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# The University of Zagreb and the League of Communists of Croatia: Actions and Influences (1959-1965)

The University of Zagreb, at the time the sole university in the People's/Socialist Republic of Croatia, was declaratively autonomous, although this was not possible in Yugoslavia, a state under communist rule. This paper thus explores the relationship between the University and the League of Communists of Croatia from 1959 to 1965, as well as the modes whereby the League of Communists influenced the University's work and organization in terms of self-management socialism. The study is based mostly on previously unexplored archival records and the relevant literature. The results show that Marxist ideology continued to be the foundation of power, and the University continued to implement the guidelines of the League of Communists, even though the new direction of self-management socialism had been introduced. The entanglement between the League of Communists and state functions with University authorities was evident, and one of the essential features of the regime. However, the communists confronted insufficient support for their activities from most of the professors and a portion of the student body.

#### Introduction

This paper constitutes an attempt to explore the relationship between the University of Zagreb and of the League of Communists of Croatia (LCC), i.e., to show the extent to which the University retained its autonomy in terms of self-management socialism and given the dominant role of the LC, and the modes of the LCC's influence on its operations and organization. The time-frame for this research is brief – the period between the Fourth and Fifth LCC Congresses (1959-1965). The study is based mostly on previously unexplored archival records and the relevant literature. The paper does not aspire to cover all contemporary issues at the University during that period, since this would not have been possible given the scope. Although I will touch on specific issues in the paper, it will be contextualized through the relationship between the LC and the University, without delving into the many controversies and detailed analyses regarding the University's multiple roles.

# Historical Context, Legislative Framework and Organization of the University

After the conflict between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and its former role model, the USSR, which culminated with the Cominform Resolution in 1948, the leadership of the Yugoslav state and the Communist Party (CP) decided to push ahead on their path to socialism. Wanting to move away from the socialist model of the USSR's centrally governed state while remaining true to Marxist principles and communism, in the early 1950s the leadership of the CP/ League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) embarked on an experiment with self-governing socialism and social governance at all levels of society.<sup>1</sup> Territorially, this paper is limited to the territory of the People's Republic (PR)/Socialist Republic of Croatia (SRC) and the focus of this paper covers the brief period in the activities of the University between the 4th and 5th Congresses of the LC of Croatia. It was impossible to cover the relationship between the CP/LC and the University in the entire period of socialism in a single article, so this period was chosen because it has thus far been unexplored in this context, but also because of the greater availability of archival materials, which was not the case previously. More generally, this period was characterized by the conflicts between reformers and counter-reformists within the LCY, as well as new moments in the work of the LCY, specifically its 7<sup>th</sup> Congress held in 1958, when the new LCY Programme was adopted as the basis for the new SFRY Constitution of 1963, called the 'Charter of Self-Management', the 8th LCY Congress (1964), and, as already noted, the 5th LCC Congress (April 1965). All of these events encouraged further decentralization and reform aspirations and thus directly influenced the development of the University in this direction.<sup>2</sup> The article thus explores the University in the period preceding the turbulent events of the latter half of the 1960s, marked by even more substantial liberalization and the student movement in 1968, which, among other elements, were the lead-up to the Croatian Spring in which students played a significant role.

During the observed period, the University of Zagreb was the only such institution in Croatia with a long tradition and reputation.<sup>3</sup> Ideally, the University should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> More about this at: BILANDŽIĆ 1985, DRAGIČEVIĆ 1983: 593-594, BUNCE 1999, LANE 1996, RADELIĆ 2006, SELUCKY 1974: 49-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> BILANDŽIĆ 1999: 428-432, MIHALJEVIĆ 2016: 43-46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Founded in 1669 when Holy Roman Emperor and Hungarian-Croatian King Leopold I recognized the status and privileges of a university institution at the then Jesuit Academy in the free royal borough of Zagreb, the University of Zagreb is the oldest university in Croatia and is among the oldest in Europe. After the abolition of the Jesuit order (1773), Empress Maria Theresa issued a decree establishing the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1776, which until 1874 remained the highest educational institution in Croatia and Slavonia. The modern University of Zagreb was established in 1874 by a legal article on the organization of the Francis Joseph I University in Zagreb.

be autonomous – independent of religious, political or ideological influences, and academics should have complete freedom to teach, research, publish and participate in the management of the institution without restrictions or censorship.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, in Yugoslavia the situation was different, and management of the University was not a mere organizational matter but also a vital political issue over which there were disputes regarding the distribution of power and decision-making.<sup>5</sup>

Following the state's direction, the University, as well as other organizations, was incorporated into self-management in 1954 under the General Universities Act, while the Universities Act of July 1957 defined the University as a compulsory community of faculties.<sup>6</sup> At that time, the University and Faculty Councils were formed as bodies of social self-management, and, at least declaratively, the operational involvement of state bodies in the work of the faculties and the University was abolished.<sup>7</sup> Within the framework of reform efforts at the University, instruction was partly regulated by law, which began with the recommendation of the Federal Assembly of 1958, recommending the reduction in the duration of studies, while the General Colleges and Universities Act of 1960 conveyed the right to confirm the selection of professors from the University to the newly formed faculty councils.<sup>8</sup> At that time, the gradation of instruction was introduced and the organization of part-time study was regulated.<sup>9</sup> The same matters were elaborated in the Higher Education Act of 1961.<sup>10</sup>

With the adoption of the new Federal Constitution and the Constitution of the SRC in 1963, and furthering the process of self-management development, faculties and colleges were declared independent and self-governing labour organizations. The Higher Education Act of 1965 further defined the University's mission as reconciling research and instruction and granted the University the authority to independently organize a specialization and scientific training courses and to establish research and other institutions.<sup>11</sup>

The autonomy of the University therefore remained guaranteed by the aforementioned laws, which emphasized the independence of the University and faculties and their jurisdiction over and freedom in matters of instruction and research.

In order to ensure compliance of the University's work with these laws and the new Constitution, three new University Charters were adopted: the first on 1

- <sup>5</sup> VUKASOVIC 2016:1.
- <sup>6</sup> SL 1954, ŠUTE 2019: 74-75.
- <sup>7</sup> ADAMČEK 1969: 242.
- <sup>8</sup> SL 1960 b.
- <sup>9</sup> SL 1960 a.
- <sup>10</sup> NN 1961.
- <sup>11</sup> NN 1965, ŠUTE 2019: 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> ROBINSON 2009: 7.

