

The Emotions of Protest: Some Examples of Anti-Yugoslav Demonstrations in Australia, Canada and the USA in 1972¹

The aim of the article is to describe some examples of anti-Yugoslav demonstrations in Australia, Canada and the USA during 1972 from the perspective of the history of emotions. Those demonstrations were a reaction to the repression that had been exerted in Croatia against students, cultural activists, scholars and other participants in the Croatian Spring. The research was based on unpublished archival documents and the Croatian political émigré press, primarily the periodical *Nova Hrvatska* edited by Jakša Kušan. The conclusions are based on an analysis of available textual and photographic materials.

Introduction

Human emotions are the subject of research in various social sciences and humanities. Although it is recognized as a rapidly growing research field in contemporary historiography, in the Croatian context, the history of emotions has only been fragmentarily explored. As an important research topic, it was discussed at the round table “History of Emotions: Fashionable Trend or Interdisciplinary Platform?” that was organized as part of the KlioFest History Festival in 2015. The presentations from that round table were published in the same year as a special thematic issue of the journal *Historijski zbornik*.² The history of emotions in the Adriatic region was the theme of an international conference held in Poreč in May 2019.³ The proceedings from that conference were published two years later.⁴ The concept of the history of emotions is the basic theoretical and methodological fra-

¹ This research has been co-financed by the Croatian Science Foundation, project UIP-2020-02-1283: Exploring emotions in the (re)construction of diaspora identity: Croats in Australia and New Zealand (1945-1991).

² For example: JANKOVIĆ 2015: 367-375; NIKOLIĆ JAKUS 2015: 377-381; PRIANTE 2015: 383-388; BLAŽEVIĆ 2015: 389-394; SARDELIĆ 2015: 395-402; BRKOVIĆ 2015: 403-408; ROSENWEIN 2015: 437-458.

³ CETINA 2019: 485-488.

⁴ MARTINČEVIĆ 2021: 320-322.

mework for the research project on the history of Croatian emigrants in Australia and New Zealand in the 1945-1991 period, which is being conducted by the Ivo Pilar Social Science Institute.⁵

The history of emotions can be explored in various fields of human activity. The focus of this paper will be on emotions of protest. Based on the relevant literature, the research sets forth from the assumption that protests are intense events full of emotions. For example, J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta state that emotions such as anger and indignation, fear and disgust, joy and love should be reincorporated into research on politics and protests. They also state that “like other aspects of culture, emotions can be seen as an aspect of all social action and social relations. They accompany rational acts as fully as irrational ones, positive experiences as much as negative ones.”⁶ H. Flam and D. King conclude that “social movement researchers and theorists, having explored various older approaches to social movements, are now looking towards new explanatory frameworks, including those that are more inclusive of emotions.” Apart from the standard set of emotions (shame, pride, anger and solidarity), they also “make room for emotions such as loyalty, joy, hope, fear, contempt, sadness, distrust, empathy, compassion, altruism, outrage, gratitude and happiness.”⁷ R. Eyerman defines a social movement as “a form of acting in public, a political performance which involves representation in dramatic form, as movements engage emotions inside and outside their bounds attempting to communicate their message. Such performance is always public, as it requires an audience which is addressed and must be moved.”⁸ He “argues that protest events involve ritual practices, symbolic gestures and shared experiences of empowering, collective effervescence which affect the move from framed emotion to action and from individual to collective, narrative identity.”⁹ Similarly, D. van Troost, J. van Stekelenburg and B. Klandermans conclude that “social movements use their power, resources and creativity to turn individual grievances and emotions into collective claims and to stage opportunities to act upon these claims.” In other words, as people identify themselves as group members, individual emotions turn into group-based emotions.¹⁰ J. M. Jasper explains that emotions “include long-term orientations to the world, which

⁵ CROCEANIA – Istraživanje emocija u (re)konstrukciji identiteta dijaspore: Hrvati u Australiji i Novom Zelandu 1945. – 1991. Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar. <https://www.pilar.hr/2021/03/croceania-istrazivanje-emocija-u-rekonstrukciji-identiteta-dijaspora-hrvati-u-australiji-i-novom-zelandu-1945-1991/> (accessed 20 July 2023).

⁶ GOODWIN, JASPER and POLLETTA 2001: 2, 9.

⁷ FLAM and KING 2007: 2-3.

⁸ EYERMAN 2006: 193.

⁹ FLAM and KING 2007: 4-5.

¹⁰ VAN TROOST, VAN STEKELENBURG and KLANDERMANS 2013: 186-187.

tell us what we care about, as well as short-run reactions that carry some potential for regret.”¹¹ In that context, he defines five types of feelings: reflex emotions, urges, moods, affective commitments and moral emotions. For this research, as will be described later in the article, the last two groups are particularly relevant. Jasper defined affective commitments as “relatively stable feelings, positive or negative, about others or about objects, such as love or hate, liking and disliking, trust or mistrust, respect or contempt.” He defined moral emotions as “feelings of approval or disapproval (including of our own selves and actions) based on moral intuitions or principles, such as shame, guilt, pride, indignation, outrage, and compassion.”¹² In his study on the willingness of Hong Kong’s citizens to participate in the Occupy Central/Umbrella Movement, M. Chan focused on the motivation behind protest. Inter alia, he incorporates “the notion that people may be motivated to participate for other reasons beyond defeating the antagonist, such as influencing public opinion and important third parties; showing solidarity and strengthening the protest movement; and publically expressing one’s personal beliefs and values.” He also underscores that more recent research has focused on the roles of emotions and moral conviction in collective action.¹³

