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*Censorship in Yugoslavia between 1945 and
1952. Halfway between Stalin and West*

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Abstract

This research is based on the fundamentals of somewhat nonsystematic historical and culturological investigation of censorship as an important factor in the shaping of cultural identity of people of former Yugoslavia. It starts from the past studies conducted in the fields of book history, archivistics and journalism. It takes Croatia and Serbia for referent countries as base fields for explaining censorship methodologies in the period of Yugoslav WWII aftermath, through the year of IB resolution in 1948 until 1952 and slowly coming out from so called Agitprop cultural period of Yugoslavia.

The gap which is to be filled is one with objective approach to both sides, the winning and the losing side in the WWII, especially because the winning side had lack of will and expertise to have a better insight in methodology of cultural inheritance which it finds, it destroys or forbids its artifacts, from artwork to everyday specimens of low culture. Also, in this work there is a closer insight to the way of how winner's propaganda and winner's authorities deal with propaganda of the enemy, including absolute censorship, destruction, sometimes literal and complete, as *damnatio memoriae* of everything what previous period was and had as its cultural attributes. In that way there can be shaped a new, artificial cultural identity, identified as a Stalinist and totalitarian model of that time which in this work was tried to be recognized and analyzed.

Keywords

Yugoslavia, Croatia, Serbia, censorship, Stalinism, Agitprop, propaganda apparatus of NDH, libraries, forbidden books, forbidden magazines, culture, press workers censorship, 1948, Cominform and Yugoslavia

1. Introduction

1.1. Guidelines

Uz Tita i Staljina, dva junačka sina, nas neće ni pakao smest.
(Together with Tito and Stalin, two heroic sons, not even Hell shall stop us. – original version)

Uz maršala Tita, junačkoga sina, nas neće ni pakao smest.
*(Together with Marshall Tito, the heroic son, not even Hell shall stop us. – later version)*¹

The initial lyrics of popular song of Vladimir Nazor are interesting to show how rapidly the general atmosphere of the end of World War II and early postwar period in Yugoslavia was changing and how it adapted to current reality. Just as ways of life of their author, writer Vladimir Nazor, who in the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) was one of the most important writers of national mythic story of Croatian kings, giants and pastors in the rich Croatian realistic and mythical past. He also wrote poems in honor of the Kingdom and Yugoslavia, and later in honor of the NDH. And then in 1942, he crossed the river Kupa in a boat on the free partisan territory and changed his themes of writing and began to write panegyrics to Josip Broz Tito and partisan songs, and after the war he gave up almost all of his publications published during the NDH. Still during the Second World War, he became President of the Executive Committee of the National Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Croatia (ZAVNOH), and after the war, the President of the Presidium of the Croatian Parliament. As one of the communist leaders, on May 18th 1944 he issued a proclamation on the death penalty and confiscation of property adopted by his fellow writers and artists, "Who worked for the enemy and carried out the agitation and propaganda in word, deed and in writing, especially literature and art, will be punished by death, and only in cases worth particular matter, with

.....
¹ «Pjesma o pesti». Popular partisan march. Text by Vladimir Nazor, music by Oskar Danon. First played in November 1943 at a session of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in the Jajce. According to Oskar Danon original text was with Tito and Stalin, but the people spontaneously changed the words to the version only with Tito.

forced labor and with loss of civil rights and the declaring as one of the enemies of the people and with confiscation of personal assets.”²

With this literary-historical curiosity we enter within the scope and topic of this paper which will deal with censorship, as one of the most interesting and controversial cultural and historical aspects and models that were taking place in post WWII Yugoslavia, from the end of WWII in 1945 until 1952, in the so-called Agitprop period so called upon the apparatus for the agitation and propaganda of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. This period is a very important stage in the development of the former Yugoslavia as a newly established state. It also today, sixty years later, is causing much controversy in the political and cultural life in the states formed as a result of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. From 1945 until 1952 happened many sudden and rapid changes in lifestyle, power, politics and the understanding of the people who lived in the territory of the republics that comprised Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia). Since the victory over the occupying German force and national regimes that satellite like followed the same or similar ideological principles, duel with their culture, property and even lives, rebuilding the war-ruined Yugoslavia, through adherence to the Soviet totalitarian model of Communist rule and to break with Stalin in the 1948 and until 1952 and the beginning of a new era in which Yugoslavia has made it a special treatment in the world skillfully balancing halfway between East and West, forming a specific cultural and political model. It is a turbulent period in which the public and approved ways of thinking changed literally overnight and in which appeared many highly developed forms of censorship, although it was publicly and constitutionally denied due to the rule of the people and all forms of freedom that Yugoslavia as a communist-ideological State boasted. Namely, as can be read in the Universal Encyclopedia of Yugoslav Lexicographic Institute, published in Zagreb in 1977, according to the Constitution of the SFRY and the national and provincial laws on public information, censorship of the press can be introduced only in the case of imminent danger or other forms of war. In other cases, for the dissemination of information there was not required registration or approval, and publication and dissemination of information may be restricted only in cases provided by law.³

1.2. *Censorship concepts*

Through years of human history, censorship was carried out in many ways⁴, as the states, rulers, and religious organizations had been keen to ban an idea,

.....
 2 Topusko, May 18th 1944.

3 At this point a small digression is needed to mention the differences in the names of the state. It is, from its official declaration at the Second Session of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia November 29th and 30th 1943 in Jajce, named Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (DFJ). According to declaration of the Constituent Assembly of November 29th 1945. States are called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ). And as such stays until 1963 when it became the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), which remained to the disintegration in the 1991. For this study are important first two names because these two names were used in the period 1945 – 1952. At the time of DFJ, states which formed its structure had the prefix Federal State (eg. Federal State of Croatia - FDH). During FNRJ prefix was changed to People's Republic of (for example, People's Republic of Croatia - NRH). In the last period, since 1963 they became Socialist Republics - SR.

4 In order to more approach more closely to the phenomenon of censorship first there should be set some limits in the definition of the term. Originally, the Croatian and international word «censorship» («cenzura» in Croatian), at least in many Western languages, comes from the Roman censor function, which existed in Rome from 433 BC until 85 AD, as the officer who dealt with keeping the census and supervision of public moral, with the right to shame offenders, with contracting of construction and repair of public buildings and gardens and with the lease of state incomes.

thought, art or fact. Let us remember only centuries of the list called "Index Librorum Prohibitorum" constructed by the Catholic Church, which was constantly filled and which contained the works of even today most recognized thinkers, scientists and writers of Western civilization. Venetian historian Paolo Sarpi in his essay, "Sopra l'ufficio dell'inquisizione" (1613) said: "Apparently book is not something special, because it consists of the words themselves, but from these words there are formed the opinions that cause bias, riots, and finally wars. Yes, these are only words, but they, consequently, raise the armed armies." So the authorities throughout history, whether they were secular or religious, tried to control the written word.

In former Yugoslavia and its states censorship was almost a common thing throughout the 20th century. Whether it was one of the Austrian court bureaucracy or that of Royal Court from the time of the first Yugoslavia, or that from the time of German occupation and the Independent State of Croatia. And not to mention, the new, victorious ideology in the liberated territory in 1945 had a role model in the form of the Soviet Union that was already twenty years practicing censorship in a very complex models within the Stalin's totalitarian system of government. Specifically, Stalinism is by definition the overall radical Bolshevism from the period of civil war that imbued the Soviet political culture with fighting zeal, revolutionary voluntarism, readiness to recourse to violence, and the conduct of administrative orders, centralized administration and Court Martials. Of these models in the early years of the existence Yugoslavia has assumed all the features.⁵ And one of the main tools of any totalitarian system is censorship, even when it is denied.

The official position of the new government in Yugoslavia, since 1945 was that there is no censorship, except in the cases of war. But in fact censorship was carried out in a lot of very complex multiple mechanisms. Especially with the fact that it should establish a central Yugoslav ideological control and remove the remains of the old propaganda and culture from Croatia and other areas that were under German, Italian or collaborating rule. That is where we come to the broader concept of censorship, because in this case it is not only word about a preventive censorship of any manuscript, or later, suspensive, censorship of an article or publication⁶, but a whole range of phenomena related to the published word: from auto censorship, banning of books and magazines of the past, collaborating regime, to the current prohibition of books and magazines, through persecution and liquidation of old regime journalists and writers, many classified lists of not wanted authors and works, to the refusing of printing the new books and magazines or suspension of shipping supplies of paper to publishers and print houses. It is a complex mechanism of intentional shaping of cultural identity in an area with control of availability of any information, whether literary, news, historical or other.

The amount of censored material in Yugoslavia tells the interesting fact concerning the somewhat later period: in mid-sixties of 20th century Croatian republic police gathered so much of emigrant materials, which has regularly been confiscated, that they had no room for its storing and they kept in their collection only two to three copies, while the rest gave to the National and University Library in Zagreb, under the condition that it will be placed in the bunker and unrea-

5 Banac, I. (1990) "Sa Staljinom protiv Tita". Pp. 19.

6 Paraščić, I. (2007) "Cenzura u Jugoslaviji: 1945.-1990". Pp. 3 - 4

chable to users. The material was checked and located in the basement, but never processed in catalogues. Material that was collected in the Republic Secretariat for Internal Affairs was used to create files on emigrants, and information about authors, editors and journalists. In some copies there can be seen underlines of the police, interrogation marks, exclamation points and the like. After the fall of communism, all the books and records of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs became redundant and were transferred to the National University Library for public use. In July 1992 to National University Library were also committed 7733 books by almost 300 authors and 8670 copies of newspapers, magazines, newsletters, etc. Material from the basement already joined together with new material, and thus became available to the public,⁷ except in the case that some records were relevant to the current national security.

1.3. Sources, literature and methodology

This paper will review censorship procedures and methodologies considered at several levels. The main angle of researching censorship in Yugoslavia will still be from the angle of Croatia, and because a large portion of cases related to the Yugoslav censorship of literature and journalism of the Independent State of Croatia 1941 - 1945. But the review will touch and some other republics, such as Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (with Croatia, because Croatia and Bosnia during the NDH was more or less a whole). There shall be presented the press laws, decisions of banning the works, journals, journalists and writers, lists of such, and some of their fate. There was used a relatively small amount of literature (the theme has not been well researched over the past twenty years), only a dozen books and some published papers that indicate the original sources.

The largest contribution in the literature about researching this topic is contributed with the research of Croatian journalist Josip Grbelja ("Cenzura u hrvatskom novinstvu – Censorship in the Croatian press," "Nepoznati dokumenti o odnosu Milovana Dilasa i Petra Šegedina: cenzor i njegova žrtva – Unknown documents about the relationship of Milovan Djilas and Peter Šegedin: censor and his victim," " Uništeni naraštaj: tragične sudbine novinara NDH – Destroyed generation: the tragic fate of journalists NDH" and "Informbiro i književni časopisi – Cominform and literary magazines ") and the Croatian bibliographer, bibliologist, archaeologist and historian of books and libraries Aleksandar Stipčević ("Cenzura kao ograničavajući faktor u širenju informacija -- Censorship as a limiting factor in the dissemination of information "," Cenzura u knjižnicama – Censorship in libraries, "" O savršenom cenzoru iliti praktički priručnik za borbu protiv štetnih knjiga i njihovih autora – The perfect censor or practical manual for the fight against harmful books and their authors", "Sudbina knjige – The fate of the book" and " Tiskari kao cenzori u Hrvatskoj: 1945. – 1990. – Printing workers as censors in Croatia: 1945 – 1990") .

They are only ones in Croatia, who were thoroughly and extensively in several books and papers devoted to the issue of censorship in Croatia and Yugoslavia. Although, with due notice, that in this paper, there are drawn from their research only the facts, sometimes ignoring their non-historical analytical enthusiasm occasionally painted with nationalist approach of the nineties of the twentieth century with which we should be equally careful as of that of winning pro-

.....
7 Stipčević, A. (2000) «Sudbina knjige». Pp. 102.

paganda machine of the Yugoslav authorities in the mid-forties. However, starting from their works and drawing on the essential, and using other cache works listed in the bibliography at the end of this paper, this research will try to find the original testimony and written documents on censorship as an instrument of power in communist Yugoslavia, to process them and analyze and some of them and attach a copy in the appendix. The greatest emphasis, therefore, will be on the original documents with lists of banned books and magazines, and arrested, banned or shot writers and journalists, which are mostly located in the various funds of the Croatian State Archives. As the literature for Serbia is concerned, there was used one of the best studies of that period, "Agitprop kultura (Agitprop culture)" by the Serbian historian Ljubodrag Dimić, which is particularly interesting because it was published in 1988. Its importance is so special because it speaks very critically about the cultural backwardness of postwar Serbia, and lack of education of the ruling cadre, who from the ignorance destroyed the cultural and artistic property and inheritance of Serbia and Yugoslavia. On the other hand, it is useful because it provides insight into the mental and cultural complex of ideology which sometimes very openly advocates the censorship of "hostile" press and other cultural products.

2. Agitprop

At first, until the Tito-Stalin conflict, and conflict of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) and the Cominform and 5th Congress of the Communist Party which was held from July 21st to 28th 1948, the Communist Party in Yugoslavia operated in the conspiracy and all its meetings were secret, it was obvious consequence of distrust and secrecy because since the Kingdom of Yugoslavia it has been banned, censored and persecuted by the ruling clique. All this time the authority had the National Front - a body established by the Communist Party, which was public and as a mass organization it was an extended arm of the Communist Party. All decisions and actions that the National Front attempted were directed by the Party, so that all real power was in Party's hands. Bilandžić⁸ said about that power: "The state, created during the war, was also under Party as such were the army and police. CPY held in its hands all the power and economy, culture, education, in science - everywhere, and it directed and all the so-called. mass organizations: the Popular Front, the trade unions, youth, women and sports associations - nothing could arise and exist without the will and control of the Party. Around this structure - the Party, government, military - has developed block-motion of political forces which was born in a partisan war, and who followed Tito, from whom propaganda had already made a war and the leadership legend. Tito's legal and unlimited political power could be compared with those that had the leaders of the Revolution, as were Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Castro, etc. "

Its views on art and culture Communist Party has already formulated prior to the start of World War II, at the same time when began its accelerated bolshevism and preparing for revolution. All areas of art, according to this dogma, are subordinate to the revolution, because the artists were asked to enter the core

.....
⁸ Bilandžić, D. (1998). «Hrvatska moderna povijest», Pp. 214.

of social changes and events and to be propagators of new ideas.⁹ The party has asked the artists to be “engineers of souls.”¹⁰ In March 1945 Agitprop of Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (CK SKJ) issued a proclamation (the Directive) on the cultural objectives of Agitprop (“All of CK and PK - On the organization of agitation and propaganda, AGITPROP CK SKJ, UU-k-1/14, March 1945). Among the many goals of reconstruction and development of literacy and cultural life, there can be read two articles which are interesting for understanding the political direction and attitude toward all oppositions of Communist Party which will be after the absolute victory, the liberation of Yugoslavia and the take-over:

“ (...)

