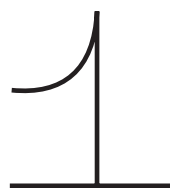




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Úvodník

Editorial

The first issue of *Historia scholastica* Journal presents 10 studies, most of them in some way thematizing the impact of the totalitarian regime on the field of education. A. Canales focuses on the change of educational policy of the Franco Regime in Spain in the 1960s, which was in contradiction with the still prevailing political and ideological principles of Franco's Dictatorship. E. Protner's study provides insight into the discontinuity of pre- and post-war Marxist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, using the example of slovenian pedagogue Jože Jurančič. How communist ideology was reflected in the functioning of education in Yugoslavia, specifically in Bosnia and Herzegovina, shows in her study S. Šušnjara.

Three other studies focus on education in the area of states in the territory of the former Soviet Union. I. Nelin examines the evolution of psychoanalytic pedagogical ideas in the Soviet Union, his study highlights the experiments in psychoanalytic education and their subsequent prohibition due to political shifts.

E. Bērziņš and I. Ķestere examines how Soviet narratives in the field of history of education were deconstructed in the Baltic States and how historians constructed a new view of the national history of these states.

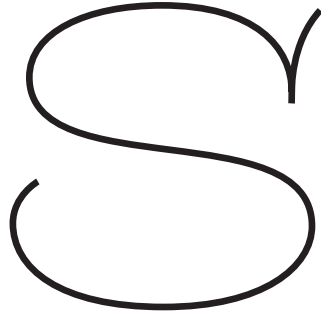
I. Ivanavičė and I. Stonkuvienė focuses on the mechanism of ideological assimilation of Lithuanian Roma through school and education in the Soviet Union; the study explores key dimensions of Roma education, including the construction of the New Soviet Man, the impact of forced sedentarisation, and the role of schooling in promoting linguistic assimilation, discipline, and social control. Belonging is an important phenomenon, the basis of which does not have to be only belonging to one ethnic group, as is the case in the study of Roma in Lithuania. F. Guerrini explores generational belonging in the generation of children born during the war. Her work focuses not only on specific research on belonging in the war generation, but also shows the theoretical perspectives of research on such a complex phenomenon as belonging.

Two studies in this issue relate to special education. J. Randák looks into the situation in special education in Czechoslovakia after the communists came to power in February 1948 and shows that the optimistic proclamations of the state representatives were often at odds with the real experience of teachers at special schools. K. Eliášková and M. Šmejkalová examine teaching of Czech language of visually impaired pupils at special schools from 1972 to 2010. The long period of research allowed the authors to examine not only the development of didactic approaches, but also the change in the ideological framework of education during this time.

While most studies deal with education in the second half of the 20th century, I. Garai investigates the issue of deprofessionalization of secondary school teachers in pre-war Hungary.

We believe that all of the submitted studies will contribute to the clarification of many unresolved research questions as well as stimulate interest in further research.

Jan Šimek



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S Education Trapped in the Communist Ideology and Collective Indoctrination

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Abstract Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) used to be perceived as a small Yugoslavia, because of its multi-ethnic nature and a model to follow in making a new Yugoslav identity. The new political regime was very much involved in all the sphere of people's life, including education. School programs and teachers' engagement were directed and controlled by the authority. The educational system was considered as the transformational force in building a new social order in which individual needs have become collective ones. The purpose of this work is to enlighten the subordinated position of the educational pro-

cess within the school system in BiH. The examined sources from that period of time exposed that the state-defined ideology was deeply rooted in the school system and was promoted by the teachers who followed prescribed program. Education became a main source in the political struggle during the process of invention a new socialist society. Teachers who approved the regime and constructively obeyed the directives of political commissars were accepted and privileged. Everyone sincerely promoted the same goal in educating the new Yugoslav man in accordance with the acknowledged ideology of the Communist Party. Thus, education was subordinated to undemocratic ideological requests of a single-party state. Despite the public promotion of equal rights for all, the situation was different in practice.