S. Crozier-De Rosa points out that “the most detailed and extensive work carried out on the relationship between emotions, affect and protest has been in the field of sociology.” On the other side, “until very recently historians have omitted consideration of emotions from their protest histories.”¹⁴ In an attempt to reconstruct the history of political emotions, she continues, “historians are faced with an ever-growing and diverse body of sources including: political periodicals, the popular press, songs, slogans, murals, placards and banners, campaign merchandise, as well as the bodies of protesters picketing, barricading and marching, and, more recently, social media sites.”¹⁵ M. Lilja emphasizes that “some images and artefacts become hypervisible and have more emotional impact than other artefacts.”¹⁶

This article is based on unpublished archival documents and the Croatian political émigré press, primarily the periodical *Nova Hrvatska*. The conclusions are based on an analysis of available textual and photographic materials. The analysis is focused on mapping participant structure, the space where protests took place, the means and items used to convey protest messages, the symbolic performances used (rituals), the content of protest messages, and the body language and facial

¹¹ JASPER 2018: 1.

¹² JASPER 2018: 4.

¹³ CHAN 2016: 306-307.

¹⁴ CROZIER-DE ROSA 2021: 200.

¹⁵ CROZIER-DE ROSA 2021: 202-203.

¹⁶ LILJA 2021: 14.

expressions of protestors (grimace). Based on such an analysis, we can illustrate the emotions expressed during the described protests.

The breakdown of the Croatian Spring as an inducement to protest

The Croatian Spring, also known as the Croatian national movement or the mass movement (*maspok*) was a cultural and political movement in Croatia in the early 1970s which encompassed a significant number of Croatian people and had mass public support.¹⁷ Besides a part of the Croatian reformist and nationally oriented political leadership and the cultural and literary organization Matica Hrvatska, its third essential component consisted of university students and professors, mostly at the University of Zagreb.¹⁸

The crushing of the Croatian Spring and the repression conducted against its members came in December 1971, after the twenty-first session of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, held in Tito's residence in Karadorđevo. Croatian political leaders were removed from their posts and banned from engaging in any public activity. The most prominent members of Matica Hrvatska and student leaders were sentenced to several-years in prison in show trials based on charges of disseminating enemy propaganda and "criminal offences against the people and state by a counterrevolutionary attack on the state and social order." They were charged, inter alia, for incitement in "speeches and texts" calling for "violent and unconstitutional changes to the state and social order," "disrupting the fraternity and unity of Yugoslav nationalities," as well as "undermining the economic foundation of socialist development."¹⁹ Their prosecution is an example of the repression implemented at the end of 1971 and in 1972 against participants in the Croatian national movement. It resulted in several hundred convictions for political offences and a purge of several thousand members of the League of Communists of Croatia. Among the Croatian diaspora throughout the world these events prompted demonstrations against the ruling regime in Yugoslavia/Croatia.

*An example of anti-Yugoslav demonstrations in Perth,
Australia in January 1972*

An example of reactions to the quelling of the Croatian Spring and repression against its proponents is the demonstrations held in Perth in Australia on 22 January

¹⁷ GOLDSTEIN 2008: 462-463.

¹⁸ Cf. ŠUŠAK 2008: 767-783.

¹⁹ SPEHNJAK AND CIPEK 2007: 281; GOLDSTEIN 2008: 470; IRVINE 2011: 28. For more information see: Croatian State Archives, State Security Service of the Republican Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, HR-HDA-1561, code 016.1/4-41 and code 016.1/4-43.

1972. The State Security Service for Croatia created a file of thirty photographs on that event. Brief remarks were added to accompany them, revealing the chronology of the entire event. All of the photographs are numbered (see illustrations 2 to 5). The creation of such photographic file illustrates one of the techniques that the State Security Service regularly used to gather information on what were considered threats to the ruling communist regime in Yugoslavia/Croatia. A copy of the original proclamation, i.e., the invitation to these demonstrations, is attached to the file. From that document one may learn that the demonstrations were organized by the “Joint Croatian Committee for Organizing Demonstrations on January 22, 1972.” The text of the proclamation follows:

In the last few months, fateful events have been taking place in our Motherland, Croatia. Students, workers, peasants and intellectuals took to the streets and demanded rights for the Croatian people. Croatian blood was once more spilled on Zagreb’s sidewalks. Serbian firearms mowed down Croatian youths, and thousands were taken to prison in chains. The fight continues. Unarmed Croats against armed Serbian newcomers. What should we Croatian émigrés living in the free world do? Can we indifferently observe events with a clear conscience? Can we close our eyes so that we don’t see the blood of Croatian youth before our eyes? Can we turn our backs on Croatian patriots, whose bones are being broken in captivity by the UDBA? NO! NO! NO! We will take to the streets of Perth as a sign of solidarity with our brothers in the Motherland. We will demonstratively condemn the dictatorship of Tito and Ranković in front of the Yugoslav consulate, which is fenced off with barbed wire and resembles a zoo or brothel rather than representative of a state. We will publicly demand justice for Croats and for the establishment of the State of Croatia. Demonstrations will take place on Saturday, January 22 at 2 p.m. The meeting place is the ESPLANADE PERTH, at the corner of William St. and Mounts Bay Road. Whoever is a Croatian patriot should come and fulfil his Croatian duty to the suffering and captured Croatian people.

