verbot des in Zagreb tätigen kroatischen Theaterfreiwilligenvereins. Der Verein war eine Dachorganisation von Theaterfreiwilligen, die ab Mitte der 1920er bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg im In- und Ausland tätig war. Er widmete sich der Popularisierung der Schauspielkunst, der Schaffung eines Volksrepertoires wie auch der Organisation von Schauspielvereinigungen, -klubs und -chören. Als der Krieg zu Ende war, beantragte der Verein eine Genehmigung für die Wiederaufnahme seiner Tätigkeit, aber

nur innerhalb von Zagreb. Seine Aktivitäten bezogen sich hauptsächlich auf die Ausbildung von Schauspielern – Theaterfreiwilligen sowie auf die Verbesserung der Theaterliteratur. Das Verbotverfahren dauerte vom Herbst 1945 bis zum 5. Februar 1947, als die Regierung der Volksrepublik Kroatien (VRK) den Verbotsbefehl bestätigte, den zuvor das Innenministerium der VRK erlassen hatte. Das Gesamtvermögen des Vereins wurde vom Staat beschlagnahmt. Der Artikel geht auch auf den Einsatz des prominenten Architekten und Theaterarbeiters Aleksandar Freudenreich im Zusammenhang mit diesem Verbot ein, der selbst Sekretär des Vereins seit seiner Gründung gewesen war. Das Verbot wird im breiteren Kontext der Schaffung einer neuen sozialistischen Kultur analysiert, die im Einklang mit der revolutionären Ideologie der neuen kommunistischen Behörden stand.

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