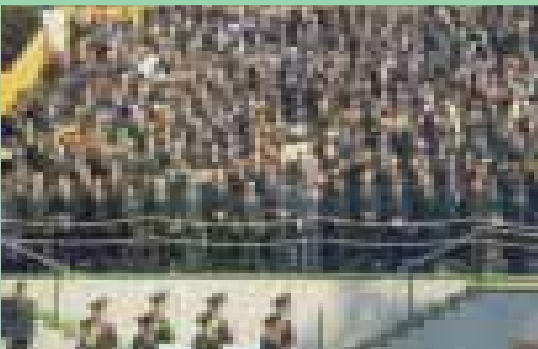
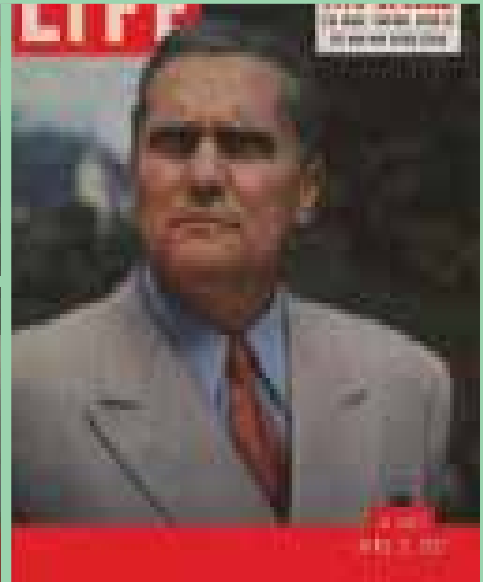
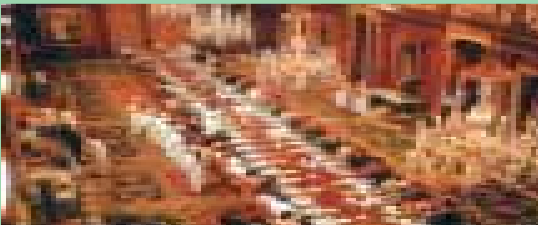




POLITICAL LIFE



THE HOT SPOT OF THE COLD WAR: YUGOSLAVIA



What was the position of Yugoslavia at the beginning of the Cold War?



TEACHERS' PART

EXPLANATION OF THE WORKSHOP



The theme of the workshop is relation of Yugoslavia and big forces (USA, USSR, GB, FRANCE...), as it depended on their interests and influence, and these countries were determining the framework of Yugoslavia's acting on historical scene. Yugoslav politicians were trying to find a support of powerful states to protect their interests, and in different situations those were different countries. Changes of alliances sometimes happened in a very short time, which should be stressed to the pupils. The workshop contains three groups of documents that show the movements of Yugoslavia in the international scene, through contradictions in their contents. The workshop shows that even mid-size and mid-power European countries, as Yugoslavia was, depended on a ratio of power and situation at the international scene, thus being able to lead only relatively independent politics. Another important fact shown in the workshop is that ideologic similarities and differences are not necessarily followed by political alliances between countries. If it is necessary and possible, the teacher should help pupils to see the interconnections and inter-dependance of workshops 1 (on international position of Yugoslavia) and 2 (on perception of democracy in Yugoslavia).

RELATION WITH THE CURRICULUM

The workshop is intended for refreshing the topics of a post-war period, and it is particularly suitable to connect international context with internal political development of Yugoslavia. Working with sources has a potential to be motivating and inspiring for pupils.

RESULT

At the end of the class, pupils have understood and shown on an example how position of Yugoslavia changed, depending on changes in the international scene.

GOAL

Educational goal of the workshop: To make pupils understand that international position and politics of Yugoslavia were changing, depending on changes on international scene. To raise pupils as active participants in civil society.

ABILITIES AND SKILLS

Analysis of historical sources, selection of relevant information, derivation of conclusions, development of critical thinking and multi-perspective approach.

MANNER OF WORK

The teacher gives instructions on the way of work at the class. He/she divides pupils into three groups. Each group gets two documents and a political map of Europe:

- 1) standpoint of Yugoslavia (documents 1, 2 and 7),
- 2) standpoint of the Western block (documents 3, 4 and 7) and
- 3) standpoint of the Soviet Union (documents 5, 6 and 7).

The pupils should read and analyse textual historical sources and to complete their task with the help of questions given. Their conclusions should be written down as bullet-points that will help the representative of the group to present the views of the group, along with other pupils. Group 1 presents the Yugoslav standpoint on change in relations between Yugoslavia and the USSR. Group 2 then presents the western view of the situation in East Europe, in particular relations between Yugoslavia and USSR. At last, Group 3 presents the Soviet view on relations between Yugoslavia and USSR. In the end, all together analyse the map and discuss the changes of Yugoslavia position in the post-war period.

THE FLOW OF THE CLASS	<p>1st step – giving instructions. The teacher says: Each group should create a certain image of the political position of Yugoslavia after the WW2, based on analysis of supplied documents. A representative of the group will then present that image to the rest of the class in form of several thesis.</p> <p>The teacher then gives the historical context from the pupils’ part –<i>10 minutes</i>.</p> <p>2nd step: Division to three groups (standpoint of Yugoslavia, standpoint of the Western block, standpoint of the Soviet Union)</p> <p>3rd step: Analysis of texts in accordance with accompanying questions –<i>30 minutes</i>. All pupils work individually with their texts for 20 minutes, while the remaining 10 minutes is intended for harmonization of image and formulation of thesis.</p> <p>4th step: Presentation of conclusions by one representative of each group, based on their jointly agreed thesis –<i>25 minutes</i>.</p> <p>5th step: Final discussion for confronting the views, argumentation and integration, which should contain all the three perspectives: Yugoslavian, western and Soviet –<i>20 minutes</i>.</p>
NECESSARY MATERIAL	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. group: Sources for standpoints of Yugoslavia 2. group: Sources for standpoints of the Western block 3. group: Sources for standpoints of the Soviet Union 4. all the groups get a political map of Europe in the Cold War
PRESUMED KNOWLEDGE	<p>Acquittance with history of Yugoslavia and general history of the 20th century (2nd and 4th grade of secondary school)</p>
THESIS FOR FINAL DISCUSSION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> “ What happened with Yugoslavia after the WW2? “ What was the influence of external factors to the political position of Yugoslavia? “ To what extent Yugoslavia could have influenced the international politics? “ Do you know of a similar example in that period in Europe? “ What was going on in Europe after the division of the world into the blocks?

PUPILS’ PART

Historical context: After the WW2, two large political groups gradually started to form in Europe, which led to division of the whole world to two large ideological, political, military and economic blocks in the second half of the 20th century. Those were the NATO pact and the Warsaw agreement, while the line of the division used to be called “the iron curtain”. This situation continued to the end of the 80s, when the Warsaw agreement collapsed. Yugoslavia saw the end of the WW2 as an ally of the USSR and the western democracies, but the Yugoslav communists were closer to the Soviets. Then, in 1948, there was a conflict between Yugoslavia and USSR, and Yugoslavia started to turn towards west. Such a position, with constant ballancing between East and West, Yugoslavia kept until its own collapsing.

Group 1



How was the Yugoslav politics changing towards the Soviet Union after the WW2?

1.

TITO'S LETTER TO JOSIF STALIN FROM 1944



“Dear Josif Visarionovich,

[...] I know that you are aware in what difficult situation we are, as there are attempts to mess with our internal issues from various sides, and yet we have to be observant not to sharpen our relations with the Allies, at the same time preserving our political and military independence. In these matters, every, even very small help from the USSR, is very precious to us. And I ask you for this help.

The Allies still did not set before us the issue of lending of their forces on the territory of Yugoslavia. I must say we would not be pleased with that, as I am convinced it would create different problems in the country and might lead to various conflicts. [...]

There are many important issues I would gladly discuss with you personally. If you deem it opportune and necessary, I am ready to come to you beginning of August. I would not like you to consider this as my immodesty, but rather my deep concern to clarify certain issues before peace talks and to take a position on them, as I believe it to be in the interest of the Balkan states and the Soviet Union.

Receive expressions of my deep respect.

5. VII 1944.

Yours, J. B. Tito”

Historical museum of Yugoslavia, *Putovanja i posete J. B. Tita*, I-3-b/566-3,4

2.

THE SPEECH OF EDVARD KARDELJ AT THE UN IN NEW YORK IN 1949



“[...] The concrete actions of the USSR towards Yugoslavia show that the USSR Government is not always an interpreter of contemporary strivings of supporters of peace and democracy. We appreciate positive and advanced positions of the USSR Government to the benefit of peace and peaceful cooperation among nations, which we supported and will continue to support, but we can't help but notice deep deviation between declarations and actions for a number of issues, which particularly became apparent in relations between the USSR and FNRJ. One cannot speak about not interfering in internal matters of others, at the same time taking a position such as the position of the USSR Government towards a government of an independent country like Yugoslavia. One cannot speak about peacefulness and at the same time put such threats on Yugoslavia, as the USSR Government is doing. [...]”

Branko Petranović i Momčilo Zečević, *Jugoslavija 1918-1988*.
Tematska zbirka dokumenata, Beograd 1988, pg. 956.



Based on analysis of sources and a provided map, draw arguments for an answer to a key question.

Group 2



How the big western forces saw the position of Yugoslavia after the WW2?

3.



CHURCHILL'S SPEECH IN FULTON, MISSOURI, USA, 5 MARCH 1946

"[...] From Szczecin on the Baltic to Trieste on Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has fallen over the continent. Capitals of old countries of Central and East Europe lie behind that line. Warszaw, Berlin, Praha, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucuresti, Sofija, all those famous cities and population of those territories, I must say, lie in the Soviet sphere, and they are subject, one way or another, not only of Soviet influence, but a very strong control from Moscow, which is growing in many cases [...] Polish Government, controlled by Russians, was encouraged to comit enorous and totally wrong aspirations towards Germany, and now there is a massive persecution of Germans in unthinkable proportions. Communist parties, that used to be very small in all those East Europearl countries, grow to the influence and power far beyond their strength and they attempt to implement total control everywhere. [...]"

, London 1990, p. 303–304.

4.



REPORT OF AMERICAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES TO THE U.S. STATE SECRETARY

AMERICAN EMBASSY
BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA

7 July 1947

CONFIDENTIAL

Respectful Secretary of State
Washington

"[...] If I correctly understand Russian communism, Yugoslav communism already shows deviations from Russian, despite its pet position and basic similarities of race and political tradition. [...] Although the partisans are to a large extent inspired and governed by communists, they still are a very heterogenous group. There are clear differences in opinions among them, though they are vry discrete. It is more probable that opposition to Soviet dominance will come from partisan lines, rather than from opposition. Conflicts of interests with Russia are imminent, and strong nationalism of this country might play a major role if some acute situation arises [...]"

John M. Cabot
Charge d'affaires "

Historical museum of Yugoslavia,

, I-3-b/759-5



Based on analysis of sources and a provided map, draw arguments for an answer to a key question.

Group 3



How was politics of the USSR towards Yugoslavia changing after the WW2

5.

STATEMENT OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ON SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA IN 1949



“[...] If counselling of Informbiro of Communist parties in June 1948 established that Tito-Rankovic clique moved from democracy and socialism to bourgeois nationalism, in the period since the counselling the clique moved from bourgeois nationalism to fascism and open betrayal of national interests of Yugoslavia. Latest events showed that Yugoslav Government is fully dependant of foreign imperialistic circles and it turned into a tool of their aggressive politics, which liquidated the independence of Yugoslav republic. CK Komparty (Central committee of Communist party) and Government of Yugoslavia fully joined imperialistic circles against the socialism and democracy, against Communist parties of the whole world, against countries of peoples' democracies and USSR. [...]”

Jugoslavija 1918-1988.

Tematska zbirka dokumenata

6.

