

TO BE OR NOT TO BE IN CULTURE – ACTIVITIES OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF CROATIA IDEOLOGICAL COMMISSION (1956 - 1965)*

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The League of Communists of Croatia (LCC) Central Committee (CC) Ideological Commission as its task force, was one of the most important creators of cultural policy in the People's Republic of Croatia (PRC) / Socialist Republic of Croatia (SRC). Established in 1956 after 1952 dismantled Agitation and Propaganda Commissions, the Ideological Commission inherited part of the jurisdiction of former Agitprop, but it also took over those of the LCC CC Personnel Commissions, particularly with regard to political schools and membership education. The most important activity of this commission was to monitor and analyze the phenomenon of overall cultural, educational and scientific activity in Croatia, and suggesting to the LCC CC to take positions towards them, according to the given ideological current. This has become the decisive factor in cultural policy without whose approval or recommendation projects could not be realized. This paper will therefore concentrate precisely on this activity of the Ideological Commission and give a brief overview of its activity in the supervision of various forms of cultural activity - art, literature, film and media - press, radio and television, while its work in education and science, because of the broadness of the topic, in this case, will be left out. The Commission's activities surveyed in this paper are limited by the period between 1956 (its founding) and 1965 (the 5th LCC CC Congress) when the Commission was organizationally restructured and divided into several areas.

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Introduction

The middle of the 1950s was marked by the resumption of the discipline in political and social life in the country after the period of relative liberalization that followed the beginning of decades, by the detachment from the Stalinist model of centralism and etatism, and attempts to find its own way into socialism.¹ Decentralization, deatization, the transition from state to social governance, self-management, reorganization of state administration and decentralization were essential determinants of the Yugoslav version of socialism. Relations with the USSR have been normalized in foreign policy since 1955 and Yugoslavia have become one of the founders and leaders of the Non-Aligned Movement since 1956.

At the beginning of the 1950s, the formal separation of the CPY from the government apparatus began, and the new direction was confirmed at the CPY Sixth Congress in 1952. Then, as a sign of the new direction, a new CPY Statute was adopted and the name was changed from CPY to LCY - League of Communists of Yugoslavia.² In January 1953, the Constitutional Law on the Foundations of Social and Political Settlement of the FPRY and soon the laws for each of the republic was passed, confirming the changes in the socio-economic and political direction, called socialist democracy, as a transitional form of political organization of the state.³

Since then was formally, though not really, abandoned the leading role of the LCC, which was supposed to become a “basic social ideological and political force” rather than an “immediate operational leader and commander”, as stated in the LCY Sixth Congress Resolution.”⁴

These changes have, in part, brought about greater freedom in the field of culture, but this will not mean the LCC's exemption from deciding on all important issues both in the country and in this specific area. However, the development of the situation led the state to cease control, while democratic and liberal tendencies were a potential threat to the unity of the LC and the regime. In a letter sent from the LCY CC June 1953 session, there were warns sent of a misinterpretation of the spirit of the Sixth Congress, criticizing the passivity of LC members, seeking their activity to “raise political awareness” of citizens, the political action in the mass organizations and fight against the “negative phenomena” in their milieu and announced a political action against

¹ Branko Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918.: – 1988. Socijalistička Jugoslavija 1945. – 1988.* (Belgrade: Nolit, 1988), 297.; Dušan Bilandžić, *Hrvatska moderna povijest* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999), p. 334.

² Domagoj Štefančić, “Promjena naziva Komunističke Partije Jugoslavije u Savez komunista Jugoslavije”, *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest*, 39 (2007): 270–272.

³ Hrvoje Matković, *Povijest Jugoslavije: (1918. – 1991. – 2003.)* (Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 2003), p. 310; Ivo Goldstein, *Hrvatska povijest 1918. – 2008.* (Zagreb: Europapress holding, Novi Liber, 2008), p. 475.

⁴ Petranović, *Istorija Jugoslavije 1918. – 1988.*, vol. 3, p. 306.

“bourgeois-liberal tendencies”.⁵ This has really stopped the Party’s reform and the process of democratization of society.⁶ A decisive break with the period of temporarily limited liberalization and the return of the practice of hard reckoning with political disobedients is completed by the case of Milovan Djilas in January 1954. The lack of “discipline” and “ideological struggle” was a subject of Aleksandar Ranković’s report and the discussion on the LCY CC Fourth Plenum.⁷ Consequently, this meant turning back to the rigid stance and halting the liberal and democratic changes initiated since the end of 1949 as a tendency to threaten the regime’s survival.

Due to interstate disputes over the concept of the state since the late 1950s, these conflicting sides in which one advocated democratization, decentralization and greater sovereignty of the Republic, and the other centralism, it was sought to strengthen the unity of the state. One of the factors of unity should have been the culture – the socialist one, at the Federation level, with a unique approach to science, film, and education.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the ways of functioning of the LCC CC Ideological Commission in a short period of time – from its establishment in 1956 until 1965 when it is being restructured and divided into several areas. However, the focus of the article will not be the overall work of the Commission because it has covered a wide range of ideological activities, but will, because of the limited scope of work, stop at a brief overview of a number of specific topics – the relationship and impact of the Commission on the culture in Croatia in the areas of press, television, radio, literature, film and art. I will present the activity and the role of the Ideological Commission on the basis of separate examples of archival records – documents of the Commission itself. In short, I will try to show the extent to which the role of the LCC CC Ideological Commission was important and decisive in all cultural life issues and how it supervised cultural creativity in the areas covered by this research.⁸

⁵ *Povijest Saveza komunista Jugoslavije* (Belgrade: Izdavački centar Komunist, Narodna knjiga, Izdavačka radna organizacija “Rad”, 1985), p. 390.

⁶ Zdenko Radelić, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945. – 1991.: od zajedništva do razlaza* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest [etc.], 2006), p. 293; Ivo Banac, *Sa Staljinom protiv Tita: informbiroovski rascjepi u jugoslavenskom komunističkom pokretu* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990), p. 140; Milovan Đilas, *Vlast* (London: Naša reč, 1983), pp. 251–253.

⁷ Magdalena Najbar Agičić, *Kultura, znanost, ideologija: Prilozi istraživanju politike komunističkih vlasti u Hrvatskoj od 1945. do 1960. na polju kulture i znanosti* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2013), p. 82.

⁸ The article was intended to be a “case study” in whose preparation has been primarily used largely unused and unpublished archival records, by 2017 also partially inaccessible. Therefore, the emphasis is precisely on this matter, while literature was much used. The reason for it is that there is not much literature on this specific subject, ie, the one that exists affects the problem too broadly or it’s not relevant for the concerned time period. There are no publications on the work of the Ideological Commission itself. Since the article is a “case study” and its extent is within the given range, it was not possible to refer to each book that was published on the topic of censorship and propaganda but has been used the literature on the historical context.