Keywords Bosnia and Herzegovina, subordination, new regime, education, teachers

Introduction

After the World War II, Bosnia and Herzegovina became a part of a newly formed state of Yugoslavia which started to re-build its society on a new ground in a post-war situation. The communist government was confirmed in the elections and immediately began to deal with the forces it called "counter-revolutionary, reactionary, anti-state,

for example with the remnants of enemy military units, big landowners, the bourgeoisie and the church” (Duda, 2008, p. 70). The solution offered by the new state was “to learn from the Soviet Union means to win” (Martens, 2021, p. 207). Therefore, the new Communist regime followed the Soviet model of making policy in all spheres of life, until the split in 1948. “[...] Soviet influences were visible in every aspect of life, and particularly in a cultural and educational policy” (Erdei, 2006, p. 7). The Soviet Union was idealized by the Yugoslav communists, and Stalin himself ridiculed this intoxication. Vladimir Dedijer who was representative of Yugoslavia at the United Nations in the early postwar years noted in his book about Stalin: “He had a special term for that kind of people, he called us ‘honest fools’ (‘česniji duraki’), as he had said to one of our partisan delegations one night in his dacha” (Dedijer, 1969, p. 124). Despite all that, Soviet authors were recommended and their books were imported and translated into a local language. Post-war Yugoslav pedagogical science was not developed and therefore it relied on translated books from Soviet pedagogy. “Such opportunities resulted in a rather superficial knowledge of pedagogy and an insufficiently broad and solid general culture of young teachers” (Franković, 1958, p. 452). The promotion of Marxist-Leninist perspective was evident and seen as the only correct approach in the science and practice of pedagogy. As Schmidt claimed (1946, p. 17): “We can gain a great deal from studying texts of Soviet pedagogy.” Pedagogical texts were full of political proclamation, Marx, Lenin or Engels ideas, speeches of Tito and Stalin. The new political regime was extremely involved in all the sphere of people’s life, especially education. Children were seen as important factor in building the new way of thinking. School programs and teachers’ engagement were directed and controlled by the authority. In accordance to the Framework Plan for Political and Ideological Education of Educators¹ (1947, pp. 3–8) teachers had to follow the Five-year plan instructions as well as to study the history of the People’s Liberation War that were full of numerous texts by leading

1 Okvirni plan za političko-ideološku izgradnju prosvetnih radnika.

Party ideologists and Tito's speeches. The intention of the state politics was to construct the new system of education which would be completely divided from previous ones without influence of any religious. Teachers who approved the regime and constructively obeyed the political directives were accepted and privileged. Those who followed "the models of a foreign, reactionary pedagogy" and practiced "old pedagogic principles in education" were not considered as teachers that would be able to contribute to the development of the new state policy (Tošić, 1946, pp. 1–5). In the Framework Plan for Political and Ideological Education of Educators (1947, p. 1) was stated that "[...] only those educators who possess a highly developed political and social awareness can build that awareness in the citizens". Unfortunately, as all other aspects of people's life, education was also subordinated to undemocratic ideological requests of a single-party state, due to the fact that "Socialist societies were built as a result of the planned and brutal destruction of previous communities and social structures. There was an effort to abolish classes in order to create a classless society. In essence, the entire social fabric was destroyed" (Legutko, 2019, p. 177).

At that time, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) used to be recognized as a small Yugoslavia, because of its multi-ethnic nature and an example to follow in making a new Yugoslav identity. Everyone sincerely promoted the same goal in creating and educating the new Yugoslav man in accordance with the acknowledged ideology of the Communist Party. Tito as 'the great son of peoples' was presented everywhere, in children books, in newspapers, in classrooms, in offices. His photo dominated in every working place even in people's homes. Ideological influences were constantly promoted, in every situation. For example, in the first beginner's book published in Livno, on December 1942, during the war, a portrait of Josip Broz Tito was on the frontpage. Through the letters, they wanted to instill partisan features in them. For example, the letter P, the picture shows a partisan with a rifle in his hand and a three-horned hat, and below the picture the text "We are small partisans, all honest and just people fight for our side" and so on with the other

letters. Everything was written about partisans, pioneers, NOB² and allies, Stalin (Praznik, 1983, pp. 11–19). The most numerous contributions were about pioneers and their relationship to NOB continued later, in the primers published after the war. “The content of these primers corresponded to the spirit of NOB. They were filled with the theme of the struggle of our peoples, with their content they had an educational effect on our youngest, they developed in them love for the people, the Party, Comrade Tito and the People’s Revolution and hatred for the enemies of the people, occupiers and domestic traitors” (Franković, 1958, p. 384). Therefore, one of the crucial ideological tasks of the Communist Party was the ideological-political education of the children and youth. In order to achieve this, the Communist Party started working on the creation of a new “communist intelligentsia” (Dobrivojević, 2011, p. 12). Milovan Đilas who was an important person in Yugoslavia and Tito’s trust person underlined the necessity of raising the youth in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and promoting the Yugoslav patriotism among the working classes (Radeka & Batinić, p. 56).