Death to Yugoslavia – Freedom to Croatia!²⁰

The proclamation was originally written in the Croatian language. The metaphorical phrases and expressions used (for example, Croatian blood spilt on Zagreb’s sidewalks, unarmed Croats against armed Serbian newcomers, bones of Croatian patriots broken in prisons) can be interpreted as a way to provoke an emotional for the purpose of joint action. On the one hand, there are negative emotions such

²⁰ Croatian State Archives, State Security Service of the Republican Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, HR-HDA-1561, code 10.3/11.

as anger, rage (indignation) and dismay directed against the communist regime in Yugoslavia/Croatia (“the dictatorship of Tito and Ranković”). On the other side, proclamation calls on all “Croatian men and women” to protest and show compassion for the persecuted people in their Motherland Croatia and identify with their goals, above all, fostering the Croatian national identity. As a positive emotion, compassion is accompanied by hope and longing for justice for “the suffering and captive Croatian people” and the establishment of an independent Croatian state.²¹ According to Jasper, the emotions highlighted here can be classified as affective commitments and moral emotions.²²

According to the State Security Service’s report on the activities of political émigrés in Australia compiled in 1975, about one hundred people participated in these demonstrations in front of the Yugoslav Consulate in Perth. According to this report, in that period demonstrations were also held in other Australian cities with a higher number of participants. For example, it is noted that on December 28th of 1971, 2,000 protesters gathered in front of the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney, and 250 in Canberra. It is further stated only in general terms that on 16 January 1972, “mass demonstrations” were held in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. From 20 to 25 June of 1972, when the Bugojno group entered Yugoslavia, “Ustasha” demonstrations were held in front of the Yugoslav Embassy in Canberra, attended by about 2,000 people. The main expression of anti-Yugoslav fervour was the burning of the Yugoslav flag.²³ In other words, burning the flag was symbolic speech against the Yugoslav regime.

Data on the number of participants at individual demonstrations in the State Security Service’s reports and in the reports carried in the Croatian émigré press are often contradictory. In general, the émigré press wrote about a significantly higher number of participants. For example, in July 1972, *Nova Hrvatska* reported that on 25 June approximately 4,000 Croats protested in front of the Yugoslav embassy in Canberra. It was explained that only about 1,500 Croats lived in Canberra, so that the majority had arrived from other Australian centres (Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Sydney), and also from Tasmania. It is stated that this was a “continuation of a series of very successful protests in which Croats in Australia express their indignation over conditions in Croatia after the December movement.” It is also stated that prior to Canberra, the first demonstrations were held in Melbourne, with the participation of more than 6,000 Croats, and then between 6,000 and 7,000 people demonstrated in front of the Yugoslav consulate in Sydney, burning the Yugoslav flag.²⁴

²¹ Cf. SABUCEDO AND VILAS 2014: 829-838.

²² JASPER 2018: 4.

²³ Croatian State Archives, State Security Service of the Republican Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, HR-HDA-1561, code 10.1/49.

²⁴ *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 77 (July 1972): 10-11.

In addition to texts, *Nova Hrvatska* regularly published extensive photographic materials from these demonstrations. On some of them, the focus was on facial expressions. Their function was to reinforce the impression of the protesters' emotions during the protests. J.-M. Fernández-Dols and J. A. Russell conclude that "current research is coming to assume that both the production and perception of facial expression are dynamic events. To study these events, researchers must take into account the relative position of the sender and receiver of expressions into a spatial, social, and cultural location."²⁵ One of the examples of the facial expressions of protesters in Sydney in June 1972 is shown in *Illustration 1*. The foreground features a man with his arms raised high and a striking expression on his face. Based on this image, one can assume agitation, but also anxiety, as well as full involvement in the protest activity and the message being sent. Similar expressions can be seen on the faces of the women in the background.



Illustration 1: Emotional reactions of protesters in Sydney in June 1972

However, according to the State Security Service, the demonstrations in Perth on 22 January 1972 gathered a relatively small number of participants. They are a very interesting example in the context of this topic, because they allow for an analysis of different emotions and performances present during the protest. One of the photographs shows a police vehicle (motorcycle), on which basis it may be concluded that the protest was reported to the Australian authorities.