Foundation and Tasks of the LCY and LCC CC Commissions for Ideological Issues

Following the end of the period of relative liberalization from the early 1950s, the LCY returned to a firm control of the implementation of a given ideological course in the state. As an endorsement of this turnaround, we can consider forming the LCY CC Commissions for Ideological Issues in May 1955. The Commission was established to monitor “our entire ideological and political life and development and to provide, if necessary, some assistance to address the general line of our development”.⁹ It is obvious that the CP leadership, after the 1952 abolition of the Agitation and Propaganda Commission and the short period of gradual democratization, saw the need for the formation of bodies within the LC to oversee all ideological actions, both at the federal as well as at the Republican levels. Since the organizational structures of the Republic CP committees have been a replication of the federal organization, so were the Ideological commissions established in the Republics. Although in a document by the LCC CC the CC member Beška Frntić mentioned that the Commissions for ideological and educational work at CC were established in 1954 or earlier, we do not have strong confirmation for that.¹⁰ What we know for certain is that the LCC CC Commission for Ideological Issues in Croatia was founded nearly a year after the Federal one – at the end of April 1956.¹¹ During the observed period, the Commission changed its name – firstly called the Commission for Ideological Issues and from 1961 to 1965. Ideological Commission, which was its most commonly used name throughout the observed period. At the LCC 5th Congress in 1965, a decision was made on the internal reorganization of the CC LCC and this Commission became the Section for LC Ideological Activities with a couple of Commissions within its framework: the Commission for Ideological Trends in Education, the Commission for Ideological Trends in the Science, Commission for Ideological Trends in Culture and Mass Communication, the Commission for International Relations and the Commission for History.

The LCC CC Commission for ideological issues was constituted of several LCC CC members, headed by the president. What was the composition of the 1956 Commission? The president was Nikola Sekulić, a LCC CC Executive

⁹ Hrvatska (hereinafter: HR) - Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb (hereinafter: HDA) - fond 1220 - Centralni komitet Saveza komunista Hrvatske (hereinafter: CK SKH) - serija - 2.3.3.2. Komisija za ideološka pitanja, 2.3.1. Direktive, okružnice i upute Ideološke komisije CK SKJ, Zapisnik sastanka aktiva pravnik pri Ideološkoj komisiji CK SKJ, 9 January 1956.

¹⁰ Branislava Vojnović, prepared by *Zapisnici Izvršnog komiteta Centralnog komiteta Saveza komunista Hrvatske 1952.-1954.*, svezak III. (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2008), 272.; Mario Fabekovac, *Inventar Komisije za Ideološka pitanja CK SKH* (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, interno izdanje, 2013), p. 1.

¹¹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaji, analize, informacije, Izvještaj o radu Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 4 December 1956.

Committee (EC), secretary was Dušan Štrbac, and other members were LCC CC EC members Božidar Maslarić and Karlo Mrazović, Director of the Political School “Rade Končar” Mirko Bošković, then Zlatko Uzelac, Sonja Mirić, secretary of People’s Youth of Croatia (PYC) CC, Ivan Lalić, Drago Haramija from the PRC Prosecutor's Office, Mirjana Krstinić from the Zagreb University of Technology, Josip Cazi, member of the LCC CC and the chairman of the Union of Trade Unions of Croatia National Committee, Stojanka Aralica, member of the LCC Zagreb City Committee, Edo Cenčić from the PRC Internal Affairs Secretariat, Đuro Kladarin, LCC CC member and the director of *Vjesnik* publishing company, Franjo Serlitić, Chairman of the National Public Health and Social Policy Committee of the Croatian Parliament, Predrag Vranicki, Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, Veljko Vejnović, Nikica Županović, The General Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia (SAWPC) Ideological Commission Secretary and two secretaries of the district committees.¹² The composition of the Commission did not remain the same for the entire period of operation of this Commission, but some members changed.

The Ideological commissions, apart from the Republican level, have also been formed at lower LC levels. Thus there were 216 ideological commissions of 1436 members in the district and municipal committees of LC that participated in the 21 district of PRC in 1959.¹³

According to its jurisdiction, the Commission was a kind of successor to the Agitation and Propaganda Commission, but the actions related to the ideological rise of membership was taken over from the LCC CC Personnel Commission, which since the foundation of this Commission, has ceased to be involved.¹⁴ What was the LCC CC Ideological Commission engaged in? Her jurisdiction covered a large area, and her duty was to monitor the overall ideological impact in Croatia by analyzing phenomena from all areas of social life and proposing to the LCC CC to take appropriate attitudes towards them. Under the authority of the Commission belonged culture (film, literature, art), education (primary, secondary and higher education), science, sports, media (press, radio and television), activities of religious communities, especially the Catholic Church and their relationship with the state, The Marxist education of LC membership, and also the personnel in the network of institutions under their control. The task of the Commission was also suppressing the foreign propaganda by both Cold War blocks. Monitoring the emphasis on national specificities, commonly called “chauvinism” was an important task of the Commission as well, and subsequently, the need for unity of nations based on

¹² Ibid.

¹³ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2. CK SKH. Sastav i rad ideoloških komisija u SK i ostalim političkim organizacijama, 13 October 1959.

¹⁴ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 4 December 1956.

socialist values and ideology was apostrophized. The culture workers have frequently resented the “petty bourgeois mentality” phenomenon, and it was emphasized that such occurrences were very expanded among journalists, writers, cultural, artistic and intellectual circles, for which was, so it was said to be, characteristic the so-called Western perception of freedom and democracy. Demoralization, lack of prospects, criticism of politics with the USSR, telling of reactionary jokes, servility towards foreigners and traveling overseas were also the subject of LC criticism.¹⁵

If necessary, the Commission has set up groups to consider specific issues from its activities. Groups typically operated in half-year or longer periods as auxiliary bodies of the Commission, and their composition changed and supplemented. They were also formed for the elaboration of various topics from the field of ideological and political action as preparation for the LCC and LCY congresses¹⁶

The LC directives were, from the center to the lower levels, transferred by the Commission activities in a variety of ways - by holding thematic meetings of the Commission in an expanded composition, meetings of certain professions (lawyers, sociologists, historians, economists etc.) communists actives, by counseling, public forums and participation in meetings of other organizations and institutions. The Commission has for LC members organized political schools, courses and seminars, and ideological actions towards the wider public, through the services of worker's and people's universities. From the end of 1959, the Center for Marxist Education of Personnel was established for this purpose.¹⁷ In the broader sense, the implementation of LC instructions and directives was carried out through mass organizations - SAWPC, PYC and trade unions, among which LCC worked closely with SAWPC as the umbrella socio-political organization which consisted of more group members.

Moreover, through the aforementioned groups of the Commission, direct contacts with cultural workers (attendance at events, etc.) were realized, and members of the group gained insight into the ideological issues of culture through the monitoring of publications and artistic achievements. The members of the group also coordinated contacts and received materials from related committees of SAWPC, PYC CC, the University Committee, the Education Council, the Society of Writers, the Journalists' Association, the Information Office, the Council for Culture and Science, the Education Council, etc.¹⁸ It's important to mention that LCC has always kept in mind to install their people in key places in all important, in this case, cultural and scientific institutions, people whit the task to implement their guidelines.