ADDRESS OF NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV TO YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP IN BELGRADE IN 1955



„Dear comrade Tito,
Dear comrades, members of government and leaders of Yugoslav Alliance of Communists, dear comrades and citizens,

[...] Peoples of our countries are tied by old brotherly friendship and joint fight against common enemy [...] However, these good relations have been undermined. We sincerely regret what happened and resolutely refuse all that piled-up in that period [i.e. 1948–1955]. From our side, with no doubt we put here a provoking role in relations with Yugoslavia and USSR, played by now disclosed enemies of the people, Beria, Abakumov and others. We thoroughly scrutinized the materials that were a base for heavy charges and insults targeted against Yugoslav leaders at the time. The facts show that these materials were fabricated by the enemies of the people, despised agents of imperialism, who infiltrated into our Party by fraud. We are deeply convinced that period of worsening in our relations is far behind us. From our side, we are ready to do what is necessary to remove all the obstacles to full normalization of relations between our countries [...]”

Pomirenje Jugoslavije i SSSR-a 1953-1955.

Tematska zbirka dokumenata



Based on analysis of sources and a provided map, draw arguments for an answer to a key question.

7.



MAP OF EUROPE IN THE COLD WAR

The Penguin Atlas of World History, vol. two, From the French Revolution to the Present, London, first published in 1978, 10th ed., p. 230.



1. Based on this map, what can you conclude about the position of Yugoslavia in relation to the “iron curtain”?
2. How do you interpret different color of a star on the map on Yugoslavia and other socialist countries?

BEGINNING OR END OF DEMOCRACY?



What was the understanding of democracy in Yugoslavia after the WW2?



TEACHER'S PART

EXPLANATION OF WORKSHOP



90 minutes

Topic of the workshop is formation of political order of socialist Yugoslavia, when different views and interpretations of the term 'democracy' appeared. The workshop aims to show that the expression 'democracy' (as well as many other) does not have the same meaning in different circumstances and for different actors. One group of used sources show attitudes of Yugoslav communists, other of Yugoslav civil politicians, while the third gives views of international factor to the situation in the country. **Communists** were using the term "**people's democracy**" and believed that the true democracy represents only the power of their Party as winning in the civil war and the only political representative of all 'workers, peasants and honest intelligence'. **Civil politicians** were using the term "**parliamentary democracy**" and believed that only multiparty election system of equal political competitors can give a truly legitimate power that will represent all social layers and eligible citizens. **Foreign statesmen**, who supported different political actors in Yugoslavia, were commenting and assessing the situation, and were adjusting their policy to the situation in Yugoslavia, so their views put additional light to the situation in the country. If necessary and possible, teacher should help the pupils to notice mutual connections and interdependence of topics of workshop 1 (on international position of Yugoslavia) and workshop 2 (on perceptions of democracy in Yugoslavia).

REFERENCE TO CURRICULA

The workshop is intended for review of topics about the post-war period, and it is particularly suitable to connect international context with internal political development of Yugoslavia. Work on sources has a potential to be motivating and inspiring for pupils.

RESULT

At the end of the class, pupils can show on an example there were different perceptions of democracy by political actors who lived in Yugoslavia.

GOAL

Learning goal: For pupils to understand there were different perceptions of democracy by political actors who lived in Yugoslavia.

Educational goal: Pupils, through discussion about what democracy should be, are raised as politically interested citizens.

ABILITIES AND SKILLS

Analysis of historical sources, selection of relevant data, derivation of conclusions, development of critical thinking, development of multiperspective approach.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

Pupils are divided into three groups, each gets two documents and election results:

- 1) communists' views (documents 1, 2 and 7);
- 2) civil politicians' views (documents 3, 4 and 7); and
- 3) foreign politicians' views (documents 5, 6 and 7).

Pupils should read and analyse textual sources and fulfil their task using the accompanying questions. They write down their conclusions as thesis that will help the group representative to present the group's views to other pupils. Group 1 is the first to give its opinion, then group 2. Their views will be confronted in many aspects, but since they are political opponents, full trust cannot be given to either of them. Presentation of group 3 will give additional information that should help creating a complete picture.

	Then everybody analyse the table with election results and discuss political situation in Yugoslavia after the WW2 and historical contents of the term 'democracy'.
ORGANISATION OF A LESSON	<p>step 1 – giving instructions. Teacher tells each group to create a certain picture of political situation in Yugoslavia after the WW2, based on analysis of supplied documents and accompanying questions. This is then presented in form of bullet points to the rest of the class by a group representative.</p> <p>The teacher then gives the historical context from the Pupils' part –10 minutes.</p> <p>step 2: Division to groups: 1) communists, 2) civil politicians, 3) foreign politicians –5 minutes.</p> <p>step 3: Analysis of texts according to questions accompanying them –30 minutes.</p> <p>Pupils work individually for 20 minutes, and the remaining 10 are dedicated to harmonization of picture and formulation of thesis.</p> <p>step 4: Presentation of a group representative based on joint group bullet points. –25 minutes.</p> <p>step 5: Final discussion intended to confront attitudes, argumentation and integration. –20 minutes.</p>
NECESSARY MATERIAL	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sources for communist views 2. Sources for civil democrats views 3. Sources for foreign views 4. Results of elections of 1945
ASSUMED KNOWLEDGE	Knowledge of history of Yugoslavia and general history of the 20th century. (II and IV grade of secondary school)
POINTS FOR FINAL DISCUSSION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> " What were the similarities and differences in understanding of democracy by communists, civil democrats and western politicians? " Was political system of Yugoslavia connected with international circumstances? In what way? " In your opinion, could Yugoslavia have existed as parliamentary democracy? Clarify.

PUPILS' PART

Historical context: After the WW2 Yugoslavia was restored as 'democratic federative republic'. There were two basic political groups that pretended to rule Yugoslavia:

1) **communists**, represented by Marshall Josip Broz Tito, who had at their disposal military, united and mass Communist Party, a reputation of liberating the country and a support of the allies, especially USSR;

2) **civil politicians**, represented by the political emigrant, young King Petar II Karađorđević, who were disunited, had no effective force on disposal and a reputation of mutually conflicted fugitives from occupied country. They were supported by the allies, particularly UK and USA.

The winning forces tried to arrange the world according to their needs, and to keep it sustainable for a longer period. They wanted to restore Yugoslavia and keep it a stable and united country, able to fulfill international obligations, reaching it in the fastest and cheapest way. They were particularly interested to remove any possibility of reoccurrence of conflicts inside the country.

The table was formed on the basis of official results of first post-war elections (Official Gazette 92/1945). During negotiations on a manner of voting, the communists managed to go under a wider list, named “list of National front”, which, besides communists, also had representatives of left civil parties. Their opposition was a “list-less box”, where those who were against the list of “National front” voted, which practically meant emigration political parties and King Petar II Karadjordjevic. The voting was by dropping a rubber ball in one of the boxes. The elections were accompanied by intimidation, harassment and unfair counting performed by new, revolutionary power.

7.

OVERVIEW OF ELECTION RESULTS PER FEDERAL UNITS AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES OF YUGOSLAVIA IN 1945



federal unit (autonomous province)	votes for communists	votes for civil politicians
	%	%
SERBIA	88,59	11,41
VOIVODINA	85,90	14,60
KOSOVO AND METOHIJA	96,78	3,22
CROATIA	91,52	8,48
SLOVENIA	83,25	16,75
BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA	95,21	4,79
MACEDONIA	95,85	4,15
MONTENEGRO	97,93	2,07

Table made according to election results published in: *Slu`beni list*, br. 92/1945.



Compare results of first elections in 1945 with sources and assessments of communist support among people, given by communists themselves, civil politicians and western observers. Were the forecasts realistic?

Group 1



What was the understanding of democracy by Yugoslav communists?

1.



COMMUNISTS ON THEIR PERCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY IN 1945 AND 1947

“I think we have no right before our peoples, who made such sacrifices and gave so many lives in this war for freedom and equality, that we tell them today: Brothers, you fought, you shed your blood, but now it is not considered anymore, it has no value, now, merely a ball* will decide if you will or will not be equal. The one who puts things in this way, in my opinion, wishes troubles in Yugoslavia, not order or peace. Whether the request of our peoples to enter the Constitution as equal peoples and as equal to decide about everything, does it mean the violation of the sovereignty of constitutive assembly? I think not.”

A speech of Edvard Kardelj in 1945, source: Branko Petranović i Momčilo Žečević, Jugoslavija 1918-1988. Tematska zbirka dokumenata, Beograd 1988, str. 765.

“The new political organization in our country requires a new form of political life. Numerous, and heterogeneous in their views, political parties in our country would present an utmost obstacle to a quick and lasting development of our country. Not only political, but also economic structure of our country, excludes the possibility of existence of many political parties, with old programs and old views. A unified economic program requires political unity. Let's picture the following: we have ended the war, we should move to reconstruction of the country,... and we have different parties in villages. One says: this bridge should not be built first, but the other one. Another one will say: why do we give more aid to, say, Bosnia, or Lika (area in Croatia), or Montenegro, compared to other republics?... they would say: why do we need industrialization, electrification..., let every peasant do the way knows and can... That would paralyze our forces...”

Tito's speech at the 2nd Congress of the National Front of Yugoslavia, 27. IX 1947.

*a ball – refers to a voting ball, as ballots were not used in the 1st elections.

2.



COOPERATION OF COMMUNISTS AND SOME CIVIL POLITICIANS ON ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW POLITICAL STATE IN YUGOSLAVIA IN 1945

“(…) In sense of military and police, we were strong enough and self-confident, but our base among the people, particularly the middle class, was too narrow and unattended. (...) Most of the work in that fell on Kardelj, but I was also tasked to create a joint platform, together with supporters of National front, republicans and agrarians. (...) discussions and formulations, as a whole, were with mutual respect, even friendship. The only “incident” happened with a representative of one-not very significant-group of intellectuals. Provoked by something, he nervously yelled: We are not equal! We demand equality! - That on the other hand provoked me, so I replied: Damn right you are not equal! And you cannot be. Behind us, communists, there are fifty divisions and a horrifying war, and you are just a group. You have a wrong perception of equality. This is not about equality, but mutual agreeing on things. – Everyone remained mute on this, even Uncle Jăa*, only Dragoljub Jovanović smiled, with a self-aware irony. (...)”

* a civil politician, Jaša Prodanović

Vilas, Milovan, Vlast, London, 1983, pg. 11-12.



1. Based on analysis of the source and data from the table, draw arguments for answering the key question.

2. Prepare an answer to the question below the table.

Group 2



What was the understanding of democracy in the 1940s?

3.

MEMORANDUM OF CIVIL POLITICIANS OF THE YUGOSLAVIA ARCHIVE
ADDRESSED TO FOREIGN MINISTERS OF FIVE
(G. Britain, USA, USSR, France, China)

Dr Vlatko Maček

Dr Miha Krek

Veselav Vilder

Dr Milan Gavrilović

K. Lj. Miletić

The Yugoslavia Archive; Emigrantska Vlada Kraljevine Jugoslavije

4.

COOPERATION OF COMMUNISTS AND SOME CIVIL POLITICIANS
ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW POLITICAL STATE IN YUGOSLAVIA

* a civil politician, Jaša Prodanović

Vilas, Milovan, Vlast, London, 1983, pg. 11–12.



1. Based on analysis of the source and data from the table, draw arguments for answering the key question.

2. Prepare an answer to the question below the table.

Group 3



What was the perception of democracy in Yugoslavia among western representatives?

5.

PROTOCOL FROM THE CONFERENCE OF THE WINNING FORCES IN THE WW2, POTSDAM, 1945



“(…) Eden: Next issue - Yugoslavia. (…) We should bear in mind that at Crim conference we agreed about Yugoslavia without their representatives.