The photographs show the gathering of demonstrators and the preparation of banners. Some of the banners were written on paper and carried by protesters in the protest march. Other means were also used to convey them, including a

²⁵ FERNÁNDEZ-DOLS AND RUSSELL 2017: 8.

truck – specifically a concrete mixer. Among other things, the banners contained messages such as:

- “We are Australians of Croatian origin”
- “Tito! Stop killing Croats”
- “Loyal Croats are loyal Australians”
- “Yugoslav consulate is a spy centre against Croats”
- “Tito is a murderer”
- “Tito and Stalin are the same, only different names”
- “A thousand of Croats died on the gallows”
- “Long live ‘Mother Croatia’”
- “Death to Yugoslavia”
- “Croatia must be independent”

As already explained, the above messages refer to the emotions that the invitation to these demonstrations attempted to arouse. Again, one may perceive emotions of anger and condemnation of the Yugoslav regime. Josip Broz Tito was presented as a murderer and compared to Stalin, i.e., associated with Stalinist terror.²⁶ The repression of Croats was condemned. The idea that Yugoslavia should be partitioned and an independent Croatian state be established was repeatedly expressed. Also, it should be noted that the organizers of the protest and the authors of the banners declared themselves as Australians of Croatian origin. On the one hand, they emphasized their Croatian national identity and origin, and on the other, they identified with their country of immigration and its values (“Croatian émigrés living in the free world”).

As a part of these demonstrations in Perth, several symbolic rituals were performed. A coffin inscribed with “Croatia celebrates the death of Yugoslavia and the communists” was wheeled in protest march and then brought in front of the Yugoslav consulate building. One of the demonstrators carried a gallows, which was also meant to symbolize “death”, i.e., the demise of the Yugoslav state. As in other demonstrations, the Yugoslav flag was also burned. As indicated, these protests were held in front of Yugoslav diplomatic consular missions. With the aforementioned symbolic rituals, an attempt was made to send a message to the Yugoslav authorities. However, it also sought to attract attention and gain support and compassion from the wider Australian community for events in Yugoslavia/Croatia at the time.

As interpreted by J. C. Alexander, “ritual effectiveness energizes the participants and attaches them to each other, increases their identification with the symbolic objects of communication, and intensifies the connection of the participants and the symbolic objects with the observing audience, the relevant ‘community’ at large.”²⁷ In Eyerman’s words, “performance is what makes a

²⁶ Cf. McLOUGHLIN AND McDERMOTT 2003.

²⁷ ALEXANDER 2006: 29-30.

movement move and helps it move others.”²⁸ As he explains, “as in a theatre performance, actors and roles are important. Movement actors perform and convey; they also dramatize, adding powerful emotions to their actions which re-present known narratives through the use of symbols.”²⁹ Similarly, J. S. Juris argues that performances communicate verbal and non-verbal messages to an audience, while allowing participants to experience symbolic meanings in the context of ritual interaction. As he further explains, “different modalities of protest performance use bodies and space in particular ways to produce alternative cultural meanings, identities, and forms of emotional experience.” In other words, “cultural meanings are not only cognitive; they are embodied and experienced emotionally in the context of social movement performances.” The dynamics of performance he explored in relation to the four types of performative protest are: macro-level protest events, micro-level embodied performances, protest theatre, and musical performances.³⁰ The previously described performances as a part of demonstrations in Perth, as well as performances in chains and academic togas described later in the article, can be classified as protest theatre. J. S. Juris considers embodied performances that are theatrical a type of such performative protest, “but they lack the higher degree of formalized staging that characterizes theatre as an art form.” As he further explains, “they are relatively spontaneous and tactical and tend to make sense only within larger protest events.”³¹



²⁸ EYERMAN 2006: 198.

²⁹ EYERMAN 2006: 199.

³⁰ JURIS 2014: 231-232. 242.

³¹ Cf. JURIS 2014: 237-239.



BLIŽI IZGLED ČELA KOLONE SA TRANSPARENTIMA ANTI-JUGOSLOVENSKE SADRŽINE



ŠVIMLJEN BLIŽI IZGLED VEŠALA SA ZAMKOM



SNIMAK GRUPE DEMONSTRANATA I AUTOMOBILA ŠTO VOZI MRTVAČKI SAJDUK

Illustrations 2 – 5: Examples of photos from the file on the demonstrations in Perth on 22 January 1972.³²

*Examples of demonstrations in Canada and the United States of America
according to reports from Nova Hrvatska*

Nova Hrvatska was the most widespread Croatian émigré periodical. It was launched in London in January 1959; a year earlier it was published as a bulletin (*Hrvatski bilten*). In the entire period of its publication until 1990, its editor-in-chief was Jakša Kušan. From 1973 onward, *Nova Hrvatska* appeared as a publisher at the International Book Fair in Frankfurt. It published editions that were banned in Croatia, such as a Croatian orthography (with a dictionary) written by Stjepan Babić, Božidar Finka and Milan Moguš in 1971 (therefore called the ‘Londoner’). After the democratic elections in Croatia, the seat of *Nova Hrvatska* moved to Zagreb, thus becoming the first émigré newspaper to be printed and sold in Croatia. In December 1990, the last of the nine issues printed in Croatia were published.³³

During 1972, *Nova Hrvatska* was published as a monthly. It regularly called for the expression of dissent over events in Croatia by holding demonstrations in European and overseas countries. Also, as mentioned, there were regular extensive reports about demonstrations accompanied by numerous photographs.

