



THE ECHOES OF THE CROATIAN SPRING IN SLAVONIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF *THE VOICE OF SLAVONIA*

Antonio Stuhli
Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo
Department of History
antonio.stuhli@gmail.com
Professional paper
Submitted: October 6th, 2022
Accepted: December 9th, 2022

This paper provides an overview of the main events of the Croatian spring with an emphasis on Osijek and Slavonia, i.e., how the events from Zagreb influenced social conditions in Slavonia from the perspective of The Voice of Slavonia, as the only daily newspaper published in eastern Croatia in that period. The introductory chapter briefly describes the history of the publication of The Voice of Slavonia and its importance in presenting the event. Then, an attempt is made to determine the period of activity of the Croatian Spring and to show the events in Slavonia at that time. In the continuation of the paper, the events that led to the collapse of the movement and the echoes of those events in the organizations of the League of Communists in Osijek and Slavonia are presented.

Keywords: *Slavonia, Croatian Spring, Osijek, Yugoslavia, Matica hrvatska, students*

Introduction

Glas Slavonije (The voice of Slavonia) is a printed form of media, created during the Second World War in Osijek. It was first printed on the 24th of April in 1943., and it was the pinnacle of the antifascist press in eastern Croatia. After Osijek was liberated, on the 14th of April in 1945., The Voice became a weekly publication, and sometime after that, a daily one. It was also the only newspaper published in Slavonia during the reign of Josip Broz Tito.¹ Some authors believe that The Voice of Slavonia has its roots in the, since defunct, *Hrvatski list (Croatian paper or Croatian news)*,² which also came out in Osijek, between

-
- 1 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, Tehnička knjiga, 2005, 347-348, 439.
 - 2 Hrvatski list began publication in Osijek on January 1st, 1920., supporting the Croatian community, and from 1925 it strongly advocated the politics of Stjepan Radić, which is why it was briefly banned in that same year. Its work continued during the NDH (The Independent State of Croatia), but after 1945 and the change of government, it was shut down. B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 129.



1920. and 1945.³ The headlines that dominated the newspapers of the Slavonian area back then concerned themselves with agriculture, rural areas, the work of rural agricultural cooperatives, and the political actions of the People's Front.⁴ Aside from that, you could also find content related to entertainment, as well as reports and feuilletons, while in some later editions you could find special sections dedicated to target groups, such as children or housewives.⁵

Generally speaking, the main features of printed media are informativeness, propaganda, the popularization of certain types of content, the agitation of certain layers of society, entertainment, as well as the existence of some pedagogical features. The task of newspapers, especially those published daily, is to inform the broader layers of society about everyday events from both culture and politics, all the way up to the world of entertainment and leisure.⁶ The way in which news is conveyed in newspapers plays an important role in society and makes up the oeuvre of some newspaper publications. Therefore, the most well-known means of conveying the news are: Reporting, chronicles, commentary on an event, interviews, surveys, essays, etc.⁷ The political segment of the Voice of Slavonia was the one that proved instrumental in the study of events within the Croatian Spring, a reform movement, in the area around Osijek and in eastern Croatia.

The phenomenon of the Croatian Spring

The Croatian Spring is the name used to mark the period in the early 70s of the previous century during which the leadership of the Union of Communists of Croatia (SKH) resisted Yugoslav unitarism. In addition, the aim of the movement was to encourage reforms in the economy, military, culture, and politics. As for the precise dating of that movement, currently, there is no clear consensus among Croatian historiographers.⁸ Sometimes the Constitution from 1963 is considered the exact starting

3 M. GLUŠAC, *Osječke novine nekada i sada*, u: *Anali zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku*, sv. 29, 2013, 152.

4 K. KRUŠELJ, I. MIROŠNIČENKO, *Jezik osječkih novina: Branislav i Glas Slavonije*, u: *Hrvatistika: studentski jezikoslovni časopis*, 7(7), 2014, rvat89.

5 M. GLUŠAC, *Osječke novine nekada i sada*, 153.

6 K. KRUŠELJ, I. MIROŠNIČENKO, *Jezik osječkih novina: Branislav i Glas Slavonije*, 88.

7 J. SILIĆ, *Funkcionalni stilovi hrvatskoga jezika*. Zagreb: Disput, 2006, 77.

8 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, u: *Diacovensia*, 28(4), 2020, 522.



point of the movement, and sometimes it is *The Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language* from 1967. The third direction of the study of the Croatian Spring dictates that it began in 1969. or 1970. under the mantle of the 10th session of the Central Committee (CK) of the SKH. When it comes to the framework of the collapse of the Croatian Spring, the historiography is somewhat more consistent, so the period between the end of 1971. and the middle of 1972. is considered as the final point in dealing with those who participated in the movement.⁹

However, until the reorganization of the powerful repressive apparatus, the UDBA (Uprava državne bezbjednosti - State Security Administration), freedom of speech was particularly limited. Thus, the fall of the leader of the UDBA, Aleksandar Ranković, at the Brijuni Plenum in 1966., led to a reduction in the restraints of the repressive apparatus itself. Therefore, the year 1966. can be taken as the initial impulse for the Croatian Spring and the profiling of reform forces within the SKH, which was only one of the carriers of political requirements as part of the Croatian spring.¹⁰

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Croatian party leadership consisted of two political factions. The first faction advocated for the reforms of the entire Yugoslav society, while the second held a more conservative worldview, with emphasized social dogmas.¹¹ The first group of members of the SKH included Miko Tripalo, a member of the Executive Bureau of the SKJ Presidency, Savka Dabčević-Kučar, the president of the SKH, Pero Pirker who was the secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the SKH, Ivica Vrkić, the president of the Youth Association, Dragutin Haramija, the president of the Executive Council of Croatia, Marko Koprtla, a member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the SKH, and others. The dogmatic group included Jure Bilić, Milka Planinc, Josip Vrhovec, Dušan Dragosavac, and others. Their mutual relationship of intolerance and conflict reached its apex in 1971. when Dabčević-Kučar presented proposals that deviated from the official policies of Belgrade, especially after the events in Karadžorđevo and the condemnation of the SKH leadership.¹²

9 P. KRISTE, Nekoliko teza o hrvatskom proljeću, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 44.

10 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007, 334.