November 1959, the second on 31 January 1962 and the third on 31 October  $1967.^{12}$ 

With the introduction of self-management at the University, organizational changes also occurred: with the aforementioned General Universities Act, the University Senate ceased to exist, and the University Council (*Sveučilišni savjet*) became the highest social management authority.<sup>13</sup> Some of its members were delegated from the PRC Parliament, but there were also members elected at the faculty councils, students, and City of Zagreb People's Committee representatives, as well as the Rector and Vice-Rector on an *ex officio* basis.<sup>14</sup>

The members of the councils were carefully selected, and some scholars such as I. Šute argued that the self-management bodies were, in fact, a new form of oversight, since the councils were formed such that external members, appointed by the authorities, could override those elected from among the ranks of employees of individual institutions.<sup>15</sup>

The University Board (*Sveučilišno vijeće*), which consisted of the deans of all faculties, rectors and vice-rectors, was also established. Until 1965, it functioned as a direct management body. However, due to the parallels between the work of the Council and the Board, the Board was abolished in 1965.<sup>16</sup> Both the Board and the Council had interim and permanent committees for specific areas of activity.<sup>17</sup>

The University Council adopted the University Charter, issued opinions on the charters of individual faculties and the budget, confirmed the appointment of professors (until 1960), made decisions on the establishment or dissolution of faculty institutions and deliberated on other matters. The analogous bodies in the faculties were the faculty councils. They consisted of representatives of the Parliament, elected members of the faculty council, student representatives, and deans and vice-deans. However, the role and jurisdiction of the University Council were amended by the laws enacted 1960, 1965 and the Constitution, enhancing the autonomy of faculties as self-managing communities.<sup>18</sup> The law enacted in 1954 established the University Assembly as the body which elected rectors and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> PUSIĆ 1969: 536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Also in ŠUTE 2019: 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The composition of the University Council can be found in the reports on the work of the University for each academic year. For the years 1963-1966. see at: HR-HDA-1220. D-dokumentacija, br. 1249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> ŠUTE 2019: 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See also: NAJBAR-AGIČIĆ 2013: 192–193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> ADAMČEK 1969: 253–255. Lists of all committees and their members can be found in the University's operating reports for each academic year. For the 1963/64. see: HR-HDA-1220. D-dokumentacija, No 1249.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> ADAMČEK 1969: 251.

vice-rectors and deliberated on the University's operations and the most pressing matters, although it could only make recommendations.

Nevertheless, the faculties were still established by law, and their charters were endorsed by the National Assembly of the Republic – later the Executive Council of the Republic, which also oversaw the legality of their work and funding, suggesting the continued strong influence of the state on the operations of the University and the faculties. Until 1963 and the new Constitution, the University was financed exclusively from the state budget.<sup>19</sup>

The rector acted as the executive arm of the University Council in this period: he represented the University, executed the Council's decisions, handled the coordination of instruction and scientific research, etc. The rectors of the University of Zagreb during the observed period were Marijan Horvat (1958-1960), Vladimir Serdar (1960-1963) and Slavko Macarol (1963-1966), all three top experts in their respective scholarly fields.

Even so, the authorities monitored the rector's activities as well. For example, Vladimir Serdar was recorded, followed and monitored by the State Security Administration (UDBA). Several different informants reported on Serdar's activities, and his telephone was tapped. The reason for this was probably his affiliation with Home Guard units, in which he served as a lieutenant in the Second World War. Although he received a proper "character references" in 1949, it later changed, and in the opinion of UDBA operatives, he became "hostile to our socio-political system, although he did not manifest it publicly." As rector of the University, he maintained regular contacts with the consulates of Western European countries and the United States, and frequently travelled abroad. In doing so, he aroused the suspicion of the UDBA and was registered as a liaison by German Consul Hans Hoppe in Zagreb.<sup>20</sup> However, at the same time, Serdar was also a member of the LCC University Committee and served on its Organizing Committee.<sup>21</sup> Data on Rector Macarol appear in Serdar's file as well, but his separate file cannot be found in the preserved materials. That does not mean, however, that it never existed.22

The beginning of the 1960s was also a time of rapid expansion of the University. The number of faculties in Zagreb increased with the establishment of new ones and the division of existing ones. Universities also began to admit academies and the establishment of the University Scientific Institutes began as well.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> PUSIĆ 1969: 530.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> HR-HDA-1561. SDS, file No. 315613, Serdar, Vladimir.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1964).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The Croatian State Archives maintains the records of the State Security Administration, which encompass almost 69,000 personal files on monitored persons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See the list of all faculties and academies during this period in DELIĆ et al 1979: 80–81.

At that time, faculties were established outside of Zagreb (Split, Osijek, Zadar and Rijeka), albeit still components of the University of Zagreb.<sup>24</sup> Student institutions were also established: the Student Centre (1959), the Student Dormitory (1960), and the Student Polyclinic (1960).<sup>25</sup>

In the mid-1960s, approximately 24,000 students were enrolled in 24 colleges and four academies and, accordingly, the number of students and the number of graduates increased.<sup>26</sup>

School year	Number of students at:						
	I. year	II. year	III. year	IV. year			
1958/59	6.450	3.704	3.525	2.708			
1959/60	6.170	4.021	3.822	3.024			
1960/61	7.742	4.083	3.320	3.544			
1961/62	8.881	4.368	3.243	3.049			

*Table 1: Number of full-time students by year of study*<sup>27</sup>

School year	Number of graduates	Index	
1957/58	1687	83	
1958/59	2040	100	
1959/60	2212	108	
1960/61	2489	122	
1961/62	2939	144	
1962/63	3287	161	

Table 2: Number of graduates by year of study<sup>28</sup>

The number of professors and associate professors increased as well: in 1960/61, there were 461 full-time professors and 907 full-time assistants. In 1962/63, the respective numbers were 754 to  $1015.^{29}$ 

- <sup>25</sup> ADAMČEK 1969: 250. See more about the work of the Student Centre in CORIC 2007, ŠUTE 2019: 81.
- <sup>26</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 144-153.
- <sup>27</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1961).
- <sup>28</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 18-44.
- <sup>29</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 153-172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> It was not until late 1972 that the University Assembly accepted the establishment of separate universities, which were subsequently established in Rijeka (1973), Split (1974) and Osijek (1975). DELIĆ et al 1979: 117.