Pedagogy in the Frame of the New School System

The state ideology influenced the development of the school system inventing the socialist pedagogy, which was under the Soviet impact in the period immediately after the war, as it was previously mentioned. Soviet socialist pedagogy was simply accepted as ready-made project and leading Yugoslav pedagogical theorists were valued in accordance with their interpretation of this pedagogy. “Within the framework of the universal ideologization of society, pedagogy was transformed into a servant of the regime’s ideology” (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, p. 53). Vladimir Schmidt, one of the Yugoslav theorists of pedagogy, recommended re-education and re-direction of current pedagogical thought claiming that “the struggle between the reactionary and progressive powers not waged only in the field of economy, politics and the military, but in culture and science as well, and thus also

2 NOB – National Liberation Struggle.

in the field of pedagogical theory and practice” (Schmidt, 1946, p. 17). After the 1950s the so called *third way* socialist self-managed pedagogy appeared. This pedagogy had an aim to take a critical distance from the bourgeois pedagogy but also recently glorified socialist pedagogy. “During the initial phase of establishing the third way pedagogy, two parallel processes of pedagogical development were in progress. On the one hand, this phase was marked by a distancing from the previously dominant Soviet-centered pedagogical texts and on the other hand, it was the start of a gradual critical evaluation of the pre-war pedagogical heritage” (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, p.46). It is obvious that the ideological pressure on pedagogy and education was very strong and being teacher or pedagogical scholar was not an attractive position in the period of sudden changes and political approaches. “In contrast to the plural development of pedagogical science, social education policy in the period 1945–90 was markedly monolithic. [...] For the entire 50-year period it followed just two ideas: the introduction of a unified school and the development of self-management” (Medveš, 2015, p. 16). Medveš also emphasized that the term ‘socialist pedagogy’ linked to the development of Yugoslav pedagogy “was used to characterize both education policy and pedagogical science. Development has shown that this combining of education policy and pedagogical science under a single name is not correct” (Medveš, 2015, p. 15). After the World War II, Stjepan Pataki, well-known pedagogical theorist before the war, had to give up cultural pedagogy that was now considered a bourgeois and accept an ideologized socialist pedagogy (Radeka, 2011). “This kind of education, socialist in its essence and its goal, leads to the growth of a free and universally developed personality dedicated to the good and progress of entire society. The primary goal of our education is the formation of a socialist generation, of a socialist man” (Pataki, 1951, p. 57). The general ideologization, centralization and unification of education were differed from the situation in the pre-war period. Namely, the individual nations that made up the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia) that existed before the new Yugoslavia was established, had their own path of pedagogical development. Now in the new political circumstances, the

situation has changed significantly and consequently and “pedagogy in national communities that were part of Yugoslavia lost its specificities” (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, pp. 52–53). In these circumstances, post-war development of pedagogy in Yugoslavia was determined by extra-pedagogical social circumstances which have caused that “pedagogy is adapted to the ideological demands of society” (Radeka, 2011, p. 123).

School Subjects as Means of Promoting Ideology and Indoctrination

The frequently used slogans “make school accessible to everyone” actually had a political-ideological background because the task of the school was not only to provide general knowledge but also to create and educate “new people, citizens of a socialist society, citizens of a national state, [...] good patriots, conscious workers and good and virtuous characters by raising children in the spirit of the National Liberation Movement, preserving the achievements of the National Liberation Struggle, the spirit of brotherhood and unity of all [our] peoples, developing in them a creative collective spirit, self-discipline, conscious discipline, persistence and enthusiasm for work in order to build [our] state union – a free, democratic and federative Yugoslavia”.³ Because of the desire to build a new socialist society and create a new ‘socialistic’ man with all characteristics mentioned above, those who resisted this policy had to be removed. Therefore, all those who were considered enemies of the regime were persecuted and portrayed as radical and backward (Šušnjara, 2021). “Thousands of political opponents were proclaimed ‘enemies’ and imprisoned in the Yugoslav version of the Soviet Gulag – a set of concentration camps – where they were tortured and many killed” (Marjanović-Shane, 2018, p. 67).