¹⁵ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2. CK SKH. O nekim oblicima i pojavama malograđanštine, 12 June 1956.

¹⁶ Fabekovac, *Inventar Komisije za Ideološka pitanja CK SKH*, 2.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.8.4. CK SKH. Zapisnici s materijalima sastanaka grupa Ideološke komisije CK SKH, Grupa za kulturu i prosvjetu, 1959.

Issues of ideology were also dealt with by the commissions of other socio-political organizations – the aforementioned SAWPC and PYC. Both organizations acted as transmissions of LCY and implemented their directives into action. At that time, the Commission for Political-Ideological Work (1954-1967) and the Press and Publishing Commission (1954-1966) were acted within SAWPC. In PYC, which also operated under the LCC program and under its leadership, there were several Commissions directly dealing with the ideological upbringing of young people.¹⁹

Press

The LC leadership was well aware of the importance of the media for implementing its ideological line among the population, and the press had a very important position among them. Surveillance of newspapers and journals originates from the time of Agitprop, which started just after the end of World War II and was never aborted. CC was monitoring the state of the press through the aforementioned SAWPC and the Journalists' Association of Croatia. Already in 1956, the Commission was active in this field and together with the Journalists' Association organized an analysis of cultural columns of daily papers as well as meetings with journalists.²⁰ There were regular discussions of publishing activity and the implementation of the Law on Publishing Companies, on publishing plans and politics, and publishing councils.²¹ And the LCC Executive Committee emphasized the importance of spreading ideology in the areas of education, publishing, theater, film and press, seeking “long-lasting systematic work”.²²

There were also discussions about the proper way of ideological actions and the most appropriate approaches were considered – whether by direct in-

¹⁹ Komisija za ideološko-politički rad 1945.-1962., Komisija za kulturno-prosvjetni rad 1946.-1962., Komisija za obrazovanje omladine 1955.-1959., Komisija za obrazovanje i školsku omladinu 1945.-1962., Komisija za rad sa seljačkom omladinom 1946.-1962., Komisija za pitanja mladih ljudi u radnom odnosu i proizvodnji 1945.-1962., Komisija za odgoj i obrazovanje 1962.-1974., Republički centar za idejno obrazovanje omladine 1963.-1964., Komisija za kulturu 1963.-1974., Komisija za izdavačku djelatnost i štampu 1963.-1965. te Komisija za idejno-političko djelovanje 1963.-1974. See in: Marijana Jukić, Sumarni inventar fonda HR-HDA-1231. Republička konferencija Saveza socijalističke omladine Hrvatske 1942.-1990., 8.-9.; Tatjana Šarić. “Položaj i uloga omladine i omladinskih organizacija u FH/NRH 1945.-1954.” (doctoral dissertation University of Zagreb, 2011), pp. 23-24.

²⁰ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Rad ideološko-odgojne komisije, 7 May 1956.

²¹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 4 December 1956.

²² Prilog zapisniku “Teze o referatu o ideološkom radu u SK i radu SK na idejno političkim pitanjima SK u masama”, 23 October 1956., in: Branislava Vojnović, prir., *Zapisnici Izvršnog komiteta Centralnog komiteta Saveza komunista Hrvatske 1955. – 1959., svezak IV.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2010), 209.

tervention and if so, what kind, or through the SAWPC Press Commission. Milentije Popović thought that SAWPC Commissions were in charge of the press, and they would follow up, analyze it and suggest a stance towards CC. He continues: "If we were to intervene ourselves, there is a fear that we should jump to the former agitprop."²³ It is obvious that the LCC CC Commission wished to keep control over the press, but it hesitated to act as directly as it used to during the Agitprop Commission. In 1958, a similar discussion was conducted as well and it was concluded that the SAWPC Press Commission had to deal with press issues.²⁴ Nevertheless, the LC CC Ideological Commission never submitted to the SAWPC solving this issue independently, but only according to the instructions of LCC CC, while the two commissions continued to work in parallel.

The most important task was certainly the implementation of the LC ideological course within the writing of magazines and newspapers, and for that purpose analyzes of the state of domestic advertising were made as well as analysis of cultural rubrics in the daily press and periodicals, and journalists.²⁵

The members of the Ideological Commission were not content with writing the papers as well as the quality of most journalists with regard to their worldview and Marxist education. At that time, the influences of Western culture in Yugoslavia and Croatia were increasing – there were foreign cultural centers with libraries and reading rooms, Western authors' books and novels in the sequences were read, mostly American movies were shown in cinemas, jazz and rock'n'roll were listened to and young people had fun dancing to Western music. In the LCC CC Ideological Commission for such events they, among others, held the influence of the press responsible, too. Therefore, as one of the problems the uncritical attitude towards the occurrences of the West or their glorification and sensationalism is often emphasised.²⁶ Then it was suggested to the SAWPC Press Commission to "consider the uncritical publication of materials from foreign sources in our press."²⁷ "Orientation towards the West and non-critical serving of foreign texts "remained a stumbling block. An example of this are the texts dedicated to the death of French writer Albert Camus when it was much written, but "without the trying to put the writer in his place in the literary, and especially with regard to his socio-politi-

²³ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.2. CK SKH. Zapisnici s materijalima sastanaka Ideološke komisije CK SKJ, Analiza Ideološke komisije CK SKJ, no date.

²⁴ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 15. 12. 1958.

²⁵ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Poziv za sastanak i program rada Komisije, 8 February 1960.

²⁶ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 15 December 1958.

²⁷ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.5. CK SKH. Dopisi i materijali Ideološke komisije CK SKH upućeni Ideološkoj komisiji CK SKJ, "Djelatnost strane propagande i naše protumjere", no date.

cal position in the life of contemporary France.”²⁸ So, writing without a clear attitude, especially regarding ideologies, was not acceptable. Also, it was claimed that some newspapers and journalists often publish things that were in direct contradiction with the government's view.²⁹ This is a clear example of censorship – it was not desirable to publish texts that were not in an agreement with the government.

In addition, the newspapers were resented the randomness in monitoring cultural events and neglecting activities of “mass character” as well as certain arts such as music and art. For example, members of the Commission argued that newspapers *Borba* had the most space on its pages devoted to literature, then to film, music, education, theater, art and radio. There is no true art criticism in the newspapers, it was said, and there were not enough critics for music art.³⁰

“Petty bourgeois inertia” and lack of critical writing were frequently mentioned, especially in the analysis of the newspaper *Vjesnik u srijedu*. There was an opinion about the magazines in Croatia and Zagreb that they had become guild-like, closed in a narrow circle of members, that everybody was trying not to run afoul of someone, and there was also provincialism.³¹ That was the case in later years, too as we can see from the minutes of the Commission meeting from 1964. There were mentioning the conformist climate again and was most prevalent in the newspapers as well as the inactivity of the editorial offices.³²

The LCC CC Committee for Ideological Issues has, as it has already been said, closely collaborated with the SAWPC Press Commission, whose task was to transmit the Government's opinions to the press, and which also analyzed the writing of cultural columns of daily newspapers (*Vjesnik, Borba, Večernji vjesnik, Slobodna Dalmacija, Glas Slavonije, Novi list*).³³ But the LCC Commission was not satisfied with the done – they thought the analysis was only quantitative, without quality content. They were of the opinion that precisely in the field of culture and art there is a lot of obscurity and ambiguity and that writing should be approached ideologically and substantively. The editorial board

²⁸ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sjednice Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH, 3 February 1961.