# The League of Communists of Croatia – a parallel authority at the University

Besides the formal governing authorities at the University, there was also a parallel management and control system: the LC organizations. At the republic level, these were the Executive and Central Committee of the LCC with its working bodies, the Ideological Commission and the Personnel Commission. There were also the LCC CC Zagreb City Committee and the LC organizations at the University, specifically the University Committee. In addition, there were the basic organizations of professors and students (which by virtue of their status and function were similar to those in companies), as well as the network of highlyplaced communists in the state and University authorities. Along with these, the communist government further guided the operations of the University through its people in the leadership of so-called mass organizations: the People's Youth of Croatia and the Student Alliance, which enforced the LC line.<sup>30</sup> After taking power in 1945, the Communist Party also took over the University, which operated under its control thereafter. In order to reinforce its influence over the University, the CPY encouraged the establishment of the Student Alliance in 1951, which was a mass student organization, formally a part of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia.<sup>31</sup>

Within the Student Alliance, students were supposed to have a say in many vital matters concerning University life: study reforms, student accommodations, the functioning of the student polyclinic and the Student Centre. They were members of the management bodies of the University dormitories and participated in cultural, artistic and sporting activities, in various celebrations and festivities, in the work of local heritage clubs and in the organization of student labour brigades. However, the LC members became the driving force behind their activities.<sup>32</sup> In addition to the Student Alliance, the LC organizations operated the Alliance of Student Sports Organizations and several other youth associations.<sup>33</sup>

All initiatives to direct the University's operations, however, came from the LCC Central Committee's Executive Committee (LCC CC EC), which was the highest republic-level LC executive authority. At its sessions, it decided on all crucial matters in the Republic and relied on the decisions and instructions of the LCY CC EC, and was obliged to submit minutes of its sessions with conclusions to Belgrade for analysis.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> People's Youth of Croatia was a part of People's Youth of Yugoslavia organization, which in 1963 changed its name in to League of Youth of Yugoslavia/Croatia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> ŠARIĆ 2017: 249-262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1963).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM, (1959).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 18.

The EC acted through its working bodies, and the LCC CC Ideological Commission was one of the most important. Established in 1956 with the task of monitoring and analysing overall cultural, educational and scientific activity in Croatia, and its role in proposing to the LCC CC what views to adopt on them according to the given ideological line was crucial. The Commission was a successor to the former Agitprop Administration/Commission on Agitation and Propaganda, founded during the Second World War, and the University was therefore under its authority.

But as early as January 1946, the LCC University Committee (LCC UC) was formed for the purpose of "controlling and coordinating the Party activities of the LC basic organizations at individual faculties and academies within the University of Zagreb" and in order "to unify and direct activities in addressing key and common issues in the development of teaching, scholarly, research and educational work, development of socialist self-management and ideological-political training".<sup>35</sup> The LCC UC worked through several commissions which dealt with ideology, organization, personnel, instructor staffing issues, and instructional issues. It also had an Appeals Committee. It submitted its operating plans to the LCC CC for "review and suggestions".<sup>36</sup>

What operating method was employed by the LCC organization at the University? Problems were defined and discussed by the LC and public administrative bodies. Their resolution was then sent down to social self-management bodies (University and faculty councils), the Student Alliance and the Association of Professors – both organizations were established so as to develop and bolster ideological work at the University – with both students and professors.<sup>37</sup>

The social self-management authorities at the University were always the subject of interest of both the Student Alliance and, to ensure their influence, LC members were appointed to these organizations. According to a report by the LCC CC Ideological Commission, "Students and managers from our organizations sit in all governing authorities and commissions."<sup>38</sup>

The LC actively addressed many topics relevant to the work of the University. Although various issues regarding the University were addressed at the faculty and university councils (such as study reforms, the adoption of new charters, funding issues and personnel policies), then by the Student Alliance (study issues, student living standards, student activities in social management bodies, cultural life and sports), the Association of University Professors (personal income distribution and the work of instructors), the LC often discussed all of these issues at its meetings and maintained primacy in decision-making.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> JAKIĆ 2016: 3–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK, OPS (1959).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> HR-HDA-1723. GKZ (1963), ŠUTE 2019: 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK, IDK (1961).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> HR-HDA-1723. GKZ (1963).

In order to keep itself informed as much as possible on the work of the University in the previous academic year, reports were sent to the LCC CC every year. These reports, generally prepared for the regular Annual General Meetings of the University, contained explicit material, analysis of its work and numerous statistical tables. The LCC's archives stored these reports in its documentation unit, in which the most important documents were kept. The Executive Committee then discussed University matters and then decided which topics would be discussed at the LCC CC Plenum.<sup>40</sup>

# Personnel policy and the intertwining of the LC and the University authorities

Between the end of Second World War and the early 1960s, party and state power were closely interwoven, and this was one of the essential features of the regime. At the University, this also applied to the University's managing bodies, whose leaders were also high-ranking communists. Thus, the chairman of the University Council since its establishment in 1954 until 1963 was Nikola Sekulić Bunko, also a member of the Politburo/LCC CC EC (1947-1963), the LCY CC (1952–1978) and the LCY Presidium (1965–1967) and chairman of the LCC CC Ideological Commission since its inception in 1956 until 1962. Sekulić Bunko also had many other functions. In the observed period, he was one of the vice-presidents of the National Assembly of the Republic of Croatia (1954-1963), a member of the Federal Assembly (1963-1967) and chairman of its Council on Culture since 1963, as well as a member of the Croatian Parliament in all convocations from 1946 to 1963.<sup>41</sup>

Sekulić was succeeded as chairman of the University Council by Miljenko Protega, Ph.D., a lawyer and public affairs writer, also a member of the CPY since 1939, secretary of the SRC Parliament, secretary of the Judicial Administration, one of the Executive Council's Secretariats, and a member of the SRC Constitutional Court.<sup>42</sup>

The LC University Committee secretaries also had other LC functions as well as those in public offices. For example, Frane Boko, secretary of the UC, was also a member of the LCC CC's Personnel Commission and secretary of the Commission on Higher Education of the Executive Council of the PRC Parliament. Antun Žvan and Stanko Pekeč, also later secretaries of the UC, were members of the University Council, the LCY CC and the LCC CC's Organizational Commission (Žvan). Milan Zjalić, secretary of the UC as of February 1965, previously served as chairman of the Central Committee of the League of Youth of Croatia and later held other vital functions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 18–40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See also: ŠUTE 2019: 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> "PROTEGA, Miljenko", Proleksis enciklopedija.