Along with the external reform of the school system, teaching plans were also under the pressure of changes and modifications in accordance to the ideological profiling of schools. Therefore, new subjects of

3 Privremene upute za rad narodnih škola prosvjetnog odjela Oblasnog narodnog odbora za Hercegovinu (the Provisional Instructions for the Work of National Schools), box 193, 15/45, p. 15. ABiH, MP NR BiH.

social and moral education were introduced in all Yugoslav schools in the academic year 1952/53. The main goal was “to teach culture to pupils and imbue them with socialist traits” (Teaching of social and moral education, 1952)⁴. Six years later, two new subjects appeared in the Teaching plan and program for elementary schools: Vocational and technical education and household management. In 1970s new subjects appeared: Agriculture and First aid and protection. Students in secondary schools attended subjects under the name Defense and protection and the Marxism and self-management. As regard the teaching of foreign languages, Russian was included in the curriculum as well. The basics of Marxism with the theory and practice of socialist self-government and General defense and social self-protection I and II were compulsory subjects in all faculties in BiH without exception. As future teachers or experts in any field, they had to take exams in these subjects. There was no alternative.

Evidently, ideology was promoted through all school subjects. An example from the math class will be presented here in order to point out the influence of ideology in everyday school tasks. The acquired knowledge about numbers and measures also needed to be connected “with life so that the tasks are taken from the immediate environment: measuring a classroom, an orchard, calculating the number of inhabitants in a village or town, the number of mobilized and volunteered in [our] the army, youth and pioneer work on gathering needs for the army [...]”.⁵ Although the first calculations, according to the evaluations of the expert commissions, were satisfactory in terms of the methods of processing the material, their educational aspect was criticized because the tasks, according to the rulers, were too apolitical. Their role was to put the student “in a situation to get excited, to rejoice, to admire, to love the heroes of work, to hate pests, in a word, to take a definite and proper position,” which was, according to them,

4 Nastava društvenog i moralnog odgoja.

5 Privremene upute za rad narodnih škola prosvjetnog odjela Oblasnog narodnog odbora za Hercegovinu (the Provisional Instructions for the Work of National Schools), box 193, 15/45, p. 17. ABiH, MP NR BiH.

the basic task of the school as an institution (Beus, 2016, p. 268). Therefore, only that knowledge that grows into the student's belief led to the set goal, which is to "build a conscious, free, combative and ideologically firm generation, armed with a scientific view of the world" (Koren, 2012, p. 120). Education as seen by those who created educational policy was considered as a training ground for the struggle to "change human consciousness" (Đilas, 1949, p. 7).

Despite the fact that the content of the tasks evoked images of the activity of workers, peasants, youth, achievements of the NOB and suffering at the hands of the enemy, however, according to the assessment of political experts, they were not ideologically correct. Communist activists "were sterilely mono-ideological, terrifyingly boring, stuck to one thing that they constantly emphasized in all contexts they were proud of their political successes because they took ideological power over institutions and the legislature and thus managed everything and had control over others" (Legutko, 2019, p. 183). For example, the illustration of a cobbler in one calculation, although conceptually acceptable, was deemed inappropriate since, according to the competent services, the cobbler was depicted as "the biggest wretch in the world, a simple beggar".⁶ History lessons were approached in a similar way in order to change people's consciousness and form it suitable for the future builders of a socialist society. The role of the national liberation struggle, the importance of brotherhood and unity, and the glorification of Josip Broz Tito's role had to be constantly emphasized. Everything that happened earlier was considered backward. The terms backward, obstinate and rotten prevailed in marking earlier regimes and their actions, as well as individuals who did not accept the new system. Indoctrination was constantly promoted because "the party built its success on the combination of the supranational, national and social, on the principles of synthesis and utopia: a synthesis of the common

6 Elaborat o opštim prosvetnim prilikama u FNRJ (1945–1949), doc. No. 161, pp. 379–380.

interests of all Yugoslav peoples and an utopia of a society without the rich and the poor” (Duda, 2008, p. 70).