²⁹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Sekretarijata Ideološke komisije May - November 1956.

³⁰ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sjednice Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH, 3 February 1961.

³¹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Zapisnici s materijalima sastanaka i savjetovanja u organizaciji Ideološke komisije CK SKH, Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka o problemima kulture, 23 February 1959.

³² HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Ideološko-političke komisije CK SKH s urednicima zagrebačkih redakcija, 6. February 1964.

³³ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Sekretarijata Ideološke komisije May - November 1956.

should have therefore shape journalists who would specialize in a specific field of art and write from the “the position of socialism”. There were comments on the monitoring of domestic authors' books – they were thoughts they were written by the reviewers who are pointing to the writer and his relationship with him and that this should be changed.³⁴

The fact is that LCC has had an impact on the content and form of individual magazines, for example on the *Telegram* magazine. *Telegram* was initiated by the LCC writer organization and realized since 1 May 1960. Its physiognomy was set at numerous meetings of the LC organization and administration of the Writers' Society and shaped as a magazine for social and cultural issues (art, music, film, literature, information from the country and the world on these thematic areas).³⁵

The Ideological Commission has also, besides editorial policy, intensively dealt with journalism personnel. They were discussed at the sessions of this commission, but also at the LCC CC Personnel Commission. The composition of journalists in the newsletters was thoroughly analyzed, and at sessions of the Commission, they reported on the situation and proposed solutions. At a meeting of the Commission in 1960, Marija Vukadinović reported that almost all journalists are members of the LC in all major editorial boards, but that they don't have an insight of the professional journals. There was also an initiative that the newly established Center for Marxist Education together with the Society of Journalists resolves the education of journalists in political schools, which should have included SAWPC and LC committees.³⁶ Thus, the task of the Center for Marxist Education was defined as providing work on the Marxist education of political personnel in LC, but also of personnel in government bodies, mass organizations, economy, education, culture, press and publishing.³⁷

In a 1961 analysis, it was also suggested that every editorial board should provide its Personnel Commission and draw up a plan for the political and professional building of staff for a longer period of time, as well as stimulate the specialization of journalists for a particular area, especially in cultural rubrics. Regarding hiring new staff, it was said, that it would have to be oriented towards LC members or perhaps those who weren't members, but did positively in other socio-political organizations. Journalists should have been sent to professional and political schools through the Society of Journalists, and be active in the society.³⁸

³⁴ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sjednice Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH, 3 February 1961.

³⁵ Isto.

³⁶ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 15 January 1960.

³⁷ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Dopis Komisije za ideološka pitanja o formiranju Centra za marksističko obrazovanje, 30 January 1960.

³⁸ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Analiza o kadrovima u novinarstvu, 1961.

The fact that the situation for the LC leadership was still unsatisfactory was indicated by the 1966 Commission Report on LCC ideological work, in which the Commission's goal was re-apostrophised: a continuous and systematic monitoring of cultural life. An important task of the press was to emphasize the "criticism of negative social phenomena" which was, so the Report said, not just the right but also the duty of the press, important just as much as informing. The Report further states that none of the magazines, apart from Radio-Zagreb, managed to educate for a particular area such collaborators "who would constantly and persistently with certain ideological (clearly socialist) and aesthetic positions fought for certain criteria, relationship, meaning and the significance of a particular art". Later, however, the improvement of print quality, journalists and other staff was recognized. Literary journals, however, were not satisfying because of the lack of understanding of social processes and development, the lack of Marxist criteria, the present national tones, and the romantic relationship to the past.³⁹

Activities of "foreign propaganda"

The activities of "foreign propaganda" as the subject of interest of the Ideological Commission have complemented monitoring the local press and the Western influences, both in writing and in society. Under this syntagm were hiding the activities of the Western, but also the Eastern bloc aimed at Yugoslavia, which the LC leaders held the negative phenomena. They were held as negative because they brought some other values – from the West that was the freedom of thought, democracy, personal freedom, private property, etc., which conflicted with the imposed Yugoslav socialist values. And from the East, despite the stabilization of relations with the USSR, the ideas that glorified the USSR and their state and social system, opposed to self-managing socialism that Yugoslavia turned to were not welcome. As a source of foreign propaganda, the Commission for ideological issues has detected diplomatic and consular missions in Zagreb. There were also cultural and information centers from the Western States: the US Information Service (USIS), the British Council, the British Council's Information and Press Office, the French Institute (L'Institut Francais), the Austrian reading room (Österreichische Lesen halle) in Zagreb and the French reading room in Split (L'Institut Francais section de Split). The most active among them was the USIS, which had its own reading room, a library, published newsletters, provided language courses, concerts from the gramophone records, set up exhibitions and conferences. The British Council also had a reading room, a library, language courses, lecturers, language courses in England, and its staff, as well as those of USIS, worked as lecturers at the University. Magazines and newsletters were published and contacts with journal-

³⁹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Komisije za ideološki rad CK SKH u razdoblju od IV do V. kongresa SKH, 3 October 1964.

ists and public workers were kept. Both the French Institute and the Austrian reading room had very similar programs and activities. In addition to the activities of cultural institutes, foreign radio stations were listened to in Croatia – BBC the most, but also “The Voice of America”, Radio Paris, Radio Pećuh, Moscow, Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia and Prague.⁴⁰

But the basic form of “foreign propaganda” was the dissemination of so-called information bulletins dominated by Americans, but English, Soviet, Czechoslovak, Romanian, Hungarian, Bulgarian, and Chinese distributed their newsletters also. By the end of 1957, there were about 7,000 recipients of American bulletins in Croatia. They were free and people did not cancel them, and they were received far more than the *Communist (Komunist)*,⁴¹ for example – in a ratio of 1:10.⁴² In order to counteract the influence of “foreign propaganda”, the LC authorities agreed, through the Ideological Commission and together with the Information Office, to arrange which journalists to appoint for contacting the foreign ones, to select journalists sent overseas, through the state authorities agreed to remove all the lecturers of foreign consulates, amplify domestic propaganda through libraries, reading rooms, press and more.⁴³

Radio and television

Along with the print media, the emerging technologies have begun to appear in the more modern forms – electronic. Radio and television took on an increasingly important place in people’s lives and became more advantageous than “old” forms – newspapers and magazines. The LC leaders who began to pay particular attention to electronic media were aware of this.