The chairpersons of the University Council were regularly invited to EC sessions and session of the LCC CC's Ideological Commission when discussing University matters. However, the composition of the University Council was first debated at meetings of the Executive Committee. Thus, Marijan Cvetković, a member of the LCC CC EC and the LCY CC at a session held in 1963, after the end of the University Council's term, emphasized the need for the University Council to be constituted as soon as possible and then he acquainted the participants of the meeting with the proposal discussed by the University Committee. Three candidates were proposed for chairman, and after deliberations, it was concluded that one of them, Boris Bakrač, was to be appointed its chair while the other candidates would be members (Srećko Bijelić, Duje Katić, Antun Žvan, Stanko Pekeč, Vlado Juričić and Anica Magašić).<sup>43</sup> It is interesting to note that all of them were prominent communist leaders, members of the LCC CC: Duje Katić and Anica Magašić were members of the LCC CC Ideological Commission, and Srećko Bijelić was chairman of the People's Youth of Croatia, the CC, a member of the LCC CC Organizational and Political Secretariat, a member of the LCC CC Oversight Commission and a member of the LCY CC.<sup>44</sup> Bakrač was not elected chairman of the University Council at the time, but Miljenko Protega took over, while Bakrač succeeded him.45

The connection between the LC, the public authorities and University bodies, as well as the manner of appointing professors at the faculties, is demonstrated by the minutes of the meeting of the LCC CC Ideological Commission on University matters. At one session, on the topic of cadres, Dr Dušan Čalić emphasized that he agreed "to implement it by the University Council, which is practically most obliged" and that "one by one the problem should be solved … let us take it and process it, and then let some government body detail it. Specifically, which faculty, which department, which man, that is what I am suggesting."<sup>46</sup> So, cadre issues were first discussed in LC bodies, and only then was the already decided matter turned over to public administrative or self-management bodies.

In general, one of the pressing problems at the University was the shortage of staff, especially young people, and the reasons, besides job insecurity, were low salaries and a lack of accommodation/housing for assistant professors. The selection of professors was also essential in terms of both expertise and ideological-political considerations. In this regard, the following was stated at the LCC CC EC session of July 1959: "Although there are many LC members among the instructors (over 200), the fact is that the organization of LC instructors did not set the tone of life and work at the University. A critical issue in our personnel policy is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 776.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> JUKIĆ 2018, ŠARIĆ: 2019, in multiple places.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> PUSIĆ 1969: 536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK. IDK (1962).

the choice of professors."<sup>47</sup> After the war, there was not much staff at all, most of whom were "unsuitable for approval because of a lack of Marxist orientation".<sup>48</sup>

As far as the faculty was concerned, the University Council formally certified professors as of 1954, which reduced the jurisdiction of state authorities in this matter, and as of 1960 this task was transferred to the faculty councils.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the members of the faculty councils were carefully selected but were also subject to criticism by the LC.

At a 1959 EC session, Sekulić Bunko pointed out that "in the choice of new councils, it will be necessary to consider the composition of the Council carefully," also that "a way for faculty councils to study college problems more must be found and … meetings should be held with communist professors and members of the Council."<sup>50</sup>

The LCC CC's Personnel Commission, which was tasked with analysis and decision-making pertaining to staffing matters in education, science and culture (among other fields), also dealt with staffing issues at the University and was regularly apprised of its problems. At its initiative, personnel commissions were formed in the University and Faculty Councils, which, together with self-management bodies, the LC and the Student Alliance, "dealt with the resolution of staffing problems at the University and thus relieved our LCC CC Personnel Commission of these responsibilities."<sup>51</sup>

How many LC members were at the University? At the end of December 1959 there were a total of 4,452 members, and in December 1961 there were 5,910. In January 1963, there were 5,619, most in the Faculties of Economics (732), Philosophy (632), Medicine (562) and Technology (450). In February 1965, the number of LC members was slightly smaller: 5,467 in 140 basic LC organizations. This means that every fourth student was a member of the LC . Of these, students accounted for 85.3%, professors for 11.5% and others 3.2%.<sup>52</sup>

Year	Number of LC members at the University
1959.	4.452
1961.	5.910
1963.	5.619
1965.	5.467

Table 3: Number of LC members at the University

- <sup>48</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK, KK (1961).
- <sup>49</sup> ADAMČEK 1969: 264.
- <sup>50</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 54.
- <sup>51</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK, KK (1960).
- <sup>52</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1963, 1966).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 53.

But the activities of students and professors were a different story: one may infer from the archival records that there was constant dissatisfaction with the inadequate efforts of communists at the University. The passivity of a high number of students, including LC members, and their failure to participate in the work of the organization were defined as a fundamental problem of the LC organizations at the University. In 1960, a survey was conducted among 3,300 students in order to gauge, among other things, the general political and ideological attitudes of students. It was found that this generation of students reportedly fully embraced the socialist system and supported Yugoslavia's foreign policy, but expressed distrust of the Student Alliance, so that only 33.5% of those surveyed participated in its work with interest, while as many as 53% declared unfavourable opinions about the student leadership, saying that those who should be executive positions were not selected.<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, the observation that the Communists were disorganized, or at the very least not well organized, was made at the July 1961 session of the LCC CC EC. It was noted that although there were LC members in self-management bodies at the University in addition to those among the ranks of students and professors, they lacked any coordination. The LC student and professor associations were very divided and separate, working "on two tracks, which are not always parallel." Also, some in the LC leadership structures were almost students themselves, while the professorial representatives alternated in the "on-call order" and were usually assistant professors. The reason why, according to the documents, were that aside from the apparent disinterest of professors in an significant engagement in the LC's work at the University, neither the University LC nor the faculty committees required party-member professors to significantly participate in specific matters.<sup>54</sup> Dissatisfaction over the ideological engagement of professors was also explained by the fact that the UC attempted to discipline them: LC committees were formed for professorial associations at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine and the Pharmaceutical-Biochemistry Faculty, and at the end of 1964 the LCC CC EC even dissolved the basic LC organization at the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics. Their sin was that they "lost their commitment to the revolution" and supported "disorder and inertia," which "constituted a hindrance to progressive solutions."55

The turnover in the LC members at the University was also largely due to the arrival of new students and graduating seniors, who left the University LC and moved to other LC organizations. LC reports noted, however, the activities and influence of the LC on the political life of students and professors, and the Uni-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK, IDK (1961).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 319.