11 I. ŠUŠAK, Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma, u: *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava: časopis za teoriju i praksu javne uprave*, 8(3), 2008, 777.

12 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006, 431-432.



During the 1960s, students became interested in improving their own status, but also in improving the status of Yugoslav society as a whole. The initial step in this struggle was the establishment of the Praxis magazine in 1964., while only four years later the students held a protest.¹³ In the fall of 1970., the student movement gained players who supported the reform movement of the SKH and changes within the country. One of the reform advocates was Ivan Zvonimir Čičak, who in December of 1970. became the student vice-rector, while Dražen Budiša became the president of the Zagreb Students' Union with Goran Dodig as his vice-president sometime before Čičak became the vice-rector.¹⁴ The election of Ivan Zvonimir Čičak was certainly not within the interests of the SKJ, since Čičak's name was often mentioned within the context of "Croatian nationalism".¹⁵ As for Slavonia, it should be noted that there was no university in Osijek at that time and that the student movement was mainly organized by the branch of Matica Hrvatska (The Croatian Matrix or Matrix Croatica) in Osijek. Thus, the names of Ivica Vrkić, Ivan Skora, Martin Markota, Jozo Totić, and others who supported and advocated reforms in Croatia are the ones that come to mind.¹⁶

The aforementioned Matica Hrvatska had a great influence on igniting the ideas of the Croatian spring within Yugoslav society. Along with the leadership of SKH and the students, it was one of the pillars of the Croatian Spring. Initially, it was a cultural and artistic institution, but during the Croatian Spring, it increasingly gained political significance and gravitas within Croatian society.¹⁷ This is especially evident after the relaxation of the oppressive measures by the UDBA and the fall of Aleksandar Ranković. At the beginning of the 1970s, new members of Matica came into prominence, and they became more actively involved in political discussions through the magazine *Hrvatski tjednik* (The Croatian Weekly). This was especially evident with the arrival of Vlado Gotovac, as the editor-in-chief of the magazine. In Osijek, after the election of Kamil Firinger as branch president, Matica Hrvatska tried to expand its influence as part of The Spring ideas. They esta-

13 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 370, 372.

14 I. ŠUŠAK, *Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma*, 774.

15 K. MILAT, *Hrvatsko proljeće u Dalmaciji*, diplomski rad. Split: Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet, 30.

16 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 543, 544.

17 I. ŠUŠAK, *Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma*, 774-775.



blished new branches throughout Slavonia, and in 1971. they performed the song “Lijepa naša domovino” at the Croatian National Theater in Osijek. The performance of that song shows the increasingly active organizing of celebrations that are important to Croatian history, under the direction of The Matica.¹⁸

As for *The Voice of Slavonia*, during the 1960s and 1970s, it was a newspaper that technically lagged behind the leading newspapers in Croatia at the time. The Belgrade newspapers *Večernje Novosti* (The Evening News) and *Politika* (Politics) still held first place in Slavonia and Baranja. Also, its circulation, which ranged from 11,800 copies (1967) to 7,800 copies (1971), speaks volumes of the role of *The Voice*. It should be emphasized that *The Voice of Slavonia* was under the surveillance of the authorities during the Croatian Spring, therefore a critical review of decisions and events is missing.¹⁹

The coverage of the events that preceded the Croatian Spring in *The Voice of Slavonia*

An important event that preceded the Croatian Spring was, of course, the publication of the aforementioned *Declaration* in March of 1967. It was intended to refute the conclusions of the Novi Sad agreement from December 1954., in which, among other things, it was stated that Serbo-Croatian is a single language that has two variants and the same number of pronunciations. With this agreement, an effort was made to bring the Serbian and Croatian languages closer together in order to better integrate the South Slavic peoples within the framework of socialist Yugoslavia.²⁰

However, in 1967., motivated by the dissatisfaction with the status of the Croatian language and literature, Croatian linguists and intellectuals reacted and published the *Declaration*, which was signed by a considerable number of cultural and scientific institutions of that era. The conclusion of the signed document referred to language inequality present in public administration, mass communication, and in government bodies. Furthermore, the imposition of the Serbian variant of the language was also one of the problems that the Croatian language faced, and this precisely was what the signatories of the *Declaration*

18 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 539-541.

19 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 596.

20 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1998, 354.



wanted to point out.²¹ The signatories also referred to the inalienable right of all people to use their own language in writing, speech, and in schools during teaching. The importance of education rests on the fact that it should be used to raise the awareness of the Croatian people about their own culture, language, and history.²²

Also, the signatories demanded equality for four main languages: Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. The echoes of the Declaration can be seen in the fact that, at the plenary session in April 1967, some members of the Central Committee of SKH, led by Miloš Žanko²³, condemned Matica Hrvatska, The Matica of emigrants, the Union of Writers and other co-signatories of the Declaration as places where Croatian nationalism was on the rise again.²⁴ The political elite of the former Socialist Republic of Croatia, led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar, tried to focus on solving the issue of unitarism, leaving the issues of language and linguistic unification to linguists.²⁵ *The Voice of Slavonia* also wrote about the *Declaration*, however, a restrained attitude is visible in the reporting on the conclusions of the *Declaration*. This type of reporting can be attributed to the party's control over the print media.²⁶

Another important event that preceded the Croatian Spring was the 10th session of the CK SKH. Many authors believe that this particular session is the formal beginning of the Croatian Spring because it was then that clear positions of the (so-called reformist) leadership of the SKH were presented, regarding the problems that concerned Croatia as part of Yugoslavia.²⁷ *The voice of Slavonia* regularly reported on the events of the tenth session of the CK SKH. It detailed the presenta-

21 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 404-405.