Stalin: It is an Allied country now, with legitimate power. Now we should not solve those issues without their representatives. (…)

Truman: Are you serious about calling them here? I think it would be inconvenient.

Churchill: We put our signatures to an agreement at Crim conference, and now we see that declaration is not being fulfilled in Yugoslavia: there is no election law, the Assembly was not expanded, legal procedure was not established, Tito's administration rules with help from its political police, press is also controlled as in some fascist states (…)

Stalin: (…) You see, the data Mr. Churchill now presented, about violations of some provisions of Crim conference, those data, based on our sources, are unknown.

Truman: If we are going to consider political complaints on whoever, we shall just be wasting out time. If we call here Tito, Franco or other statesmen, it will not produce anything good (…)

Stalin: You are right about it. (…)

Teheran, Jalta, Potsdam (Collected documents), Moscow, 1971.

6.

AMERICAN VIEW OF POLITICAL SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA IN 1947



AMERICAN EMBASSY BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA

7 July 1947, CLASSIFIED

To respectful State Secretary, Washington

“(…) Communism has great weaknesses: basing its doctrine on materialism, holding that the goal justifies the means, no matter how troublesome they may be, kills the spontaneous desire of mankind for freedom (let's add also playing with another great desire - security). (…) It is dangerous to generalize too much, to what extent the current government enjoys the popular support, or not. The calculations in the air, saying that 85-95% of the people is against the government, are obviously just speculations. (…) My personal opinion is that masses, though sceptical and dissatisfied, are not embittered against the government. Why would they be? With exception of things such as state control and buy-off of grains, they are not any worse than in previous regimes. (…) We must not take sarcastic attacks of former political leaders and cosmopolits clique, mostly hurt by the turnover, as Vox Populi. Even if we assume that most Yugoslavs are against communism, that does not mean that there would be a larger number of those who would risk their lives to overthrow it, than those who would defend it. (…)

John M. Cabot, Charge d'affaires

Historical museum of Yugoslavia, Putovanja i posete J. B. Tita, I-3-b/759-2



1. Based on analysis of the source and data from the table, draw arguments for answering the key question.

2. Prepare an answer to the question below the table.

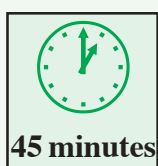
LABOR CAMPS EVEN AFTER THE WAR!



Can a group be guilty for individual crimes?



TEACHER'S PART

EXPLANATION
OF WORKSHOP

45 minutes

The basic idea of the workshop is the question of collective guilt, which may be worked on an example of persecution of ethnic Germans (Folksdojcers). The similar fate in Yugoslavia after the war was shared by Italians and Hungarians, but on an example of one national minority we can process the issue of collective guilt and show, thus far, little known beginning of the “second” Yugoslavia. Therefore, this workshop may be a good supplement to the curricula, but more important is the educational function of the workshop itself.

The envisaged time for the workshop is 45 minutes, so it can be held within one class. The workshop is planned for a group of up to 30 participants. Participants should have knowledge about the WW2 in Yugoslavia. All the necessary material is supplied, and the lecturer should only prepare copies. Most of the material is taken from the book “Nestanak Folksdojcera” (The disappearance of ‘Folksdojcers’), Zagreb, 1997, and book “Radni logor Valpovo 1945.-1946.” (Labor camp Valpovo 1945-1946), Osijek, 1999, both prepared by Vladimir Geiger.

RESULT

...of the workshop is: acquiring new knowledge about the first years of new Yugoslavia, adopting new knowledge about the suffering of Germans in Yugoslavia after the war, developing critical thinking, work on sources, adopting new skills of historical research (interview), practicing team work, developing empathy for suffering of people and negative attitude towards “collectivization” of guilt.

GOAL

... of the workshop is to inform the participants with the beginning of new Yugoslavia, when all the nations and national minorities, all the citizens, were promised national and social liberation, and at the same time to inform them about the hardships of Germans in Yugoslavia just after the war. The goal is to initiate the issues of collective guilt.

ORGANIZATION
OF A LESSON

- In the introduction, all participants should be informed about the goal of workshop and explain them who Folksdojcers were. (5 min)
- All participants should be divided in three groups and give them materials and tasks (15 to 20 min).

The first group would get the text of ZAVNOH declaration on basic rights of peoples and citizens of democratic Croatia, text with figures of Folksdojcers victims in Yugoslavia, a map of an area in Yugoslavia where they lived and camps where they were kept, official documents of AVNOJ and Ministry of Interior of the Federal State of Croatia on confiscation of property and repatriation of Folksdojcers (Attachments 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6).

1.) On the basis of supplied material, try to explain what social and national liberation of peoples in Yugoslavia supposed to mean!

2.) Did guaranteed rights apply to all? Explain!

3.) Discuss in the group the issue of “collectivization” of guilt!

The second group would get a map of an area in Yugoslavia where they lived and camps where they were kept, text with figures of Folksdojcers victims in Yugoslavia, official documents of AVNOJ and Ministry of Interior of the Federal State of Croatia on confiscation of property and repatriation

of Folksdojcers (Attachments 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). Task of the group is to prepare for the interview with Folksdojcers, based on the sources, who survived camps and deportation from Yugoslavia. As young researchers, participants of the group should learn in talks with Folksdojcers (role played by Group 3) about their faith in Yugoslavia after the war. Members of group 2 should be suggested what to ask the surviving Folksdojcers and what they could learn about their faith.

The third group would get several written testimonies of surviving Folksdojcers (Attachments 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12). Members of this group should prepare to act Folksdojcers who went through a personal tragedy and to give interviews to young historians.

- After the groups prepare, first group 1 should give their presentation, followed by an interview between groups 2 and 3 (15-20 min).
- In the end there should be a short overview of the workshop, or simply a discussion about individual opinions on the issue with participants in the workshop (5 min).

PUPIL'S PART

Context

Goal of the workshop is to get informed about the persecution and suffering of some 170000 and dying of some 60000 Folksdojcers (representatives of German ethnic minority) in Yugoslavia just after the war. Yugoslavia was no exception. The Germans faced the same fate in the whole East Europe. Similar fate happened to Italians in Yugoslavia.

Vast majority of Folksdojcers were moved through planned colonization in the 18th century, encouraged by the Habsbourg monarchs in accordance with ideas of cameralism and physiocracy. Their moving was supposed to populate uninhabited areas and give incentive to agriculture and craftsmanship. After the crash of Habsbourg monarchy after the WW1, the Germans became ethnic minority in a new state of Yugoslavia. During the WW2, Germans, like others in Yugoslav area, split - some became servants of nacism, other went to partisans, and the third ones simply tried to survive in turbulent times.

Tasks for Group 1

The national liberation fight was led under the slogans of national and social liberation of peoples in Yugoslavia.

1. On the basis of material, try to explain what this social and national liberation was supposed to be!
2. Were guaranteed rights applicable to all? Explain!
3. Discuss within the group the issue of collective guilt!
4. Prepare for a brief presentation of your group results!

Tasks for Group 2

Based on supplied sources, prepare for an interview with group 3, who will impersonate Folksdojcers who survived camps and deportations from Yugoslavia. As young researchers - historians, try to find out as much as possible about their fates in Yugoslavia after the war.

Tasks for Group 3

Everybody read the testimonies of Folksdojcers, who survived deportations, camps, ... in Yugoslavia and try to prepare for the interview. Play the Folksdojcers who will be interviewed by group 2. Young historians - researchers will wish to learn in detail about your suffering.

Bear in mind: you are now 80 years of age, or older!

Suggestion: share all the testimonies within the group and try to collectively prepare for the interview, as a group, rather than as individuals.

ATTACHMENT 1

DECLARATION ON BASIC RIGHTS OF PEOPLE AND CITIZENS OF DEMOCRATIC CROATIA, brought at the third session of ZAVNOH in Topusko on 9 May 1944



1. The Croat and Serb people in Croatia are fully equal. All rights to national life of national minorities in Croatia will be secured.
2. All the citizens of federal state of Croatia are equal before the law, irrespective of their nationality, race or religious affiliation.
3. Women enjoy all the rights same as men.
4. Every citizen is guaranteed security of person and property. Property ownership and private initiative are guaranteed in economic life.
5. Freedom of religion and freedom of conscience are guaranteed to all the citizens.

ATTACHMENT 2

DECISION OF AVNOJ (21 NOV. 1944) ON TRANSFER OF ENEMY PROPERTY AND PROPERTY OF ABSENT PERSONS UNDER THE STATE PROPERTY AND CUSTODY



Article 1.

On the day of effect of this Decision, the following transfers into the state property:

- all property of German Reich and its citizens, which is found on territory of Yugoslavia;
- all property of ethnic Germans, except Germans who fought in Partisan forces, or were servants of neutral countries who did not show an unfriendly attitude during the occupation;
- all property of war criminals and their helpers, regardless their nationality, property of any person sentenced by civil or military court to loss of property to the benefit of the state.

Property of Yugoslav citizens in that case falls under the effect of this Decision, regardless whether it is in the country, or abroad.

Article 5.

The goal of putting this nationalized property under the supervision of State administration is the maximum use of that property for planned production and swift victory in the liberation war and creation of conditions for successful economic reconstruction of Yugoslavia as a whole and all its federal units (...)

(Official Gazette of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, god. 1, br 2, Beograd, 6. veljače 1945., str. 13-14.; Source taken from the book: Vladimir Geiger, Folksdoj-eri pod teretom kolektivne krivnje, Osijek, 2002., 56.)

ATTACHMENT 3

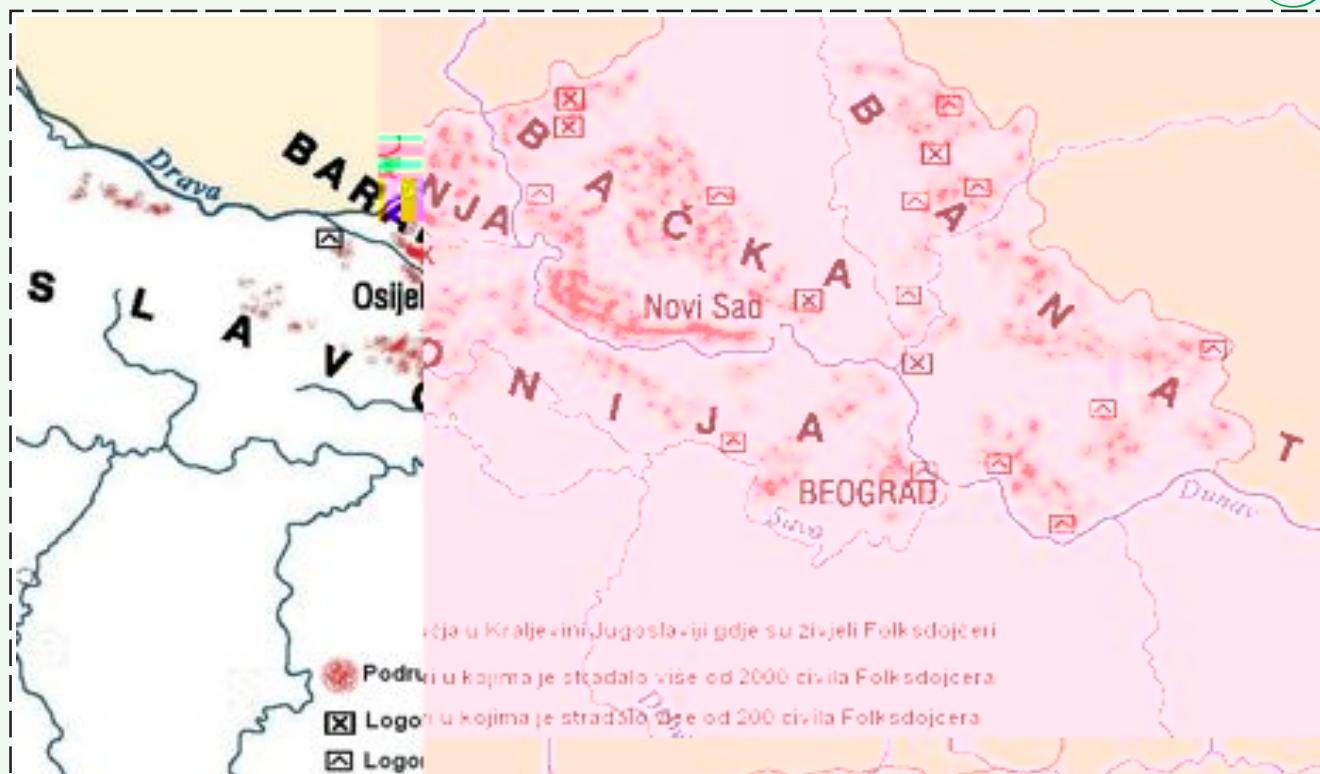
THE SUFFERING OF GERMAN CIVILIANS IN YUGOSLAVIA UNDER TITO REGIME IN THE PERIOD 1941 TO 1948



From about **540.000** Germans who lived in Yugoslavia by 1941, some **95.000** were part of German, Hungarian and Croatian military units, and some **245.000** Germans were evacuated to Germany before Yugoslavia was restored under Tito's regime. In the period October 1944 to April 1945 the remaining **200.000** Germans fell under the control of Tito's regime. Except cca 8000 people, the remaining **170.000** ethnic German civilians (from children to elderly age) in the period 1945 to 1948 were moved to camps. From them, some **51.000** women, children and elderly people suffered death from illness, famine and other troubles. From a total of 64.000 victims in the period 1941 to 1948, some 40.000 are documented by first and last name.