<sup>55</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1966).

versity as a whole, was not proportional to this number.56

Nor had faculty councils been able to establish themselves as bodies with significant insight into the complex issues confronted by their faculties. Often they did not discuss the most critical problems, or did discuss them but instead placed themselves in a supervisory role. Their work thus did not really interest students, who had merely passive representation in them. Student members of the Student Alliance or the LC did not really participate in decision-making, nor did they succeed in finding their place in these organizations. Important matters were resolved without students, who were often not even notified about it. Decisions were made by the leadership of political organizations and self-management bodies.<sup>57</sup> The status of students would be partially improved by the adoption of the new Constitution and University Charter, which made them a part of the governing structure.

# The League of Communists and open issues at the University

In addition to personnel issues, the Executive Committee and other LC bodies within the CC and at the University discussed various topics that were vital to the University's operations. Some of the most important were: study reform, ideological work with students, self-management at the University and securing the material living standards for study. Though each of these topics would require more elaborate explanations, due to space limitations, I shall only briefly present them.

# Reform of study and self-management at the University

As early as 1959, the EC discussed issues of University reforms following a recommendation made by the Federal Assembly and prompted by the need to shorten study and curricula. Discussions were held in LC organizations, social self-management bodies and the Association of University Professors.<sup>58</sup>

The main features of higher education reform by the fall of 1963 were a steady expansion – rapid and numerous significant expansion of the network of faculties, colleges and academies, along with the decentralization of institutions, significantly increased number of students, a sharp increase in the number of graduates, shortening the average duration of studies, and an attempt to create the new profiles of highly qualified professionals. The multi-level teaching was introduced as well as improvement of the quality and methodology of the teaching process, modernization of the curricula, the introduction of part-time studies as well as more significant community investment in higher education.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> HR-HDA-1598. SP (1963).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 321.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK, IDK (1961).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 318.

The table below shows the average duration of study, from which it is apparent that most students graduated after about seven years of study, which was considered too long. There was a desire to reduce the duration of study because university faculties were supposed to produce the desired experts. There were also financial reasons.

Number of years after which 25% of students graduated		Number of years after which 50% of students graduated			Number of years after which 75% of students graduated			
59/60	60/61	61/62	59/60	60/61	61/62	59/60	60/61	61/62
Y M	Y M	ΥM	ΥM	ΥM	ΥM	ΥM	ΥM	ΥM
5 4	5 2	4 10	6 3	6 2	59	78	7 3	7 1

Table 4: Duration of study 1959-196260

However, the reform also entailed the further development of social self-management. The intention was to ensure that management at universities did not differ from other self-managing labour organizations, in accordance with the Constitution, laws and the Charter. The faculties were therefore supposed to act as independent self-managing labour organizations run by their employees, and at the University students were obliged to participate in in the management of the faculties.<sup>61</sup>

There was considerable discord at LC forums over this process. Some demanded the complete exclusion of students from managing bodies, while others called for granting all rights to students.<sup>62</sup>

Often, the "informative" role of student representatives was insisted upon, and sometimes their right to participate in resolving particular issues was left to the good graces or whims of the dean or individual professors on the Board and the councils. Besides, the class year councils – forums that were supposed to deal the solution of basic student problems based on the year of study, in which students had the most notable influence – had a purely advisory role.<sup>63</sup>

In such a situation, students were not particularly interested in active participation in the University's self-management bodies. They were not particularly active at the University or Faculty Councils, and their position was often emphasized in UC reports. A. Žvan, the secretary of the University Committee, noted that "...an entire series of other tasks related to the University cannot be accomplished unless

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 154.

<sup>61</sup> PUSIĆ 1969: 530–533.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 153–163.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

this problem is addressed. Otherwise, things can be resolved only by administrative means, just by outside pressure, and that is not right."<sup>64</sup> In fact, the status of students remained undefined in the overall mechanism of social self-management.

In addition to the role of students, LC forums also discussed society's relationship to and impact on higher education. It was requested that the University, as an organization of particular social interest, be in harmony with the needs of society and that it should see to the "accomplishment of social tasks." For example, society needed to define the required number, type and structure of workers and to cooperate with the University to this end. The University additionally sought greater influence on its own funding, as targeted budgetary funding substantially narrowed the performance of its governing bodies.<sup>65</sup>

The reform was formulated broadly and ambitiously, but was it sufficiently realistic to be successfully implemented? From the LC perspective, the ruling cadre seemed to be aware of its shortcomings.

At EC sessions, it was noted that with regard to all of these processes, "we at the University have neither the organizational nor human capacity, nor psychological preparation, which is why they are usually passed over and await a solution from the outside. There should not be any solution that would not be comprehensively discussed first at the University, because they are the ones who will implement it in practice. Our task would be to initiate these discussions more intensively, and the fact is that these processes are very slowly developing."<sup>66</sup>

Unfortunately, due to the unavailability of the University's archival records, how reform issues were discussed at the University and Faculty councils cannot be examined in greater detail, but something can still be reconstructed from LC documents. Obviously, there was tension between the LC and the University, and views on its organization and role varied. Constitutional amendments envisaged, among other things, the decentralization of higher education, which inevitably led to the weakening of the University of Zagreb, at which the professors were a problem for the communist authorities as a significant number of them was not interested in cooperation. It is also evident that the University endeavoured to fight for its autonomy without the LC's approval.

Stanko Pekeč, the UC's secretary, criticized the Unversity's organization "for its backwardness and conservatism," asserting that "this situation is still unsustainable because it has become a serious brake on the further progress and development of higher education" – referring to the alignment of the University's activities with the new Constitution and the relationship between the University and the facul-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 153–163.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

ties. "The new Constitution focused on the faculty, not the University. A faculty is a labour organization, not a University, which should exist solely for the sake of being needed by all, or part of a faculty, to facilitate the accomplishment of certain common tasks. However, all practices thus far, and even the materials of the University Committee, are moving from the University toward the faculties and thus pull back. It is an effort to preserve the tradition of the old 'Croatian' University, even though our practice and our needs have long since surpassed it. All our attempts to organize it on a modern basis have failed due to resistance at the University itself. A few years ago, the creation of new faculties and academies was initiated, among other things, in order to influence the changing physiognomy of the old University. That initiative provoked a great deal of resistance at the University, and after a while, some of these faculties imposed their own ideas and programs. Upon their admission to the University, re-appointment of all professors was required according to some 'university criteria'. It is also absurd that the University of Zagreb has all of the faculties in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. This is precisely why, and they impose their notions and views about study and its organization, so that they differ little from the old faculties, or not at all."67