22 J. IRVINE, The Croatian Spring and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, u: L. J. COHEN, J. DRAGOVIC-SOSO (ur.), *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007, 156-157.

23 Miloš Žanko was the president of the Federal Assembly during that period. He believed that Croatian nationalism was growing more and more, and he held the SKH leadership led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar responsible. I. GOLDSTEIN, *Povijest 21: Hrvatska povijest*. Zagreb: Europapress holding, 2008, 465.

24 K. MIČANOVIĆ, Jezična politika s kraja 60-ih i s početka 70-ih: u procijepu autonomije između i centralizma, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 275-277.

25 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 558.

26 D. BEREČIĆ, *Uloga medija tijekom hrvatskog proljeća*, diplomski rad, Osijek: Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera, Filozofski fakultet, 2015, 48.

27 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 390 The fact that the largest number of people emigrated in 1970., almost 70,000, speaks volumes of the problems within the former Socialist Republic of Croatia.



tions of important participants of the session, such as Miloš Žanko, Katica Pintar, Milutin Baltić, Katica Kušec, etc.²⁸ The speech made by Savka Dabčević-Kučar, the president of the CK SKH, titled “It is important that we be even more mobile, organized and active on the reform course”²⁹, was especially prominent. In that speech, she sent a clear message that talked about the imposition of nationalism on the CK SKH in order to divert the focus from important problems in society.³⁰

In addition, the speeches of the Slavonian representatives at the session are also noteworthy. For example, Ivan Šipka, a representative from Osijek, states that Žanko’s attacks on the SKH leadership are unacceptable and potentially dangerous and that such statements play a major role in an ethnically mixed environment. Šipka states that such actions also had an impact in the east of Croatia in the form of deterioration of relations at the ground level.³¹ Rade Pavlović from Županja and Smilja Medovka from Đakovo also voiced their full support for the Croatian leadership led by Dabčević-Kučar, noting that the area of Slavonia has a mixed national composition and that any negative action, such as that of Miloš Žanko, can lead to tensions. The representatives from Valpovo and Beli Manastir also had a similar opinion. The latter, Franjo Šumiga, talked about the ethnic composition of Beli Manastir. In Beli Manastir, the ethnic composition was: 30 percent Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, and other nationalities, and there were no significant nationalist outbursts among the people.³² The Municipal Committee of Slavenska Požega headed by Boro Zim also supported the positions of the SKH leadership.³³ The Voice conveyed how almost all organizations of the League of Communists expressed support for the resolutions of the session and stated that the organizations unreservedly support the leadership led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar.

The resolutions of the session were aimed at condemning the attribution of nationalist tendencies to the leadership of the SKH Central Committee and at condemning the actions of Miloš Žanko. The session introduced the newspaper into the Croatian public space, in such a way that it was transmitted via television, which made it possible for the

28 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 17.1.1970., 1-2.

29 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 17.1.1970., 2-3.

30 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 17.1.1970., 2-3.

31 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 20.1.1970., 3.

32 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 20.1.1970., 3.

33 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 3.2.1970., 2.



wider public to become familiar with the agreements and discussions within the session. Also, this 10th session of the CK SKH marked the beginning of a more serious form of combat against actual problems in society.³⁴ Slavonija and Baranja gave their support to the conclusions of the 10th session³⁵, and it was emphasized that the “Conference of the Union of Communists of the Municipality of Osijek will act responsibly to implement the decisions of the Tenth Session of the CK SKH” and that everything will be done with the aim of achieving stronger cohesion within the ranks of the Communist Union.³⁶ Soon after the resolutions of the 10th session were made, Slavonian organizations came together and, like the one in Osijek, aimed towards the consolidation and implementation of the conclusions.³⁷

For example, in the Valpovo branch of the Union of Communists, Darko Uranjek, Ivan Madarić, and Nebojša Vujaklija were dissatisfied with the “ideological-political level of one part of the membership”,³⁸ so in order to strengthen the cohesion of all members, a sort of ideological education of the members was organized, with the emphasis being that there are no rebellions and other forms of dissatisfaction in Yugoslav society.³⁹ Jure Bilić, a member of the Executive Committee of the SKH Central Committee in Belišće, emphasized the importance of strengthening self-governance and strengthening the Yugoslav economy, because by strengthening these segments of society, unitarism and nationalism, which were judged to be disastrous for the entire Yugoslav society, would be reduced. Ljuban Ljubišić was the president of the Municipal Conference of the Union of Communists from Vukovar, and he emphasized that he did not encounter national intolerance in that area and gave an example of a multinational structure in the Rubber and Footwear Plant in Borovo, where peace reigns and there are no conflicts.⁴⁰

Also, in addition to the fact that the Slavonian cities and municipalities supported the resolutions of the 10th session of the SKH Central Committee, Josip Broz Tito himself publicly supported the resolutions at the *Ambassador* Hotel in Opatija and, moreover, praised Savka Dab-

34 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 437-438.

35 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 20.1.1970., 1-3.

36 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 24.1.1970., 1.

37 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 27.1.1970., 1.

38 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 29.1.1970., 1.

39 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 29.1.1970., 1.

40 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 30.1.1970., 2.



čević-Kučar's speech.⁴¹ However, on January 31st, 1970., *The Voice of Slavonia* published a report on the SKH Intermunicipal Conference in Osijek, titled "For more concrete programming of ideological and political activity", which indicated the ideological ambivalence of a portion of the SKH members. Namely, the article pointed out that Pero Vujnić, as chairman, emphasized the importance of ideological education and the initiation of certain activities, in the direction of the existing ideological-political activities, within the organizations of the Alliance of Communists in Slavonia.⁴² On the other hand, as part of the study of the Croatian Spring in Slavonia, specifically in Osijek, authors Tomas and Bošnjak point out that the reform movements had no influence up until the conclusion of the 10th session of the CK SKH.⁴³ Therefore, based on the article from *The Voice*, it can be assumed that, at the end of January 1970., the spring ideas had already resonated in Slavonian society and the Slavonian branches of the League of Communists.