With the broadcasting of a television program in Croatia, it began approximately at the same time as the LCC CC Commission for Ideological Issues was set up – the first program broadcasted on May 15, 1956, from the TV center in Zagreb. Two years after the first broadcast from Zagreb, it began broadcasting a joint TV program from the centers in Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. Since the television program was very important, this joint program was set up by a special Program Committee. At that time the number of television receivers was modest – in 1957 there were only 4,000 in the whole of Yugoslavia, while in 1963 that number grew to 205,270, of which 56,526 in Croatia.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.5. CK SKH. Dopisi i materijali Ideološke komisije CK SKH upućeni Ideološkoj komisiji CK SKJ, “Djelatnost strane propagande i naše protumjere”, no date.

⁴¹ *Komunist* was an official journal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 15. 12. 1958.; Poziv za sastanak i program rada Komisije, 8 February 1960.

⁴⁴ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH i Komisije za ideološko-politički rad GO SSRNH, 18 May 1964. Elaborat “Elaborat: O programima RTV Zagreb.”

As far as radio is concerned, Yugoslavia was the last country in Europe to cover the territory by the program, and it broadcasted only one program in each republic. In 1963, Croatia had 622,334 radio receivers, meaning a backward and underdeveloped radio network with an insufficient number of programs and radios.⁴⁵

Due to the importance of electronic media, the Ideological Commission assumed the role of television and radio program controllers. A major publicity role of these media has often been emphasised and their strong influence on the cultural education of citizens, especially by increasing the number of TV and radio receivers in the Republic.⁴⁶ Television has been perceived as an important means of influencing people, especially given the lack of time, with regular employment, for example, attendance at meetings, while TV time has nevertheless been found. Therefore, the members of the Commission were of the opinion that through television and radio should be conducted "cultural mass and political work" and that "for the purpose of political action" the program should be guided by a knowledgeable.⁴⁷

Radio Television Zagreb provided the Commission with complete annual and multi-annual plans and broadcasting programs for radio and television as well as analysis of the situation in these areas. The Ideological Commission then discussed, in its extended sessions, apostrophised issues and provided instructions for their resolution. Issues related to Radio and TV activity have been analyzed frequently, especially program policy, precisely because Radio and TV should have acted as the most influential factors for population impact and public opinion formation. All kinds of programs have been analyzed – from dramatic, informative to the children's and entertaining as well as the role of Radio-Television Zagreb within the joint program of three studios.⁴⁸ One of the LC leaders' objections to the Radio-Television information program was that it was "mere reporting, tracking current policy events instead of their own comments," opposed to an expected analysis that would support LC.⁴⁹

Like the television, and the radio program was monitored and analyzed. On the radio, as much as 50% of the program in 1964 did an informative po-

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 10 November 1959.

⁴⁷ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH i Komisije za ideološko-politički rad GO SSRNH, 18 May 1964. Elaborat RTV-a Zagreb: Problematika televizije i radija u Hrvatskoj. Njena uloga i mogućnosti u Republici i u jugoslavenskim razmjerima; Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Ideološko-političke komisije CK SKH s urednicima zagrebačkih redakcija, 6 February 1964.

⁴⁸ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH i Komisije za ideološko-politički rad GO SSRNH, 18 May 1964. Elaborat "O programima RTV Zagreb."

⁴⁹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. Izvještaj o radu Komisije za ideološki rad CK SKH u razdoblju od IV do V. kongresa SKH, 3 October 1964.

litical program and it was “mostly satisfying”, but not the journalists altogether. The popularity of the entertainment program has been growing steadily, especially some of the shows that have been listened to, such as “The Microphone is Yours”. The music program on television and radio was also hit by criticism, especially musical spectacles that “suffer from the surface, the kitsch, the formalism, the emptiness,” but were very much sought after by the audience.⁵⁰ Only the Radio Zagreb, which “performed the function of the music education of the audience”, reached the quality scale.⁵¹

Literature

The written word, both in the form of the daily or weekly press as well as in the form of literature, greatly influenced the worldview of the population what LC leaders knew and sought to use for the purpose of ideological indoctrination. The need to spread books and education, especially in small places was particularly emphasized.⁵²

Since the beginning of the 1950s, and especially at the Third Congress of Yugoslav Writers in 1952, the annotation of a so-called socialist approach to literature and art has been featured in the Miroslav Krleža⁵³ report. In it, Krleža advocates the freedom of creation (which was only possible within certain frameworks) and marked a turning point in the freedom of artistic expression at all levels.⁵⁴ But LC leaders continued to keep control of literary creativity through their people in publishing companies and publishing councils.

The control over the publishing by the LC has been re-established by the foundation of the Commission for Ideological Issues. It was already at the beginning of this commission's work concluded that it was necessary to coordinate the work of publishing companies, to create “solid ideological and aesthetic criteria by publishing companies, to carry out staff training and to implement the Publishing Act. For this purpose, a Publishing Company Associ-

⁵⁰ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH i Komisije za ideološko-politički rad GO SSRNH, 18 May 1964. Elaborat “O programima RTV Zagreb.”

⁵¹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sjednice Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH, 3 February 1961.

⁵² HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 10 November 1959.

⁵³ Miroslav Krleža (Zagreb, 7 July 1893 — Zagreb, 29 December 1981) was one of the greatest Croatian writers of 20th century, encyclopaedist, also participated in political activities. He came in conflict with the left and right, and in the postwar period he became close to the Yugoslavia's president J. B. Tito. He participated in the founding of many cultural institutions and also advocated freedom of the arts and literature as well as the development of the Croatian language.

⁵⁴ Bilandžić, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*, 342.

ation has been established. The Association's task was to coordinate the work of publishing companies, monitor the publishing councils and to create joint publishing plans.⁵⁵

As far as staffing is concerned, the Secretariat of the Commission concluded that good management and publishing councils should be set up as a basic precondition for solving a number of problems.⁵⁶ For example, there was a problem when preparing the edition of the Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav Lexicographic Institute. LCC EC had objections on the composition of the editorial board in Zagreb and suggested filling it with political-party personnel.⁵⁷ M. Krleža, who was the director of this institution and editor of this edition, subsequently made changes to the editorial board.⁵⁸

The publishing staff was a constant subject of analysis and discussion within the Ideological Commission. All employees in important positions in publishing companies were analyzed – editors of individual libraries, chief editors and company directors. Statistics were compiled according to age, participation in Partisan movement in WWII, membership in LC, participation in socio-political organisation work and administration bodies, and according to professional qualifications. It is interesting that, in spite of the required ideological discourse with these people, many of them did not participate in the Partisan movement in WWII nor were members of LC except the company directors.⁵⁹ This kind of staff complained at the meetings of the Commission – in a 1959 report we find complaints that “the culture is led by people who are only declaratively oriented socialist but actually bourgeois, even more than in the United States”. The reason for this was found in the excessively free criticism of Stalinism, and in fact, there was an opinion, socialism was criticized. It was held against that books in the bookstores were “books that should never be given to our readers” and emphasized that it was a great responsibility for the councils of publishing companies. A systematic policy was also sought in the selection of translation works.⁶⁰

At the session of the Commission for Ideological Issues of 1961, it was proposed that the PRC Council of Culture and Science should carry out the control of professional staff in publishing companies and warn of the need for per-

⁵⁵ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 10 November 1959. Materijal “Razvitak i problemi kulturno-masovne djelatnosti”.