Vladimir Bakarić, the chairman of the LCC Central Committee, one of the most powerful communists in Croatia and, according to many, the most influential Croatian politician, agreed with Pekeč's criticism of the University's work and its striving for greater autonomy, stating that "the term 'Croatian University' had its meaning when the University was created and when it fought for some kind of independence.<sup>68</sup> However, today, despite all of our pressure, it has more independence than it ever had. What is being served today by that name is pure bureaucracy and an interest group. It is a bureaucratic throwback ideology that fights against us and all of those forces that strive for progress... We have no reason to prefer this system that was created in the old days, precisely so that the upper classes could educate their children while this was virtually impossible for others. The University of Zagreb has always mounted resistance to our efforts, and I mean practical resistance. Resistance is proffered with the assertion that 'we are defending the University.' From whom? From these barbarians. Furthermore, the second assertion is that we are at the European level. However, it is not even at that level. It also has feudal forms compared to European universities. Management at the University is bound to have excellent views, and if they put these items on the agenda, I doubt that the leadership could remain so."69

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> MUJADŽEVIĆ (2011), "BAKARIĆ" (Hrvatska enciklopedija).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 153–163.

It is evident that at the University there was a faction that wanted to maintain the University's status vis-à-vis the faculties in its composition and autonomy. However, there was also a national determinant: the 'Croatian University' was mentioned. The ruling LC did not want to allow such aspirations and was ready to replace the leadership of the University if 'disobedience' continued. These quotes can be read as indications of a direction that would clearly emerge a few years later and culminate in student demonstrations and demands for change from 1968 onward, both at the University and in the social system as a whole.<sup>70</sup>

Due to the situation at the University, with which the ruling LC was dissatisfied, and following the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of the LCY, an extraordinary conference of the UC was held in February 1965 to discuss the reform and its unsatisfactory results. It sought to align the University's operations with the Constitution, which prescribed social management and an increased role for socio-political organizations (Professors Association, Student Alliance). An audit of the faculty network was also requested, and at the LC's behest discussions were initiated in the managing bodies of higher educational institutions, as well as an analysis of curricula.<sup>71</sup> It would appear that the University's development with regard to the planned reform did not proceed exactly as envisioned by the LC forums, so extraordinary measures were taken.

#### Ideological work at the University

In a socialist society, ideological work was essential, especially for young people. The Constitution of the SRC also stipulated that "The primary aim of education is to develop socialist social consciousness, to train for work and to develop a creative attitude toward work, to enable active participation in social life, and especially in social self-management...."<sup>72</sup>

The entire curricula at the University and their implementation by professors also had to be aligned with the given ideological line. Therefore, ideological action was discussed at several levels, and interaction was coordinated. However, the situation at the University, according to the LC leadership, was not satisfactory: knowledge of the essential content of Marxism on the part of LC members was deemed deficient.

Furthermore, according to the report on the problems of the University, analysed by the EC: "the status of students at the faculties and even in institutions such as dormitories and the Student Centre is not such as to foster and encourage activity and responsibility in them, as well as an awareness of their social role – the most

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> KLASIĆ 2006, RADELIĆ 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1964, 1966).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Ustav SRH (1963).

important problems we face and on which they draw upon, or from which various ideological streams arise, are at times alien to the spirit of our society and time."<sup>73</sup>

In order to enhance the ideological education of students, the University Committee, based on the Program drafted by the LCY CC Ideological Commission, elaborated a plan for the ideological and political work of the LC organizations at the University.<sup>74</sup> It was repeatedly emphasized that communists must take the initiative for faster and better resolution of certain unresolved issues at the University.<sup>75</sup> The line taken at EC sessions was: "Communists need to be open to conceptual debates, to be more energetic – not to defend, but to impose and advocate for our attitudes... The prerequisite for this is that the communists know more and that they are therefore capable of such a role." It was also concluded that "it is necessary to organize young, gifted communists, dispersed throughout the faculties, to have them research specific problems and phenomena in our practice and culture, so that they become familiar with them, to develop their attitudes and, in the end, to enable them to come forward with greater knowledge."<sup>76</sup>

The ideological work involved both professors and students. The study of the LCY Program for professors and other teaching staff was mandatory, and it was carried out through the section of the University professor association or their trade unions.<sup>77</sup> However, one of the central issues was political work with students.

Thus, from July 1957 until October 1962, the course "Social Development and Socialist Construction" was administered and conducted by a separate university department. The course was introduced at all faculties, except for the economics and law faculties, "for the sake of fundamental knowledge, but also the creation of socialist experts."<sup>78</sup>

Soon, the LCY CC EC decided to rename the course "Fundamentals of Social Sciences." It set up a special committee to draft its syllabus, which was also discussed by the LCY CC Commission on Ideological Work.<sup>79</sup> The teaching of this subject was monitored by the LCC CC Personnel and Ideological Commission. Because of the "need to create staff not only at the faculty but also practitioners in organizations, institutions and social services," they also worked on the establishment of the Faculty of Political and Sociological Sciences.<sup>80</sup> In addition to the

- <sup>75</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK. IDK (1959).
- <sup>76</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 321.
- <sup>77</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1959).
- <sup>78</sup> ADAMČEK (1969); HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK. KK (1961).
- <sup>79</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK. IDK (1960 a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1959).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK. KK (1961). The Faculty was established in 1962 as the Faculty of Political Sciences, and today it is Faculty of Political Science of Zagreb University.

above items, ideological education was carried out through a program conducted by the Student Alliance and the LC as well. Programs for these activities were drawn up by the University and faculty leadership and in the Student Alliance and the LC organizations themselves. Attendance at their "theoretical" meetings was for LC members and recommended for Student Alliance members. They studied the theory and practice of socialism, but student interest was low and few attended.<sup>81</sup> Much more successful were the discussions organized with guests from public and political life. A panel organized by the Student Centre, called "5 minutes after 8," was rather well known and always well attended.<sup>82</sup>

Further, the University Committee initiated analysis of problems pertaining to classes, curricula, textbooks, lecture notes, study regimes and graduate study at all faculties. These issues were jointly analysed by the LC professor organization, the LC student organization and the communists in the faculty councils, but were discussed in the LCC CC's Ideological Commission as well.<sup>83</sup>

Ideological action aimed at students also included the commemoration of various anniversaries and organization of events related to revolutionary traditions and predetermined narratives. These included the organization of partisan marches: in 1961, for example, marches were organized by students of the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering and Naval Architecture at Mt. Kozara and by the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy on the island of Vis, attended by over 400 students.<sup>84</sup>

Also, students participated in celebrations on May Day and December 22, Armed Forces Day, when the Student Alliance organized large parades sponsored by the LC organizations at the University. In 1961, celebrations of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Revolution called "1941 Torches" were organized. Participation in youth work campaigns were also still organized: in 1959 and 1960, approximately 3,000 students from the University of Zagreb worked at construction sites for the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway, of whom over 50% were LC members.<sup>85</sup>

The activities of student cultural-artistic associations were also a component of ideological work: students were encouraged to participate in theatre groups, numerous exhibitions were organized at the Student Centre, local clubs were active, and the Student Alliance's international activities were strong, as students travelled abroad and attended various festivals, conferences and seminars.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK. IDK (1961).