The reporting of *The Voice of Slavonia* on the events preceding the collapse of the Croatian Spring

At the third plenum of the Central Committee of the SKJ in May of 1969., the representatives of Croatia and Slovenia advocated for greater autonomy, while the representatives of Serbia believed that the solution to the tensions in Yugoslavia was the democratization of the entire society.⁴⁴ Constitutional changes aimed at decentralization and strengthening the republics and provinces in terms of decision-making gave a strong boost to the Croatian spring. Such signs of change were wholeheartedly supported by the Croatian political leadership, members of *Matica hrvatska*, and the students. Therefore, these changes would allow the republics to decide on their own development, economy, finances, and other issues for the people of each republic, while at the federal level, the republics would jointly decide on important issues.⁴⁵

As for Serbia, the Central Committee of the SKS (The Union of Communists in Serbia) supported such changes, but dissatisfaction with

41 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 438.

42 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 31.1.1970., 1.

43 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 546.

44 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 436.

45 P. KRISTE, *Nekoliko teza o hrvatskom proljeću*, 49-50.



these changes still spread among the public, especially regarding the status of the autonomous provinces, however, this dissatisfaction would only come to light and reach its full momentum at the end of the 80s. Thus, on June 30th, 1971., the federal assembly officially accepted the existing constitution and legalized reforms that were supposed to improve the status of the republics and reduce inter-ethnic tensions.⁴⁶

Matica Hrvatska was mentioned several times, as one of the pillars of the Croatian spring. It was the one that encouraged Tito to react and limit the public appearances of the SKH leadership. Matica greatly expanded its branches during those tumultuous years, so the fact that in 1971. it had about 50,000 members, 55 branches, 31 branches in the process of establishment and 18 commissions speaks volumes. Thus, Matica gained quite a reputation in society, and its popularity grew more and more.⁴⁷

In Slavonian daily papers, there is no article to be found that would talk about Matica's activities or its publications, which is in favor of the pro-regime character of state publishers. In those stormy times, the Matica publishing house printed around 300 books a year, and its magazines were especially important. For example, the publishing activity of Matica in eastern Croatia is reflected in the publication of the magazines *Revija* in Osijek, *Hrvatska pokrajina (Croatian province)* in Požega, *Pakrac danas (Pakrac today)* in Pakrac and *Ogledi (Reflections)* in Vukovar. However, the most important and influential magazine published by the Matica was the *Croatian Weekly*, which saw its first issue on April 16th, 1971.⁴⁸

Matica often called out the SKH⁴⁹ for its mild attitude towards the leadership of Yugoslavia because they believed that the SKH should take a firmer stance in reform efforts. However, the problem of Matica was that its members did not have a unified position, nor did they have a clear program, therefore the activities of Matica often damaged the reputation of the SKH leadership in Yugoslav society and with Josip Broz Tito. Among the members of Matica, some proponents advocated for an independent Croatia, outside the framework of Yugoslavia,

46 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 363-364.

47 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 439.

48 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 439.

49 Over time, Matica Hrvatska profiled itself as a kind of opposition to the League of Communists of Croatia. Although it advocated for similar reforms, their program differed in the national criteria for implementing those decisions and reforms. D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije: glavni procesi 198-1985.*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1985, 420.



which the leadership of the SKH did not dare to think about. But, such attitudes of certain individuals from Matica spread to some other organizations, for example, the Student Union, and became a threat to the Croatian leadership and to the stability of the country.⁵⁰

In addition to the aforementioned disagreements in the SKH between reformists and dogmatists, there were also factions in the Union of Communists that did not agree with the economic policy of Yugoslavia, and they also contributed to spoiling the image of the SKH leadership in Yugoslav society, and with Tito. Thus, Šime Đodan, otherwise a member of Matica, was one of the most active people who warned about the uneven distribution of funds from the main state treasury to the republics. He believed that Croatia gave more than it received. Marko Veselica, Vladimir Veselica, and Hrvoje Šošić were also noteworthy. They claimed that Croatia, if it became independent, could become like Switzerland in terms of economic development.⁵¹

In October of 1971., the student revolt began. During the student meeting, there was a verbal attack by Ivan Zvonimir Čiček directed at the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which he called out because of its incompetence in its relations with the authorities in Belgrade, and afterwards, the idea of independence started growing in Croatian society itself, which would directly threaten the survival of Yugoslavia and the rule of Tito. Additionally, radical ideas for that time also started popping up, such as Hrvoje Šošić's idea to admit Croatia into the OUN.⁵² All such thoughts, and especially the general increase of the atmosphere of independence, pushed Tito to take concrete steps against an even greater flare-up of discontent.

In the meantime, from November 5th to November 6th, 1971., the 22nd session of the CK SKH was held, which was covered in great detail in *The Voice of Slavonia*, unlike the previously mentioned student protest. In the article titled "Victory of political orientations that best determine self-governing socialism"⁵³, *The Voice* presented an introductory speech by Dabčević-Kučar, in which she looks back on the successes with regard to the adoption of amendments and says that the demands of the SKH were met, but also that they suppressed unitarist and separatist attitudes, as well as

50 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 365.

51 D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999, 555-556, 584-586.

52 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 450.