Socialism determined its followers what to do, how to think, how to express themselves, what to dream about, how to evaluate certain events and what language to speak (Legutko, 2019). “The communists must be admitted to be skilled in propaganda, and in particular they have perfected the war of semantics. Through persistent repetition, they managed to associate the most beautiful terms in the political vocabulary with their movement, and identify the enemies of the movement with the ugliest. When we listen to their speeches or read their literature, it seems to us that the words: freedom, libertarian, liberating, progress, advanced, democracy, democratic, patriotism, patriotic, people, national and many others, were coined precisely to describe communism and its goals” (Vujica, 1972, p. 13). On the other hand, they succeeded in imprinting in the consciousness and subconsciousness of many non-communists the belief that they are opponents of communism: reactionaries, fascists, imperialists, enemies of the people, chauvinists (Vujica, 1972). If an individual wanted to improve himself in a society set up like this, he had to renounce his earlier beliefs and agree to a completely new approach in relations with and towards others. Consequently, “teaching subjects and various forms of extracurricular activities were used as means of instilling desirable social and moral conduct, in keeping with the spirit of the dominant ideology” (Radeka & Batinić, 2015, p. 42).

The example of writer Ivo Andrić⁷ whose books were required reading in primary and secondary schools clearly supports this thesis. From a former royal diplomat, he becomes Comrade Ivo, who visits construction sites giving speeches to workers, glorifying Tito and Stalin, and later becomes a member of the Communist Party. Martens remarked that „He is now, at least outwardly, no more a poet than ‘an engineer of souls’ (Martens, 2021, p. 207). Stalin used to say that “the production of souls

7 He won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1961. His novels and books were included in compulsory reading in primary and secondary schools.

is more important than the production of tanks [...]”. And according to him, writers are “engineers of human souls” (Bogišić, 2024, p. 27). The Czech writer and dissident, Josef Škvorecký detected and denounced an unnatural state of mind in his novel *Engineers of Human Souls*, portraying false communist idols and their followers, who became the dust of the world because of petty privileges and deviations from their own views (Bogišić, 2024). Unlike him, the writer Andrić actively collaborated with the new government. He visited with the French surrealist Louis Aragon the works on the construction of a new railway in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the slogan: “We build the railway, the railway builds us”. Tens of thousands of young people worked unpaid for the glory of socialism, many of them voluntarily. Their work was presented to students as an example of loyalty to the state and self-sacrifice for the good of others. Many poems and stories have been written about young, unselfish men who work tirelessly for the good of their homeland. In his speech on the occasion of the election for the president of the Union of Writers of Yugoslavia, Andrić thanked “the national hero and teacher of our people, Marshal Tito” (Martens, 2021, p. 208). The same thing happened in schools where teachers taught students about devotion to the work and the figure of Tito. Andrić also had to adapt rhetorically to the new times, quoting Marx and adopting language patterns used by communist propaganda. Communist speech patterns were imposed and everyone used them on all occasions, even when there was no meaningful need for it (Martens, 2021).

In order to influence the students’ emotional attitude towards the events that sought to change consciousness and build a new society, it was necessary to constantly emphasize the attachment to the liberators and encourage hatred of the enemies. Thus, one author asks “What is the use of those history classes, if they did not ignite in the students’ hearts hatred for the attacker and the exploiting class and love for the working masses, admiration for their struggle, enthusiasm for their victory, a burning desire to preserve and consolidate their achievements those fights?” (Đurić, 1947, p. 12). To live in such a system meant to submit to it in order to become an exemplary member of a socialist society and thus become similar to thousands of others

(Legutko, 2019). “There is something paranoid about the mechanism of totalitarian government, they invent enemies that don’t exist,” commented Đilas, who was Tito’s trusted man and later defected from him (Đorgović, 1989, p. 199). People were under constant surveillance and it provoked “the moral and mental contradiction in people’s behavior, caused by the omnipresent fear of sanction and persecution, resulted in moral desolation: ‘broken’ and humiliated people suppressed their consciousness of guilt for conformism and justified their ambiguity by the necessity of survival, or material benefits” (Rajsky, 2023, p. 42).