Verbrechen an den Deutschen in Jugoslawien 1944-1948., Die Station eines Völkermordes, Donauschwäbische Kulturstiftung, München, 1998.; data translated by Denis Detling

ATTACHMENT 4



Map made by D. Detling, using the book *Verbrechen an den Deutschen in Jugoslawien 1944-1948., Die Station eines Volkermordes, Donauschwäbische Kulturstiftung, München, 1998.*

ATTACHMENT 5

TRANSPORT OF FOLKSDOJCERS DEPORTED FROM YUGOSLAVIA TO AUSTRIA, SUMMER OF 1945



Photo taken from the book: *Vladimir Geiger, Nestanak Folksdoj-era, Nova stvarnost, Zagreb, 1997.*

**TESTIMONIES OF SURVIVED INMATES ABOUT ARRESTING AND TAKING TO
CONC. CAMP IN JOSIPOVAC, TRANSFER TO LABOUR CAMP VALPOVO ...**



(Elizabeta Konig, nee Reitz, 1921)

(Paula Kotnik, born 1927)

TESTIMONIES OF SURVIVED INMATES ABOUT REPATRIATION ...



(Elizabeta Konig, nee Reitz, 1921)

**TESTIMONIES OF SURVIVED INMATES ABOUT CAMP VALPOVO
AND CONDITIONS OF LIVING IN THE CAMP...**



/.../ Valpovo camp was bigger and strongly secured with thick barb wire. In the center of the camp there was an observation tower with beam lights. On one side of the camp there was a line of barracks, in several rows, and on the other side there was a building for partisans. The so-called ambulant was also in that building. The barrack we lived in was 20 meters long, with one side completely covered with batten beds, and the same also on the floor above. There was approximately 50 cm space per person. In Valpovo there were more guards than in Josipovac, and they also had dogs. The guards were very coarse and cruel (...) The barracks were full of louses and bedbugs. Hygienic conditions of our lives were horrible. We were all using one tap to wash, and water for drinking was also taken from there. (...) Visits were sometimes allowed, depending on the mood of management and guards. The visitors were not coming inside the camp, talking was through the barb wire, in the presence of a guard. Sometimes a guard would only allow visitors and us to see each other, and sometimes we would be allowed to receive food, hygienic items or clothes. It often happened that visitors had to take back what they brought for us, and when we were very hungry, there were tears on both sides of the fence. (...) Upon arrival to the camp, males and females were immediately separated. There was a prisoner, medical doctor, Dr. Schmidt, in the barracks with my father, who was engaged in the camp ambulant. (...) He told my father he will be looking for a 'nurse' and he advised him to tell me to apply. In that way, he could protect me from rape and other tortures at least during the day. The inmates were taken to cellars and beaten. Public punishment was bonding to the 'pillar of shame'. There were several of those in the camp yard, and 'disobeying prisoners' would be tied and left there all day in the Sun, no food and water. During the day, I stayed all the time with this noble doctor. The night was dangerous as guards would go around barracks, checking the faces with batteries, picking a victim for 'night hearing'. (...) Five to seven people were dying in the camp on daily basis from typhus and dysentery. The dead were taken out by the prisoners, under supervision of guards. In one period my father was one of those carrying dead. He never told me where they were buried, but since they would come back in 1-2 hours, I assume they were buried relatively close to Valpovo. It is, of course, understood, that Red Cross or some other humanitarian organisation never visited the camp...

(Paula Kotnik, born 1927)

/.../ The barracks were so packed with people that there was no space for us. We slept out on the grass. We had pillows and blankets our friends brought us at departure, so we made a good use of it. Besides, due to the bad hygienic conditions, barracks were full of louses, so we were at least saved from that. /.../

(Franciska Bušljeta, nee Poker, from Brèko)

/.../ Life in camp was very hard, we were molested and beaten on daily basis by the guards, who were armed with guns and pistols and also had wooden sticks they used to beat us with. (...) That day they forced us to the fence, and we had to watch poor Zuegler being executed. When they finished their dirty job, Prekodravac told us we will all face the same if we try to escape. At night they would take us to his barrack, where we were interrogated and accused, mainly, for collaboration with fascism, and beaten severely. At several occasions I noticed that in the night, between 2-3 a.m., a car would come to the camp, where they would put the dead, but unfortunately, I do not know where they were taking them for burial. /.../

(Franjo Tein, born 1924 in Sag near Valpovo)

Testimonies taken from the book 'Radni logor Valpovo 1945-1946', Osijek, 1999

ATTACHMENT 10

TESTIMONIES OF SURVIVED INMATES ABOUT THE WORK IN AND OUT OF CAMP...



/.../ We had to go out for labour /.../ That was better than staying in the camp, full of diseases, typhus, dysentery, louses and bedbugs. Local inhabitants would sometimes feed us. /.../

(Elizabeta Konig, nee Reitz, 1921)

/.../ Prekodravac rented us as manual labour to citizens of Valpovo and surroundings, and took money for it. We were treated as slaves, anyone could 'rent' us for whatever purpose, they only had to pay Prekodravac for it. I was lucky several times, so I was rented and paid for it by my late father's friends, families Bracevad and Ugraj. They were very correct to me, so in those couple of days I could rest from everyday camp torture.

(Franjo Tein, born 1924 in Sag near Valpovo)

ATTACHMENT 11

TESTIMONIES OF SURVIVED INMATES ABOUT FOOD IN THE CAMP...



/.../ Food was scarce, two meals a day, totally inappropriate for human diet. We used to stand in line with aluminium portion and a spoon in front of a large pot. We used to eat standing in the rain, or sitting on grass in the camp yard. /.../

(Paula Kotnik, born 1927)

/.../ It was very bad in there, for eating we would get peas, or potato, or beans soup, with very little of it in the soup. We would also get a bit of corn or barley bread. Cooking was without fat and salt. In the morning we were given oak crust tea, because of diurea. Water was very limited per person, we would get some in the morning and in the evening for one hour. /.../ More than 20 small children were dying daily. /.../ After so many dead children, the Commander of Valpovo camp suddenly allowed women to beg milk for their children in the nearby area. /.../

(Stefan Schwob, born 1930 in Mrzovi near Valpovo)

ATTACHMENT 12

TESTIMONIES OF SURVIVED INMATES ABOUT RELEASING THE CAMP...



/.../ On 1 May 1946 we were released from the camp. All the inmates were released out to the mercy of circumstances.

(Rozina Petrović, nee Holstein, from Osijek, 1927)

/.../ When we came back to the camp 'Valpovo', we found out that a release order came for us, but not for our father. We left on August 15, 1945, on Holy Mary Day. Dad saw us leave with a very sad look in his eyes, which I will never forget. /.../ Dad was moved with other inmates to 'Krndija' camp, where he died on February 4, 1946. /.../

(Franciska Bučeta, nee Poker, from Brčko)

/.../ After a while I started to work in a home for children who lost the parents in the war, which was situated in Valpovo castle. I was released from the camp on 29 April 1946, and I stayed working in that home till 1948. My daughter was with me, food was good, we got some clothes from UNRA. My parents were released on 6 May 1946, they went back to Osijek, and, with help of good people, resocialised again into normal life. /.../

(Elizabeta Konig, nee Reitz, 1921)

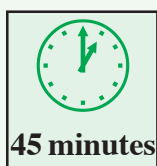
RELIGIOUS (NON)FREEDOMS



To what extent was religion a part of everyday life in Yugoslavia?



TEACHER'S PART

EXPLANATION
OF WORKSHOP

45 minutes

Communist ideology negated existence of God, and looked upon religion as an instrument of ruling class to subdue the citizens. Long term goal of Communists was to suppress religious organisations in Yugoslavia. Property has been confiscated from religious communities, work of institutions supervised by churches was prohibited, many priests were persecuted, imprisoned and liquidated. No matter how much religious communities were declaratively tolerated fact of life in Yugoslavia, they were unwanted in practice by the authorities and their strictly controlled media. On the other hand, regardless how strongly discouraged was expressing religious feelings publicly, many were still satisfying their religious needs. In the end, confirming religion, as well as negating it, was a part of everyday life in Yugoslavia.

RESULT

Acquiring new knowledges about relation of authorities and media in Yugoslavia towards religious communities and religious issues, and freedom of performing religious ceremonies in Yugoslavia 1945 - 1990; developing critical thinking, work on pictorial and written sources, practicing team work, etc.

GOAL

Showing to participants in a workshop that religion was a part of everyday life in Yugoslavia, despite the declarational accepting of religious freedoms and practical suppression of religious communities and feelings from daily life.

ORGANIZATION
OF A LESSON

- In the introduction it would be good to inform the participants about the goal and write the key question on the board. It would be good to ask the pupils in advance to answer the question, and in that way to see their prejudices or knowledge they already had.
(5 min)

- Pupils should be divided into 4 groups.

Group 1: attachments 1, 2 and 11

Group 2: attachments 4, 9 and 10

Group 3: attachments 3, 8 and 5

Group 4: attachments 6 and 7

Each group should get table for filling.

Some attachments contain only one source, some two.

All groups should study attachments, and with help of additional questions below sources, to fill the table. It should be stressed that many attachments are appropriate for several thesis offered in the table.
(20 min)

- Using the table, groups should present received sources and solution to the questions given.
(15 min)

- After presentation of all groups, there should be a short discussion initiated about the key question written on the table.
(5 min)

PUPILS' PART

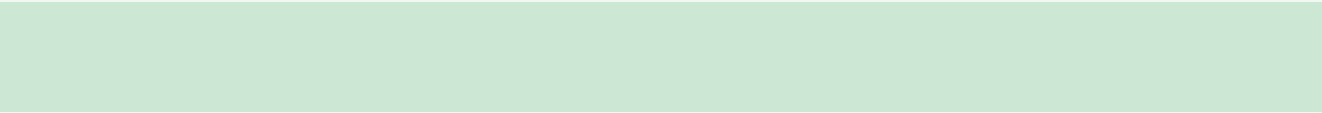
Context

Communist ideology negated existence of God, and looked upon religion as an instrument of ruling class to subdue the citizens. Long term goal of Communists was to suppress religious organisations in Yugoslavia. Property has been confiscated from religious communities, work of institutions supervised by churches was prohibited, many priests were persecuted, imprisoned and liquidated. Depending on political situation, the state tolerated expressing religious feelings permitted the activities of religious institutions.