⁵⁶ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Sekretarijata Ideološke komisije May - November 1956.

⁵⁷ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Rad ideološko-odgojne komisije, 7 May 1956.

⁵⁸ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Sekretarijata Ideološke komisije May - November 1956.

⁵⁹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Kadrovska analiza na području izdavačke djelatnosti, 1959.

⁶⁰ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka o problemima kulture, 23 February 1959.

sonnel change in companies and in publishing councils. Also, publishing councils itself were given instructions to control staff and respond to “professional and moral-political qualities”. The recommendation was that publishing council require a stronger social and political engagement.⁶¹ They should have become “creators of consciously directed publishing”⁶²

One of the major problems for members of the LCC CC Ideological Commission was the issue of foreign literature. This was particularly pertained to the literature of Western provenance which readership liked but was not in favor of LC leaders. Zane Gray, Karl May, Arthur Conan Doyle, Françoise Sagan were at the top of popularity with readers in Croatia.⁶³ This literature was commercial, well sold and for publishing companies was a source of earnings. But LC leaders did not want to allow such an influence of Western literature as they thought of it as a part of “enemy propaganda”. They pointed out that there is also a political aspect of this issue, along with the commercial, which most of the important bookstore companies did not notice. The Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art Science booklet, for example, was “improperly engaged” in a French reading room and imported the British daily press, which was why the Federal Foreign Trade Chamber appealed to her. The trade with literature the LC leaders considered a serious problem – because of the role of “foreign propaganda” that was increasingly focused on books, magazines and newspapers, as opposed to direct propaganda through diplomatic representations (bulletins, exhibitions, language courses, etc.). Therefore, the LC leaders wanted to form a specialized trading company in the PRC that would deal only with book trade – importing foreign literature that would be sold all over Croatia.⁶⁴

But Western literature was still being published, especially because of the heavy economic situation of publishing houses. Commercialization of publishing activity in Croatia has frequently been criticized. In order for the Ideological Commission to come up with complete data on the state of publishing, a special commission was set up to produce an analysis of this activity. Members of the commission were Kladarin, Magašić, Katušić and Bojanić.⁶⁵

In the Work Report of the Commission for the Ideological Work of October 1964, we again find data on publishing activities that states that books were expensive, circulation small, that the literature of the Eastern countries is ne-

⁶¹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sjednice Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH, 3 February 1961.

⁶² HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja, 14 June 1962.

⁶³ Jakovina, “Hruščov i Tito protiv apstrakcije i borba za reformu Federacije 60-ih”, 30.

⁶⁴ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Problem uvoza strane literature, 5 February 1957.

⁶⁵ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja, 14 June 1962.

glected, and the inadequate work of publishing councils is emphasized.⁶⁶ The Commission seems to be still unsatisfied with the work in this field of culture.

The writers themselves were at odds with LC criticism – the Ideological Commission found that there are no political engagements in Croatian literary clubs, as opposed to those in Ljubljana and Belgrade. Also, there are many “petty bourgeois inertia” against which should have been fought, and the club of writers did not work that way. It is concluded that in Croatia is an anarchic situation.⁶⁷

Film

Going to the cinema was definitely one of the most popular types of entertainment for the public. Particularly popular were American films that made up most of the repertoire of the cinemas in Croatia. Many have watched the same film all over again – “Bathing Beauty”, “Roman Holiday”, “Niagara” or the Westerns, for example, had a huge rating figures.⁶⁸

Already since 1956, the Ideological Commission has taken action to control film art. Meetings were held with members of the PRC Culture Council, members of the Secretariat of LC Organizations from the film companies and representatives of filmmakers. The themes were the repertoire of cinema, network expansion, cadres, the organization of film companies, the composition of film councils, Film Law etc.⁶⁹ Within the Ideological Commission, a special group which should be more closely involved in the film area formed.⁷⁰ The film Law was passed by the Federal People’s Assembly on March 24, 1956, and proclaimed the full freedom of artistic creation. However, in reality, it was not so. Censorship existed in a variety of forms, and it was the subject of the Republic Film Review Commissions, the SAWPC Commission for Cultural and Educational Issues and, of course, the LC CC Ideological Commission.

At one of the meetings of later two Commissions of 1956, these issues were discussed. The meeting also included filmmakers Ivo Jelovica, Vatroslav Mimica, Jurica Peruzović and Stjepan Draganić. One of the issues they talked about was the import of foreign films and the quota that has risen from 120 films a year to 230–240. They complained that the import of movies is not under control, that republic companies import the ones that are the most profitable, and

⁶⁶ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Komisije za ideološki rad CK SKH u razdoblju od IV do V kongresa SKH, 3 October 1964.

⁶⁷ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka o problemima kulture, 23. 2. 1959.

⁶⁸ Jakovina, “Hruščov i Tito protiv apstrakcije i borba za reformu Federacije 60-ih”, 31.

⁶⁹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. Izvještaj o radu Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 4 December 1956.

⁷⁰ Prilog zapisniku “Teze o referatu o ideološkom radu u SK i radu SK na idejno političkim pitanjima SK u masama”, Vojnović, *Zapisnici Izvršnog komiteta CK SKH 1955. – 1959.*, 209.

the Commission is only choosing what is to be shown from already imported movies.⁷¹ They, therefore, initiated control at importers in production houses. Also, the quality of the imported movies was an issue because the better ones were more expensive, so cheaper films were imported on a regular basis.⁷² It was a major issue as we can see in another document from the same year: the fact was that the film and cinema enjoyed a great popularity among the population (even a traveling movie theater was suggested), but the LC leaders still complained of “not conducting a cultural but commercial redemption policy regarding foreign movies”. The film press was also under criticism because it was “deprived of not only the film but also the elementary cultural level, and, by vulgarity and triviality, is keeping up with one part of the imported and well-advertised foreign production”.⁷³

Furthermore, it is interesting to see how much the LC authorities had been involved in the field of film in Croatia. At the sessions of the Ideological Commission, discussions were also made about whether to keep two art centers – production houses – “Jadran film” and “Zagreb” or merge them into one, and inevitably, about the staff. The June 1956 session analyzed several filmmakers from the aspect of their professional as well as the political side. For Branko Marjanović, director of the banned movie, *Ciguli Miguli*, was said to be “an indispensable film director and expert”, but his film *The Drina Watch* from the Independent State of Croatia (ISC) time was controversial, giving him a negative connotation. The screenplay for the “Odnarođen” movie for which he was awarded in ISC was fatal for Branko Belan. Krešo Golik’s fault was that he declared himself as a Ustasha dorojnik and wrote that the Ustasha “wouldn’t surrender alive”. The question has been raised on how people like Marjanović and Golik get movies and choose their associates, and on the other hand “our cadres” have failed to keep up. For example, it stated in the document, Zvane Črnja was imposed in “Zagreb Film”, although it was said, do not engage him in an adequate duty”. In CC they have confirmed it, but he still works as a dramaturge. It was concluded that a strong political and LC cadres need to be provided by film companies.⁷⁴ The situation in the film remained the topic of the Commission’s session in the following years. In 1961. the issue of cadres and film companies was once again emphasized.⁷⁵

⁷¹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Zapisnici s materijalima sastanaka Ideološke komisije CK SKJ, Analiza Ideološke komisije CK SKJ, no date.