<sup>82</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1966).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> HR-HDA-1220. SKH. CK. IDK (1960 b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1961).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM, XV konferencija, Izvještaj o radu SVEKOM-a između XIV i XV konferencije, 29. 12. 1961.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Ibid.

New periodicals were also launched: *Razlog, Časopis mladih za književnost, umjetnost i kulturu* (Reason, the Journal of Youth for Literature, Arts and Culture), *Kritika* (Critique) and *Danas* (Today) at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and also *Bilten* (Bulletin) at the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy. *Studentski list* (Student News), a newsletter of the Student Alliance, played an important role as a means of ideological influence thanks to "generous assistance" to the LCC organization at the University.<sup>87</sup> All of the periodicals that were published within the University, such as *Praxis, Umjetnost riječi (The Art of Words)*, or *Historijski zbornik* (Historical Papers), were under surveillance and communists from the University sat on their editorial boards.<sup>88</sup>

As far as ideological work at the University was concerned, the fundamental problems for the LC leadership in this period were "misunderstandings of the basic directions of our social movement." They were interpreted as "bureaucratic-administrative" phenomena, but also "liberalist tendencies and nationalistic sentiments up to the emergence of chauvinism, which appeared here and there on the outskirts of the student body and took the form of attempts at a subversive activity."<sup>89</sup> At both the University and society as a whole, there was a division between proponents of centralization and the old system and those who wanted a more liberal system. As I stated earlier, it was the precursor to the events that soon followed.

#### Securing the Material Living Standards for Study

In the period since the end of World War II, the number of faculties, and thus the number of students, steadily increased. While the University in the 1954/55 academic year consisted of nine faculties and one university institution, in the 1967/68academic year the University consisted of 31 institutions of higher education; 26 faculties and 5 academies, 13 university institutes and 3 university institutions.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, it was necessary to secure the material living standards for their study, and the problems pertaining to student room and board were particularly emphasized. The unprecedented demonstrations in Zagreb in May 1959 were a cause for alarm.

Students protested over their poor diet: they took to the streets carrying signs, some with political messages ("Communists are the worst class"), but mostly expressing dissatisfaction with their social status ("We're hungry"). Following police intervention, the students were not allowed to enter the downtown zone,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1966).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Ibid. More information on the subject can be found in: HR-HDA-1561. SDS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1961).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> ADAMČEK 1969: 245-251, DELIĆ et al 80-81, GOLDSTEIN i HUTINEC 2013: 206-209. See also Table 1.

several were arrested, and the situation was discussed at a session of the Executive Committee. It was concluded that the University Committee and faculty council members were also accountable for the demonstrations and dissatisfaction with the work of LC members at the University was reiterated. At Bakarić's behest, it was also decided not to employ repressive measures against students but rather to focus on political work and improvement of living conditions.<sup>91</sup>

At that time, student organizations, the Student Alliance in particular, but also the LC, were concerned primarily with the material conditions of student living: standard facilities and the funds for study.<sup>92</sup> For many years, the Student Alliance had been particularly active in advocating for the resolution of material concerns, which was therefore often colloquially referred to as a "unionist organization."

According to the data from the Republic Secretariat of Education, Culture and Physical Education for 1965, social assistance in the form of scholarships, paid study leave, loans, housing and board subsidies, child allowance and direct food assistance, over and above what students themselves earned on a temporary basis, covered only 30% of the minimum cost of living for full-time students at higher education institutions in the SRC.<sup>93</sup> It follows that the financial means of the family, that is, social status, was crucial to a student's ability to study.

Securing enough beds and student cafeterias was crucial, because a considerable portion of students came from other parts of Croatia and some from other republics as well. Therefore, new student dormitories and cafeterias were built, the Student Centre was constructed and expanded, and a polyclinic was also established.94 The capacity of student restaurants was increased: in 1964, 8,000 users could be accommodated. Within the Student Centre, classrooms, lecture and conference halls, theatres, an exhibition pavilion and bookstores and other service points were built to meet student needs. In 1963, 277 million Yugoslav dinars were invested in student living standards, of which 135 million went to student nutrition, and in 1963, 1.393 billion dinars were disbursed to students in Zagreb in the form of scholarships, loans and child allowances, while average student income increased.95 All of these issues were discussed and decided upon by both the LCC Central Committee's Executive Committee and the University Committee. The number of student dormitories also increased, and the quality of the cafeteria food improved. A new student dormitory with over 1,000 beds, called 'Nina Maraković', was constructed, and a new student settlement on the Sava

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 26–32, BILANDŽIĆ 1999: 26–32, 443–444, ŠUTE 2019: 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> JUKIĆ 2018: 320.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1966).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1963), ĆORIĆ 2007: 16–64, DELIĆ et al 1979: 86–87, ADAMČEK 1969: 279.–286.

<sup>95</sup> ŠARIĆ 2019: 153–163.

River was under construction, which was supposed to have a capacity of roughly 3,000 beds in its seven pavilions. This capacity should have made it possible to fully address the student housing problem.<sup>96</sup> However, the University Committee report of April 1966 still mentions a lack of accommodations because the student settlement at the Sava had not yet been completed. At that time, there were seven student dormitories with 5,383 beds as part of the Student Centre, which still did not meet the needs of student accommodations by the end of the observed period.<sup>97</sup>

#### Concluding remarks

Although the laws and the Constitution provided some autonomy to the University and the individual faculties and jurisdiction over and freedom in matters of instruction and research, in communist Yugoslavia the University was still under the control of the LC. At the republic level in Croatia, the LCC played a primary role in shaping the guidelines for the development of society, regardless of the formal existence of state governmental institutions and the shift from a centralized state system through the new direction of self-management socialism. Mass organizations, state authorities and institutions, as well as certain associations and organizations, continued to implement the LC guidelines, although self-management was introduced at all levels of society.