Pupils' tasks

Study the provided attachments, and, using the questions under each source, try to fill out the table!

Source (short content of source)	Which claims are true? Clarify!			
	Religious communities were desirable factor of daily life in Yugoslavia	Religious communities were not desirable factor of daily life in Yugoslavia	Yugoslav citizens freely satisfied their religious needs	Yugoslav citizens did not freely satisfy their religious needs



1000-ANNIVERSARY OF SAINT VLAH IN DUBROVNIK (1972)



The photo shows a formal celebration of St. Vlah in 1972. Saint Vlah is celebrated February 3, but in 1972 (for the 1000 anniversary) the procession was organized the first Sunday after the St. Vlah day, on 5 February, as 3 February could not be a non-working day. The following article from the local press 'Dubrovacki vjesnik', of 11 February 1972 (used to come out on Saturdays), on page 2, is the only one mentioning, in any context, the celebrations of Saint Vlah:



VATICAN FUNCTIONARIES STAYED IN DUBROVNIK



1. What do you notice on the photo?
2. What does the newspaper article talk about?
3. In your opinion, did the newspapers adequately follow the event you see in the photo?

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private album, photograph taken in the 1960s

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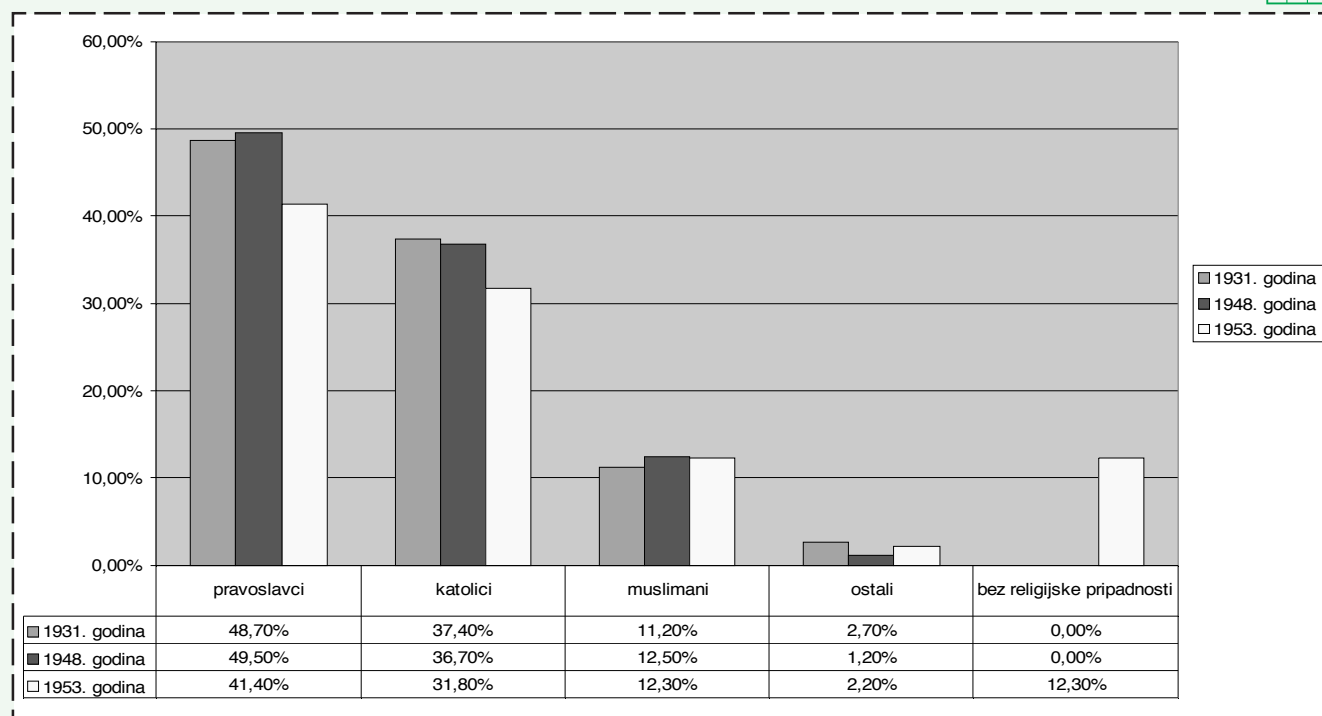
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Radmila Radjić Dr'ava i verske zajednice
1941-1971, Beograd 2002., pg. 433

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ATTACHMENT 7



ATTACHMENT 8



"I am a teacher in the pre-school. During the study (I studied from 1972 to 1974) we were instructed that, as teachers in the pre-school, we should not go to church, considering that we will be raising children. Teachers were expected not to go to church. During the studies some colleagues even reported us to the director of Centre for pre-school education saying that, as future pre-school teachers, we cannot be allowed to work with children since we went to church. Two of my colleagues had a short 'talk' with the director, but I think nothing really happened in that respect later on. After I started to work, Christmas and other religious holidays were not marked with children in the kindergarten. The premises could be decorated with balls and Santa Claus only after 28 December, per strict order from 'above', for the occasion of a New Year, and decorations would be removed immediately after the New Year, so that it could not be connected with any religious holiday. Premises were filled with 'winter motives'. From 1980 to 1985 I lived with my husband and son in a housekeeper's home within the kindergarten 'Jaglenac' in Lower city in Osijek. We also were not observing any religious customs or had any religious items in the flat. We would not dare, since the flat was within the kindergarten, and anyone could enter and see, for example, decorated christmas tree, or perhaps, a crucifixion. I was simply afraid of inconveniences, or perhaps something worse. Even at the batism of my son (1977), I was not present in the church. I was afraid to be seen in the church. Religious customs were observed at my or my husband's parents."

Vlasta Detling, teacher in kindergarten 'Nevicica' in Osijek, born in 1953



ATTACHMENT 9



A STATEMENT

"I personally believe that it was free to go to church in former Yugoslavia, unless you wanted to advance and get promoted. I freely went to church and sung in the church choir, I never had any problems in that regard in my company. Truth, though, all my bosses were Croats, and nobody controlled me. Where supervisors were Serbs, there were controls if someone was going to church. I worked in a big factory in Osijek (big in Yugoslav proportions), and I was a shift manager. I was a good employee and I could have been promoted. I was supposed to become Head of packing, which would bring along twice the salary I had, but in order for that to happen, I had to become a member of the Communist Party, which I refused. If I had accepted, my going to church would have been controlled. During the baptism of my daughter, the Godmother's husband, an engineer working in the same company like me, did not dare to be at the mass during the ceremony. The Secretary of the local Communist cell in our company called me for a talk soon after the baptizing. He asked me to give him a statement, whether the young engineer was present at the mass. There was a carrier in front of the Godmother, so even if he was present at the mass, I would not have said so. But he wasn't present. I did not have any other bad experiences about going to church in former Yugoslavia. My son had (born 1975). In primary school in Tenja (suburb of Osijek) the teacher used to call all the children who attended religious classes to stand in front of the class, and punish them. At times, he was running home forgetting the bag and books in school."

Ružica D., a pensioner from Osijek, born on 13 Dec. 1950



What was the ordinary man experience regarding freedom of religion?

ATTACHMENT 10



"While on the one hand Constitution and Law on work of religious communities guarantee the right to freedom of confession, on the other hand some believers, allegedly, feel as second grade citizens. (...) In the practice, dissemination of invitations to inhabitants of some skyscraper to attend a church ceremony or some other religious activity, ends up with 'confiscation' of leaflets by the Chairman of the Council of tenants, and a message to (over)active priest that the material can be collected in the premises of Local Community office."

Polet, no. 141, 12 XI 1980, pg. 5



What were the experiences of some priests?

ATTACHMENT 11

ARRIVAL OF TITO AND HIS PARTY TO MOSTAR, 4 X 1954



*Historical museum of Yugoslavia,
fotobirka, 1954, K-33/151.)*



1. What do you notice on the photo?
2. Pay attention to state symbols, star, flags!
3. Where were the symbols put?
4. What do you think about it?

“WE ARE TITO’S, TITO IS OURS”



Josip Broz Tito was a just ruler and a national leader respected in the country and abroad?!



PART FOR TEACHERS AND ARBITERS

EXPLANATION OF WORKSHOP



90 minutes

The topic of this workshop is a lifetime President of the socialist Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, character of his rule and his reputation in the country and abroad. Since the end of WWII till his death, Tito was at the Head of all important institutions in Yugoslavia. Such unification of functions in hands of one man led to creation of a personality cult and identification of a Yugoslav state with him. Towns, streets, schools, were getting Tito’s name, and his photos were in all public institutions and homes of most common people. Tito left a remarkable trace behind, not only in Yugoslavia, but he enjoyed a reputation of a distinguished statesman in the international arena as well.

Creation of a personality cult among the population of Yugoslavia built an image of Tito as a just leader who takes care of all the citizens. Was it all really like that and did all the people in Yugoslavia enjoy ‘Tito’s justice’? After the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia a number of controversies about Tito appeared. In this workshop-debate, different types of sources are used (archive documents, newspaper articles, photos, map), which address Tito’s rule and his reputation in the country and abroad from different angles. The workshop shows that popular presentation of a time and a person in time is not necessarily true and that there is another side of the coin.

The workshop consists of two parts. In the first part there is an emphasis on analysis of sources related to the topic, while in the second part the focus is on developing the skills of team work, argumented presenting, development of democratic principles and respecting the views of others, expressed in the form of a debate.

RESULTS

Pupils are enabled for independent work on sources, valuation of source material and interpretation of sources, argumentation. They also acquired new knowledges about Tito, socialist Yugoslavia and controversies related to them.

GOAL

Developing the skill of analysing the sources, critical approach to sources, to value the source material, to encourage team work, to defend views and respect arguments of others, acquiring new knowledge about the character of Tito rule.

ORGANIZATION OF A LESSON

- Teacher selects three arbiters from among the best pupils and gives them all sources and tables 1, 2 and 3 (*Arbiter’s table, order of presenters* and their duties, order of debaters and their time limits) in order to be well prepared for the decision.

- Remaining pupils are split in two groups (affirmative-angels, and negating-devils), where each group forms a round table for itself. Each group is then split into three sub-groups that receive dedicated sources, which are the same both for ‘angel’ and ‘devils’. Pupils are instructed that sources may circulate within the group, for consultations, harmonising standings and arguments. Pupils do not get the questions with the sources, but the teacher gives a context and a paper with key question / debating thesis and a task to look in the supplied sources for elements affirming or negating the debating thesis.

- The pupils analyse supplied sources.

- After analysis of sources, each subgroup elects its representative that becomes a member of affirmation team (an angel) or negating team (a devil). The teacher then

gives tables 2 and 3 to both groups (*order of presenters* and their duties, order of debaters and their time limits) followed by team preparation for the debate. While the rest of the class analyse the sources and prepares for the debate, arbiters study the supplied material.

- After the preparation, the teacher organise a debate (using tables 2 and 3 as guides) with debaters and arbiters as active participants. Other pupils are audience following the debate. At the end of debate the arbiters proclaim a winning team and the best debator, with a mandatory explanation of their decision.