- ensuring that the material and technical base of cultural life is in the hands of the people and become a national possession, liquidation of property rights in cultural activities (libraries, reading houses, publishing, theater, cinema, etc.), control of all the centers that could serve the gathering of the opposition of every kind, even in the field of culture,

(...)

- conduct a systematic struggle against the enemy influence in the cultural life, against dumbness and apoliticality, raising the cultural life in the larger ideological and artistic level; (...)”¹¹

The task of agitation and propaganda machine was that in the hands of the Party and its advertising agencies focuses directly or indirectly, the entire political, cultural, educational and scientific life, which had to be guided directly from the Party center. Apparatus is supposed to channel all the aspirations of the population in cultural life and to prevent any desire or attempt to Party hostile elements to subdue cultural life to their own interests. With the time there has been established concept, especially within the Agitprop apparatus of the Central Committees of the republics and the sub committees, that the task of apparatus for agitation and propaganda is to exercise censorship and monitor (control) over all and everything and to own a monopoly in the study of theoretical issues and carry out the final verdict in all contentious ideological issues, which was contrary to the task of the apparatus for agitation and propaganda that they were asked by the Directive, from March 1945.¹²

Concurrently with the establishment of the apparatus for agitation and propaganda in the Party, there were formed also similar apparati in the People’s Front (sectors of the press and agitation), Union (cultural and educational department), the United Association of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia (cultural and educational department), and Antifascist Front of Women (section of propaganda). Thus, the Party exercised a major role in the realization of cultural policy.¹³

Party stated that concept of “enemy” in the culture was not only abstract idea. “He” worked through “his” cultural institutions, organizations, media, had economic power, extended social networks and relationships at home and abroad, and intellectuals who in the political struggle heavily used arguments drawn from the social heritage and in the dialogue often acting superior. Therefore, pursuing

9 Dimić, Lj. (1988) «Agitprop kultura». Pp. 191 – 192.

10 The phrase Ždanov A. A. attributed to Stalin

11 Dimić (1988) Pp. 29 – 30.

12 Ibid. Pp. 36. – 37.

13 Ibid. Pp. 266.

its concept of cultural politics, Party terminated private publishers, printers, bookstores, cinemas, expropriated owners of cinemas and private theaters, enclosed private libraries and reading houses, prohibited the operation of cultural societies, abolished private and religious schools, regardless whether if they represented or not part of the tradition and cultural values of people in Yugoslavia.¹⁴

Given the position of war winner and the power it had, it is quite clear its showdown with the enemies (with NDH, but also from the Croatian Peasant Party (HSS) as an enemy of ideological conflict and fear of the opposition) that included the elements of retribution and punishment, and violence of censorship fixed upon their cultural heritage. After the state was created, the next goal was to achieve a one hundred per cent acceptance of the Communist Party in the nation and the ideological single-mindedness, which was achieved by political persecution and the compromising of the enemies with different ideologies - for starters, and then tried to exterminate any different or any other opinion that is the least deviated from the opinion of the Central Committee of the Communist Party leadership.

Ideological single-mindedness was accomplished on the one hand with rejections and prohibitions, and in the other with propaganda for which Agitprop apparatus was responsible. In addition to prohibiting acts of ideological opponents and books printed during the NDH, there had been dismissed also the works without social content, works of priests and religious theme works, works of medieval literature, then dialectal literature and "decadent" works of modernism, expressionism and surrealism. On the other hand secularization and Sovietization dominated (up to 1948 and conflict with the Soviet Union), and there were favored socialist writers, revolutionary leaders and champions of theoretical Marxism. Thus, there were translated the works of Lenin, Stalin and other Soviet writers. Lenin's works are published in as many as 1,433,000 copies, at 1,337,000 copies of Stalin, Maxim Gorki in 348,000 copies, 111,000 copies of Chekhov, Tolstoy in 100,000 copies.¹⁵ A decadent Western literature was convicted; a literature and arts in general were considered as means of revolution and, therefore, the medium of propagation of communist ideology.

The film was considered by Party as a dangerous weapon that had to be completely under its control. Task of Agitprop Commissions was that all matters relating to the film, from the organizing cinema visits and advertising, and to the proper use of film material, was managed and controlled, not allowing that work to owners of cinema (at the beginning while there still were owners) or educational committees. Party approved the theme of each new film, it has control over the script, chooses the director, cast/crew. Upon completion of filming it did the censorship too. So the film is, in those years, as part of cultural policy, under the direct control of Party and the Agitprop apparatus. Free choice of topics or artistic expression and experimentation could be considered harmful.¹⁶

Party invented a whole new terminology, and in the texts and political life in general, for example, now it was used the term "liberation war", and thought about the "revolution", for "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "Party", they used the term "power of working people", writers do not accept orders from "Party", but from the "people-master", etc.

In 1946 Milovan Djilas founded within Agitprop several departments: The-

14 Ibid. Pp. 57.

15 Grbelja, J. (1998:1) "Cenzura u hrvatskom novinstvu: 1945. - 1990." Pp. 105.

16 Dimić (1988) Pp. 214.

oretical lecturing Department, Department of ideological work in the Party and youth organizations, the Department of ideological work in mass organizations, the Department of Press and agitation, Department of cultural mass work, the Department of Cultural educational work, Department for artwork, Sector for party schools, administration and other sectors, and there was even the Commission for Architecture. All these committees, by the Yugoslav tradition of centralization and hierarchizations, existed, on federal and the republic and municipal level.

In early fifties, due to the large number of titles and increasing activities in publishing, Agitprop strives to develop working committees, editorial councils and editorial boards who, after the abolition of Agitprop apparatus continued its duty.¹⁷

As already noted, after 1948 and the conflict with the Cominform in Party politics comes to turning, and in the fifties there was complete withdraw from the, from the first days of Yugoslavia literally prescribed, Soviet laws, programs and economic models of state organization. So Agitprop publishes its "Action plan against the Cominform on cultural and educational sector", and from its point 10 we can see reflection of positions between Agitprop by one and both intellectual and artistic creativity on the other side: "The writers will, through articles in newspapers, magazines, etc., and through songs, sketches, reviews, etc. constantly struggle, and unveil campaign and attacks of Cominform. They will write will act plays, plays, radio version, humor, etc., in which in the literary way, through stories or jokes, unveil Cominform. [...] Each issue of "Kolo", "Kulturni radnik" and "Izvor" should have a discussion paper on the theme of Cominform."¹⁸ The task of the artist was not painting or describing the struggle with Cominform, but to create works of contemporary reality, which itself deny, break down and destroy all those forces that are fighting around it.¹⁹

3. Yugoslav press laws and the internal referrals in 1945 – 1948

Even before coming officially to power, on February 8th 1945 The Communist Party published "Decision on obligatory delivery of printed matter in Yugoslavia" (*Odluka o obveznom dostavljanju štampanih stvari na području Jugoslavije*) with the purpose of preventive analysis of what will be published and publicly available.

In the official gazette "Narodne novine" dated August 10 1945, no. 3, pp. 3, it was brought the "Order of prohibiting the Ustasha and fascist literature" ("Naredba o zabrani ustaške i fašističke literature") that says the following:

"It was observed that publications that were published during former NDH are freely sold in bookstores. Because among it is a big part of the Ustasha and fascist propaganda literature, and also in the works of international writers are often falsified several passages, the Ministry of Education will appoint a com-

17 Dimić (1988) Pp. 158.

18 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 174.

19 Dimić (1988). Pp. 194.

mission of experts who will review all the literature and thereafter approve or prohibit the distribution of individual works. In order to, until the final decision of this Commission, prevent distribution of the fascist and Ustasha publications there is issued following command: It is forbidden to do any further provisions of sale and any distribution of any literature that was released after April 10th, 1941 in Croatian, German or Italian language. This order is effective immediately. Death to Fascism - Freedom to the people!" Ministry of Internal Affairs. No. 1737-45 June 3rd, 1945." The order signed by Minister of Internal Affairs Vicko Krstulović.²⁰

At the end of the summer, August 24th 1945 *The Press Law* ("Zakon o štampi") was passed, which guaranteed freedom of expression and press freedom, but the *Law* was regulating also the licensing of publishers, editors and editorial board members, so these jobs could not hold by the people:

"1) who do not enjoy political and civil rights²¹

2) who were leaders or prominent members of the Ustasha, Chetniks or Ljotić's organizations, organizations, of the white and blue guards and other fascist organizations and groups in the country and abroad as well as persons who collaborated with enemies and their domestic helpers

3) who were publishers, editors, co-writers of the fascist and profascist books, newspapers another printed matter

4) who during the war were publishers, editors, staff or writers of books, newspapers and other printed matter that spread national, racial or religious hatred or assisted external enemy of Yugoslavia

5) who used press to spread pornography, crime and extortion or similar immoral purposes."²²

The law prohibits all publications that propagate violent overthrow of constitutional order of DFY, and contain insults at the expense of friendly countries²³. It is forbidden to insult or defame the representative bodies of Yugoslavia. These provisions can be quite extended, and vaguely explained thus be used as a very obvious background and instrument of censorship.

The Press Law does not prohibit importation of publications printed abroad, or require that they need special permission, but if they were printed in one of languages of people of Yugoslavia, and they are intended to them, such an approval from the authorities is necessary.²⁴

In the context of the new laws, we should mention the *Regulations on issuance and distribution of youth and children's literature and the press in PRC (Zakon o izdavanju i raspačavanju omladinske i dječje književnosti i štampe u NRH)* dated April 8th 1947 which seeks prior permission for the issuance of such publications, and the obligation of submission of plans of publishing companies.²⁵

However, many important documents for the fate of free expression and free information in Yugoslavia were internal letters and lists of banned authors and books that different bodies, boards and commissions each have exchanged and which existence was denied. One such letter, but not complete internal, since it

20 Narodne novine, August 10th 1945, No. 3, pp. 3

21 Josip Grbelja found that in post WWII Croatia without these rights were deprived half of adults, while Dusan Bilandzic in the book "Hrvatska moderna povijest" says that before first elections in Yugoslavia in 1945 was slightly less than 200,000 people in Yugoslavia that were erased from the voter lists because of collaborating with different occupiers (the data obtained from Paraščić (2007) p. 16.)

22 Hebrang Grgić, I. (2000) "Zakoni o tisku u Hrvatskoj od 1945. do danas". Pp. 120.

23 Like USSR at that moment.

24 Paraščić (2007) Pp. 16.

25 Hebrang Grgić (2000) Pp. 121 - 122.



had the label that said it was addressed to EVERYONE²⁶, was sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia by Milovan Djilas, the head of Agitprop and the first censor of Yugoslavia, on October 17th 1946. Djilas in a letter patronizingly cares about education and good taste of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, and he recommends the following:

- (1) that “in publishing of scientific and popular scientific literature there (should) strictly watch on pseudoscientific, petty and sensational literature”
- (2) that “in the current journalism things (should) be so organized, planned and controlled that no topical, political and other brochures or books can be published besides of control of the Party “
- (3) that “from the English, American and French literature is to be published only the best works of critical realism and combat romanticism and the best works of contemporary advanced writers”
- (4) that “attention should be paid to Polish, Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, and to some extent the Romanian literature.”²⁷

Thus was the official legal condition in the period 1945 - 1948. But it is clear that there was a whole series of informal instruction within the system that, unlike the broad and vaguely written laws, precisely instructed how and what to publish. It is also important to know that the role model constitution which served its purpose was Stalin’s Constitution of the Soviet Union for which it was considered that ensured maximum freedom of the press ever in history and that was the best and most advanced in the history of mankind.²⁸

4. The situation in Croatia at the very end and after the Second World War

In Croatia, at the end of the war, many mechanisms of disputes with the enemy and the previous regime were started. Many of them belong to the broader definition of censorship as described above in the introduction. Therefore, that occurrences and mechanisms of censorship will be divided into several subgroups.

.....
 26 Mark of the importance they placed so that the widest recipients get the letter for review.

27 Grbelja, J. (1998:2) “Nepoznati dokumenti o odnosu Milovana Dilasa i Petra Šegedina: cenzor i njegova žrtva”. Pp. 120.

28 Stipčević, A.(2005) “Tiskari kao cenzori u Hrvatskoj: 1945. – 1990”.Pp. 4

4.1. *State Commission for establishing the crimes of the occupying forces and their supporters (Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača) and the Survey Committee for investigation of the crime of cultural cooperation with the enemy (Anketna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina kulturnom suradnjom s neprijateljem)*

During the war in 1943 the Allies agreed at the Moscow conference of “Declaration about the responsibility of German fascists” which was confirmed on Teheran conference and extended from Germans to all their supporters and allies. It is therefore logical that was on November 30 1943 at the National Committee of Liberation of Yugoslavia and by the decision of the AVNOJ formed State Commission for establishing the crimes of the occupying forces and their supporters. Following it soon there was established at the local level State Commission for determining crimes by the decision of the Presidency of ZAVNOH on May 18th 1944.²⁹

Immediately after World War II, and overthrow of the Ustasha NDH (the liberation of Zagreb, the Croatian capital, May 8, 1945) and establishment of the new state of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia new government starts its confrontation with active and less active persons during the NDH. For this purpose, State Commission for investigation of the crimes of the occupying forces and their supporters (ZKRZ) founded in the summer 1945 The Survey Committee for investigation of the crimes for cultural cooperation with the enemy. Investigative Committee had to examine all persons who publicly operated during the NDH, whether they was journalists, publicists, writers, editors or editorial board members, artists, musicians, radio announcers, university professors, actors, singers, members of the management of cultural and scientific and educational institutions, etc.³⁰ Today it is preserved in the six boxes³¹ of documents from the Survey Committee in 1945 in the Croatian State Archives.³²

All they had to meet the so-called *Questionnaire (Upitni arak)* in which they were, in addition to personal data, required to give details about their location and occupation at the time of occupation until May 9th 1945, about their the published and other public works (exhibitions, performances, events, lectures), received medals, then information about the affiliation to Ustasha movement and data on cooperation with the National Liberation Movement.³³

However, the *Questionnaire* was not just for the artists and listed above, but the Survey Committee had task to the forward it to all employees of University, hospitals and health resorts, sports facilities and clubs, health institutes and various NGOs, which speaks about volume of coverage of the entire proceeding.³⁴

Preserved files range from the number 5, with the name of Dr. Ivan Krajač.³⁵ In these files there can be seen for what they accused the scientists, journalists,

.....
29 HDA 1.306. Zemaljska komisija NRH za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, sumarni inventar, Pp. 1-3.