For example, in an article about the aforementioned demonstrations in Australian cities in June 1972, it also reported about the demonstrations held in front of the Yugoslav consulate in Toronto, Canada on 9 July 1972. According to the article, approximately 1,500 Croats participated in these demonstrations. A special proclamation was prepared as well as numerous banners that were carried in the protest march. The protest was held with a police escort, and was covered by some Canadian media. According to the photographs that accompanied the text, the messages on the banners criticized the cooperation between the Canadian authorities and Yugoslavia, i.e., “Mr. Trudeau do not give money to dictator Tito.” Protesters also supported the leaders of the student movement, Dražen Budiša, Ivan Zvonimir Čičak, Ante Paradžik and Goran Dodig, calling them “the best sons of the Croatian people.”³⁴

New demonstrations, also extensively covered by *Nova Hrvatska*, took place in Toronto on 19 August 1972. The day before, “a truck plastered with Croatian banners passed through the streets of Toronto announcing the new Croatian demonstrations that would take place on the next day.” As stated, these demonstrations were “an explicit protest against the trials of students and representatives of Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb.” As in the example of the protests in Australia, on the one hand there was condemnation of the communist regime in Yugoslavia/Croatia,

³² Croatian State Archives, State Security Service of the Republican Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, HR-HDA-1561, code 10.3/11.

³³ “Nova Hrvatska.” In: *Leksikon hrvatskoga iseljništva i manjina*, pp. 792-793.

³⁴ *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 77 (July 1972): 11.

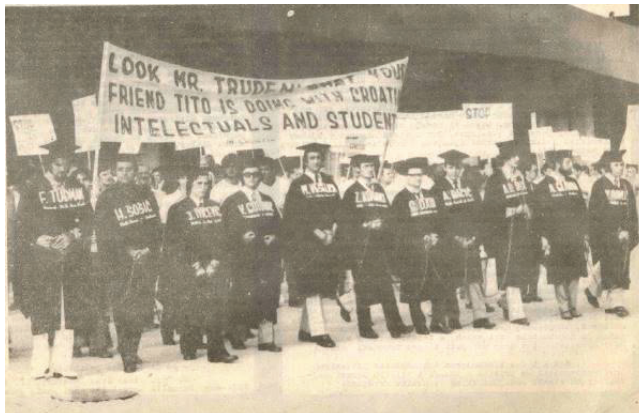


Illustration 6: Protesters with banners at anti-Yugoslav protests in Toronto on 9 July 1972

and on the other support and compassion for students and intellectuals enduring repression. The demonstrations were held in the square in front of City Hall in downtown Toronto. About 2,000 protesters participated, sending messages such as “Stop Genocide in Croatia” or “There is no free world without free Nations.” In order to reinforce these messages and attract the attention of a wider audience, the protest included several performances. A group of young men in chains represented imprisoned student leaders, and eleven persons in academic togas symbolized imprisoned members of *Matica Hrvatska*.³⁵

Similar demonstrations were held in cities in the United States of America, such as in, for example, New York 21 to 23 October 1972. According to *Nova Hrvatska*, on the first day of the demonstrations, a young man tore up the Yugoslav flag at Rockefeller Center. After that, approximately one thousand Croatian demonstrators marched through the streets of New York toward the Yugoslav consulate and the United Nations building, carrying banners and protesting against the “imprisonment, mutilation and condemnation of Croatian working and student youth, against the Stalinist persecution of Croatian intellectuals.” A leaflet with the title “Why are we demonstrating?” was distributed, and along with other slogans, its contents were conveyed by loudspeakers. Particular emphasis was placed on the fact that Albanians also joined Croatian protesters on that occasion. A day later, the protest was held by a motorcade formed by about 200 cars that moved through the many streets of New York to the United Nations building.

³⁵ “I opet Toronto,” *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 78-79 (August 1972): 10-11.



Illustrations 7 and 8: Performances in chains and academic togas as a part of the anti-Yugoslav demonstrations in Toronto on 19 August 1972

The news texts were again accompanied by photographs of protesters with banners, as well as part of the protest march which, similar to events in Perth, featured a coffin with Yugoslavia written on it, which was supposed to signify its “burial,” i.e., dissolution.³⁶

³⁶ GABELICA 1972: 9.



Hrvatski demonstranti su i na ovaj simboličan način "pokopali" Jugoslaviju usred najvećeg grada na svijetu. Nije zato čudo da su još istog dana o tome bujile sve radiostanice u Jugoslaviji.



Pred samim konzulatom dali su učesnici demonstracija do kraja maha svojim osjećajima. I pisanom i živom riječju pokazali su što misle o Jugoslaviji i diktatoru Titu.

Illustrations 9 and 10: Anti-Yugoslav protests in New York from 21 to 23 October 1972

The same issue of *Nova Hrvatska* that contained a description of the demonstrations in New York also included a call for new demonstrations at the beginning of December, on the anniversary of the events in Karadžorđevo, “the new symbol of tyranny over Croatia.” The beginning of that text is also imbued with emotions with a call for joint action: “Persecution and trials are not stopping. There are more and more victims. But the resistance is also growing! In Croatia and other parts of the Yugoslav dungeon, an explosion can happen at

any moment. In these crucial days, it is the duty of each of us to contribute to the common struggle.”³⁷