ACTIVITIES

step 1: Teacher's introduction (explains to the pupils what is a debate and its goal, and how is this workshop designed)(*5 minutes*)

step 2: Teacher selects arbiters and gives them the necessary material (all sources and tables 1, 2 and 3). Other pupils are divided into groups and sub-groups. Each sub-group get its material, context and a key question / debating thesis and a task to look for elements affirming and negating the set debating thesis.(*10 minutes*)

step 3: Pupils analyse sources and look for affirming and negating elements in them. The teacher guides them stressing that analysis focus should be the key question / debating thesis. Arbiters, aided by the teacher, study the material(*20 minutes*)

step 4: Sub-groups elect their representative; affirming and negating teams are formed (angels and devils); Teacher gives tables 2 and 3 to the teams and instructs them to stick to the instructions in the table for preparing the debate. Teams are preparing to debate, arbiters continue to study the material.(*10 minutes*)

step 5: Preparing the space for the debate (debating tables are set so that the teams face each other) (*5 minutes*)

step 6: debate (Teacher guides the debate strictly adhering to the schedule and time limits from table 2; arbiters follow the debate and fill in the table 1). The teacher is not a member of the arbitrating council.(*35 minutes*)

step 7: The arbiters agree about their decision, they proclaim the winning team and the best debater, clarifying their decision.(*5 minutes*)

NECESSARY MATERIAL

- Sources (each source copied in 3 copies)
- Tables 1, 2 and 3 (1. *Arbiter's table*, three copies; 2. *Schedule and tasks of speakers*, eight copies; 3. *Order of debaters and time limits*, eight copies)
- Notes paper for group work (may be provided by the teacher or pupils themselves)
- Paper with key question and task (eight copies; 6 for sub-groups, 1 for arbiters and 1 for the teacher)
- Watch for measuring time
- Context text (eight copies; 6 for sub-groups, 1 for arbiters and 1 for the teacher)

Table 1: ARBITERS' TABLE (each individual element is marked from 1 to 5)

DEBATANT	PRESENTATION	ARGUMENTING LINE	DEFENDING THE ARGUMENTS	RHETORICS	TOTAL
A1					
A2					
A3					
N1/D1					
N2/D2					
N3/D3					
Team of Angels					
Team of Devils					

Table 2: ORDER OF DEBATANTS AND TIME LIMITS

A1 (presentation)	5 min	A2 (presentation)	4 min
N1/D1 (presentation)	5 min	N2/D2 (presentation)	4 min
Debate between the teams			7 min
A3 (final presentation)	5 min	N3/D3 (final presentation)	5 min
Total			35 min

Table 3: ORDER OF SPEAKERS AND THEIR TASKS

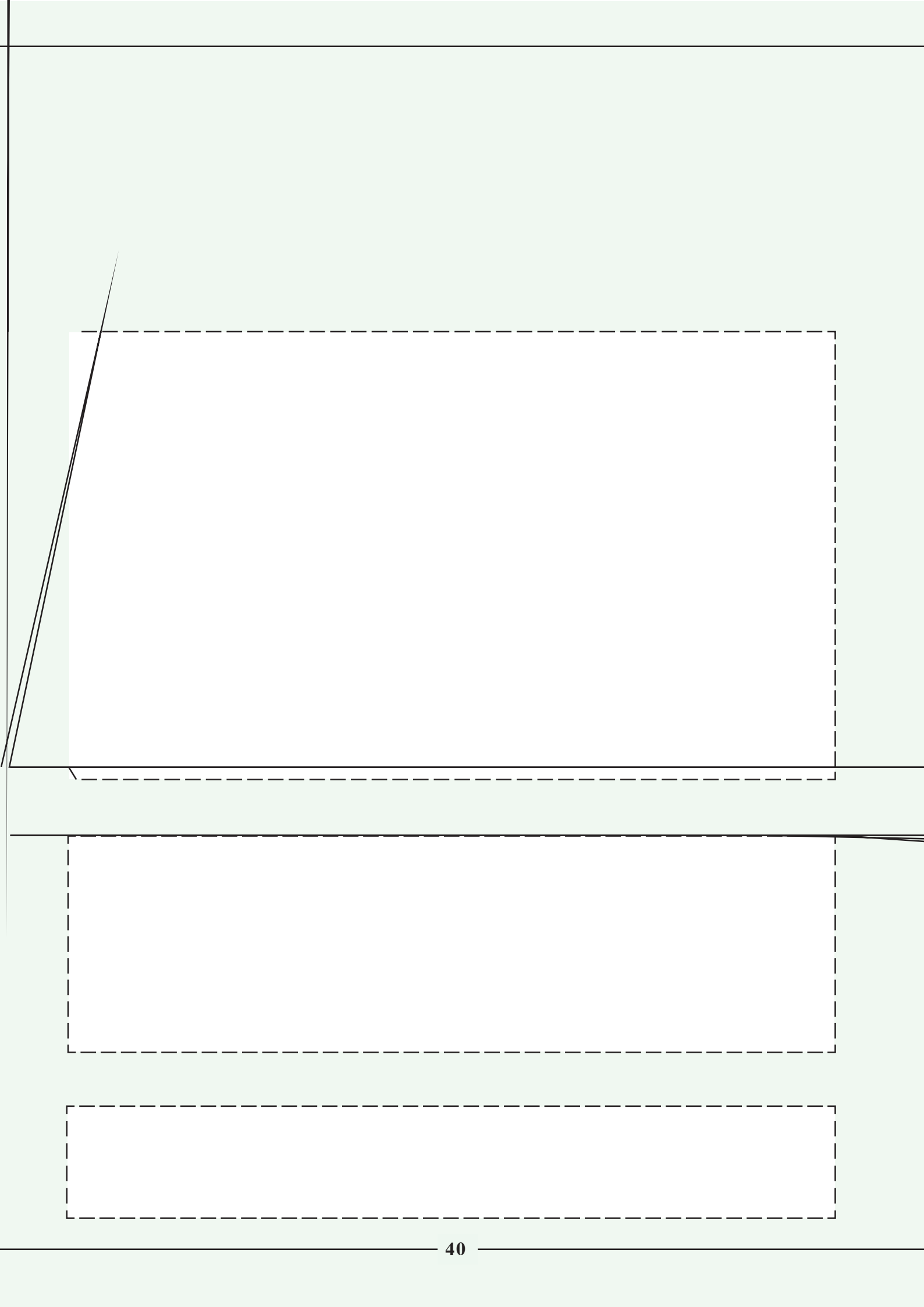
A1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agreeing with the thesis - establishing argumenting line - listing arguments - concludes with a clear vision of argumentation of A position
N1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Disagreeing with the thesis and offering the alternative thesis - introduces negating argumenting line - listing arguments - concludes with a clear negating argumentation line
A2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - again established the position, detailing arguments of his/her group - negating the 'negating' alternative - gives new evidence and examples, expands the most interesting arguments
N2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - clears main differences - expands original negating elements - gives new negating evidence - uses examples
A3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - focuses the debate to the most interesting issues for the arbiters - explains once more why the thesis is sustainable - stresses the most essential arguments for arbiters and underlines their strength - final conclusion
N3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - focuses the debate to the most interesting issues for the arbiters - explains once more why the thesis is sustainable - stresses the most essential arguments of the negating team and underlines their strength - final conclusion

Debatants have a task to negate the arguments of the oponing team during the debate.

PUPILS' PART

Since the end of the WWII until he died, Tito was President of Yugoslavia, supreme commander of Armed Forces, President of the Communist Party... Such unification of functions in hands of one person led to creation of personality cult and identifying the Yugoslav state with him. Towns, streets, schools, were getting Tito's name, and his photos were in all public institutions and homes of most common people. Political stability and economic prosperity were established during his rule. Various successes in the country and abroad were attached to his name. There was a coin that Tito is "the greatest son of all our nations". Tito left his mark not only in Yugoslavia, but also he enjoyed a reputation of a distinguished statesman in international arena. There were stories circulating among citizens of Yugoslavia that there is no person in the world who has not heard of Tito, and image of Tito as a just leader who takes care of all the citizens was being built.

After the collapse of socialist Yugoslavia, a number of controversies about Tito and his rule occurred. There came a question whether Tito was a just ruler and whether all the people in Yugoslavia enjoyed 'Tito's justice'?



SUB-GROUP 2 (ANGELS AND DEVILS):

TITO ANSWERS TO THE PASTORAL LETTER OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS, 20 Sep. 1945



There are two things the Bishops call upon most in their letter: Persecution of priests and agrar reform, though they do not refer to it as the agrar reform but taking away the church property. In their letter the Bishops go so far that punishing the bloody Ustasha butchers, who were priests, is identified with persecution of church. The Bishops say they are ready to fight, even if they pay it with their lives. Fight against who? Clearly, against people's rule, against national-liberation, against new, democratic Yugoslavia - in other words against vast majority of people of Yugoslavia. How come the Bishops did not issue such a letter that would be read in all the churches during the time of Pavelic and Germans, against horrifying slaughter of Serbs in Croatia, killing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children? Why didn't they complain then against terrible Ustasha crimes that entered as the biggest stain in history of Croat people to be remembered forever? Why the Bishops did not issue such a letter and sent it to be read in all the churches against killing of dozens of thousands of Croats - best sons of Croat people, by Ustashes and Germans? Why did not they complain against the most horrifying human slaughterhouse - the Jasenovac camp, where Ustashes equally killed Serbs and Croats, tens and hundreds of thousands? Why they were not ready then to give their lives as spiritual pastors for thousands of Christians - and now they say they are ready for every sacrifice for agrar reform and personal interests. Isn't it a bit too odd and too transparent? Do they know who were the priests they vouch for now? Those were engrained Ustashes - butchers and spiritual inspirers of slaughtering. Have they ever condemned one such criminal, or excommunicated him from church? No, on the contrary, they want to make them martyrs.

Branko Petranovi} i Mom-ilo Ze-evi}, Jugoslavija 1918-1988. Tematska zbirka dokumenata, Beograd, 1988., pg. 777

THE CAZIN UPRISING



There was an open peasants uprising in Cazin area, at the same time enclosing the neighboring Slunj region of Kordun, Croatia. It was a joint Serb-Bosniak uprising against, as participants later said in the investigation, re-purchase, confiscation, forced labour, brutal behaviour of particular representatives of authorities and 'other injustice we used to fight against during the war'. People leading the uprising known each other well from the war time. They were all participants in the war, and some of them were even bearers of 'Partizanska spomenica 1941'. The idea of uprising was probably born in 1949. The situation was terrible, unbearable, as remembered by one participant of the uprising. 'Re-purchase and behavior of authorities were more than humiliating'. The uprising started on St. George Day, 6 May 1950, and it was mercilessly ended in blood by intervention of JNA troops in the period 19 May - 4 June 1950. News about the uprising soon reached the West through diplomatic and spy network. The authorities did not allow any information about the uprising to 'leak' to domestic or foreign public. Areas of Cazin and Slunj region were hermetically sealed-off from the rest of the world by cordons of army and police. The authorities brutally dealt with rebels. In eight processes in Cazin and one in Slunj, a total of 291 persons were sentenced for attempted coup d'etat. The three main organisers of uprising: Milan Bojia, Ale Eovia and Mile Devrnja were sentenced to death and shot in September and November 1950.

The Cazin uprising was a signal to the top of the state that policy towards village and peasants must change.

Mustafa Imamovi}, Historija Bo{njaka (History of Bosniaks), Sarajevo, 1998, pgs. 560-561.

DEAR COMRADE STARI (another nickname of Tito),



From the pre-election rally of the people of Cazin region, we send you sincere greetings and promises we will in future invest all our forces in executing all tasks put before us by the community, our needs and our social development. (...) Successes and results achieved to date, development of new communal system and its experiences, development and work of people's boards along with tasks still before us, imperatively impose that we select the best people to people's boards at the upcoming elections, which we will do, comrade Stari.

With clear perspective of our further development, clear future tasks, we go for elections of councillors to people's boards.

Long live CK SK BiH headed by you, comrade Stari! (CK SK BiH-Central Committee of the Communist Party)

Cazin, 13 October 1957

KRAJINA, 16 October 1957

SUB-GROUP 3 (ANGELS AND DEVILS):

THE GREAT CONFERENCE OF PEACE SUPPORTERS COMMENCED



Belgrade, 1 September

At 10:00 hrs today, in the large hall of the Federal Parliament, the President of Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ), Josip Broz Tito, opened a conference of heads of states or governments of non-allied countries. Delegations of 24 countries participate in the work of the conference.