The University was governed by the University administration and social selfmanagement authorities, but the members of the League of Communists were, from the highest (the LCC CC Executive Committee) to the lowest (the basic University organization) levels, involved in the work and activities of the University. The LC not only acted through its organizations, for the ramifications of the system were far greater. That the functions and competencies of the LC and University bodies were fully intertwined is evident, and it should have ensured the implementation of LC decisions made at the sessions of its bodies. Consequently, LC organizations at the University, as well as the network of communists in University bodies and organizations, meant that University was unable to work independently.

However, some students and most professors were reluctant to cooperate with the LC and implement stipulated directives. Although the archives of University bodies are lacking, we can, based on LC documents, interpret a certain dissatisfaction over the activity of LC members in the faculties, especially professors, of whom only about 11% were in the LC. We may assume that among them there were aspirations for greater University autonomy, not only in instruction, programs and research, but also in the selection of professors, the organization of work, and a diminishment of the (quite) significant ideological influence on the University's work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Ibid, ŠUTE 2019: 81.

<sup>97</sup> HR-HDA-2068. SVEKOM (1966).

The LC leadership was also aware of its shortcomings and inability to carry out its ideas, especially with regard to study reforms and the enhancement of social self-management at the University, without sufficient support from students and professors. They faced resistance to which they did not have an adequate response.

However, the LC, as a dominant force in society, also encouraged a number of improvements regarding the development of the University and especially student standards. The faculty network was expanded; new premises were constructed, as well as student dormitories, cafeterias and other facilities for students within the Student Centre. All of the above was not enough to keep the University calm, as events in the late 1960s and early 1970s would clearly demonstrate.

# List of abbreviations:

CC - Central Committee

CP – Communist Party

D-dok – D-dokumentacija

EC - Executive Committee

GKZ - Gradski komitet SKH Zagreb

HDA – Hrvatski državni Arhiv

HR – Hrvatska

IDK – Ideološka komisija

IK CK SKH - Izvršni komitet Centralnog komiteta Saveza komunista Hrvatske

KK – Kadrovska komisija

LC – League of Communists

LCC - League of Communists of Croatia

LCY - League of Communists of Yugoslavia

NN – Narodne novine

OPS - Organizaciono-politički sekretarijat

PRC - People's Republic of Croatia

SDS – Služba državne sigurnosti

SFRY - Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

SL - Službeni list

SP - Savjet za prosvjetu

SRC – Socialist Republic of Croatia

SVEKOM – Sveučilišni komitet SKH

UC – University Committee

Udba – Uprava državne bezbjednosti

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# Sveučilište u Zagrebu i Savez komunista Hrvatske: djela i utjecaji (1959-1965)

Rad istražuje odnose Sveučilišta u Zagrebu i Saveza komunista Hrvatske (SKH) prikazujući u kojoj je mjeri Sveučilište u uvjetima samoupravnog socijalizma i s obzirom na dominantnu ulogu SKH, imalo svoju autonomiju te koji su bili modusi utjecaja SKH na na njegov rad i organizaciju. Vremenski okvir istraživanja je kratak – razdoblje između Četvrtog i Petog kongresa SKH (1959-1965) koje je obrađeno većinski temeljem do sada neistraženih arhivskih dokumenata te relevantne literature. Rad ne obrađuje sve teme koje su u promatranom razdoblju na Sveučilištu bile aktualne jer u zadanom opsegu to nije moguće. Pojedina su pitanja kontekstualizirana kroz odnos SK i Sveučilišta, ne ulazeći u brojne prijepore i detaljne analize vezane za mnogostruku ulogu Sveučilišta.

Iako su zakoni te Ustav predviđali određenu autonomiju Sveučilišta i fakulteta te njihovu nadležnost i slobodu u pitanjima izvođenja nastave i znanstvenog rada u komunističkoj Jugoslaviji Sveučilište je ipak bilo pod nadzorom SK. SKH je u Republici imao primarnu ulogu u oblikovanju smjernica razvoja društva, bez obzira na formalno postojanje institucija državne vlasti te na odmak od centraliziranog državnog sustava kroz novi smjer samoupravnog socijalizma. Masovne organizacije, tijela državne vlasti i ustanove pa i pojedine udruge i društva i dalje su provodile partijske smjernice, iako je samoupravljanje uvedeno na svim razinama društva.

Na Sveučilištu su djelovala Sveučilišna tijela vlasti te ona društvenog upravljanja, no članovi Saveza komunista bili su od najviše do najniže razine uključeni u rad i aktivnosti Sveučilišta. SK nije djelovao samo kroz svoje organizacije, već je razgranatost sustava bila mnogo veća. Potpuna isprepletenost funkcija i nadležnosti partijskih i Sveučilišnih tijela evidentna je, a trebala je osiguravati provođenje odluka SK donesenih na sjednicama njihovih tijela. Slijedom toga, partijske organizacije na Sveučilištu, ali i mreža komunista u Sveučilišnim tijelima i organizacijama uzrokovale su nemogućnost samostalnog i neovisnog rada Sveučilišta. No, dio studenata i većina profesora nevoljko je surađivala s SK. Možemo pretpostaviti da su među njima postojale težnje za većom autonomijom Sveučilišta, ne samo u izvođenju nastave, programima i znanstvenom radu već i u odabiru profesora, organizaciji rada te u odmaku od (pre)velikog ideološkog utjecaja na rad Sveučilišta. Vodstvo SK je toga bilo svjesno te su se suočavali s otporom na koji nisu imali adekvatan odgovor.

No SK je kao dominantna snaga u društvu potaknuo i brojna poboljšanja vezano za razvoj Sveučilišta i studentski standard. Mreža fakulteta se širila, građeni su novi prostori, a za studente studentski domovi, menze i ostali popratni sadržaji u okviru Studentskog centra. No, sve navedeno nije bilo dovoljno da Sveučilište ostane mirno. Događaji s kraja 1960-ih i početka 1970-ih to su jasno pokazali.

- *Ključne riječi:* socijalizam, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Savez komunista Hrvatske, 1960-e, student, socijalistička samouprava
- *Keywords:* Socialism, University of Zagreb, Croatia, League of Communists of Croatia, 1960s, students, socialist self-management

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