⁷² HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Ideološko-političke komisije CK SKH i Komisije za kulturno-prosvjetna pitanja GO SSRNH, 4 June 1956.

⁷³ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Materijal “Razvitak i problemi kulturno-masovne djelatnosti”, 1956.

⁷⁴ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Ideološko-političke komisije CK SKH i Komisije za kulturno-prosvjetna pitanja GO SSRNH, 4 June 1956.

⁷⁵ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Prilog sa sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja – Program komisije lipanj 1962. – srpanj 1963., 19 June 1962.

Movie columns in daily and weekly newspapers were also the subjects of analysis. There appears to be a difference in the number of texts and information about the domestic and foreign film in favor of foreigners in the 1950s, but in 1961 it was considered that this difference was eliminated. Nevertheless, it was emphasized the neglect of writing about documentary, cartoons and teaching educational films. On the texts about foreign films, the members of the Commission did not have a good opinion – there was an opinion about the transfer of characterizations from foreign editions, the sensationalism in writing about movie stars and films, and the humoring the taste of widest audience, for example, the “noisy praise” to the movie “Some Like It Hot.” The recommendation was to write more about the achievements in the USSR, India and some eastern countries. The role of the film critics was also defined, which was to “first and foremost give an ideological evaluation of the film and to take care of its social role”, comparing the films and giving them a place in time and space.⁷⁶

The film has become more and more important media in the means of ideological propaganda, what one can follow through the LCC Ideological Commission extensive reviews of cinematic status from the mid-1960s. It was then pointed out that the general state of cinema did not satisfy, filmmakers were encouraged to produce films with the topics of the Workers' Movement and the Partisan movement during WWII as “constantly present, essential and necessary”, but at the same time, artistically acceptable. It was looking to show “how the real communist is formed, between which he chooses, which he renounces ... this is a way in which a communist's deeply human personality can present himself in a valuable artistic way, and that is what we still do not have in our film,” it says in an analysis. LC leaders formed an opinion that in the presentations of the present and the small man it lacked deeper analysis, and only the “most vulgar reflection theory” was present. The movie comedy also did not meet the required quality. “In most, it is characteristic that her heroes are not funny or comic, but stupid and primitive. We have an unspeakable bad influence on our spectators when we serve them with primitive jokes, banal clumsiness, and stupid quibbles ...”, says the analyst. There were also objections about the nonexploitation of a multitude of topics – the interwar period as the forerunner of the revolution. As an example of a good film, the winner of several awards, Branko Bauer's “Face to Face” (1963) was emphasized.⁷⁷

The LCC CC requested analysis on the condition in the cinematography and they were done by the director of “Jadran-film” Ivo Vrhovec and filmmakers Hrvoje Lisinski, Ante Peterlić and Vladimir Vuković. As one of the basic prob-

⁷⁶ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sjednice Komisije za ideološka pitanja CK SKH, 3. February 1961.

⁷⁷ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6 CK SKH. Materijali i obavijest za sjednicu Komisije za ideološka pitanja, Stanje kinematografije u Hrvatskoj 29 January 1964.; “Licem u lice”. Kino Tuškanac, accessed on 8 June 2017, <http://kinotuskanac.hr/movie/licem-u-lice-1963>.

lems, experts have pointed out the lack of independence of film councils because film companies were able to push everything they wanted. According to the document, members of the film councils did not want to run afoul of anyone, they sometimes had previous agreements with importers, received royalties, wanted to sell their own scenarios, expected jobs from producers, etc.⁷⁸ Furthermore, there was a constant need for the education of cadres who “with their talent will create such works of art which will be the most consistently ideologically engaged works of our socialist reality and its evolution forward.”⁷⁹

The Ideological commission concluded that films are rarely by their range and ideological profile active participants in performing the social function, and film production rarely provides quality achievements. The greatest achievement, they noted, was achieved with cartoons of the Zagreb School of Cartoon Film, alluding probably to the Oscar for the animated film “Surrogate” by Dušan Vukotić from 1962.⁸⁰

Art

About Art, compared to other areas of interest in the Ideological Commission, we find the least data in the documents. Although in the top of the government, starting from Tito himself, there was resistance to modern art, there was not as much of it as to other areas of culture. Many artists made a break from Socialist Realism but were not against the regime. Dušan Džamonja, Edo Murtić or Vjenceslav Richter were authors of many outstanding and award-winning works that were not in line with the realism settings.⁸¹ In part, that was probably the reason for a relatively small number of documents regarding art in the Ideological Commission's records. Besides that, the wider population was not particularly familiar with the visual arts, especially the abstract, modern. The population of rural areas, for example, did not have access to such art as, for example, to music through radio and television which was more widely available.

Still, the Ideological Commission, as well as other areas under its interference, provided instructions for artistic creativity. The LC should have thus defined the course of art, ie “give a perspective on where we are going to go, what is qualitatively new and what place we are occupying.”⁸²

⁷⁸ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Prilog sa sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja – Program komisije June 1962. – July 1963, 19 June 1962. Analiza “Neka zapažanja o stanju jugoslavenske kinematografije” (Hrvoje Lisinski, Ante Peterlić i Vladimir Vuković).

⁷⁹ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Prilog sa sastanka Komisije za ideološka pitanja – Program komisije June 1962 – July 1963, 19 June 1962. Teze za diskusiju o idejnim i umjetničkim problemima filma (Ivo Vrhovec, direktor “Jadrana”), 10 February 1963.

⁸⁰ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.11. CK SKH. Izvještaj o radu Komisije za ideološki rad CK SKH u razdoblju od IV do V. kongresa SKH, 3 October 1964.

⁸¹ Jakovina, “Hruščov i Tito protiv apstrakcije i borba za reformu Federacije 60-ih”, 16.

⁸² HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. Stenografski zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 24 June 1957 (priprema za VII. kongres SKH), izjava Anke Berus.