30 Grbelja, J. (2000) “Uništeni naraštaj: tragične sudbine novinara NDH”. Pp. 125.

31 Fond ZKRZ-AK, box 685 – 691. dated 1945.

32 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 88

33 Grbelja (2000) Pp. 124.

34 Ibid Pp. 129.

35 HDA Fond ZKRZ-AK 5/45, box 685.

editors, professors and writers and what was their level of cooperation with the enemy. So there can be found many interesting cases such as that of the Zagreb University Professor Dr. Edvard Miloslavić³⁶ in 1943 as a member of the International Commission examined scene in the Katyn Wood near Smolensk, where Soviets executed 16 000 Polish officers. Dr. Miloslavić was declared a war criminal because of telling lies about allies and friendly countries and would be executed if he not already fled into exile. Because of the same things, writing about the crimes in Katyn and executing Ukrainian peasants in Vinica in Ukraine, there was sentenced as a war criminal and should be shot University professor Dr. Ljudevit Jurak from Zagreb. But, by the coincidence, Jurak has been two months ago executed upon another verdict, that one of Military Court of Command in Zagreb. Most interesting of all in this story about defamation against the allied countries (the USSR) is irony that in the nineties of 21st century, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia confessed all crimes in Katyn and Vinica.³⁷

During the 1950 and 1951 Udba (State Security Department) conducted a reconstruction of the entire NDH propaganda system and as a result produced lists of shot, emigrated and journalists who had been authorized or not for their further work.

Showdown of the Communists with the Ustasha is interesting to compare with Allied showdown with the Axis powers – during the Nuremberg process, there was sentenced a total of 13 death sentences, while a large part of the Government of Independent State (18 of them) were shot or hanged except those who fled (Pavelić, Artuković...). Of journalists, according to these lists in the last battles of the war and after, there were killed 38 of them what is a very large number.

4.2. Confrontation with journalists of Independent state of Croatia

Besides the *Order of prohibiting the Ustasha and fascist literature*, Josip Grbelja in his book mentions three lists of banned authors and books (in the period 1945 – 1946) from which it is “easy to conclude that were banned all those who at the time of NDH (1941 – 1945) wrote in newspapers, magazines, journals, proceedings, or encyclopedias, who spoke on the radio or in the Public University, exhibited paintings or artifacts in the galleries or museums, painted illustrations or posters, published their books...”³⁸

So, following the studies of Grbelja we list all three lists here.

4.2.1. List of NDH journalist who were forever banned to practice writing, publishing and other journalist work

The list is probably from 1952.³⁹ It can be found in the Croatian State Archives in the Fund of the State Security of the National Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (SDS RSUP SRH)⁴⁰. This list was created in

³⁶ HDA Fond ZKRZ-AK 145/45, box 687 and «Odluka Zemaljske komisije o utvrđivanju zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača» No. 2691, Zh No. 6315/937.

³⁷ Grbelja (2000) Pp. 130 – 131.

³⁸ Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 97.

³⁹ The text accompanying the list stated that it was the reconstruction work of propaganda apparatus of NDH conducted and completed between the 1950 and 1951.

⁴⁰ Grbelja in his book named it the Fund of MUP (Ministry of Internal Affairs), although the archive is

the Directorate of State Security (UDBA)⁴¹, and includes all those who have been denied of further work because they wrote, photographed, draw or had general interests in the newspaper at the time of NDH.⁴² The list contains 100 names.⁴³

4.2.2. List of journalists collaborators published on October 26th 1945 in journal "Vjesnik"

Previous list is actually UDB-a's summa summarum alphabetically ordered and apparently made according to the original conclusion of the Court of Honour of Croatian Journalists Association (DNH), which was published in "Vjesnik" October 26th 1945, in which the profession guild has published a list of its members who were about to eject and condemned for the collaboration with the enemy and the previous regime and that list was detailed giving the names listed according the weight of guilt. The article is here quoted in its entirety as well as in Grbelja's book⁴⁴, because it is interesting to see why exactly mentioned journalists were condemned.

"Court of Honor of Croatian Journalists Association condemned the fascist journalists - the intellectual originators and the instigators of war crimes

ZAGREB - October 25th 1945 Court Honor of Croatian Journalists Association publishes this decision from the meeting held on 24th of this month in the Journalist's Home.

After the discussion about the work and moral integrity of members of Croatian Journalists Association of Banovina Hrvatska during the occupation, the court gave the following conclusion

- (1) For the eternal time expelled from the ranks of journalists and membership of society, condemned to a permanent ban on journalistic activity, and proposed to the state prosecutor for the persecution for the antinational work are:

Ivo Bogdan, Josip Blažina, Franjo Babić, dr. Josip Bobek, Luka Fertilio, Milan Ilinić, Julijus Floss, Matija Kovačić, Kamilo Krvarić, Ivo Lendić, Vladimir Radić, Vlaho Raić, Antun Šenda, Cvjetko Štahan, Mijo Tolj, Janko Tortić i Danijel Uvanović

because their treacherous work has served the enemy, risen ethnic hatred and fratricidal war, slandered NOV and NOP⁴⁵, and with propaganda activities deceived others in such work. For all this the Court of Honour of Croatian Journalists Association considers them war criminals, and as such requires that, if not in our country, are to be delivered to our national authorities to answer for their crimes

- (2) Excluded for the eternal time of the journalistic ranks, and members of the Company are:

Dragan Bubljić, Rudolf Balaš, Ivan Degrel, Vladimir Ciprin, Ivan Grubiša, Stjepan Hrastovec, Milivoj Korn-Mačković i Ljubo Wiesner

because their work in press during the occupation helped to propaganda of the occupiers and their servants, the Ustasha, who ran propaganda for planting

.....
named SDS RSUP SRH Fund (the Fund of the State Security of the National Secretariat of Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Croatia).

41 UDBA was created in March 1946, after reorganization of OZNA (Department for the Protection of the People), the Security Intelligence Service formed in the «Commissions for National Defence Committee of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia» May 13th 1944. Upon adoption of the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ), January 31st 1946 security-intelligence services are restructured. In March 1946. the First and Second Department of OZNA were formed at the Ministry of Interior as State Security Department (UDBA), while the Third section of OZNA was established at the Ministry of National Defense as Yugoslav Army's counterintelligence (KOS). UDBA as a civilian counterintelligence was in SSUP and consisted of four main departments which are concerned with internal enemies, the emigrants (Croatia, Albania...), foreign intelligence services and techniques for monitoring and interception.

42 HDA, Fund SDS RSUP SRH, Act 013,1/18 i Act 013/2/18, Box 48 and Grbelja (1998) Pp. 81- 82.

43 See appendix for the complete list., pp 39. of this paper.

44 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 82 - 84.

45 NOV - National Liberation Army, NOP - National Liberation Movement

discord between our peoples, slandered NOB and so harmed the national interests

- (3) Court of Honor DNH⁴⁶ considers necessary to issue an opinion on those who were not members of the Croatian Journalists' Association of Banovine Hrvatska, and who, during the occupation have become members of the Ustasha and enemy's propaganda organization, and worked as a journalist and publicists, and therefore with their work harmed the interests of the people:
- (a) condemns on the everlasting ban of all journalistic activities, and to the state prosecutor are proposed for the prosecution because of the antinational work and therefore, that if they are not in our country, will be requested their extradition to our national authorities:
- dr. Leopold Belobrajčić, Romeo Bučar, Mijo Bzik, Alfred von Buttlar-Moscon, dr. Ante Bonifačić, Franjo Bubanić, Danijel Crljen, Mirko Cerovac, Ivo Cerovac, dr. Ante Ciliga, Marko Čović, dr. Franjo Dujmović, Nikola Fedorov, dr. Gerda Foertsch, Fritz Foeckel, dr. Ivo Hühn, Andrija Ilić, Mato Jagatić, Karl Kühne, Zvonimir Koronički, Sepp Lenz, Radovan Latković, Tias Mortigijija, Ivo Marunić, Josip Mrmić, Josip Milković, Zlatko Milković, Milivoj Magdić, Zvonimir Mirković, Stipe Mosner, Milan Novaković, Vinko Nikolić, Ivan Oršanić, Ante Oršanić, Vilim Peroš, Luka Puljiz, dr. Slavko Pavičić, Herman Proebst, Jure Prpić, Stanislav Polonijo, Grga Pejnović, Tomica Penavić, Jure Pavičić, ing. Perše, dr. ing Vilko Rieger, Franjo Rubina, dr. Erich Roetl, Ivan Softa, Sava Štedimlija, Božo Šarkanj, Hasan Šuljak, dr. Teodor Uzorinac, Stanko Vitković, Janko Žanetić, Aleksandar Žibrat
- because their treacherous work has served to the enemy, they rose ethnic hatred and fratricidal war, slandered NOV and NOP, and with propaganda activities deceived others to such work, which leads them to the Court of Honor as war criminals;
- (b) condemned on the everlasting ban of all journalistic activities:
- Ivan Ambrozić, Ivo Balentović, Jure Boroje, Milica Devčić, ing. Dujšin, Tom. Cerovac, st. Juzbašić, Anton Jerkov, M. Kus-Nikolajev, Vlaho Lovrić, Ivan Mrakovčić, Zlatko Petrak, Milan Pavrlišak, Jure Rudalić, Vjekoslav Šišulj, Đuro Teufel, Franjo Trbuha, Stjepan Tomičić, Ivo Vučićević i Pero Vukota
- for their work in the press and propaganda during the occupation helped the occupier and his Ustasha servants, to sow discord between our peoples and bring to the fratricidal war, and thus harmed national interests.
- (4) For those journalists and publicists who sinned less against national interests, the Court of Honor of DNH suggested DNH's Board of Directors that they, by their general, and especially due to the current attitude and action, accept or reject their membership in DNH.

Court of Honour of DNH condemned, as it is seen from the above press releases, bosses and employees of various German, Italian and Ustasha propaganda agencies, newspapers, fascist mercenaries, who, in part even before World War II, stood in the service of German and Italian fascism, through newspapers, magazines and brochures (especially clerofascistic journals "Hrvatska garda", "Nedelja", "Hrvatska smotra", through Matica hrvatska and other press), and helped and prepared the work of enemy agents and themselves were such agents, and thereby helping the enemy to enter into our country, and then, after the occupation, releasing and editing Ustasha press, brochures and pamphlets, and with their journalistic and publishing activities, not only justified all the measures and bloody deeds of the Ustasha and other enemies, but urged them to new atrocities to our nations, directly serving effort to occupiers about the exploitation of our world, destroying villages and cities and performing horrible and terrible crimes against our people.

The Court of Honour of DNH, therefore, condemned the intellectual originators and instigators of crime – war criminals. It condemned those who staged the Ustasha propaganda assemblies, issued "Spremnost", "Hrvatski narod", "Nova Hrvatska", "Deutsche Zeitung in Kroatien" and other daily and weekly fascist newspapers; those who printed brochures, made forgeries and spread propaganda for the enemy. It condemned the indirect perpetrators of torture and horrible death of thousands and thousands of people.

Journalists have the full right to require that these fascist war criminals are to be extradited to our government, in the case that they escaped from our country.

Court of Honor of DNH also had to condemn, although with less severe penalty, many persons who assisted in this antinational work. Some of these were journalists before, and then they sold themselves to the occupying forces, but most of them began to carry out journalistic or journalistic profession only after the arrival of the occupier.⁴⁷

4.2.3. List of dead journalists

List of dead journalists after the war is in the document under the full title "List of persons who worked in the Ustasha propaganda and are now in exile or shot" ("Popis lica koja su radila u ustaškoj propagandi a danas su u emigraciji ili streljana").⁴⁸ They are nominated in four categories: shot, dead, deceased and shot by Ustasha⁴⁹. The list is following:

"1. Belošević Josip (shot), 2. Bubanić Franjo (shot), 3. Bzik Mijo (deceased), 4. Berković Boris (shot), 5. Babac fra Dominik (shot), 6. Baljkas dr. Josip (shot), 7. Bjeliš Vicko (shot), 8. Bartoš (deceased), 9. Čačinović dr. (shot), 10. Fuis Marijan (shot), 11. Fogetić Zlatko (shot), 12. Frauen-Heim Stjepan (shot), 13. Filippi A mato (dead), 14. Gjivanović – kanonik (dead), 15. Hijacent Petris (shot), 16. Hajdinović Stjepan (shot), 17. Hans Mijo (shot), 18. Jedvaj Antun (shot), 19. Karamarko Ljudevit (shot by Ustasha), 20. Kel Božo (deceased), 21. Kavurić (shot), 22. Kirin Vjekoslav (shot), 23. Lavicky Ivan (deceased), 24. Makanec dr. Julije (shot), 25. Magdić Milivoj (shot), 26. Maurano Silvije (shot), 27. Mikočević Petar (hanged by Ustasha), 28. Mortigjija Tijas (shot), 29. Mohaček Božo (dead), 30. Nunić Niko (shot), 31. Pavičić Jure (died in emigration), 32. Pavičić Slavko (died in emigration), 33. Paškvan Stanko (deceased), 34. Paunović Branko (deceased), 35. Pečnik Alojz (deceased), 36. Peroš Vilim (shot), 37. Pajdaš Ante (shot), 38. Paraga (deceased), 39. Petričević Ivan (deceased), 40. Peko Ivan (shot), 41. Ružičić Domagoj (shot), 42. Schram (dead), 43. Skomrža Ivo (dead), 44. Skračić Jerko (shot), 45. Streha (shot), 46. Srnak Faco (shot), 47. Šuster (dead), 48. Šrepl dr. (deceased), 49. Šunjić (shot), 50. Šestak Ivan (shot), 51. Šmit prof. (shot), 52. Šantić Aleksandar (shot), 53. Širola Gino (shot), 54. Tapran Velid (dead), 55. Teufel Đuro (shot), 56. Tomasseo (shot), 57. Trežić (shot), 58. Tuk Dragutin (shot), 59. Uvanović Danijel (shot), 60. Vernić Zdenko (dead), 61. Volinsky prof. Konstantin (dead), 62. Wolf Hinko (shot by Ustaša), 63. Židovec Vladimir (shot), 64. Židovec dr. Feliks (shot)."

4.2.4. Data analysis

Showdown with NDH journalists is understood as an area of censorship because it is very evident, according to data, that it was about direct conflict of two propaganda apparati, the losing one and the winning one. Winning one, with its rhetorical force and arguments, had convicted as a war crime all the previous work of these journalists and other publicists. With that it deprived them of their occupation or in a worse case, of life. With this, the entire four years of printed or oral journalistic work had been crushed and banned, regardless of whatever it really was talking about, whether it was an aggressive promotional material or about general topics.

The final account says that of 332 journalists registered with the Government of Independent State of Croatia, between 6 - 8 May 1945, 129 of them fled abroad, in the final battles were killed nine, died 13, Ustasha executed three and partisans shot 38. Two have died instantly in exile, and 100 of them were banned for any public writing, and only 27 of them could continue their public work. 45 of

47 Vjesnik, October 26th 1945.

48 HDA, Fund SDS RSUP SRH 013,1/18 i 013,2/18, folium No. 92 – 95, box No. 48.

49 Shot – executed by new government, dead – from other reasons, deceased – in war or fighting, shot by Ustasha – executed by Ustasha

them has changed the profession.⁵⁰ Others are still known as missing.⁵¹

Organization of the press and propaganda in NDH, according to Ozna's/Udba's investigation, first launched journalist Ivo Bogdan, prof. Tijas Mortigija, writer Antun Nizete and journalist Daniel Uvanović and that happened already on April 10th 1941 Bogdan had a document signed by Slavko Kvaternik, with which he was appointed as a Chief Commissioner for the press and propaganda in NDH.⁵² They were considered by UDBA as major war criminals and leaders of the Ustasha's propaganda apparatus.