53 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 2-3.



attitudes that emphasized inequality in Yugoslavia. She also refers to the politicization of the people, on which she says that the people are with the SKH and that the people do not listen to anyone else's slogans and interests, but that they are guided by the interests of the people and the policies of the SKH. She also mentions her own rule regarding the people, using the subtitle "Who is afraid of the movement of the masses"⁵⁴ in which she points out that they (the SKH) have authority over the people and that they can master the demands of the people.⁵⁵

Next, *The Voice of Slavonia* reported on the end of the 22nd session of the SKH Central Committee with the title "In practice - resolutely and responsibly". It then lists a few thoughts expressed by the participants in the Slavonia discussion: Franjo Šumiga, Ivan Šipka, Josip Đerđ, and Drago Kovačević. For example, Ivan Šipka talked about the reasons why the integration processes were stagnating, referring to the economic prosperity of the integration of certain companies and why larger organizations tend to do worse. He showcased the IPK as an example, arguing that some parts of it would work better were they independent.⁵⁶ From this example, the orientation of the Slavonian participants regarding the problems in Slavonia is apparent, and the reporting of *The Voice* is apparent as well, it leaning towards the local community. In further editions, the support of the Slavonian organizations for the 22nd session of the CK SKH can be observed, except for the Municipal Conference of the Socialist Alliance in Vinkovci, which presented its claims somewhat more radically, however, they were nevertheless published in *The Voice of Slavonia*. Thus, under the chairmanship of Ivan Rosandić from Vinkovci, comments could be heard, claiming that they were advocating for the national and sovereign state of the Croatian people and that the continuity of the Croatian state over the centuries should be emphasized, considering that this continuity was broken with the establishment of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, they stated that the other nationalities in Croatia are a constitutive part of Croatian statehood.⁵⁷ Similarly to that, the students and professors at the Faculty of Economics in Osijek stated that it was important to solve the foreign exchange problem for the economy to develop further.⁵⁸

54 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 3.

55 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 3.

56 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 8.11.1971., 3.

57 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 11.11.1971., 3.

58 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 17.11.1971., 3. In addition to everything that was stated, they also stated that the leadership of the SKH has their support.



The student union, that is, the student strike in Zagreb (November 22nd, 1971.) was the immediate reason for Tito's intervention in the Union of Communists of Croatia.⁵⁹ The student strike started in Zagreb. From there it spread to other cities in Croatia. Otherwise, the strike was supported by the members of Matica Hrvatska, which gave additional strength and momentum to the strike. The demands of the students were concerned with the problem of foreign currency arriving in Yugoslavia, and the strike was marked by the attacks of Ante Paradžik, who was the president of the Croatian Students' Union, which were directed towards the JNA (The Yugoslav People's Army). Paradžik wanted the Croatian language to be introduced for Croats serving military service in the JNA, and that every person serves in the army in their own republic.⁶⁰

As for the situation in Osijek, the students did not join the strike and classes were not interrupted. *The Voice of Slavonia* briefly reported on this. It stated that the Osijek students' point of view was that the conclusions of the SKH Central Committee sessions were the right way to solve the problems plaguing Yugoslav society.⁶¹ In the same November 26th, 1971. issue, *The Voice* presented a rather large review of Miko Tripalo, as a member of the Yugoslav presidency, under the title "No one has the right to question the progress we fought so hard to achieve".⁶² In fact, it appears they were insinuating that the student demonstrations created the appearance of undemocratic problem-solving and that their method was not appropriate. Tripalo pointed out the importance of reaching a mutual agreement that respected the interests of the working class and every nation and nationality within Yugoslavia.⁶³ At the beginning of December 1971., before the changes in the SKH leadership, the situation at the Universities normalized. *The Voice* devoted a larger article to the fact that, on December 2nd, there was also an outburst by a group of students in Zagreb, however, the basic idea was that classes should be held regularly.⁶⁴

59 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 367.

60 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 450.

61 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1.

62 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1, 3.

63 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1, 3.

64 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 2.12.1971., 1, 3.



The perception of the collapse of the Croatian Spring in Slavonia

In accordance with all the events that were initiated by the SKH leadership, Tito believed that the SKH leadership led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar holds no authority among the people and that they cannot deal with all the problems that have arisen in society⁶⁵, which is why he invited them to a meeting in Karadorđevo, on November 30th, 1971.⁶⁶ The meeting ended on the first of December 1971.⁶⁷, without any significant conclusions. The 21st session of the SKJ Presidency was scheduled for the day after that, and there all of the republics unanimously condemned the Croatian leadership.⁶⁸ For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the attitude was that the Croatian Spring was a negative phenomenon for the country because both Serbia and Croatia at some point in their past considered dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶⁹

As for the Voice of Slavonia, on the second of December, they published a short report on the way the meeting was conducted, and a day after that they published an article by the name of: "Confident that the SKH will overcome the difficulties".⁷⁰ In that article, they talk about how certain political problems have been observed as of late, in the form of anti-self-governing and antisocialist policies, and how such policies are putting increasing pressure on the socialist society. The responsibility of the central committees when it comes to maintaining order is emphasized, and Tito's presentation is accepted as the conclusion of the session. Furthermore, the second article is the introductory presentation of the SKJ president Josip Broz Tito, from the 21st session of the SKJ presidency, titled "We will not agree that various

65 The position of the leadership of the SKH was problematic, as they were against taking stricter measures to suppress nationalism, which was particularly noticeable in the ranks of Matica Hrvatska. An aggravating circumstance was the unitarist-centralist currents in Yugoslavia that put pressure on Tito. D. BILANDŽIĆ, *History of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, 420.

66 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 367.

67 December 1st is remembered in history as the day when, in 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes came to be. Author Novak believes that he tried to symbolically express his determination to preserve Yugoslavia. The author adds that Tito wanted to ingratiate himself with the Serbian Unitarians and the JNA who attacked him for supporting the SKH leadership. B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 699.

68 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 451.