...surroundings of parliament building, in particular the streets of Milos Veliki, Bulevar Revolucije and Pionirski Park were crowded by thousands of citizens of Belgrade, who were awaiting the arrival of delegations.

At 08:50 hrs the big moment came and the President's car was coming from Milos Veliki st. accompanied by an escort of motorcycles, bringing the host of the conference, President Tito and his wife, Jovanka Broz. Cheerful people of Belgrade along the road, and especially in front of the parliament, happily saluted Tito and he saluted them back all the way to the entrance to parliament building.

OSLOBO\ENJE, 2 September 1961

A BANQUET IN INDIA



A magnificent banquet in India, prepared in Tito's honour, during one of his travels in South Asia in late 1950s.

Group of authors, Tito, jucer, danas, sutra..., Zagreb, 1977



MAGNIFICENT WELCOME TO PRESIDENT TITO IN THE CAPITAL OF MEXICO



Mexico, 4 October

The President of SFRJ, Josip Broz Tito, with his wife and the rest of the company, arrived today to decorated city of Mexico, whose citizens prepared a magnificent welcome. Almost all the city was on its feet. Several hundreds of thousands of people were lined along large avenues. The beginning of a 12-day official visit of Tito to this latin-american country is marked by a great manifestation of Yugoslav - Mexican friendship...

At the airport President Tito was welcomed by the highest Mexican officials, members of the Supreme Court, Government, National Congress, representatives of political, cultural and public life of this country. In good mood and smiling, Tito and Jovanka came out of the plane at exactly 13:00 hrs. He was wearing a dark suit, while Jovanka Broz had a light coat and a dark hat...

Oslobo lenje, 5 October 1963



Life magazine (front page), 21 April 1952



Tito and the US President, Richard Nixon, 1968, during one of Tito's visits to Washington



Tito and Willy Brand



Tito and President of the USSR, Leonid Breznjev, in Helsinki in 1975



Tito and Fidel Castro

Tito je na{, Zagreb, 1975

THE NEWS ON THE DEATH OF TITO



The news on the death of J.B. Tito arrived during the football match Hajduk - Crvena Zvezda. The match was stopped immediately, disbelief and crying seized the stadium and the audience spontaneously started to sing "Comrade Tito, we swear to you."



THE STAGE ON TITO'S FUNERAL, 8 MAY 1980



A huge number of foreign statesmen was on the stage, including Breznjev, Margaret Tacher, Helmut Schmidt and other. 35 Heads of states, 4 sovereigns, 11 vice-presidents, 24 Prime-Ministers, 72 Ministers, 6 members of Royal families, a number of personal envoys of presidents and other distinguished politicians, as well as a large number of common people.



WE or I?



Were the collective interests and needs confronted to individual ones in mass organizations?



TEACHER'S PART

Pioneer organization, Youth Labour Actions (ORA), Yugoslav National Army (JNA) are examples of collective consciousness and mass organising, where the state took good care in line with official communist ideology. Massiveness, Uniformity, Discipline, glorification of revolution and its legacy, brotherhood and unity - these were the main characteristics of that collectivism.

Today's generations do not know about it and they find it strange.

Mass organizations, (mass) institutions of power, mass gatherings, these were the characteristics of Yugoslavia in the period after the WWII. Rights and position of an individual were subjected to a collective.

In this workshop with independent analysis of different sources, pupils can come up to interesting conclusions. The school Curricula does not enclose sufficiently the issue of collectivization (collective consciousness and collective character of the state), that is, mass organizations, gatherings, mass institutions of the system. Pupils should have basic knowledge about Youth labour Actions, Pioneer organization and the Yugoslav National Army.

EXPLANATION OF WORKSHOP



RESULTS

GOALS

ORGANIZATION OF A LESSON

step 1 -

step 2 -

step 3 -

step 4 -

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(5 min)

(15min)

(3x 5 min)

(10 min)

Discussion questions:

Reconstruction of the country was done through youth labour actions, construction of large objects (railroads, bridges, roads, etc). Participation in those actions was mass and voluntary. Participants were not paid for their work. In time, interest of the young for Youth labour actions was decreasing.

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Making the railroad on one of the largest actions ever – Šamac-Sarajevo (1947- 48)

Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, SR Bosna i Hercegovina, separat..., str. 127

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The overall economic results of ORA 'Šamac-Sarajevo 1978' speak how unsustainable is the perception about inappropriateness of such methods in construction of large objects, and particularly how unsustainable it is to bring the youth voluntary work down to mere norms, hours and cubic meters. Opponents to youth labour actions try to decrease its full effects, they look at it through the criteria of naked 'lease relation' or criteria of use of additional physical labour, that is, criteria that were overcome long ago in our system of economy and generating relations.

"Oslobođenje", 7.4.1979.

(((((



10 July

I thought I will manage to adapt soon. i was wrong. It is more difficult than I expected. After these few days I barely dare to look at my palms. Full of blisters. Some ruptured and small wounds appeared. My hands are too sensitive for all that hard work. Every time i raise a shovel i see the stars, though it is daytime. But I did not complain to anyone yet, not even to Milica, my closest friend here. I will rather suffer than complain. I will hold on, no matter what. In these few days I became the real 'action' girl, it is quite natural to me now to sleep in a tent, I learned to do all the jobs in the camp. I keep watch when necessary. I go along nicely with others. Some girls I could not stand at school I began to like here, they seem to be quite different than in Belgrade. Boys are not so full of themselves like the first day, and they do not show off so much. They work well, I must admit, but no more manic running, after which they just fall, exhausted. (...)

From a diary of a labour action girl - magazine 'Practical woman', 22 November 1963

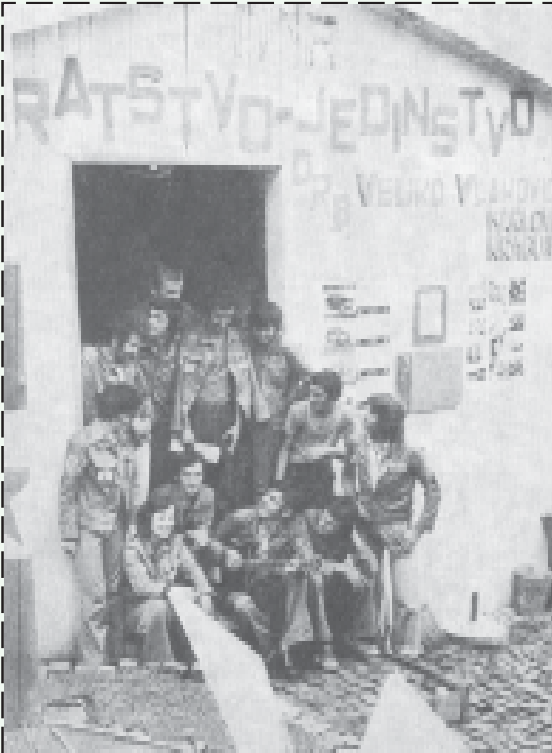
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"The highway Belgrade - Zagreb is one of proud achievements from that period. But it was not built only by the youth labour brigades, as was advertised all over, but they were helped by forced labour, the 'class enemy' from the lines of bourgeoisie, which is, perhaps, one of the reasons why it was made so badly."

Denis Rusinov, Yugoslav Experiment, pg. 38

LABOUR ACTIONS



30 years of youth actions,
Beograd 1976, pg. 106

„COMRADE TITO, YOU JUST WRITE....”



When I first time went to a labour action I was 16, just finished 2nd grade of Gymnasium. I very much wanted to go and join the brigades. My parents were not at all happy about it and they hardly let me go. They believed I will not bear the hard labour there. It was 1962, and a highway Belgrade-Zagreb was under construction, at that time it was called ‘brotherhood and unity road’. I admit, it was very demanding, but also nice. We were sleeping in barracks with over 50 beds. Showers were outside, and we all took showers together. My brigade was close to Belgrade. Almost every weekend we were visited by writers, actors, singers... I enjoyed it, as I had no chance to see them in a place I was coming from.

There were hundred of us in the brigade, but only 10 from the cities, the rest were from villages. Parents were concerned if we will get along with them. There were no problems. We used to compete with other brigades in exceeding the norm. The slogan most often heard in that 1962, was: “*Comrade Tito, you just write to us, we will work in the rain, and if Jovanka writes too, we will work non-stop.*”

Jasenska Jovanović, born 1946

TWO JOBS AND NOT A SINGLE SALARY



Just after the liberation of the country, in April 1946, to the epidemic hospital I worked in, in Belgrade, came a directive, seeking medical workers at a labour action of railroad construction Brcko - Banovici. Although I was only 18 and never separated from home and parents, I asked the hospital manager to send me to help the action workers. Since I was sent there as a nurse, I was receiving a salary, which was not at all so small at the time.

First I was sent to Brcko. My job was to examine all that were going to the action, and put the ill ones to the stationary. When I finished with that, I went into the field, with a task to man the ambulant. Every morning getting up was at 5. We were sleeping on straw-stuffing, we were eating beans and cans, cooking was outside in large pots. The work was 8 hours a day, in two shifts. Daily norm was to dig out 250 wheelbarrows of ground. There was no mechanization. The only tools we had were peeps, shovels and wheelbarrows. After work, political commissaries were holding lectures on political situation, how to recognize the ‘suspicious’ ones and how to report them. I was holding lectures about recognizing disease symptoms and hygiene.

Since I was receiving salary, others in the camp were avoiding me and took me for some kind of a ‘misfit’. Because of that, I renounced my salary and for two months I worked first shift in the ambulant and second shift on the construction of the rail road. I remember that period as a difficult one in my life.

Roksanda Blagojević, born 1928



1. What motivated young people to participate in labour actions?
2. Was it voluntary work and work without compensation?
3. How much ORAs contributed to reconstruction of the country, and when the interest for them stopped?
4. In what way the state could spread its ideology in those actions?



Pupils should interview someone who took part in youth labour action.

GROUP B: JNA

The Yugoslav National Army (JNA) was a key institution of the Yugoslav state. All capable men over 18 had to serve the military service, which lasted, depending on the period and the designated branch of military, at least one year.



TITO ABOUT JNA

Tito's expose on the occasion of a 10 year anniversary of JNA, 21 Dec. 1951

“Our National Army (...) is not only a revolutionary armed force of our socialist country, but is a builder of socialism itself (...) It is truly a National Army, it is a monolithic organism and a bearer of unity and brotherhood of our peoples - and that is the legacy of the great liberating and revolutionary fight that their soldiers were dying for during the war (...)!”

Stanojević Tihomir, Tito - reči i delo, Beograd 1971, pg. 81



MILITARY PARADE, 1975

Military parade in Belgrade in 1975 - 30 years since the defeat of fascism



Drug Tito, Ljubljana, 1981, pgs. 28-29



THE ROLE OF JNA

“The state authorities, army, state security service and police, were completely in the hands of the Communist Party. Practically in all managing positions, in all institutions of the system, there were members of the party. Over 94% of the commanding cadre in the Army are communists... 85000 communists are today working in the Army.”

Dužan Bilan li, 101., dio preuzet iz Josip Broz Tito, Politički izveštaj, V kongres KPJ, “Kultura”, Beograd, 1948, 140.

ALLOCATION OF BARRACKS IN OSIJEK



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AN INTERVIEW WITH EDINOM R.

When I got a call for military service in 1989, I felt I was going to do something important, to be a part of something big, something common. My parents were happy and sad. Happy that their boy has grown to be fit for the army, sad that they will be separated from him the whole year. There was a saying in the people that who is no good for the army, is no good for anything. A decade before that time, a boy who did not serve the military term would hardly find a bride, he would have been considered incapable. At the end of '80s, the situation somewhat changed, there were boys who simulated to be ill, and there were rumors that the army is not ours (common, Yugoslav), but Serb only. I, as most of my friends, did not want to believe that the JNA is not Yugoslav, not national army.