Similar invitations continued in subsequent issues of *Nova Hrvatska*. Certain prominent émigré intellectuals, such as Bogdan Radica, also wrote relevant texts on the subject. At the end of an article under the headline “A Croat on Christmas 1972,” Radica pointed out: “On Christmas 1972, after the anniversary of the darkness and exile that descended upon him, the Croatian man can do nothing more at this moment than warn himself, his Homeland, and the world that Croatia lives, that it has lived and that it will live. It is no longer a voice that constantly keeps us awake. On the streets of the free world, our youth demonstrate vigorously and energetically, thinking of Budiša, Čičak, Paradžik, Đodan, Ivičević, Veselica, Tuđman, Bušić and the thousands of other Croats who have been denied everything, even the right to life. With these demonstrations, Croats are showing that they are not just economic emigrants, that they did not leave their enslaved Homeland just to get rich, but also to uphold the living torch of freedom that we brought from Croatia.”³⁸

Conclusion

In the article, some examples of anti-Yugoslav demonstrations in Australia, Canada and the United States of America during 1972 are described from the perspective of the history of emotions. As is shown with these examples, the demonstrations were a reaction to the repression that had been imposed in Croatia against students, cultural activists, scholars and other participants in the Croatian Spring. As a rule, the structure of participants consisted of political émigrés who opposed the communist regime in Yugoslavia/Croatia. In the calls for protests, and in reports in the periodical *Nova Hrvatska*, the Croatian identity of the protesters was always highlighted. Demonstrations were usually held in front of Yugoslav diplomatic missions, but also on the streets and main squares of major cities. The analyzed documents and photographs show that different means and items (vehicles, banners, flyers) were used to convey protest messages and attract the attention of a wider audience. For the purpose of disseminating their messages, protesters also employed various symbolic performances (rituals), such as the funeral coffin ritual, shackling participants in chains, setting up gallows, or burning the Yugoslav flag. Such examples, as well as an analysis of the content of the protest messages and the bodily posture and facial expressions (grimaces) of protestors constituted an attempt to identify and encourage further research on

³⁷ Na demonstracije!, *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 80 (October 1972): 2.

³⁸ RADICA 1972: 5.

different negative and positive emotions in protests, such as anger, rage (indignation), dismay, hope, desire, compassion and the motivation to react.

Bibliography

Archival sources

Croatian State Archives, State Security Service of the Republican Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, HR-HDA-1561:

- Internal Affairs, Criminal charges against Marko Veselica, Vladimir Veselica, Šime Đodan, Ante Bušić, Vlado Gotovac, Hrvoje Šošić, Jozo Ivičević-Bakulić, Jure Juras, Ante Glibota, Ante Bačić, Vlatko Pavletić, Franjo Tuđman and Zvonko Komarica, and the chronology of the State Security Service Centre in Zagreb for those persons, code 016.1/4-41;
- Internal Affairs, Operation Tuškanac – Criminal charges against Ivan Zvonimir Čičak, Dražen Budiša, Ante Paradžik and Goran Dodig, the indictment of the Public Prosecutor's Office against those persons, overview of witnesses and closing statements of the defenders (Glowacki Ivo, Očić Matija, Šimatović Slavko and Gručić Ladislav) and accused persons, code 016.1/4-43;
- Emigration. Monograph on Yugoslav political (enemy) emigration in Australia (compiled in State Security Service of Federal Internal Affairs Secretariat of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, October 1975), code 10.1/49;
- Emigration. Album with photos from the demonstrations in Perth – Australia, held on 22 January 1972, code 10.3/11.

Newspapers (periodicals)

GABELICA, Marijan. 1972. "New York: tri dana hrvatskih demonstracija," *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 80 (October 1972), 9.

RADICA, Bogdan. 1972. "Hrvat na Božić 1972," *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 81-82 (November – December 1972), 5.

"I opet Toronto," *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 78-79 (August 1972), 10-11.

"Na demonstracije!" *Nova Hrvatska*, vol. 14, no. 80 (October 1972), 2.

Nova Hrvatska, vol. 14, no. 77 (July 1972), 10-11.

Literature

ALEXANDER, Jeffrey C. 2006. Cultural pragmatics: social performance between ritual and strategy. In: *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Bernhard Giesen and Jason L. Mast, 29-90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BLAŽEVIĆ, Zrinka. 2015. Povijest emocija: pomodni trend ili interdisciplinarna platforma?. *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 68, no. 2: 389-394.