In UDBA's fund there can be found document named "The propaganda machine of the Independent State of Croatia" ("Propagandni aparat Nezavisne Države Hrvatske"), which is an incomplete list of journalists reported in NDH and first published in full in the book of Josip Grbelja "Uništeni naraštaj".⁵³ There are listed 251 journalists with a brief biographical data sheets and with whom they worked. Also added to this list is a list of 79 persons who wrote occasionally in a newspaper or appeared on the radio. It is a total of 330 listed people. The list was created between the 1951 and 1952.

To only 27 NDH journalists there was allowed working in the profession after 8th May 1945. These are:

Balentović Ivo, Bezić Ante, Braut Ivo, Cerjan Eduard, Cihlar Slavko, Čačković Zvonimir, Čukli Marcel, Deme-Deže Izrael, Konrad Antun, Kara Mihovil, Kelović Milko, Macanović Hrvoje, Mandekić Vinko, Matković Dragutin, Mayer Vladimir, Mazzieli Ettore, Mikulić dr. Tomislav, Petanjek Viktor, Pinčić Nikola, Rojnić Ante, Smolčić Nikola, Sonnenfeld Viktor, Škrgić Nikola, Šmit Alojzije, Težak Dragan, Trišler Mirko, Turkalj Vladimir.⁵⁴

4.3. *The prohibition of books and/or writers and the condition in bookstores and libraries*

The Public Prosecutor Iljko Karaman deposited at the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb⁵⁵ series of bundles related to censorship in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Independent State of Croatia, early DFJ and FNRJ and Yugoslavia until the eighties of the twentieth century. All bear the stamp of District Public Attorney of Zagreb. Full title of Bundle IX is "Report in connection with the press and other documentation from the work of the Department of Civil and administrative proceedings and press by District Public Attorney in Zagreb," which pertains to the period since 1945 to the eighties of the twentieth century. So a group of records flagged as Bundle IX: The Press, along with various documents, may find two files with the listed banned books. A more extensive (5 pages) undated and unsigned, and a smaller one (3 pages) dated with note on most of the bans on the decision of the District National Court for the year 1946. Here are we bring both lists in full, one in this chapter, and longer one in the appendix to this work. The first was

50 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 191 - 222.

51 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 64 - 65. Orig. HDA - Fund SDS RSUP SRH, Box 48., Act Code 013,1, No. 18 - Propagandni aparat Nezavisne Države Hrvatske

52 Grbelja (2000) Pp. 17 - 18.

53 Ibid. Pp. 191 - 211.

54 Ibid. Pp. 215. - 217.

55 HDA - Fund Iljko Karaman

published already in Grbelja's book⁵⁶, but here is a completely razed to the original (Grbelja allowed some odd discrepancies) and another was mentioned only with few examples, so here, in the appendix to the work, it is first time published.

4.3.1. Books that we should immediately prohibit and prevent their further circulation

First list is the document without the signature and the date entitled as "Books that we should immediately prohibit and prevent their further spread" ("Knjige koje treba hitno zabraniti i onemogućiti njihovo dalje širenje")⁵⁷. It includes authors from throughout the former Yugoslavia and the foreign authors. Attached to this paper⁵⁸, we bring the whole list (Grbelja in his book only gives a few examples from that list that are interesting to him). The list is copied from the original in spelling as it is without redaction.

Data Analysis

First, what is evident is that this list is only seemingly systematic because of its alphabetical order, which consists of 162 notes. But really, it is a pile of books and authors published in various genres in a time span from 1917 until 1946. It may be noted that, some authors are noted with prohibition of all their works without specifying them by name so that this list will be much longer if we take into account all the works that were written by these authors (eg, Nietzsche, described as "Niče - All acts" in the note No. 90. Also many authors have not mentioned by names or there is just a pseudonym. The theme is broad, from the philosophical, religious, political works, high and low literature up to the fiction and the occult and popular books for the general public. The list doesn't contain comments why is the book banned, but some can be understood from the context (propaganda, religion...). Most are not dated with the date of publication; only some has the marks of city of publication and year, and somewhat the publisher. The list is written in a very illiterate language with numerous spelling and semantic errors. Interesting ones are in the title of the novel Fels Kvida "Jack Turbosek"⁵⁹ or notes about the works of Petar Petrović to prohibit "all acts of hypnosis, oculistics"⁶⁰, etc.

This list is very interesting historically and culturally source because it gives an insight into what the authorities considered that moment as not wanted for reading especially when it is taken into account the title of the list which mentions the urgency of their prohibition and stopping their spread.

4.3.2. List of banned books and magazines

In the same archive, there is a "List of banned books and magazines" ("Popis zabranjenih knjiga i listova") banned by National District Court for the City of Zagreb with decision No. št. 18/46, dated 16th March 1946⁶¹. It also lists 24 publi-

.....
56 Grbelja (1998:1)

57 HDA - Fund Iljko Karaman; IX. štampa - Okružno javno tužništvo, spis «Knjige koje treba hitno zabraniti i onemogućiti njihovo dalje širenje», 5 folii

58 Pp. 39 - 43 of this work.

59 Bolded by author for highlighting. It should be, in accordance with the language of author of the document, «Trbosek» (The Ripper - This way it is something like Turbo Ripper).

60 Bolded by author for highlighting. It is assumed that it should still be discussed about occult not oculistics.

61 HDA - Fund Iljko Karaman; IX. štampa - Okružno javno tužništvo Zagreb, Act "Popis zabranjenih knjiga i listova", 3 folii

shers by whom were banned all the publications. It is interesting to see wideness of covered themes of those books and magazines.

List of forbidden books and magazines⁶²

- (1) "Anatol Šidak traži istinu". Tisak Leonove tiskare Split.
- (2) "Boljševizam i židovstvo", Hrvatski tiskarski zavod, 1942.
- (3) "Borba za Hrvatsku" od Abdulaha Ibrahimović, tisak B. Preko, Zagreb
- (4) "Božićnica" seljačko-prosvjetni politički zbornik i kalendar za god. 1946. Izdavač poduzeće "Evolucija", a glavni rednik Milica Vandekar-Radić. Štampano u tiskari "Tipografija" Zagreb. Zabranjeno riješenjem Okružnoga narodnog suda za grad Zagreb br. Št. 5/45 od 13.XI. 1945.
- (5) "Cecilija" Glazbeni časopis. Urednik Albe Vidaković iz Zagreba. Zabranjeno riješenjem Okr. Nar. suda za grad Zagreb br. št. 10/46 od 24.I. 1946.
- (6) "Croatien heute" od Hermana Ginzel. Tisak grafičkog zavoda "Preporod", 1942.
- (7) "Dobri pastir" – list Župe sv. Petra u Zagrebu. Odgovorni urednik Marko Klaić. Štampano u tiskari "Narodna tiskara" u Zagrebu. Zabranjeni su brojevi 12 i 13 od 1945. i br. 5 od 26. I. 1946. godine, riješenjem Okr. Nar. suda št. 12/45., 13/45 i 14/46.
- (8) "Drugi svjetski rat" od dr. S. Pavičić. Izdala naklada "Hrvatska knjiga", Zagreb 1943. godine.
- (9) "Društveno uređenje narodnog rada" od E. Marxa. Izdao hrvatski tiskarski zavod, 1942.
- (10) "Gradi se nova bolja Evropa" – štampano u Hrv. tiskarskom zavodu, 1942. godine.
- (11) "Hrvatski vidici" od dr. Julija Minec. Izdanje društva hrvatskih srednjoškolskih profesora u Zagrebu. Štampano u hrvatska državna tiskara, 1944.
- (12) "Intelektualci prema Marksizmu i liberalizmu" od Milivoja Magdića. Izd. Putevi Zagreb, štampala Hrvatska državna tiskara Zagreb 1942. godine.
- (13) "Junačka djela Jure viteza Francetića", izd. Nova Hrvatska, tisak Milana Šufajla, Zagreb.
- (14) "Ljubavno pismo" – pisac D. K. Izdanje Biblioteke za narod u Beogradu, a štampano u tiskari "Vjesnik" u Zagrebu. Ove knjige pod našim brojevima 8, 9 i 10 zabranjene su odlukom Okr. Nar. suda za grad Zagreb br. Št. 16/45 od 4. I. 1946.
- (15) "Mali strip" – zabavni list. Izdavač konzorcij Mali strip, a odgovorni urednik Zlatko Posavac. Zabranjen riješenjem Okr. Nar. suda za grad Zagreb br. Št. 4/45 od 17.XI. 1945.
- (16) "Mi oslobađamo" bez oznake mjesta i vremena štampanja.
- (17) "Načela hrvatskoga ustaškog pokreta" obradio Danijel Crljan. Izdanje Matice hrvatskih akademičara Zagreb 1942. godine.
- (18) "Najnovija lira" sredio D. Jovanović u Beogradu, a štampano u tiskari "Vjesnik" u Zagrebu, 1945. g.
- (19) "Narod i njegov vodja" bez oznake mjesta i vremena štampanja.
- (20) "Narodne pjesme" štampano u tipografiji d.d. u Zagrebu.
- (21) "Narodni glas" od 20.X.1945. Izdavač Marija ud. Radić, glavni i odgovorni urednik Ivan Bernardić. Štampano u tiskari "Narodna tiskara" Zagreb. Raspačavanje zabranjeno riješenjem Okružnoga Nar. suda br. Št. 2/1945.
- (22) "Odmetnička zvjerstva i pustošenja u NDH" sastavio Matija Kovačić, izd. Hrvatskog bibliografskog zavoda u Zagrebu, Št. Hrvatska državna tiskara.
- (23) "Partizani o sebi" od S. M. Štedimlje, Zagreb 1944.
- (24) "Patak" humoristički list. Odgovorni urednik Safner Ludvig. Štampano u štampariji "Vjesnik" u Zagrebu. Zabranjeno riješenjem Okr. Nar. suda br. 9/45 od 11.XII. 1945.
- (25) "Povratnik iz SSSR-a" od Andre Žida (Andre Gide). Izdavač knjižara Čelap, a štampano u tiskari "Tipografija d.d. Zagreb. Zabranjeno riješenjem Okr. Nar. suda za grad Zagreb br. Št. 3/45 od 17.XI. 1945.
- (26) "Pregled enciklopedije prava" od Alfreda Lajtnera. Tiskana u Hrvatskome

62 List is left in original language as an original source.

- tiskarskom zavodu u Zagrebu 1946. Zabranjeno rješenjem Okr. Nar. suda za grad Zagreb br. Št. 15/46 od 2.II. 1946.
- (27) "Razgovor ugodni naroda hrvatskog" štamp. grafički zavod "Preporod", Zagreb 1943., od Zvonimira Fižop.
- (28) "Slavenstvo boljševičke Rusije" bez oznake mjesta štampanja i izdanja.
- (29) "32,000.000", štampano u Zagrebu 1942. godine.
- (30) "Tri godine rada hrvatskog slikopisa" od Marijana Mikac, izdanje hrv. slikopisnog drž. zavoda. Tisak "Tipografija" d.d. 1944. godine
- (31) "Tri mjeseca pod crvenom zvijezdom" od Franje Rubine. Izdala "Nova Hrvatska" tisak Milana Šufajla, Zagreb 1943. godine.
- (32) "Tužim" od Janka Matka. Štampano 1946. god. u Hrvatskome tiskarskom zavodu. Zabranjeno rješenjem Okr. Nar. suda br. Št. 21/46 od 20.III. 1946.
- (33) "Ustaštvo i Marksizam" od dr. Ive Guberine. Izdalo Hrv. rad. komora 1942. godine.
- (34) "Vječiti kalendar" izašao u izdanju Biblioteke za narod u Beogradu, a štampano u tiskari "Vjesnik" u Zagrebu 1946. godine.
- (35) "Zagrabi Magyar Ujsag" – dnevnik. Odgovorni urednik Valter Emil. Zabranjeno rješenjem Okr. Nar. suda Zagreb br. Št. 6 i 7/45. od 18.XI. 1945. godine.
- (36) "Židovi i komunizam" od dr. Ive Krešimirović. Tiskara Rast i Leidinger. Zagreb 1942. godine.
- (37) "Strahote zabluda" od dr. A. Pavelića. Izdao St. Kugli Zagreb 1941. godine.
- (38) Rješenjem Okr. Nar. suda za grad Zagreb, zabranjeno je raspačavanje svih štampanih stvari koje je napisao "Zvonimir Remeta" član ustaškog prijetkog suda.
- (39) Rješenjem Okr. Nar. suda za grad Zagreb br. Št. 13/46. od 2. II. 1946. zabranjeno je raspačavanje svih štampanih stvari koje su izdali niže navedeni izdavači:
 "Bosanska pošta Sarajevo"
 "Društvo Hrvata Ličana"
 "Državni izvještajni i promidžbeni ured"
 "Državna radna služba"
 "Evropa"
 "Glavni savez staliških postrojbi"
 "Glavni ustaški stan"
 "Hrvatsko-japansko društvo"
 "Istina i život"
 "Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova NDH"
 "Minors"
 "Muška ustaška mladež"
 "Nova Hrvatska"
 "Poglavnikova tjelesna bojna"
 "Preporod"
 "Pismohrana ustaškog pokreta"
 "Pressimport"
 "Promidžba ustaške mladeži"
 "Ustaša"
 "Ustaška vojnica"
 "Ustaški nakladni zavod"
 "Ured za jezik"
 "Velebit"
 "Ženska loza ustaškog pokreta"
- Napomena** Stvari navedene pod tačkom 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 36 i 37 zabranjene su riješenjem Okr. nar. suda za grad Zagreb br. Št. 18/46. od 16.III.1946. godine."

Data Analysis

From this list there can be drawn several conclusions. First, there were absolutely prohibited all publishers and books that had connection with the Ustasha name or content. Furthermore, the books of those authors that were published during the war and the NDH were also banned. Under the laws enacted by the new, victorious government, they were all guilty of collaborating with the enemy

and thus committed a crime. Also there were banned almost all production of priests-writers and religious literature in general.

Also, if we recall The Press Law of August 2nd 1945⁶³, then we can conclude that the authors and associates of the banned books couldn't in the future write or work their job, nor publish anything because of all aforementioned reasons.