After a farewell party organized by my parents, to which all my friends and cousins came, I went to serve my term in Batajnica, a small place near Belgrade. Although the barracks housed a small number of soldiers (just over a hundred), they were from all republics of Yugoslavia and representatives of all nations and nationalities. There were no Albanians there, however, the word was they are not reliable to serve in this important place (there was a central point of JNA communications). The Army policy was to send soldiers out of their region, so that representatives of different nations in Yugoslavia get together and get to know each other, make friends and realize the propagated spreading of brotherhood and unity. I have a feeling the army attempted to subdue the individual interests to the collective one, from the smallest - military unit, to the largest - state of Yugoslavia. One should sacrifice for the group. In army, punishments were mainly collective, as well as prizes. If someone would do something wrong, the whole group would suffer, sometimes the group would 'take care' of the disobeying individual. The one would get a portion of 'blanketing' (the group puts a blanket over the 'victim' and kick him well, but he does not see a single doer - the usual thing in military).

When I think about that time now, this deleting your own identity bothers me, but, I have to admit, it did not bother me then.

(An interview with Edin R. from Sarajevo)



1. What was the role of Yugoslav National Army in the country?
2. What the slogan «brotherhood and unity» meant for the JNA?
3. Think why the barracks were in the town centre, what was the purpose of it?
4. How could an individual feel, while in the Army?



Pupils should interview someone who served in the Yugoslav National Army.

GROUP C

All pupils in lower grades of primary school were enrolled into a pioneer's organization. It was a very formal act for the pupils, teachers and parents. Presence of politicians in such ceremonies was mandatory. In that way all the pupils entered pioneer's organization and were becoming pioneers. A hat and a scarf were characteristic symbols of pioneers.



PARADE OF PIONEERS



PIONEERS' ORGANIZATION



Each pioneers unit has: name of unit, usually name of a national hero from WW2, or some other deserving person; a unit flag, displaying the name of the unit, the unit song, a drum and a trumpet.

Pioneers' uniform consists of: pioneers' blue hat with a star, red pioneer scarf, white blouse and blue skirt or trousers.

Pioneers' salute is: right hand fist, raised to the forehead, and words:

For homeland with Tito – Forward.

Pioneers' booklet

LITTLE PIONEERS



Little pioneers, we are a real army,
every day we grow like green grass,
death to fascism, freedom to my people,
my mom will call me a pioneer.

Mommy, give me a needle and red fibre
to sew a hat to a wounded soldier,
death to fascism, freedom to my people,
my mom will call me a pioneer.

a popular children song

TITO AND PIONEERS



Mi smo Titovi, Tito je nas

PIONEERS' BOOKLET (FRONT)



PIONEERS' OATH



Pioneers' booklet

GREET MY DADDY (popular song)



1. How were pioneers organized and what was their 'trade mark'?
2. Carefully look at symbols of pioneer organization and answer what do they remind you of, analyse pioneers uniforms, flags and salute.
3. Explain why there are no pioneers organizations today?



Pupils should make an interview with someone who was a pioneer!

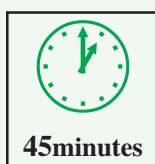
SOCIALISM WITHOUT HUMAN IMAGE



What was the reaction of the state to critics and expressions of dissatisfaction?



EXPLANATION OF WORKSHOP



TEACHER'S PART

Despite the image the official state propaganda created, presenting Yugoslavia as an ideal example of unity of nations and party (state) leadership, which was in the West often labelled as 'Socialism with human image', this state, during the whole socialist period, had significant, stronger or weaker dissatisfaction of certain social and national groups. These dissatisfactions clearly reflected in occasional bursts of crisis, expressed through critics and demands for changes of the existing state, in political, social and national sphere.

The topic of this workshop are some of serious crisis that 'shaked' the Yugoslav state and society. They were selected in a way to chronologically encompass different decades in development of the country as well as to point to diversity of dissatisfaction motives, political, social-economic, and national. Teacher should use this workshop to present the 'other side' of the Yugoslav political reality, thus opening the space for discussions about its fate as a state.

RESULTS

Pupils will be enabled to understand the circumstances in SFRJ and assess interests of different social groups and peoples in it. They will recognize the methods the state used in solving the problems. Using the historical sources pupils will independently draw conclusions and form their views, that they will be able to defend with arguments. Through the work they will have to confront their views, but also to correct them and formulate some common findings as a group.

GOAL

To present the pupils historical sources from which they can understand political changes in SFRJ, and based on that, to see what was the state's relation towards those events.

ORGANIZATION OF A LESSON

The teacher will point out the subject of the workshop in the introductory. After that he divides the pupils in groups and gives them sources for work and tasks formulated in questions. Group work follows, and it is important that the teacher is there to give additional clarifications to groups that need it. After the pupils finish with the analysis and answer the questions, follows the group presentation. In the final part, representatives of the group (and other) will jointly fill out the table and answer the key question.

	1968.	1971.	1981.
demands of social nature			
demands of political nature			
reaction of the state apparatus			

Students' demonstrations in Yugoslavia in 1968 were preceded by students' riots worldwide in the spring of 1968, especially in France and Germany. They bursted as an expression of dissatisfaction with social situation in Yugoslavia. The critics hit on privileges, personal enrichment of some, unemployment, and the most radical slogan was: 'Down red bourgeoisie'. It is important to stress that protests were not targeted against the state order, but against compromising the basic ideas of socialism.

(3 June 1968)



1. Realizing the constitutionally guaranteed right to equal conditions of education.
 2. Creating conditions in which a University would REALLY BE A FREE, CRITIC, AND TRULY SELF-MANAGED institution.
 3. Improvement of material position of students and workers.
 4. Improvement of material position of University and creation of conditions for free and critic scientific work
 5. Strengthening the influence of science and University on social developments.
- WE FURTHER DEMAND
6. Realization of Constitutionally guaranteed right to work and freedom of work.
 7. Increase of minimum wages.
 8. Abolition of all social PRIVILEGES AND disabling INDIVIDUALS GETTING RICH AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKING CLASS.
 9. Thorough reform of cadre policy in all spheres of social life.
 10. Free and non-biased media.
 11. Freedom of strike and demonstrations.

@ivojin Pavlovi}, Ispljuvak pun krvi (A spit full of blood), Beograd, 1990, pg. 48

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(4 June, 1968)

“Tonight the Government under chairing of Djurica Jojkic talked with representatives of the Action committee of students' demonstrations and discussed their demands... Expressing regret for conflicts of students with the Police ('people's militia), the Govt. and the Action committee formed a joint commission to investigate the circumstances of conflict and determine the responsibilities for possible use of excessive force.”

B. Petranovi} - M. Ze~evi}, Jugoslavija 1918-1984, Beograd, pg. 959



@ivojin Pavlovi}, Ispljuvak pun krvi, Beograd 1990.

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GROUP 2

THE CROAT SPRING OF 1971

The term 'Croat Spring' relates to the political, national and economic movement that enclosed Croatia in late 1960s and early 1970s. The aim of the movement was greater political and economic stability of Croatia within Yugoslavia, especially in the field of tourism and foreign currency regime. Croatian students gave their support to Croat Spring by organising a general strike. That very strike was the cause for Tito and Yugoslav political leadership to stop the movement and remove Croatian leadership. There followed a number of removals, firings and imprisoning of members of Croat Spring. Due to the massive support of citizens of Croatia, the movement was often referred to as the Massive movement, or "Maspok".



AN INTRODUCTORY OF J. BROZ TITO AT THE SKJ (Party) PRESIDENCY SESSION

(1 December 1971, Karađorđevo)

"... in press, particularly Matica hrvatska, but also in Vjesnik and other papers - some more, some less - those various anti-socialistic anti-self-management elements give such statements that are absolutely anti-constitutional, punishable and they require persecution. They speak freely, and there is no reaction. I had to tell the comrades that it is unbearable.

— We know there is this, so called, revolutionary committee of 50 - and I call it counter-revolutionary that runs all the actions. There 4, 5 of them who are 'in charge', but we know there are many more. It is an organization that works both legally and illegally, and the core of everything is Matica hrvatska. The things have gone so far that it cannot be expected and allowed, not only individuals but counter-revolutionary groups, to act in our socialist country."

B. Petranovi} - M. Zečevi}, Jugoslavija 1918-1984, Beograd, pg. 986



1. Who is, according to Tito, to be blamed most for the situation in Croatia?
2. How do you understand the term 'counter-revolution'?

KEEPING FOREIGN CURRENCY UNTIL NEW SOLUTION IS FOUND



Rijeka, 22 November - we demand, in the interest of a working class, that foreign currency, foreign trade, banking and customs system issues are resolved by 1 January 1972. Otherwise, we propose to our city leadership to keep the foreign currency in town, in our republic, and that we manage them.

This demand was presented at the rally of Rijeka university students, as a result of several hours discussion on constitutional amendments. Rijeka students propose other municipalities in Croatia to do the same. About 5000 students demand adoption of such systemic solutions that will enable normal functioning of ship building and tourism. Since the national sovereignty is inseparable, as concluded on discussions of proposed amendments on Croatian Constitution, Rijeka students believe that Croatia is a sovereign state of Croat people. Croatia is a state of Croats, Serbs, Czechs, Italians, Hungarians, Slovaks - that is, a state of all its citizens. It is established on the rule and self-management of the working class. The official language is Croatian, official alphabet is Latin. The national hymn is 'Lijepa naša domovino' (Our beautiful homeland) in its original form, Zagreb is the capital city..."

Vjesnik, Zagreb, 23 November 1971, pg. 5



1. Try to identify which demands are economic, and which are political.
2. Do you think some of the demands were justified, and why?

GROUP 3

THE KOSOVO CRISIS OF 1981



- 1. What were the reasons of dissatisfaction of students in Pristina in this report?**
- 2. What effect was supposed to be achieved with such a report?**



- 1. Which values are in danger according L.Mojsov?**
- 2. Compare situation in Kosovo 1981 with today.**

AZEM VLASI ON EVENTS IN KOSOVO IN 1981, IN WHICH HE PARTICIPATED AS A FUNCTIONARY OF COMMUNIST PARTY (given in 1995)



(...) In 1981 in Kosovo, a number of negative circumstances occurred simultaneously, which preceded demonstrations and those events. No matter how fast we went to economic and cultural development, national emancipation, Kosovo, as the most underdeveloped area of Yugoslavia, was burdened with numerous social problems. (...) Then there were foreign factors, propaganda from Albania, other intelligent services (...) It was a common fact that on East they were looking suspiciously on the practice of Yugoslav socialism. East Europe countries, primarily Russia, were interested to neutralize the objective influence of our Yugoslav example (...) Beware, the federal top got scared, and reacted panically, as something like this was happening first time after Tito died. When troops of federal police arrived, nobody in Kosovo was authorised to command it, but federal top exclusively. They simply concluded that demonstrations had to be stopped at any cost. The use of force, excessive to that extent, was a tragic mistake. Spirits got disturbed in Kosovo, which is understandable, there was hardly a family that had no student in Pristina. As soon as they heard what was going on, parents joined the protests (...) So, we had panicing leadership in Belgrade, Province leadership that lost control, hence, the use of force followed, and it culminated on 31 March, 1 and 2 April. (...)

Petrović, Momčilo, *Pitao sam Albance {ta `ele, a oni su rekli: republiku, ako mo`e... (I asked Albanians what they wanted, and they said: a republic, if you please)... Beograd 1996, pgs. 41, 44*



1. What were the causes of crisis according to Azem Vlasi?
2. Compare the perception of the same events in three sources. In what and why they differ?