As far as art is concerned, LC leadership expressed satisfaction with the increase in the number of museums and galleries in Yugoslavia – from 63 (1939) to 212 (1955). But the conditions in the Association of Fine Artists (AFA) were not satisfying. At one session of the Ideological Commission, it was emphasised that there is an unhealthy environment in the AFA, that the Association does not represent fine arts artists, that there are generally too many artists and it was wanted to direct them to become teachers in the schools. The LC Zagreb City Committee was instructed to assist in “fixing the situation in the association, finding its proper place and removing negative phenomena in AFA.”⁸³ It was for LC leaders necessary to maintain contacts with cultural workers, engage them and discuss with them by “directing and giving tons.”⁸⁴ That “low-level creativity” was claimed by Zvonko Radoš, an Ideological Commission member in 1964, and he then also pointed out that there were no “sharp, Marxist criticisms of works of art in Zagreb.”⁸⁵ Such an attitude was in line with Tito's attitude toward abstract art. He thought that “so-called modernist works have nothing to do with artistic creativity, let alone our reality” and that artists should be helped to go “a little more proper way.”⁸⁶

Music art was occasionally discussed and LC used to organize meetings at Radio Zagreb for that purpose. It was concluded that the state of entertainment music was devastating in both textual and compositional terms and that “the educational elements lack.”⁸⁷

Conclusion

The Ideological Commission of the League of Communist's Central Committee was undoubtedly an essential factor in guiding cultural creativity in Croatia from 1956 to 1965. In the period of balancing between the East and the West and the controversy over further internal development of the state between the centralist and the federalist, the Ideological Commission had the task of monitoring all the ideological work on all areas of society. It was formed as an indirect heir of the former Agitprop commission with, at least formally, less direct and more guiding role, in 1956, one year after the federal commis-

⁸³ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Zapisnik sastanka Ideološke komisije CK SKH, 5. svibnja 1959.; Poziv za sastanak Komisije, program rada Komisije i program rada Centra za marksističko obrazovanje kadrova, 8 February 1960.

⁸⁴ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.6. CK SKH. Obavijest o sastanku Komisije za ideološka pitanja, Prilog “Teze za savjetovanje s pojedincima Ideoloških komisija kotarskih komiteta: Sastav, sadržaj i metode rada ideoloških komisija”, 9 March 1960.

⁸⁵ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka Ideološko-političke komisije CK SKH s urednicima zagrebačkih redakcija, 6 February 1964.

⁸⁶ Jakovina, “Hruščov i Tito protiv apstrakcije i borba za reformu Federacije 60-ih”, 15–16.

⁸⁷ HR-HDA-1220.2.3.3.2.7. CK SKH. Stenografski zapisnik sa sastanka o problemima kulture, 23 February 1959.

sion. Among other things, her competence included activities in the field of culture. At that time, it was sought to strengthen the unity of the state, and culture, the socialist one, was supposed to be one of the factors of unity. In this paper, a brief overview of the activities of the LCC CC Ideological Commission in this direction was presented as well as its supervision over various forms of cultural activities – art, literature, film and media – press, radio and television. In all these areas of cultural work, the Commission has played a decisive role – it has given directives, formally called suggestions, controlled and set up cadres in cultural institutions, publishing and film companies, reviewed and gave opinions on television and radio programs, supervised the work of artists and writers. It was involved in all the cultural events and processes, and the Communists were placed in all institutions and organizations of cultural significance with the task of implementing LC instructions.

Still, it is difficult to get rid of the impression that members of this very important commission often did not even know themselves what “the right course” in art, literature or the media was. Reading the minutes of their sessions and other materials, one can see how they often argued and mutually opposed positions that were, by all means, not uniform. In the interpretations of the established line of socialist expression, there was often confusion, and the conclusions of the sessions often provided general recommendations for future work and supervision over the areas of work of the commission, which could have been interpreted in one way or another. In fact, the question is, to what extent were the members of the Commission, although in infinitely important places, addressed to the questions they had decided on. What is important to emphasize is that their decisions have greatly influenced the direction in which the culture, the arts and the media were allowed to go. They have also had an impact on the human destiny of employees in the areas of competence of the Commission, by extending them to their own ideological perceptions and at the same time forming the artistic tastes of the broader public through strictly controlled content.

The work and role of the Ideological Commission are in this paper presented on the basis of the archival records – documents of the Commission itself, which are kept in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb.

Sein oder Nichtsein in der Kultur: Die Aktivitäten der Ideologischen Kommission des Bundes der Kommunisten Kroatiens (1956-1965)

Zusammenfassung

Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist die Arbeitsweisen der Zentralen ideologischen Kommission des Bundes der Kommunisten Kroatiens von ihrer Gründung 1956 bis zu ihrer Umstrukturierung und Einteilung in etliche Arbeitsgebiete 1965 zu untersuchen. Der Fokus liegt aber nicht auf der Gesamtarbeit der Kommission, denn sie umfasste ein breites Spektrum ideologischer Aktivitäten, vielmehr wird aus Platzgründen nur eine kurze Übersicht über eine Reihe spezifischer Themen gegeben, nämlich das Verhältnis der Kommission zur kroatischen Kultur sowie ihren Einfluss darauf in der Presse, im Fernsehen, Rundfunk, in der Literatur, im Film und in der Kunst. Die Ideologische Kommission des Zentralkomitees des Bundes der Kommunisten Kroatiens war zweifelsohne ein bedeutender leitender Faktor für das kulturelle Schaffen in Kroatien von 1956 bis 1965. Als die Politik zwischen Ost und West und im Streit über die weitere innerstaatliche Entwicklung zwischen Zentralismus und Föderalismus hin und her balancierte, war es Aufgabe der Ideologischen Kommission, die gesamte ideologische Arbeit in allen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen zu überwachen. Sie entstand 1956, ein Jahr nach der Bundeskommission, als eine indirekte Nachfolgerin der ehemaligen Agitprop-Kommission mit einer, zumindest formal, weniger direkten, aber stärker führenden Rolle. Unter anderem gehörten auch die Tätigkeiten im Kulturbereich zu ihren Kompetenzen. Damals versuchte man, die Einheit des Staates zu stärken und die sozialistische Kultur hätte einer der Faktoren dieser Einheit werden sollen. Diese Arbeit will eine knappe Übersicht über die Aktivitäten der Ideologischen Kommission des Zentralkomitees des Bundes der Kommunisten Kroatiens in diesem Bereich geben, einschließlich der Aufsicht über die unterschiedlichen Formen der Kulturtätigkeiten, wie etwa in der Kunst, Literatur, im Film sowie in Presse, Rundfunk und Fernsehen. In allen diesen Kulturbereichen spielte die Kommission eine entscheidende Rolle. Sie gab Weisungen, die formal Vorschläge genannt wurden, kontrollierte und stellte das Personal in Kultureinrichtungen, Verlagshäusern und Filmunternehmen ein, sah Fernseh- und Rundfunkprogramme durch und gab Stellungnahmen dazu ab, beaufsichtigte die Werke von Künstlern und Schriftstellern. Sie war in alle kulturellen Ereignisse und Prozesse miteinbezogen. Kommunisten waren in allen Einrichtungen und Organisationen, die für die Kultur von Bedeutung waren, vertreten, um dort die Anweisungen des Bundes der Kommunisten umzusetzen. Die Arbeit und Rolle der Ideologischen Kommission werden hier auf der Grundlage von Archivmaterial vorgestellt. Es handelt sich um Unterlagen der Kommission selbst, die im Kroatischen Staatsarchiv in Zagreb aufbewahrt werden.

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