4.3.3. More examples of banned books and magazines between 1945 and 1952

The journal "Vjesnik" has published some of these prohibitions or informing on them, and called to justice and condemned (as we can see in the case of news about the exclusion of journalists). Thus, we can find a publication of ban, from November 11th 1945, of annual and calendar "Božićnica" for the year 1946 on the grounds that the owner Milica Vandekar Radić published during the war pro-fascist publications. As an example it was specified number of "Božićnica" for the year 1942.⁶⁴

Furthermore, December 13th 1945 there was published news of banning humorous magazine "Patak" from the day before because they announced it before as the weekly issue "Kec" and because the publisher and editor switched positions from those announced (Ludvig Safner publisher, editor Marijan Filipović).⁶⁵ Instead of fines for the change and fail, it was decided to completely ban the magazine.

On the December 20th 1945 there was news of the ban of Zagreb parish magazine "Dobri pastir" number 12 and 13 due to "ridiculing the achievements of NOB and gender equality."⁶⁶

Also banned was weekly magazine "Rebus" as his owner was accused for publishing wartime fascist newspaper "Križaljka". At the beginning of 1946 the musical journal "Cecilia" was banned because the state estimated it was a successor magazine to "Sv. Cecilija" which was published during the NDH. Similarly prohibited were magazines "Osa", "Magnet" and previously mentioned "Dobri pastir".

Also it was prohibited the Istrian half-monthly magazine "Gore srca" from 1946, because it is "in its content afar way from our reality and our state system," and censors realize that "magazine is almost never made any speeches and excerpts from the speeches of Comrade Tito, and our other leaders, while reactionary papal speeches and letters are given to the entire magazine", and frequently "most uses quotations from the Scriptures, the speeches of various dignitaries of church and other religious fanatics," what is all in "at least in the figurative sense, directed against the people's government and the achievement of our struggle" but also "makes the work of national authorities difficult in other areas too, not only in Istria".³³

The District National Court for the city of Zagreb banned on February 14th 1946 under the No. Št. 17/46 book "Jasenovac" by Juraj (Đorđe) Miliša published as 'samizdat' book of memories of the time in the concentration camp, and in it praised the Jasenovac Ustashes Jerolim Maričić, Branko Nemet and lieutenant Slipčević, and described how he has managed to use the camp's room for literary work and thus "not objectively described events in the camp" and "spreading the false information that threaten national interests and do a grave breach of morality and incitement to crime". Although considered Miliša as suffering victim of

63 Pp. 8 of this study.

64 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 102.

65 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 102.

66 Ibid. Pp. 103.

the Ustasha concentration camp, the book is banned not to affect the wrong image of the Jasenovac concentration camp for future generations. Even then began to create the so-called. "Jasenovac myth" that did not allow any other interpretation and memory. Jasenovac became a place of worship of the victims of Ustasha crimes and as such had to be for each sentence without the possibility of such as Miliša's or other memories in the public cultural consciousness. This is important as we can see clearly how censorship actions of one government can shape the future of some of the cultural artifacts, according of their will, regardless of contradictory opinions that they have managed to suppress and censor.

Milovan Đilas in his letter dated January 17th 1947 analyses annual plans for publishing institutes in Croatia and makes the following remarks: that they should not public any book of Dragutin Lerman, Amundsen, Nansen, Nordenskjöld and Francis Drake because these sensations and adventures do not correspond to the socialist taste. Furthermore, to prevent the publishing of a monograph of Dositej Obradović by Prvoša Slankamenac, because of this "obscurantist and reactionist is from Vladimir Vujić group". He also ordered the omission from the annual plan of Nakladni Zavod Hrvatske "Anthology of Yugoslav lyrics", "Almanah 1948.", "Lenin's correspondence with Gorky", "American Trilogy" by Theodora Dreiser, B. Shaw's "Essays on literature" and other books, and that they should delay the publishing of Krleža essays or send a list of essays which are prepared for printing to Agitprop. Also from the letters we can read out the command of the exclusion from the annual plan of Matica Hrvatska the book "Običan život" by Karel Čapek, the entire works of G. Flaubert and "Knjiga o 1848. godini". In this letter, he gives an opinion on a new novel by Peter Šegedin "Osamljenici", short story of Novak Simić "Zakon i ognjevi" and a new collection of poems by Ujević "Žedan kamen na studencu." He recommended review of the books to Nikola Sekulić - Bunko and Ivo Sarajčić, former high officials of the Communist Party Central Committee Agitprop because both the Šegedin and Simić are "formalistic and decadent" writers.⁶⁷

The book of verses "Đerdan" the self-published in Zagreb in 1952 and released by seventeen years old Josip Stošić was prohibited by the decision dated on February 25th 1952 Number ON 136/52. The original official decision is written extremely illiterate with many grammatical errors. Stošić, published his book in samizdat in 333 copies and printed by the printing house "Typography" in Zagreb. The poems are recognized as standing out from socialist understanding and reflect modern approaches to poetry. It was declared as decadent form of literary torture, strange to socialist spirit and reality. The decision was signed by Dr. Ivan Špan as the presiding judge and Elza Mujegić as a recorder.⁶⁸

4.3.4. The situation in bookstores and distribution

Party contended that the state and Party enterprises should develop its own distribution network. It was economically bad because it meant additional cost to the existing private, established booksellers and distributors, thus books were more expensive. But it was justified by political or ideological point and demands that point sought. In the private bookstores there were sold books of private publishers and those editions published in the prewar and wartime period, and which were not prohibited. State bookshops sold new and recent books publi-

67 Grbelja (1998:2) Pp. 121 – 122

68 Donat (1992) Pp. 50 – 52

shed after the revolution.⁶⁹

But the problem was that the Party saw in the private publishers the centers of power through the book which can spread propaganda and the idea opposite to that of the Communist Party. Therefore, at every step it tried to completely destroy private publishing, disabling the delivery of their paper, paint, or raising the price of paper and lowering their cost of books. This “war” of Party and private publishers took since 1945 to 1949, and newspapers all the time called the private publishers “the enemies”. In 1948 there was prepared second nationalization in which private publishers have been canceled and the last surviving of them were confiscated. The real reason was a lack of control, because, unlike the state publishing, the Party could not control the private publishers and their policies.

Thus, all private bookstores were confiscated and became state property, among other reasons because they ordered book from Germany during the war (which they had to) without mitigating circumstances, even if they helped the partisans, or printed communist literature in secret.⁷⁰

The central publishing place was occupied by the “Državni izdavački zavod” (State Publishing Bureau) abbr. DIZJUG and “Kultura”. Besides them there were other state and Party enterprises, according to federal units.⁷¹ They had the task of taking the mass away from the books of suspicious content and without artistic value, “which could” remove “readers from the real life.”⁷²

4.3.5. Libraries

In the Soviet Union as V. I. Lenin and his wife Nadjezhda Krupskaja purified Soviet libraries after the revolution. She has personally compiled a list and in 1923 ordered the removal of listed books from public libraries. After a while she was warned not to leave evidence of censorship and then she withdrew the list. Her main excuse for cleaning of library funds was a famous sentence: “The masses do not read Kant”. In the cleaning in 1927 she removed 60% of the total fund. Eventually in 1932 actions ended when the Russian Commissioner for National Education stopped cleaning action because there was nothing more to eject.⁷³ In the USSR, within the libraries, there still were occasionally, until 1948, few lists of banned books, but later they were transferred only orally. In Yugoslavia seem ed to have learned a lesson from the USSR, and there was no written decree for clearing the libraries as in the Soviet Union, but all orders came orally or by telephone, and there is no surviving written documents about it.⁷⁴ Older librarians say that immediately after the war there were some lists, but at a later time no longer. “The list of banned books and newspapers” dated in 1946 and others mentioned in this paper are not public but internal lists of UDBA and they were used for internal use.⁷⁵

In Yugoslavia a few times some categories of books moved from open to closed funds. The first time was in 1945 when they cleaned libraries of reactionary books (anti-Communist, NDH books, religious books...). All books written with

69 Dimić (1988) Pp. 155

70 Stipčević, A. (1994) «O savršenom cenzoru iliti praktički priručnik za borbu protiv štetnih knjiga i njihovih autora». Pp. 74 - 75

71 Dimić (1988) Pp. 156

72 Dimić (1988) Pp. 155 – 156

73 Stipčević (1994) Pp. 107 - 108

74 Stipčević, A. (1992) “Cenzura u knjižnicama”. Pp. 119

75 Stipčević (2000.) Pp. 207.

NDH's root spelling had to be removed and all published in period 1941 – 1945 (including everything from world literature - Homer, Hugo, Dostoevsky, Šenoa, Racine - just because of the date of publishing). As one of the interesting anecdotes we quote that there was removed Dante's "Inferno" printed in 1943 and in translation by Vladimir Nazor. It is particularly interesting that the book was declared "not wanted" and placed in a closed Fund of Workers Library "Božidar Adžija" in Zagreb, and that Nazor himself at the time was president of the Croatian Parliament. The conclusion is that the aim was to erase the collective memory of the NDH and the possibility of thinking that something was good or of better quality could be published (that they published biographies, collected works of Nazor, that there was better equipment and paper...). Of course, same ways ended books by Trotsky, Hitler, Mussolini, and all other not wanted literature. After that the closed funds started to recharge again in 1948 after the break with the Soviets when libraries very thoroughly cleaned themselves of Russian literature, from political brochures and pamphlets to the high literature.⁷⁶

It is also important to know that in Yugoslavia books from closed funds were not recorded in the catalogs, and most of them have not been processed either in internal catalogs.⁷⁷

In relation to books in foreign languages in August 10th 1945 there was issued "The Order for prohibiting the Ustasha and fascist literature" ("Naredba o zabrani ustaške i fašističke literature") that bans the sale of all works published after April 10th 1941 in the German, Italian or Croatian language.⁷⁸

Bright example related to the books in the language of the former occupier gives Aleksandar Stipčević in his book on censorship in libraries, where he lists his personal memories of the grammar school in Zadar in 1945. Since became Croatian (formerly it was Italian), a professor Šime Dunatov urged all those students who knew Italian to clean the library, which was scattered and mixed with parts of the plaster. After a job well done, Comrade Ilić came, the new director of school, and ordered the eviction of the library because she wanted this room to herself. All books in Italian were marked as fascist and order for resettlement in the attic. This was followed by a new command – all the "fascist" books should be sent to the old paper. The students had to throw them from the fourth floor to the truck. Stipčević alleges that from the destruction of "fascist" literature he saved several books surreptitiously taking them home, and that were Dante's "Divine Comedy", Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus, Tacitus "Agricola" and other ancient writers, and some recent, such as Kant and Nietzsche).⁷⁹

In the same way there was destroyed much of Istrian, Kvarnerian and Dalmatian private libraries and home libraries of rich industrialists and intellectuals. Mostly just because the books were written in Italian or German ("occupying") or English or French ("bourgeois") language. Thus, for example, in Istria completely or partially were destroyed: a large professional library of hydrobiological station of the Berlin aquarium in Rovinj, parts of the Biblioteca Civica di Trieste from the island of Sv. Katarina in Rovinj, books (about 3000) and archives (three boxes) of family Hütterott on Red Island in front of Rovinj, in Opatija county about 3000 – 4000 books (burned or submitted to paper mills for recycling), bo-

76 Stipčević (1992) Pp. 104

77 Stipčević (1992) Pp. 146

78 Hebrang Grgić (2000) Pp. 119

79 Stipčević (1992) Pp. 1



oks and archives from Pazin, Buja, Novigrad, Poreč and other places.⁸⁰

It will be interesting to see later, in the beginning of the next period in Yugoslavia, that the books of one of the main censors of this period until 1952, Milovan Djilas, the chief of Agitprop and ideological cleaner of the books, when he came into conflict with Communist circles, will be transferred into the closed holdings. Aleksandar Stipčević in his book on censorship in libraries remembers another personal anecdote. While serving in military service, he worked in the company library at Voždovac in Belgrade 1955. As a first task in the library he had to clean up the library of the books of Milovan Djilas. But the issue erupted. Many of the books contained besides the Djilas's works those of Tito, Djilas and Kardelj. His superior, major Mirosavljević first ordered the books were temporarily put aside, and then, after consultation with the instances ordered the he crop with razor all Dilas' contributions so they don't "ideologically baffle soldiers", and then return the book on the shelf. The new problem emerged when he found photos of Djilas with Tito and other party leaders in those books. Major Milosavljević solved this problem commanding Stipčević to remove with razor Dilas' head on these photos.⁸¹

After 1945 Agitprop's major activity and duty was to get rid of trash literature. One of the first victims was Marija Jurić Zagorka, famous Croatian author of historical novels, fiction and light readings. Invisible censors banned her work and threw it from libraries with explanation that it reminds of feudal period and corrupts socialist consciousness of citizens. She complained with the letter that she does not understand why her works was prohibited, but her pleas were not successful. To survive and to show her "orthodoxy" she began to write short plays that were performed by amateur groups in the villages and barracks such as "Novi partizan", "Kurs mađarskih kulaka", "Slijedimo Tita"...⁸² but this was not a high literary achievement.

Croatian emigration published many books abroad and then sent them to Yugoslavia as a gift to the libraries and most of them were stopped and censored by the police. Most of them were placed directly into the enclosed library funds. In 1990 the opening of closed funds created an exhibition for the first time and the public learned of the work of Vinko Nikolić, Jure Petričević, Bogdan Radica, Ante Ciliga and other writers and scholars.⁸³ However, many of them were political emigration and indoctrinated with nationalist political ideology, and the majority of their efforts, as artistic and scientific started from that point, not an objective one, so in many of their works they glorified NDH, falsified official history etc. Of course, there were exceptions. But most of them after they became permitted were not included in the cultural consciousness of the general public.

4.3.6. Press workers-censors phenomenon

In the post WWII Yugoslavia, there was an interesting sub-species of censorship in which it seemed that the press workers themselves decided what is in the national interest and in accordance with the ideology: the state that way was not directly involved in the decision and could not be sued because of censorship. Thus, throughout the postwar period, there is no known case that the publisher took legal action against the printing house.

80 Grbelja (1998:2) Pp. 124

81 Stipčević (1992) Pp. 1 - 2

82 Ibid. Pp. 106

83 Ibid. Pp. 145

In 1945 is the way of censorship extinguished the opposition newspapers “Demokratija” in Belgrade and “Narodni glas – čovječnosti, slobode i pravice” in Zagreb. “Demokratija” was first published in September 1945. to show the multi-party system because it was a list of Grol’s Democratic Party⁸⁴, but when to November of the same year reached circulation of 100,000 copies press workers “decided” not to print the newspaper anymore.