- BRKOVIĆ, Ivana. 2015. Književnost i emocije – istraživačke smjernice. *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 68, no. 2: 403-408.
- CETINA, Željko. 2019. Povijest emocija na Jadranu. *Emotio, affectus, sensus...: o osjećajima u povijesti na jadranskom prostoru*, Međunarodni znanstveni skup 9. Istarski povijesni biennale, Poreč, 23-25. svibnja 2019. *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, vol. 51, no. 2: 485-488.
- CHAN, Michael. 2016. Psychological antecedents and motivational models of collective action: examining the role of perceived effectiveness in political protest participation. *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 15, no. 3: 305-321.
- CROCEANIA – Istraživanje emocija u (re)konstrukciji identiteta dijaspore: Hrvati u Australiji i Novom Zelandu 1945. – 1991. Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar. <https://www.pilar.hr/2021/03/croceania-istrazivanje-emocija-u-rekonstrukciji-identiteta-dijas-pore-hrvati-u-australiji-i-novom-zelandu-1945-1991/>. (accessed 20.07.2023).
- CROZIER-DE ROSA, Sharon. 2021. Emotions of Protest. In *Sources for the History of Emotions: a Guide*, ed. Katie Barclay, Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and Peter N. Stearns, 198-211. Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge.
- EYERMAN, Ron. 2006. Performing opposition or, how social movements move. In *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, Bernhard Giesen and Jason L. Mast, 193-217. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- FERNÁNDEZ-DOLS, José-Miguel, James A. RUSSELL. 2017. Introduction. In *The Science of Facial Expression*, ed. José-Miguel Fernández-Dols and James A. Russell, 3-14. New York: Oxford University Press.
- FLAM, Helena, Debra KING. 2007. Introduction. In *Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Helena Flam and Debra King, 1-18. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- GOLDSTEIN, Ivo. 2008. *Hrvatska povijest*. Zagreb: Europapress holding.
- GOODWIN, Jeff, James M. JASPER, Francesca POLLETTA. 2001. Introduction: Why Emotions Matter. In *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polletta, 1-24. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- IRVINE, Jill. 2011. Hrvatsko proljeće i raspad Jugoslavije. *Političke analize*, vol. 2, no. 7: 28-37.
- JANKOVIĆ, Branimir. 2015. Uvod u temat „Povijest emocija“. *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 68, no. 2: 367-375.
- JASPER, James M. 2018. *The emotions of protest*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- JURIS, Jeffrey S. 2014. Embodying Protest: Culture and Performance within Social Movements. In *Conceptualizing Culture in Social Movement Research*, ed. Britta Baumgarten, Priska Daphi and Peter Ullrich, 227-247. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- LILJA, Mona. 2021. *Constructive Resistance: Repetitions, Emotions, and Time*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

- MARTINČEVIĆ, Mario. 2021. Emotio, affectus, sensus...“ o osjećajima u povijesti na jadranskom prostoru / Emotio, affectus, sensus...: emotion in the history of the adriatic, Zbornik radova / Conference papers, sv. 9, ur. Marija Mogorović Crljenko, Elena Uljančić, Zavičajni muzej Poreštine – Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli – Državni arhiv u Pazinu, Poreč, 2021., 205 str. *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, vol. 39: 320-322.
- McLOUGHLIN, Barry, Kevin McDERMOTT, ed. 2003. *Stalin's Terror: High Politics and Mass Repression in the Soviet Union*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- NIKOLIĆ JAKUS, Zrinka. 2015. Povijest djetinjstva u srednjem vijeku i povijest emocija: osjećaji roditelja prema djeci kao primjer istraživačkog pristupa temi osjećaja u prošlosti. *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 68, no. 2: 377-381.
- „Nova Hrvatska“. In: *Leksikon hrvatskoga iseljeničtva i manjina*. 2020. Ed. Vlado Šakić and Ljiljana Dobrovšak, pp. 792-793. Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Hrvatska matica iseljenika.
- PRIANTE, Monica. 2015. Povijest emocija i smrt. Primjeri iz talijanske historiografije. *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 68, no. 2: 383-388.
- ROSENWEIN, Barbara H. 2015. Problemi i metode istraživanja povijesti emocija. *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 68, no. 2 (2015): 437-458.
- SABUCEDO, José-Manuel, Xiana VILAS. 2014. Anger And Positive Emotions In Political Protest. *Universitas Psychologica*, vol. 13, no. 3: 829-838.
- SARDELIĆ, Mirko. 2015. Model proučavanja i izazovi povijesti emocija – skica. *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 68, no. 2: 395-402.
- SPEHNJAK, Katarina, Tihomir CIPEK. 2007. Disidenti, opozicija i otpor – Hrvatska i Jugoslavija 1945. – 1990. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. 39, no. 2: 255-297.
- ŠUŠAK, Ivica. 2008. Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma. *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava: časopis za teoriju i praksu javne uprave*, vol. 8, no. 3: 767-783.
- VAN TROOST, Dunya, Jacquélien VAN STEKELENBURG, Bert KLANDERMANS. 2013. Emotions of Protest. In *Emotions in Politics: The Affect Dimension in Political Tension*, ed. N. Demertzis, 186-203. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Emocije prosvjeda: primjeri protujugoslavenskih demonstracija u Australiji, Kanadi i SAD-u 1972. godine

U članku je opisano nekoliko primjera protujugoslavenskih demonstracija održanih tijekom 1972. godine u Australiji, Kanadi i Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama iz perspektive povijesti emocija. U istraživanju su korišteni neobjavljeni arhivski dokumenti i tisak hrvatske političke emigracije, konkretno, *Nova Hrvatska* pod uredništvom Jakše Kušana. Zaključci su utemeljeni na dostupnim tekstualnim i fotografskim materijalima. Kao što je pokazano opisanim primjerima,