69 H. KAMBEROVIĆ, *Percepcija hrvatskog proljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini*, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 135-136. This claim was made by Branko Mikulić, a member of the SK of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

70 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 1.



state problems are solved on the street”, alluding to solving the causes of student dissatisfaction at the Zagreb University.⁷¹ But, apart from that, Tito admits that the university strike is not only a student affair. In fact, he also points the finger at Matica Hrvatska, referring to it as a counter-revolutionary group that presents unconstitutional ideas.⁷²

The Voice of Slavonia devoted the front page and the entire third page of its December 3rd edition to Josip Broz Tito’s speech and it conveyed his thoughts on the state of society, but also on the state of the SKH. Regarding the latter, Tito said that the situation was not good. The direction in which the SKH was going was good, but the implementation, in order to achieve the goal was not at a satisfactory level as Tito pointed out.⁷³ The next issue of the Voice also dealt with the 2^{1st} presidency session. The main article was called: “Revolutionary action against counter-revolutionary tendencies“, which is a sentence from Tito’s closing speech from the session. It says that “the leadership of Croatia has strong support in all republics”⁷⁴ and that the events happening within the SKH first need to homogenize and stabilize. Tito also adds how the mistrust of other republics towards Croatia needs to be quickly forgotten.⁷⁵

The echoes of the 21st session in Slavonia are apparent in the December 6th headline, where it is stated that the Slavonian SK organizations give their full support to Tito’s assessments and positions and the resolutions of the SKJ Presidency. They also add how the Slavonian organizations have expressed confidence in the SKH and that its leadership will manage to smooth out internal unrest. This is what Ivan Šipka, the president of the SKH municipal conference, also said. He also sent a telegram to Tito and the SKJ presidency, which was fully reported in The Voice of Slavonia. Also, a telegram was sent from Osijek to the Central Committee of the SKH, where best wishes towards overcoming the difficulties as best as possible were expressed.⁷⁶ The Voice then writes about other cities (Slavonski Brod, Đakovo, Požega, etc.) that support the SKJ and SKH with the words “We will never allow certain anti-socialist forces, chauvinists and nationalists of all

71 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 1.

72 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 3.

73 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 3.

74 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 4.12.1971., 1.

75 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 4.12.1971., 2-3.

76 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 6.12.1971., 1-3.



colors to hinder the unhindered further self-governing development of Yugoslavia".⁷⁷ The Osijek students also stood by Tito and the conclusions of the Presidency session, and further committed themselves to the fight against chauvinism, unitarism, and opponents of self-governing socialism.⁷⁸

A somewhat more vigorous attitude was exhibited in Požega, where the Presidency of the SUBNOR pointed out that the work of Šima Đodan and Marko Veselica was *harmful* and that they had collaborators from the Požega area aiding them in their counter-revolutionary activities. The political removal of all those associated with Đodan and Veselica was also requested.⁷⁹ The Union of Associations of Fighters of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia (SUBNOR) from Vinkovci additionally requested an investigation into the activities of Ivan Šibl, who held the position of president of the Republican Committee of the SUBNOR. A rare case in this period, people being directly called out for their supposed counter-revolutionary activities in a daily newspaper.⁸⁰

Furthermore, the SK Municipal Committee of Vukovar condemned Matica Hrvatska's activities, apparently against the wishes of the League of Communists. Likewise, for the first time in *The Voice*, a message from a Municipal Committee was transmitted, which directly blamed the Croatian leadership for their supposed indifference to earlier events and for not taking any actions to stop such behavior both by the student leadership and by the members of the Matica. The Vukovar Union of Communists together with Adem Islamović directly demanded the resignation of "the torchbearer of the ideology of the mass movement, Dr. Savka Dabčević-Kučar, Miko Tripalo, Pero Pirker, Marko Koprtla, and Ivan Šibl".⁸¹ Furthermore, they added that Marko Koprtla was originally from the Vukovar region and that he should "pay dues for his work" to the Vukovar organization of the SK. In addition to directly demanding the resignation of the SKH leadership led by Dabčević-Kučar, the organization also requested that the Inter-Municipal Conference of SKH for Slavonia and Baranja be held responsible and that they should take a stronger stand for the interests of the people.⁸²

77 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 7.12.1971., 3.

78 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 8.12.1971., 1.

79 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 10.12.1971., 2.

80 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.

81 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.

82 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.



Realizing the dissatisfaction of some of the members and the political climate in SR Croatia, Tito withheld support from the Croatian leadership and, after the 21st session of the SKJ Presidency, on December 8th, 1971., he demanded the resignations of Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Pero Pirker after all. So, the next day, the 22nd session of the SKJ Presidency was held, where Tito received the departing Croatian leadership and promised that there would be no persecution after their resignation.⁸³ . On December 12, 1971, at the 23rd session of the CK SKH, Savka Dabčević-Kučar, Pero Pirker and Marko Koprtla officially submitted their resignations. Miko Tripalo⁸⁴ sent Tito a written notice of his resignation, applicable to all the positions he held.⁸⁵ On the front page, the Voice of Slavonia talked about the start of the 23rd session of the Central Committee of the SKH with the article: “True determination to overcome weaknesses”, while reporting that the Croatian leadership had resigned from their duties. In the following article, The Voice conveyed the messages of Dabčević-Kučar and Pirker, regarding the reasons for their resignations. They stated that they failed to implement the policy represented and led by Tito after all and that their resignations were an expression of responsibility. Furthermore, Tripalo’s letter to comrade Tito, regarding the reasons for his resignation, was also published. Tripalo pointed out that he had nothing to do with nationalist and anti-socialist movements and calls upon his membership in the Party, which he joined at a young age, as evidence.⁸⁶

Furthermore, Milka Planinc, as one of the opposing, dogmatic currents in the SKH, presented her view of the newly created situation. Planinc said that “for a long time there were serious differences”, referring to different interpretations of the events that took place and that some issues, such as nationalism, were difficult to get on the SKH agenda. *The Voice of Slavonia* informed the Slavonian public in detail about Planinc’s presentation.⁸⁷

83 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 451.

84 In his book from 2001., Miko Tripalo highlights the international influence on the unfolding of the Croatian Spring. He talks about how the Soviet Union viewed the reform tendencies in Croatia with displeasure because it believed that it could destroy Yugoslavia or weaken it. A weakened Yugoslavia, according to the USSR’s view, would very quickly fall under the Western sphere of influence. Tripalo also states how significant Brezhnev’s visit to Yugoslavia in 1971. was in order to truly see what was happening in Yugoslavia.. M. TRIPALO, *Hrvatsko proljeće*. Zagreb: NZMH, 2001, 214-215.

85 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 343.

86 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 1, 2.

87 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 2., 3.