“Narodni glas” was a magazine of HSS (Croatian Peasant Party). It was published by Marija Radić, widow of Stjepan Radić. Editor in chief was Ivan Bernardić. Since 1906 until 1941 it was published as magazine of HSS under the name “Dom”. The first postwar issue was printed on October 2th 1945, and sold out. On the political side can be said that had not represented any special anti-communism. It was actually banned only after the entire edition sold out the first number. When it should be printed more, the public prosecutor intervened and prevented printing. Among other things, because it was published in it that the former leadership of HSS, then already a HRSS, illegally represents party in the new government. So the second issue that was supposed to go fourth November 1945 never was printed. There was released information that the workers read the magazine and concluded that it was not necessary to the new government⁸⁵ and that is antinational. Editor in Chief Ivan Bernardić from “preventative reasons” got 10 years in prison.⁸⁶

This was the first known case of the so-called phenomenon of press workers-censors⁸⁷. These publications were not officially banned by court, but only as a decision of press workers on its non printing.⁸⁸

In fact, workers have never decided anything, nor would they be allowed by organs of Party. Decisions have been taken at closed meetings of senior Party committees, and then sent in person or by telephone to the Party committees of printing houses who then convened meetings of workers and “decided” to refuse publication.⁸⁹

Such workers’ censorship was a very interesting case in the history of censorship in Europe, especially considering that it was not official by the laws of the press in Yugoslavia, so in fact it was illegal.⁹⁰

When the publisher or the author himself brought some “questionable” manuscript and offered it to printing press, Party secretary of the basic organization of the League of Communists in printing house took it and applied to the competent Party committees (municipal or city). Regularly in these committees sat people who were not too educated, so they employed trusted and loyal experts outside of the committee to analyze manuscript, and to submit their opinion to the Party committee. Only after receiving the expert opinion municipal, city or any other Party committee brought the decision on the fate of the manuscript. Sometimes the committees did not need any advice or suggestions of experts, it was enough that the writer or publisher of manuscript was on the blacklist (that is, a list), so that the committees order the rejection of the manuscript. The decision of the higher Party committee was sent by a secretary who informed the basic organization of SK in printing houses, which has received clear instructions how to proceed. Only then would the secretary called a meeting of Party people, and

84 Banac (1990) Pp. 33

85 Stipčević (1994) Pp. 31 - 33

86 Stipčević, A. (2005) «Tiskari kao cenzori u Hrvatskoj: 1945. – 1990.» Pp. 4.

87 Grbelja (1998:1) Pp. 100 – 101.

88 Stipčević (2005) Pp. 1

89 Ibid. Pp. 1

90 Ibid. Pp. 2

if necessary, self-governing bodies in the printing house, and then they would make decisions, which earlier had already been made in the relevant committees, to reject the manuscript and not to print it by the printing house.

About the whole of this process usually there wasn't any written evidence. All the directives of higher Party organs were oral, or dictated over the phone, so that until this day retained very little written traces on which we could correctly identify the names of those who were really deciding the fate of offered manuscripts. However, about some cases of censorship in the printing houses we know, because it was about a well-known writers who were rejected to print their manuscripts, or about that kind of censorship in public dust rose, and on some cases, the public learned that the "press workers refused" to print a book, magazine or a newspaper.⁹¹ The role of press workers-censors is known mostly because of news in newspapers or from personal experiences. From the newspapers we have an example because in the event that the press workers-censors assessed publication as a heretical or destructive to the Yugoslav nations and nationalities or destructive towards the achievement of the socialist revolution, there was as simply written a letter about refusing its printing, and then the newspapers would have brought news of the laudatory role of workers in constructing socialism in Yugoslavia.⁹² No records from the meetings of committees have been found.⁹³

Also there is saved a report dated December 10th 1945 and signed by Zdenko Štambuk, a diplomat, politician and a failed poet who was a member of the court of Croatian Writers Association and director of the Croatian Press Institute (Nakladni zavod Hrvatske – NZH). The report was sent to Agitprop, prohibiting the printing of the "Magjarujsag" magazine. Also, it ordered the eviction of the editorial board from the building NZH.⁹⁴

Milovan Đilas, the head of Agitprop, in 1947 had conclusion regarding the printing of Church editions in one of the sessions: "In terms of church editions most of books is published by the Catholic Church. Here we should prevent this propaganda literature. The most effective measure is that workers do not print such works." Although it was not by the law, the secretaries of the main organizations in SK of printing houses followed the order and instructions were given to them orally or by telephone from a higher authority.⁹⁵ From this conclusion in fact is very clear from which high levels came order regarding the refusal of publication of a work.

4.4. *Examples of censorship of music and film*

Even popular music has not been preserved by the censorship. So it was decided to prohibit further dissemination of edition of "Album plesnih melodija za 1947." which contained translations of foreign compositions (such as Boogie-wogie, etc.), because "its musicality adversely affected the education of youth."

An interesting example was banning the movie "Ciguli Miguli" directed by Branko Marjanović and written by Joža Horvat. Problems with the film started

91 Stipčević (2005) Pp. 3

92 Paraščić (2007) Pp. 19

93 Stipčević (2005) Pp. 15

94 Ibid. Pp. 4 - 6

95 Ibid. Pp. 13

from meeting of the Arts Council of Jadran Film, held on March 14th 1950 where it was stated that the scenario is a confusing concept, that the author mocks some socialist principles, manifested a tendency to return to the old ways and the like. However, Joža Horvat directly contacted the head of Agitprop, Milovan Đilas, who gave his blessing for the filming and Arts Council passed the idea. Filming lasted for a year and a half, and when it should come to the premiere, film was nevertheless banned. There was held just a preview in the House of JNA in Zagreb on June 16th and 20th 1952 which was followed by negative critics by Miloš Mimica, Frane Barbijeri, Milutin Baltić, and Živko Vnuk on July 2nd. The movie is humorous and naive comical about problems of cultural referent Ivan Ivanović in some place along the river Drava and the troubles connected with the more choirs and anniversary of the “known” urban conductor Ciguli Miguli.⁹⁶ Final approval for viewing came in 1977.

5. The situation in Serbia

Because of the availability of materials and the greatest exposure to censorship in the former Yugoslavia, the situation in Croatia in this paper is the most researched and presented. But it is interesting to take Serbia as a comparison in this study, primarily because conventional Croatian general belief that only in Croatia was censored and that was not the case as we shall see. Croatia was, due to its link with the enemy and his propaganda as we could see so far, exposed to many censorship procedures, but in this first period after the war, Serbia was exposed to a lot of censorship too, especially of old cultural artifacts, archives and so on.

Thus, in the cultural life of Serbia there was no place for cultural societies and groups of other political parties, singing and cultural societies, religious, cultural and educational associations (the Company “Sveti Sava” and others), private museums (Museum of Prince Pavle and others), an organization of Serbian Cultural Club, the disputed papers and magazines that were treated cultural issues (“Srpski književni glasnik” etc.). Assets and cultural values of those societies and institutions canceled as potentially possible centers of opposition gatherings, went to the state, ie the Ministry of Education, which, depending on the purpose, deployed it further to Archives of Serbia, National Library, the Art Museum, Ethnographic Museum and elsewhere. One part of the institutions, the oldest and most important, however, continued their work. That were the National Theatre, Kolarčev narodni univerzitet, University Library, University of Belgrade, Matica srpska, National Library, the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Serbian literary cooperative and others in which they distributed new people, loyal to the party.⁹⁷

Great burden was carried with big cultural backwardness, huge number of illiterate people in Serbia and the small number and poor distribution of schools, museums, galleries and archives. Narrow cultural audience was the former upper class. But with the change of political system, there pervaded the general in-

96 Donat (1992) Pp. 40 – 43

97 Dimić (1988) Pp. 57 – 58

difference of the wider masses for books, plays or concerts.⁹⁸

The Party has tried to start education, but most of the first teachers themselves were not too well educated, and they finished the evening schools and a variety of courses. Modest knowledge of the governing structure of the people led to massive destruction of Serbian cultural heritage. So there is a variety of data on the destruction of church property (inventory, books, manuscripts, art artifacts and churches themselves) because their cultural value was not noticed. Monuments of national leaders, medieval mosaics and the remains of ancient monuments were destroyed. All this “culturecide” was carried out from excessive Party zeal to destroy parts of the earlier systems (such as symbols, crowns, crosses, national emblems...) So were destroyed and scattered archives and their holdings in Vojvodina, where in some cities disappeared the rich archives of the 16th century. Or the case when the complete archive of film material previously stored in an underground caves, was sent to Borovo to and melted and turned into glue for shoes for the first sports parade. The official position of Party was indeed looking for a detailed examination of all cultural artifacts, but at lower levels ignorance of governing structures and ideological enthusiasm simply ignored the cultural values, or expert’s opinion.⁹⁹

In literature and art are generally was denied all work created by ideological opponents. If it did not have a strict form of realism and political activity and color – it would not pass. National and religious themes were fully banned. As old-fashioned themes there were pushed away great world masterpieces. Sophocles, Aristophanes, Schiller and Shakespeare’s plays are also not put into theaters. Serbian medieval literature was bypassed, and there were no longer published important works of Serbian historical and literary corpus, important for Serbian culture, such as those of Saint Sava, Stefan Prvovjenčani, Domentijan,, Todosije or archbishop Danilo. Medieval knight novels were also not mentioned, as well as historical documents and codes (Code of Emperor Dušan) and the majority of acts, biographies of the kings, chronicles, and genealogies. Just a little was written about Cyril and Methodius, and from medieval monuments were published only Gospel of Miroslav (Miroslavljevo evanđelje) and Chronicle of Duklja priest (Ljetopis popa Duklanina), and something about the history of Dubrovnik. More is published only oral folk literature, especially the epics.¹⁰⁰

In Serbian literature everything was rejected what the social arts faced before the Second World War. Like Expressionism, Surrealism, and an entire generation of writers, poets and artists in general who created from 1918 to 1945 (such as Miloš Crnjanski and others). Some writers were no longer mentioned in the bibliographies published after the war because “young readers may not meet the decadent, rotten literature, which can negatively affect the shaping of their consciousness.”¹⁰¹ In the first period of the postwar era, until 1948, there were accepted only in general Soviet ideological works.¹⁰²

Press Law from autumn 1945 also defined Serbian cultural life as it was case in Croatia. There were also created courts of honor for crimes of the cooperation of intellectuals with the enemy. It was concluded that in the University of Belgrade 36 employees violated the duty and honor of teaching profession, five tea-

98 Ibid. Pp. 63

99 Dimić (1988) Pp. 64 – 65

100 Ibid. Pp. 66 – 67

101 Quote of Radovan Zogović, one of major communist critics.

102 Dimić (1988) Pp. 68 – 71

chers have sinned against the Serbian national honor, one professor at the State Commission was proposed to be convicted for a war crimes, 12 of them was fired, and 16 of them fled to Germany. And in all other Serbian institutions there was mass cleaning of personnel with regard to their past. For example, among others civil rights, Žanka Stokić, one of best Serbian drama artists, lost her right to work in her field.¹⁰³

The main problem of the postwar period is the fact that the state had more trust in the “good Party members” than in the “smart intellectual”, even when the job required knowledge and education. This is because it was thought that intelligence does not have the revolutionary spirit and that it strange to the nation and that does not understand people, which directly influenced on the decline in educational levels of staff in the committees.¹⁰⁴

Immediately after the end of the WWII there are created many artistic and cultural associations and societies, such as the Association of Writers of Belgrade, the Serbian Writers’ Association, Association of Visual Artists of Serbia and others. But in it there could be members only those artists who did not compromise their conduct during the war, while all those who might be or are already ideological opponents were rejected from their ranks. Therefore, the membership in many societies had several revisions over time. Artists sometimes had to attend in these societies political classes in order to know the guidelines for their work. Also their current work was criticized, more from an ideological position than from professional critics.¹⁰⁵

Writing in a literary works amounted to the realistic description of events on the principles of sorealism, the reality is supposed to be described accurately and faithfully, but not neutrally, but eagerly and engaged. So that is very visible set of self-censorship mechanism. Creative act in this way had lost its individuality and became only the execution of the task that must be successfully executed.¹⁰⁶

However, it is interesting that the magazines, which had, by the Party, the task of evaluation of quality of works of art through the perspective of national needs and the like, have never succeeded in their mission because the writers, artists and scientists have not responded and participated in the discussions. The writers were simply saturated with writing according to the dictates, so most of the articles had to be written by editors. Given that the different opinions of those of Party were declared hostile, the writers had withdrawn into themselves and resisted. Bohemian young writers were called “Ujević like” and also were considered as the main currents of resistance. Inspiration out of the default theme was simply thought as a wrong road, which diverts from reality. It can be said that there was a dual level of art - the first in which artists created their works and were giving them to the public, print and exhibitions, and other, where they created a completely different set of works for private use, discussion groups and the like. And again here we can see self-censorship, which cleverly resisted creating a private space for their own art, and that the governing structure considered treason and hostile act.¹⁰⁷

But there were situations when it was not the case. For example, in Septem-

103 Ibid. Pp. 102

104 Dimić (1988) Pp. 119

105 Ibid. Pp. 195 – 198

106 Ibid. Pp. 199

107 Ibid. Pp. 217 – 220

ber 1949 it was forbidden 36th number of magazine “Književne novine” because of the text entitled “Krylov or Aesop,” with the explanation that author misunderstood the foreign policy of Yugoslavia.¹⁰⁸

Criticism was, in contrast, completely under the control of Agitprop. The main critics were Milovan Djilas, Radovan Zogović, Jovan Popović, Čedomir Minderović and others. They attacked everything that was not socialist realism in accordance with the dogma and thus exercised a real literary censorship of the time. Conflict with the Cominform has not made changes to the criticism, but just added new layers. It began to look for even more, that art must be constantly on the alert. Since 1949 critics opposed the influence of the Soviet Union. But no matter what, the Party could not quell all the inspiration and authentic creative breakthroughs and they were one of the foundations and signs of change in cultural politics in the fifties of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁹

In organization firm designed in plans, Agitprop apparatus in Serbia was not also set firm. Issues of agitation and propaganda were dealt by the individuals responsible for this work in commissions, not the Party organization as a whole. Apparatus was not fully completed with the personnel. Also the division into sectors led to the fact that individuals wanted to deal only with their assignments as they were not concerned with other questions. Also big influence was the low level of education of personnel, who were supposed to deal with the definition of cultural policy, and they themselves were not competent to do so. The early fifties there have been changes and with cultural work went to hands of larger groups, not just individuals, and they tried to reduce bureaucracy apparatus. In Serbia, there were difficulties because the old commissions were abolished and new ones have not yet been created. In 1952 after the Sixth Congress Directorate for agitation and propaganda of CK SK of Serbia ceased to exist.¹¹⁰

The analysis of theater plays in Serbia in forties can be concluded with fact that the policy of setting plays put the emphasis on domestic and realist Soviet theatrical literature, and almost completely eliminated and ignored German, French and ancient drama. In the fifties dominance of Soviet works is more increasingly losing.¹¹¹

Library had a duty to popularize books. Party was concerned that books should be “good” and libraries should collect them. Libraries received a uniform character and appearance. There was removed and destroyed “everything that harms the overall work and national progress”¹¹² from the library funds. So the situation was the same as in Croatia.