demonstracije su bile odgovor na represiju koja je u Hrvatskoj uslijedila prema studentima, kulturnim i znanstvenim djelatnicima i drugim sudionicima hrvatskoga proljeća. Najveći broj sudionika u tim prosvjedima činili su politički emigranti koji su oponirali komunističkom režimu u Hrvatskoj i Jugoslaviji. U proglasima, tj. pozivima na demonstracije, kao i izvještajima o održanim demonstracijama koje je objavljivala *Nova Hrvatska*, uvijek se naglašavao hrvatski identitet prosvjednika. Prosvjedi su najčešće održavani ispred jugoslavenskih diplomatsko-konzularnih predstavništava, ali i po ulicama i trgovima većih gradova u spomenutim državama. Analizirani dokumenti i fotografije pokazuju da su za prenošenje poruka korištena različita sredstva i oprema (vozila, transparenti, letci). U tu svrhu, prosvjednici su također često koristili različite simbolične performanse (rituale), poput rituala s pogrebnom opremom (lijesovima), vezanja lancima, postavljanja vješala ili spaljivanja jugoslavenske zastave. Na osnovi takvih primjera, kao i na osnovi sadržaja prosvjednih transparenta, ponašanja (držanja tijela) prosvjednika, izraza lica (grimase), nastojalo se identificirati i potaknuti daljnja istraživanja o negativnim i pozitivnim emocijama koje se javljaju prilikom prosvjeda poput ljutnje, bijesa (gnjeva), razočaranja, nade, čežnje, suosjećanja i motivacije za djelovanje.

Ključne riječi: povijest emocija, emocije prosvjeda, hrvatsko iseljništvo, politička emigracija, prekomorske zemlje, Australija, Kanada, Sjedinjene Američke Države, demonstracije, hrvatsko proljeće

Key words: history of emotions, emotions of protest, Croatian émigrés, political emigration, overseas countries, Australia, Canada, United States of America, demonstrations, Croatian Spring

Nenad Bukvić
Hrvatski državni arhiv
Marulićev trg 21
10000 Zagreb
nbukvic@arhiv.hr

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

ZAVOD ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST
INSTITUTE OF CROATIAN HISTORY
INSTITUT FÜR KROATISCHE GESCHICHTE

RADOVI

55

BROJ 2

ZAVOD ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST
FILOZOFSKOGA FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

FF press

ZAGREB 2023.

RADOVI ZAVODA ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST
FILOZOFSKOGA FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

Knjiga 55, broj 2

Izdavač / Publisher

Zavod za hrvatsku povijest
Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
FF-press

Za izdavača / For Publisher

Domagoj Tončinić

Glavna urednica / Editor-in-Chief

Inga Vilogorac Brčić

Izvršna urednica / Executive Editor

Kornelija Jurin Starčević

Uredništvo / Editorial Board

Jasmina Osterman (stara povijest/ancient history), Trpimir Vedriš (srednji vijek/medieval history), Hrvoje Petrić (rani novi vijek/early modern history), Željko Holjevac (moderna povijest/modern history), Tvrtko Jakovina (suvremena povijest/contemporary history), Silvija Pisk (mikrohistorija i zavičajna povijest/microhistory and local history),
Zrinka Blažević (teorija i metodologija povijesti/theory and methodology of history)

Međunarodno uredničko vijeće / International Editorial Council

Denis Alimov (Sankt Peterburg), Marijan Premović (Nikšić), Csaba Békés (Budapest), Rajko Bratož (Ljubljana), Svetlozar Eldarov (Sofija), Toni Filiposki (Skopje), Aleksandar Fotić (Beograd), Vladan Gavrilović (Novi Sad), Alojz Ivanišević (Wien),
Egidio Ivetić (Padova), Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo),
Irina Ognyanova (Sofija), Géza Pálffy (Budapest), Ioan-Aurel Pop (Cluj),
Nade Proeva (Skopje), Alexios Savvides (Kalamata), Vlada Stanković (Beograd),
Ludwig Steindorff (Kiel), Peter Štih (Ljubljana)

Izvršni urednik za tuzemnu i inozemnu razmjenu /

Executive Editor for Publications Exchange

Martin Previšić

Tajnik uredništva / Editorial Board Assistant

Dejan Zadro

Adresa uredništva/Editorial Board address

Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet Zagreb,
Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10 000, Zagreb
Tel. ++385 (0)1 6120191

Časopis izlazi jedanput godišnje / The Journal is published once a year

Časopis je u digitalnom obliku dostupan na / The Journal in digital form is accessible at
Portal znanstvenih časopisa Republike Hrvatske „Hrčak“
<http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp>

Financijska potpora za tisak časopisa / The Journal is published with the support by
Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske

Časopis je indeksiran u sljedećim bazama / The Journal is indexed in the following databases:
Directory of Open Access Journals, EBSCO, SCOPUS, ERIH PLUS, Emerging Sources Citation
Index - Web of Science

Naslovna stranica / Title page by

Marko Maraković

Grafičko oblikovanje i računalni slog / Graphic design and layout

Marko Maraković

Lektura / Language editors

Samanta Paronić (hrvatski / Croatian)

Edward Bosnar (engleski / English)

Tisak / Printed by

Tiskara Zelina d.d.

Naklada / Issued

200 primjeraka / 200 copies

Ilustracija na naslovnici

Muza Klio (Alexander S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, London 1898)

*Časopis je u digitalnom obliku dostupan na Portalu znanstvenih časopisa
Republike Hrvatske „Hrčak“ <http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp>*

*The Journal is accessible in digital form at the Hrčak - Portal of scientific
journals of Croatia <http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp>*