During the publication of *The Voice of Slavonia* in this period, it can be observed that the first pages were usually occupied by political news, followed by sports and entertainment. However, issue 8188 from December 13th, 1971. had political news on slightly more pages, which speaks volumes of the great importance, and the turning point, of the events in the SKH. Thus, after the introductory words about the resignation and the presentation of Milka Planinc, in the following pages comes news about the echoes of the collapse of the Croatian Spring in Slavonia, i.e., reactions to the resignations of the Croatian leadership.

Thus, Osijek stated that the SKH would overcome the current difficulties and that they firmly stood by Josip Broz Tito's policy and that they supported the resignations, just like the Vukovar organization. In addition, the practice of closed sessions of the CK SKH and the lack of communication were pointed out. Further actions in Slavonia were aimed, as they stated, at preserving the socialist system and implementing the reduction of difficulties in the work of the SK. The direction of the Slavonian organizations is best seen in *The Voice's* headline regarding the presidency of the Municipal Conference from Valpovo: "Tito's words should be energetically put into action".⁸⁸

The Voice also reported on the branch of Matica hrvatska in Osijek after the resignation of the SKH leadership. Attention was focused on the actions of those individuals who were involved in imposing "activities outside of its program, i.e. activities that are not based on socialist orientation and fraternity". Thus, they supported the readiness of Dragan Mucić, the secretary of Matica in Osijek, to face sanctions, given that he did not distance himself from the allegations in the *Croatian Weekly*. Also, the collective guilt of all the members of the Main Board of Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb was stated, as they were considered the main culprits when it came to damaging Matica's reputation and changing its course of action during earlier events.⁸⁹

Thus, the editorial staff of *The Croatian Weekly* soon submitted their resignations, and on December 20th, 1971., further publication of the magazine was suspended. 11 people from the leadership of Matica were arrested, and in the 80s, Matica was annexed to the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, which ended its activities.⁹⁰

88 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 7.

89 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 8.

90 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 455.



In addition, The Voice reported that the student leaders in Zagreb, Čičak, Budiša and Dodig, were arrested and charged with violent and unconstitutional change of the state system.⁹¹

Due to Tito's decisions on resignations, students planned protests in support of Tripalo, Pirker, Dabčević-Kučar, and others, but the police and the JNA were ready to respond and prevented any form of gathering in support of the Spring politicians. However, the students put up protest posters inside their homes and distributed leaflets for further action. . It was precisely for such acts that the previously mentioned student leadership in Zagreb was arrested. In the following days, there was some unrest in the main square in Zagreb, which was followed by the arrests of the students responsible for such behavior.⁹²

Further events regarding the collapse of the Croatian Spring were also covered in *The Voice of Slavonia*, for example, the election of Milka Planinc as president of the Central Committee of the SKH and Josip Vrhovac as secretary of the executive committee. The SK Municipal Committee in Osijek was concerned with the review of the responsibility of certain individuals and their role in the events. Thus, ten people were asked to resign.⁹³

Similar actions can be observed in other organizations in Slavonia, for example in Našice, where the secretary of the SK Municipal Committee Jakov Bukša and committee member Josip Mijatović resigned from their positions because they considered themselves jointly responsible for earlier events. In Nova Gradiška, the resignation of president Ivan Maričević was also accepted and the new president Stjepan Relković took over.⁹⁴

From the article published on December 15th, about the meeting of the reserve military officers of Slavonia and Baranja in Osijek, it is discernable that there were also changes in Donji Miholjec, precisely from the ranks of the reserve military officers, which Muhamed Vukčević talked about. On the other hand, Vaso Mandić from Požega highlighted the dichotomy between members loyal to Mata Novačić and members who did not approve of the pro-nationalist views. He also mentions the noticeability of that division during the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the uprising, where the separate cele-

91 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 8.

92 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 453-454.

93 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 14.12.1971., 1-2.

94 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 15.12.1971., 1-2.



brations were held, one for Croats in Pleternica, and one for Serbs in Kamenska.⁹⁵

On the other hand, in the article titled “Strong opposition to nationalism”,⁹⁶ it is clear that the resignations of the members from Osijek were not accepted. The presentation of Jelica Radojčević, a member of the executive committee of the Central Committee of the SKH at the conference in Osijek, was followed in detail and in it, the non-transparency of the media, especially Zagreb’s *Vjesnik* in reporting on events in the SKH, was cited. It was accompanied by the presentation of the president of the SKH Osijek Municipal Conference, Ivan Šipka, titled “The political situation in the municipality of Osijek was not characterized by the escalation of nationalism”.⁹⁷ In his presentation, Šipka also touched on the issue of the Youth Association in Osijek because the SKH was not satisfied with their engagement and work, therefore the president and members of the Presidency of the Youth Association handed in their resignations.⁹⁸

Therefore, it is evident that the resignations and dismissals did not bypass the Slavonian organizations either. For example, in 1972., the apartments of a large number of people who were suspected of having contributed to the igniting of reformist ideas were searched. The premises of numerous companies and organizations were also searched. For example, in *Matica Hrvatska*, all members were checked, 50.000 of them, of which almost 200 were arrested.⁹⁹ Many people lost their jobs and income, some protagonists of the Croatian Spring were marginalized or forced into retirement, while some were convicted through rigged court trials and received from two to four years in prison and were banned from public activity. For example, Vlado Gotovac, editor of *The Croatian Weekly*, student leaders Ivan Zvonimir Čičak and Dražen Budiša, etc.¹⁰⁰ Within the Communist League, 741 people were expelled, 131 people were dismissed from their positions, and 280 people resigned from their previous positions.¹⁰¹ The magnitude of the consequences of the collapse of the Croatian Spring is indicated by the fact that 83 people were convicted of crimes “against the pe-

95 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 15.12.1971., 2.

96 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 1.

97 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 4.

98 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 4.

99 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 348.