The press was entirely controlled by Party. It demanded that all what was published must be in the service of organizing power for building the country. It managed the printing press in a way of giving guidelines for what, when and how to write. The task of editors was how to implement these guidelines into practice. Editors were mostly Party people who worked in the press as part of Party task. Publishers were closely related to commissions and departments of agitation and propaganda, all text had to be reviewed and approved prior to publication. This way of publishing will be retained until the end of Agitprop phase in Yugoslavia, until 1952. Although with a small difference between the two time

¹⁰⁸ Ristović. Pp. 338

¹⁰⁹ Dimić (1988) Pp. 222 – 225

¹¹⁰ Ibid. Pp. 267 – 268

¹¹¹ Ibid. Pp. 213

¹¹² Ibid. Pp. 143

sub periods: until 1948 Agitprop censorship studied and edited every article dealing with the censorship business completely, and after 1948 it was trying to organize Party spirit and line of each magazine and editorial policy.¹¹³

All plans of publishers were considered and approved by the Department of agitation and propaganda of the Communist Party of Serbia and without its consent there was nothing out of the press. About any changes in the publishing plans the Central Committee of Communist Party was kept informed.¹¹⁴

From this brief overview there can be seen the similarities and differences between Serbia and Croatia as the postwar Yugoslav republics in the cultural field, which was controlled by the common and local authorities under the watchful eye of the Party. Magazines, libraries, bookstores, theaters, cinemas... all media were in both republics under the control of the Party and its Agitprop. What it was seen fit - passes, what does not - it was censored. World literature is bypassed and until 1948 the advantage had the Soviet writers. It was only after 1948 when slowly, the situation in Yugoslavia began to turn to the Western cultural trends. In any case, the situation in both republics is quite similar, but in Croatia was still considerably higher constraint and censorship with regard to all the aforementioned reasons in this paper.

6. The cultural relationship with the Soviet Union before and after 1948

Thus we come to the last important item in this paper - the relationship with the Soviet Union. And it was since 1945 until 1948 in Yugoslavia almost totally uncritical and all from USSR was unconditionally accepted. Books of Soviet writers and politicians were translated and printed in huge circulation. The problem was emerging in the fact that the Soviet works were not checked, corrected or censored but accepted as eligible. So it came to the interesting cultural discrepancies in which students were taught in Yugoslavia from historical books about the Soviet Union as the homeland and Stalin as a leader. This was a great consequence of uncritical translation of matter.¹¹⁵

There was also the custom to for a work from World literature to be first translated and published in the Soviet Union, and then in Yugoslavia, in order to avoid ideological differences.¹¹⁶

After 1948 this relationship in the cultural field was changing. Differing on the Soviet and Western book is abandon, and more increasingly was being made criticism of Soviet textbooks. This also led to another extreme where translating Russian books deemed as "harmful waste of paper."¹¹⁷

The same thing was with the cinematography. Party considered movies as a weapon and asked they must be used carefully and skillfully. Movies were strictly controlled and censored. In the beginning that control was made by a special

113 Ibid. Pp. 148 – 149

114 Dimić (1988) Pp. 157

115 Ibid. Pp. 175.

116 Ibid. Pp. 176.

117 Ibid. Pp. 176.

commission composed of representatives of Ministry of Defense, Information and Education, because there was not an educated staff in the form of film critics and censors. Because of lack of own production, from 1945 to 1949 prevailed Soviet cinema as good and classed. American, English and French movies were considered tasteless, without idea and harmful and therefore were censored. Soviet movie was daily propagated in the newspaper as a carrier of ideas of the man in the middle of everything and fight for a new life. Since 1945 to 1949 Yugoslavia imported from the Soviet Union 192 art movies, 189 short movies, 31 feature-length documentary movies and 145 journals. In total 557 movies.¹¹⁸

Since 1948 the situation suddenly changed. Number of viewers decreased, reducing the import of movies and censorship removed all those who wear the Soviet propaganda messages. Conflict with the Cominform heralds a new era in the cultural politics of the Party. In the beginning, the Communist Party encouraged and propagated Soviet thought and cultural impact and required combat with Western influences. But the Communist Party will soon pass from defensive in an offensive against Stalinism in the field of cultural policy and changed attitude toward the Soviet cultural influences. Radical shift was brought at Third Plenum of the Central Committee Communist Party in December 1949 where they suggested new ideas and ways of understanding the cultural and general socialist policy. The Soviet-Yugoslav friendship societies and societies for cultural cooperation and magazines with similar themes are extinguished. During the 1949 import of Soviet movies is stopped, and in early fifties is reduced the influence of the Soviet dramaturgy at the theater. This is very big shift that began to change the Stalinist cultural influences in Yugoslavia and start removing them from the cultural consciousness of the people.¹¹⁹

Conflict with the Cominform has opened a series of complex ideological and theoretical and practical-political issues, many of which were related to cultural policy. Conflict with the Cominform in the first time influenced the increased centralization of cultural policy. Tighter planning was followed by increased centralization in the work of Agitprop apparatus. Agitprop had to control everything: the work of universities, drama groups, choirs, and their repertoire, organization of cultural life in town and village, control of movies and theater, and other literary journals and cultural sections of newspapers.¹²⁰

So in Agitprop's "Plan against Cominform on cultural and educational sector," in 10th paragraph was said: "The writers will, through articles in newspapers, magazines etc, and through poems, sketches, reviews, etc. constant struggle, and unveil campaign attacks of Cominform. They will write will act plays, plays, radio drama, humor, etc. in which in the literary way, through stories or jokes, they will reveal Cominform plans. Through criticism and reviews of individual works of Cominform countries, where nationalism of Soviet Union and others manifested, we must fight for truth and revealing of Cominform policy in this sector. To organize discussions about the line of our Party in the sector of literature and art, and through such discussions reveal policy of the Soviet Union and others in the area. To organize literary evenings where will be given presentations about the Cominform. every issue of "Kolo", "Kulturni radnik", "Izvor" and so should have an article or similar discussion about Cominform."¹²¹

118 Dimić (1988) Pp. 177 - 179.

119 Ibid. Pp. 184. - 188.

120 Ibid. Pp. 231. - 232.

121 Grbelja, J. (2002) «Informburo i književni časopisi ».Pp. 173.

At the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, in January 28th – 30th 1949 it was decided that each cultural work takes place on daily bases, forums, and was exacerbated issue of Party control. Connected are the Committee for Schools and Science and the Committee for Culture and Art and at the end of 1948 they become the Ministry of Science and Culture of FNRJ. Thus, it was the same at the level of republican Committees. After the 1949 it came to partial centralization in the financing of cultural policy.¹²²

Conflict with the Cominform sought removal of all weaknesses of Agitprop apparatus and the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party precisely formulated his duties Soviet model of social development is abandoned. Opens up the idea of free cultural development and decentralized cultural life. State and Party are no longer the sole authority for all the ideological and conceptual issues.¹²³

The key event that was critical for the spread of new ideas and views on culture and art was the Third Congress of Writers of Yugoslavia which was held from October 5 - 7 1952 in Ljubljana. Major theme was analyses of the cultural and literary life and that concluded that in it was imposed a way of thinking to people which often disagreed with that of artists themselves. Congress was huge criticism of Stalinism and the dictates in the fields of science and art. Miroslav Krleža, one of the greatest Croatian writers, was one of the leading figures in Congress. He required focus on three things - the freedom to create in public art and cultural life, he sought that the artist further get rich with cultural heritage, but not to be blindly keeps to it. Thirdly, he sought a critical review and revision of all the values from the past and present, in which expert criticism and scientific approaches to replace the ideological principles of valuation.¹²⁴ Krleža so openly announces a new course in Yugoslav literature and art and the rejection of the dogma of socialist realism.¹²⁵

Basically, at the end of this period Yugoslav culture begins to open to Western influences. It returned Western drama (works of Ibsen, Shakespeare, Sophocles, Schiller and others) in the theater. In the publishing stopped division on the Soviet and Western literature. There are published Western philosophers and other authors who had until recently been strictly banned and criticized (Fromm, Kafka, Sartre, Camus...). But all these matters still are carried out with the oscillations, strong dogmatic resistance and ideological deviations. This deterioration was actually an attempt to present regime in a better light to the West, according to which Yugoslavia was pushed with its break with East.

7. Conclusion

Its views on cultural heritage and tradition Communist Party founded upon the attitudes of the classics of Marxism, or the Stalinist interpretation of these attitudes. The positive acceptance was only what it deemed to not bother Party. Rejected was everything what was created by ideological opponents, political enemies or the church, which was not tested in Yugoslavia or in the Soviet Union.

122 Dimić (1988) Pp. 240 – 242.

123 Ibid. Pp. 254.

124 Ibid. Pp. 256 – 257.

125 Ristović. Pp. 347.

Many institutions with long histories and rich cultural influences were closed because they were considered hostile or that the enemy worked from them and through them. Also, the fact that many Party personnel who have made decisions on cultural policy were almost entirely uneducated, led to serious mistakes, and the destruction of cultural heritage, and the censorship of everything that was not understood. Great influence until 1949 was left by the Soviet Union, from whom they learned and tried to copy the “proven” approach road to socialism. After the conflict with the Cominform, Soviet influence is declining. Symptomatic for this period is that the Party has control of artistic creativity, media, theater, movies, and generally all aspects of cultural life. Everything what was not in line with Party dogma and ideas, was censored and dismissed as reactionary and hostile. Cultural policy in the period 1945 – 1952 is a sensitive indicator of the whole society, its material and spiritual development.¹²⁶

An interesting example of how such policies affect the future science largely is unwittingly one from the author’s personal experience. While the author of this paper worked on his graduate thesis on the secular persecution of witches in Zagreb in the Middle and Early Modern Times, by chance on the recommendation of his mentor in the Archives of the City of Zagreb he ran into “Revija Zagreb”, a magazine of Zagreb Society, which was published monthly in thirties and early forties of the 20th century. And as a part of it in 1940 and 1941 there was published an article in the sequels named “Czoperniczki Czeh” which has gathered immense knowledge about the subject that the author of this paper then concerned with. But this knowledge was missing for about fifty years and even most important authors in this area, such as Vladimir Bayer, who wrote the major work on the subject in the fifties, did not see this series of articles. Why? For a simple reason. The number dated in 1941 published pictures of Ante Pavelić over several pages, and various declarations to the Croatian people. “Revija Zagreb” was soon extinguished, and after 1945 like all the magazines and other printed material from the NDH ended in recycled or closed in funds that either the scientists could not use until the fall of Yugoslavia and opening of the archives. How many of these works and articles are missing from the archives we will know only in the coming decades, while they are slowly pulled in the light by scientists of various disciplines for their own research.

In any case, this paper has managed to show how a significant influence on the design and development of cultural identity in Yugoslavia a mechanism for censorship had in researched Agitprop period since 1945 until 1952. Largely because on several occasions mentioned number of unskilled dealings with cultural heritage and the heritage of all peoples in the territory of former Yugoslavia, mostly in Croatia, due to its occupation by the Axis powers and profascist cooperation with them, and where a good part of the cultural heritage was banned and removed.

At all levels of culture and art, such as publishing, film and theater everything was observed from the same political perspective of a young Yugoslav socialism modeled upon the Stalinist approach learnt from the USSR in the early years, actively importing all Soviet approaches to the state. After 1948 and conflict with the Cominform, the situation slowly began to change on the inside, but again the mechanisms of censorship shaped the cultural identity of people and the collective consciousness according to the political needs of the policy of shifting away

from the Soviet Union. In fact, this whole period dramatically was filled with manipulation and policy of determining of system eligibility.

These lists of banned books, magazines, human labor, etc., both in Croatia and Serbia that were taken as reference countries for this research, but also in other countries in the former Yugoslavia, mean much. It means a legacy, which is necessary to be preserved, processed, and examined because it shows the other side of the collective consciousness of identity, not an official one, but one censored, that is, regardless of its context (qualitative or political) important in developing the cultural identity of each nation.

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9. Appendix

9.1. *List of NDH journalist who were forever banned to practice writing, publishing and other journalist work*

- (1) Ambrozić Ivan
- (2) Bogdan Ivo
- (3) Blažina Josip
- (4) Babić Franjo
- (5) Bobek dr. Josip
- (6) Bubljić Dragan
- (7) Balaš Rudolf
- (8) Belobrajdić dr. Leopold
- (9) Bučar Romeo
- (10) Bzik Mijo
- (11) Buttler-Moscon von Alfred
- (12) Bonifačić dr. Ante
- (13) Bubanić Franjo
- (14) Balentović Ivo
- (15) Boroje Jure
- (16) Ciprin Vladimir
- (17) Crljen Danijel
- (18) Cerovac Mirko
- (19) Cerovac Ivo
- (20) Ciliga dr. Ante
- (21) Cerovac Tomislav
- (22) Čović Marko
- (23) Degrel Ivan

- (24) Dujmović dr. Franjo
- (25) Devčić Milica
- (26) Dujšin ing. ?
- (27) Fertilio Luka
- (28) Floss Julius
- (29) Fedorov Nikolaj
- (30) Foertsch dr. Gerda
- (31) Foeckel Fritz
- (32) Grubiša Ivan
- (33) Hrastovec Stjepan
- (34) Hühn dr. Ivo
- (35) Ilinić Milan
- (36) Ilić Andrija
- (37) Jagatić Mato
- (38) Juzbašić St.
- (39) Jerkov Anton
- (40) Kovačić Matija
- (41) Krvarić Kamilo
- (42) Kern-Mačković Milivoj
- (43) Kühne Karl
- (44) Korenički Zvonimir
- (45) Kus-Nikolajev Mirko
- (46) Lendić Ivo
- (47) Lenz Sepp
- (48) Latković Radovan
- (49) Lovrić Vrah
- (50) Mortigijija Tijas
- (51) Marunić Ivo
- (52) Mrmić Josip
- (53) Milković Josip
- (54) Milković Zlatko
- (55) Magdić Milivoj
- (56) Mirković Zvonimir
- (57) Mosner Stipe
- (58) Miakovčić Ivan
- (59) Novaković Milan
- (60) Nikolić Vinko
- (61) Oršanić Ivan
- (62) Oršanić Ante

- (63) Uzorinac dr. Teodor
- (64) Peroš Vilim
- (65) Puljiz Luka
- (66) Pavičić dr. Slavko
- (67) Proebst Herman
- (68) Prpić Jure
- (69) Polonio Stanislav
- (70) Pejnović Grga
- (71) Penavić Tomica
- (72) Pavičić Jure
- (73) Perše ing. Franjo
- (74) Petrak Zlatko
- (75) Pavrlišak Milan
- (76) Radić Vladimir
- (77) Raić Vlaho
- (78) Rieger dr. ing. Vilko
- (79) Rubina Franjo
- (80) Roetl dr. Erih
- (81) Rudalić Jure
- (82) Softa Ivan
- (83) Šenda Antun
- (84) Štahan Cvjetko
- (85) Štedimlija Sava
- (86) Šarkanj Božo
- (87) Šuljak Hasan
- (88) Šišulj Vjekoslav
- (89) Teufel Gjuro
- (90) Trbuha Franjo
- (91) Tomičić Stjepan
- (92) Tolj Mijo
- (93) Tortić Janko
- (94) Uvanović Danijel
- (95) Vitković Stanko
- (96) Vučićević Ivo
- (97) Vukota Pero
- (98) Wiesner Ljubo
- (99) Žanetić Janko
- (100) Žibrat Aleksandar