100 I. GOLDSTEIN, *Povijest 21: Hrvatska povijest*, 470.

101 D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije*, 429.




ople and the state" in 1971., 427 in 1972., and 232 in 1973.¹⁰² As for the former leadership of the SKH, their trial did not take place, as was promised by Tito. Instead, on the 8th of May 1972., Dabčević-Kučar, as well as Pirker, Koprta, and Tripalo, were expelled from the Party, thus ending the Croatian Spring.¹⁰³

Conclusion

The Croatian Spring was a reform movement dating back to the 1960s. It reached its peak in the early 1970s amidst a sea of unrest. The main torchbearers of change against unitarism, and for decentralization and a better attitude towards the Croatian language and history, were the leaders of SKH, in the first place the president Savka Dabčević-Kučar, then Pero Pirker, Miko Tripalo, and others, then *Matica hrvatska*, with its magazine *The Croatian Weekly*, along with the Student Union. The movement started in Zagreb and spread throughout Croatia, and Slavonia as well, although at a slightly lower intensity. The events that preceded the Croatian Spring and the events that took place during the Croatian Spring can be seen in the only daily newspaper that was published in the territory of eastern Croatia during the time of Socialist Yugoslavia, namely, *The Voice of Slavonia*. *The Voice* regularly reported on all events, not only in Slavonia, but in Zagreb as well. Although *The Voice* was under the regime's watchful eye, meaning there is no discernable government criticism, it is still a valuable source of information when it comes to the events in Osijek and the rest of Slavonia. It is also a valuable source of information regarding the ways of thinking of the municipal leaders of the Communist League and their relationship to the central government in Belgrade, but also to the republican government in Zagreb. Thus, it is evident from the newspaper that the municipal organizations of the League of Communists in Slavonia were mostly in agreement with Zagreb's policy, as long as they were supported by President Tito. When his support for Savka Dabčević-Kučar and others in SKH waned, only then did the municipal organizations in Slavonia distance themselves from the policies of the SKH. An example of this is the Vukovar organization whose members were among the first, after Karadžorđevo, to demand the resignation of those responsible for igniting the spark of unrest. In con-

102 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 348.

103 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 455-456.



clusion, *The Voice of Slavonia*, as the only Slavonian daily newspaper, is also a source for studying other events in socialist Yugoslavia because it was published throughout the entire existence of the country.

Bibliography

- Berečić, Domagoj. (2015). *Uloga medija tijekom hrvatskog proljeća*, diplomski rad, Osijek: J. J. Strossmayer University, Faculty of Philosophy in Osijek
- Bilandžić, Dušan. (1985). *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije: glavni procesi 198-1985.*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga
- Bilandžić, Dušan. (1999). *Hrvatska moderna povijest*. Zagreb: Golden marketing
- Glušac, Maja. (2013). Osječke novine nekada i sada. *Anali zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku*, 29, p. 149-163. Accessed at <https://hrcak.srce.hr/150022>
- Goldstein, Ivo. (2008). *Povijest 21: Hrvatska povijest*. Zagreb: Europa-press holding
- Irvine, Jill. (2007). The Croatian Spring and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia. U: L. J. Cohen, J. Dragović-Soso (ur.), *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration* (p. 149-178). West Lafayette: Purdue University Press. Accessed at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/297466749_The_Croatian_Spring_and_the_Dissolution_of_Yugoslavia
- Kamberović, Husnija. (2012). Percepcija hrvatskog proljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini. U: T. Jakovina (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije* (p. 127-149). Zagreb: Centre for Democracy and Law Miko Tripalo, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb
- Kriste, Petar. (2012). Nekoliko teza o hrvatskom proljeću. U: T. Jakovina (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije* (p. 43-57). Zagreb: Centre for Democracy and Law Miko Tripalo, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb
- Krušelj, Kristina; Mirošničenko, Ivana. (2014). Jezik osječkih novina: Branislav i Glas Slavonije. *Hrvatistika: studentski jezikoslovni časopis*, 7(7), p. 77-94. Accessed at <https://hrcak.srce.hr/134921>
- Matković, Hrvoje. (1998). *Povijest Jugoslavije*. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić



- Mićanović, Krešimir. (2012). Jezična politika s kraja 60-ih i s početka 70-ih: u procijepu autonomije između i centralizma. U: T. Jakovina (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije* (p. 271-291). Zagreb: Centre for Democracy and Law Miko Tripalo, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb, Faculty of Law, University of Zagreb
- Milat, Karla. (2022). *Hrvatsko proljeće u Dalmaciji*. Graduation thesis. Split: University of Split, Faculty of Philosophy. Accessed at <https://dabar.srce.hr/islandora/object/ffst:3839>
- Novak, Božidar. (2005). *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, Tehnička knjiga
- Perić, Ivo, ur. (2007). *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Radelić, Zdenko. (2006). *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga
- Silić, Josip. (2006). *Funkcionalni stilovi hrvatskoga jezika*. Zagreb: Disput
- Šušak, Ivica. (2008). Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma, *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava: časopis za teoriju i praksu javne uprave*, 8(3), p. 767-783. Accessed at <https://hrcak.srce.hr/135557>
- Tomas, Domagoj; Bošnjak, Marijana. (2020). Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku, *Diacovensia: teološki prilozi*, 28(4), str. 519-547. Accessed at <https://hrcak.srce.hr/249190>
- Tripalo, Miko. (1995). *Hrvatsko proljeće*. Zagreb: NZMH

Sources

- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7606., 17th and 18th of January 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7608., 20th of January 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7612., 24th of January 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7614., 27th of January 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7616., 29th of January 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7617., 30th of January 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7618., 31st of January 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, nr. 7621., 3rd of February 1970.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, nr. 8159., 6th of November 1971.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, nr. 8160., 8th of November 1971.
- Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, nr. 8163., 11th of November 1971.



Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8168., 17th of November 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8176., 26th of November 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8179., 2nd of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8180., 3rd of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8181., 4th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8183., 6th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8184., 7th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8185., 8th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8187., 10th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8188., 11th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8190., 13th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8191., 14th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8192., 15th of December 1971.
Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, nr. 8206., 29th of December 1971.