9.1. *List of “Books that we should immediately prohibit and prevent their further circulation” (“Knjige koje treba hitno zabraniti i onemogućiti njihovo dalje širenje”)*¹²⁷

- APUHTIN: - Među smertju i žizni. Moskva 1917.
- ATANASIJEVIĆ KSENIJA – Sva djela
- BASTIN: - Za deset hiljada miliona
- BASTIN: - Kradljivica – Dobrotvor
- BERLE: - Šiksai und Erdraum
- BEUMELBURG: - Pfligt und sicksav. Štutgart
- BERDINO - Horoskop
- BEVENSON: - Lavije apre et avaturence de Musolini, in smise. 1938. g.
- BINDING: - Legende našeg vremena
- BINDING: - Žrtva
- BJELAVEC H: - Muhamed
- BOGUNOVIĆ DUŠAN - Sokolstvo i škola. Zagreb, 1931.
- BOROVIJAK: - Spomenica Milorada Draškovića
- BORSAMAJO: - La liberta di stampa. Milano 1925.
- BONIFAČIĆ: Antun – Sva djela
- BUDAK MILE – Ognjište i sva ostala djela
- BURCEV: - Car i vunješnjaja politika
- CETKOVIĆ D: - Svatovi kneginje Zorke
- DANUNCIJO: - Oganj. Beograd 1942.
- DAUMING: - Dojče Landvirdšaft im Banat und im der Bačka Minhen 1931. g.
- DE GAB: - Bacanje karata
- DRAŠKOVIĆ SLOBODAN: - Sve što je napisao
- DRLJEVIĆ SEKULA: - Sva djela
- DJOLOVIĆ JOVAN: - Sva djela
- DJUKANOVIĆ ILIJA: - Kralj Petar I. Beograd 1922.
- EKONOMIKUS: – Teorija društvenog gospodarstva, Zagreb 1944.
- EMIL LUDVIG: - Musolini, Beograd “Narodno delo”
- EMIL LUDVIG: - Vodji Evrope. Beograd “Kosmos”
- ERDELJI: - Sva djela
- ERNST: - Otmica
- FAJROV: - Hiromantija ili nauka o sudbini na dlanu
- FELS KVIDO: - Džek Turbosek
- FROJND: - Veltgešihthe der Gegenvart in Dokumenten
- FUKS” - Als Sekadet nah Fornost. Štutgart 1946.

- GENERAL KRASNOV: - Sva djela
- GERHARET - Štacionar ajner Ide
- GOSPOĐA LE NORMAN - Proricanje sudbine pariske proročice
- GERSTNER: - Veliki Put
- GULJ: - Sva djela
- HAUPTMAN: - Kolega Kramptol
- HESEL: - Crvena stepa. Beograd 1927.
- HJUN-KALMAR: - Abessinien, Afrikas, Unruherer. Salcburg 1935.
- HUSANGAR: - Rešenje svetske krize
- IGNAČEVIĆ: - Kako se pišu ljubavna pisma. Bgd. 1941.
- IL GREPUSKALO: - Del Socijalizmo. Milano 1925.
- ILEŠIĆ: - Maršal Pilsudski. Zagreb 1926.
- IN OFOCIR: - La hjutime Kronsade. Berlin 1940.
- IVANIĆ STEVAN: - Sva djela
- JAKOVZEN: - Nile Line. Beograd 1943.
- JANKOVIĆ VELIMIR: - Sva djela
- JAKŠIĆ: DUŠAN: - Put boljoj budućnosti našem narodu. 1944.
- JANZEN: - Erkunde fuer hohere Šulen, VI. i VII. klase
- JANZEN: - JAPANS ZEMAHT. Berlin 1938
- JASINSKAJA: - Sva djela
- JASINSKAJA: - Molodaja Rusija - časopis
- JELAČIĆ – Istorija Rusije
- Jevdjević Dobrosav: - Sve što je napisao
- JONIĆ VELIBOR: - Sve što je napisao
- JOST: - Konzuela
- KALERTI: - Kudenhove i sva ostala djela
- KAROSA: - Slučajevi doktor Bilgera
- KERMENDI-KERENC: - La generacione felice. Torino 1941.
- KNEŽEVIĆ ŽIVAN: - Što mora znati suvremeni borac. 1940.
- KNEŽEVIĆ RADOJE: - Sve što je napisao
- KOHLER: - Studien der Juden frage
- KOLHERAHAJER: - Božićne priče
- KOSTIĆ prof. LAZA: - Sve što je napisao
- KRAKOV STANISLAV: - Sve što je napisao
- KRIŽANOVSKAJA V.N. – Proricanja sudbine pariske proročice Svi njeni romani (na ruskom)
- KSJUNJIN ALEKSEJ: - Od Nikole II. do Lenjine. Beograd 1923.
- KSJUNJIN ALEKSEJ: - Raspućin. Beograd 1924.
- KUEHEN: - Sendlict
- KUJUNDŽIĆ IVAN: - Vratimo se Gospodu, Subotica 1946.

- LAŽNOVSKI: - Čeh razgovara sa istorijom. Prag 1940.
- LORENCIN A: - Sedam država crkava. Subotica, 1946. g.
- LJUBAČEVSKI: - Josip Pilsudski. Varšava 1930.
- MALEŠ BRANIMIR: - Sve što je napisao
- MASIS A: - Los ideas resteit. Paris 1941.
- MATHAR: - Der Rajh šterlmaršal
- MEREŠKOVSKI: - Napoleon
- MEREŠKOVSKI: - Antihrist
- MIHJEV: - Osnovnaja podgotovka gosudarstva. "Nar. delo". Beograd 1939.
- MILIČEVIĆ ŽIVKO: - Putopis iz Makedonije. Beograd 1918. g.
- MILJTUKOV SENJOVOŠ-AZEMAN: - Historija Rusije. Zagreb 1926.
- MIRA: - Raspućin i krvava zora
- MORIS DE KOBRA: - Madona spavaćih kola i druga djela "Narodno delo"
- MATURAL: - Veština dopasti se. Beograd 1943.
- NAUL: - Lični magnetizam
- NELSON: - Strenios Italu
- NIČE: - Sva djela
- NIKČEVIĆ RADOJICA: - Nacionalni hram
- NIKOLAJEVIĆ DUŠAN: - Na vidovdan, Beograd 1939.
- NAJMAN: - Seing Rusija. Njujork 1926.
- OSEDOVSKI: - Lenjin. "Narodno delo"
- PAJO F: - Sveže meso
- PATROTIKUS: - Ko potkopava čovečanstvo
- PETROVIĆ PETAR: - Kako se osvajaju žene
- PETROVIĆ PETAR: - Sva djela o hipnozi, okulistici, itd.
- PETRUŠEVSKI: - Frina
- PENHANOVIĆ: - Prodavačica svog tela
- PILE ERAZEN: - Poljska, Jugoslavija i Rusija. Bgd. 1939. 1919.
- PITIGIRIJ: - Sva djela
- PONTON: - Umjetnik
- POPOVIĆ prof. NIKOLA: - Sva djela
- POPOVIĆ NIKOLA - publicist - Tucović Dimitrije i sve ostale knjige
- PRIBIČEVIĆ ADAM: - Sve što je napisao
- PSUNJSKI: - Vrhata u svetlosti istoriske istine. Beograd 1934.
- RABRENOVIĆ MILAN: - Historijski albumi. I, II. Beograd 1926.
- RADICA BOGDAN: - Sumrak Ev rope i sva ostala djela
- RADOSAVLJEVIĆ: - Vojnički deklamator. Beograd 1937.
- RAKIĆ LJUBOMIR: - Tumač snova
- RAŠIĆ DAMJAN: - Jugoslavenski velikani. Beograd 1937.

- RENSI: - Teorija pratika dela racione politika. Milano 1922.
- RIVET ŠARLES: - Le dernijer Romanof. Paris 1918.
- SAMOJLOVIĆ: - Vsernoščno jebdenije
- SENSINGER: - Anali
- SERGIJEVSKI: - Perežitoje. Beograd
- SFORCA: - Neimari savremene Evrope
- SIBURD: - Čelični cvijet
- SLANKAMENAC: - U sjenci velikih dogodjaja
- SLIJEPČEVIĆ DJOKO: - Sve što je napisao
- SPALAJKOVIĆ MIROSLAV: - Sve što je napisao
- STARČEVIĆ MILE: - Ante Starčević i Srbi
- STEFANOVIĆ SVETISLAV: - Sve što je napisao
- STEFANOVIĆ P. - Nacionalni testament kr. Aleksandra
- ŠARIĆ IVAN (biskup) - Prevod sv. pisma i sve ostalo
- ŠEGVIĆ KERUBIN: - Sva djela
- ŠERI-BIBI: - Najopasniji apaš
- ŠIMRAK JANKO: - Sva djela
- ŠNAJDER: - Naht und Gmade. Lajpcig 1941.
- ŠPER: - Noje dojče Backunst. Berlin 1940.
- ŠTEDIMLIJA S.M. - Sva djela
- TASINARI: -, I ekonomije fasbiste. Roma 1937.
- TOMSON: - Rokambolo
- TOPALOVIĆ ŽIVKO: - Sve što je napisao
- TRETČIKOV: - Sovremenaja Mandžurija
- TRIFKOVIĆ: - Principi vodjenja. Pančevo 1937.
- UDET: - Majn fligerleben. Berlin 1935.
- VAGERL: - Hleb
- VAGERL: - Kalendarske priče
- VAJT: - Po stopama velikog ljekara. Bdg. 1936.
- VAJT: - PUT HRISTU
- VAJT: - Vaspitanje. Subotica 1936.
- VAJT: - Velika borba izmedju videla i tame. Subotica 1936.
- VASIĆ DRAGIŠA: - Sva djela (osim "Pripovjedaka")
- VELIMIROVIĆ NIKOLA: - Sva djela
- VELJKOVIĆ MOMIR: - Kritike
- VERDJALEV: - Hrišćanstvo i klasna borba. Beograd 1936.
- VERDJALEV: - Savremena kriza kulture
- VUJIĆ VLADIMIR: - Sva djela
- VUKOJEVIĆ S: - Za kralja i Jugoslaviju. Beograd 1933.

- ZEMZINOV: - Sva djela
- DJELA NEPOZNATIH AUTORA
- “ Crkva na Oplencu” – Beograd 1936
- “ Čitanje karaktera po crtama lica”
- “Čovek i njegova budućnost”
- “Čudesa spiritizma”
- “Hrvatsko-srpski sport”
- “Kako se dobijaju rogovi”
- “Kralj” – Beograd – Nar. Delo
- “Porijeklo grijeha”
- “Pjesmarica za vojnike”
- “Sreća je označena svakome na dlanu”

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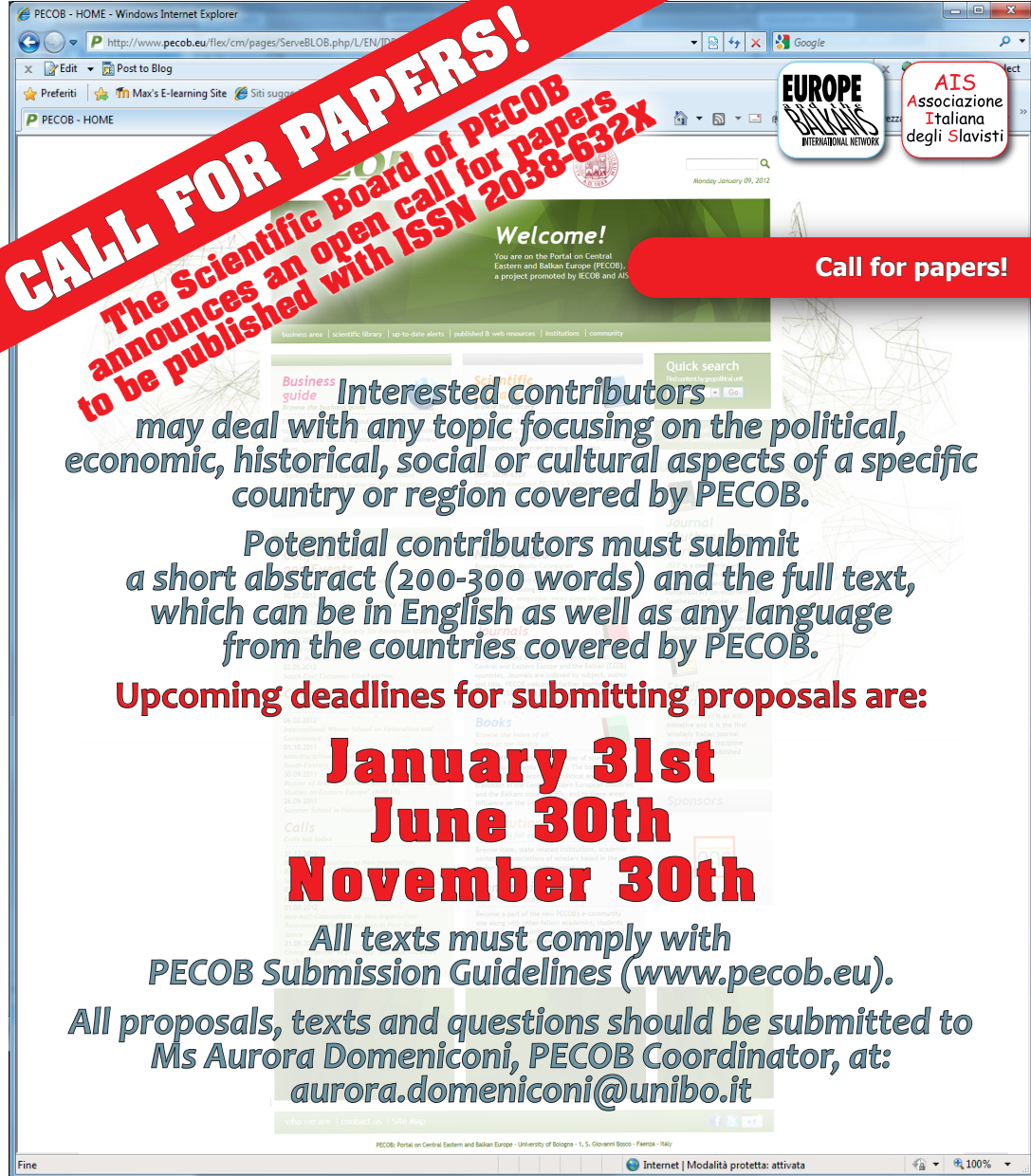
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