Illiteracy

Already during the World War II, Communist party of Yugoslavia defined its thought about education and the purpose of teaching. Socialist ideas were introduced through the new curricula. After the war, there were major differences between regions that became parts of a new state related to the field of education, school networks, school responsibilities and literacy. As Steinman (1964, p. 16) stated Yugoslavia was among the culturally underdeveloped European countries because of the high illiteracy rate with the exception of Slovenia and slightly minor Croatia. The illiteracy courses were conceived and developed in the Education Department of ZAVNOH⁸, and from this came their “ideological and political orientation” which was a “reflection of the character, goals and tasks of national education and enlightenment” (Ogrizović, 1985, p. 155). A special target group in this project was the rural population. The new regime attempted to integrate peasants into the existing social system through education and cultural transformation. One of the first steps was to reduce and combat illiteracy. Namely, in 1945, there were about 952,000 illiterate adults in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or 72%, of which about 250,000 were over the age limit of 45.⁹ Therefore, a broad campaign of adult literacy started in all regions of BiH in

⁸ National Anti-Fascist Council of the People’s Liberation of Croatia.

⁹ Kulturno-prosvjetni rad u Bosni i Hercegovini od oslobođenja do danas, box 17, No. 611/51, p. 2. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (ABiH), Savjet za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR BiH (SPNK NRBiH).

1946. Professional management of illiterate courses was entrusted to teachers, but also to non-professional teachers, mostly party activists, who, before the literacy process, underwent a short course in literacy methodology. Courses were organized mainly in the winter period in the evenings. In order to connect literacy and broad education, general knowledge courses intended for youth over the age of 14 were organized. Such instructions were supposed to deepen and acquaint young people with the history of the national liberation struggle and its achievements (Beus, 2016). The political commissars who were appointed to supervise the work of the courses themselves were usually not literate. Younger people who could read and write were employed, so they fulfilled the administrative tasks, which were then sent to the central office, where the results were reviewed and the number of literates determined. The example from Vitez region clearly illuminates the situation on the ground. A young girl Anđa Jonjić (born 19. 5. 1931) who was 16 and worked four years as secretary used to read and write documents under the supervision of the three political commissars who dictated responses. She wrote their names under the text and they put finger instead signature. In the evenings, Anđa held literacy courses, more often in winter in private, empty houses where participants brought chairs for themselves. The course leaders usually had 4 grades in the school and ran courses all over the area. After 2–3 months, they went to Travnik to the Teacher's School by train to receive further instructions on how to proceed, using a reading and spelling book; course participants had write-and-erase tables (15–20 in a group), 4 years of the course were counted as 2 years of primary school.¹⁰ However, according to the Statistic data from 1973, BiH had 672,000 (23.2%) illiterate population in the age of 10 and more. By comparison of this data with the number of inhabitants in BiH (3,746,000) it is evident that every sixth inhabitant was illiterate. Even Sarajevo as a capital city had 18,000 illiterate citizens (Nikić, 1973, p. 2).

10 Interview made with Anđa Jonjić by Snježana Šušnjara, November 2023.

Ideological Indoctrination and Selective Memory

In the newly formed country of Yugoslavia great care was taken to ensure that the topics related to the war are properly dealt in order to justify certain actions and to construct the past through the prism of shared historical memory and this was carried out systematically. The complexity of this process in a multi-ethnic community like the state of Yugoslavia was solved by selective remembering. The main goal was to forget and forbid undesirable elements. The socialist state applied numerous programs to change consciousness or 'raise' consciousness, as it was said at the time. It was necessary to eradicate bad habits of thought and thus to direct the human will towards the right goals (Legutko, 2019). Tito's instruction to educators clearly testifies to this: "There are great moments in the history of our nations, and everything that is positive in the past of our nations should be implanted in the souls of the young generations. On the other hand, it would be desirable, and we must achieve this, if all that is negative, that which our people cannot be proud of, be consigned to oblivion [...]" (Koren, 2012, p. 133). Following these principles, the central place in the teaching of history went to persons and events that represented the symbols of the rapprochement of the Yugoslav peoples, indicating the simultaneity of their historical development from immigration to the struggle for national liberation from foreign rule. Revival of common memory also meant renouncing national peculiarities, and then also national history. That term meant not the history of individual nations, but the history of the people of Yugoslavia (Beus, 2016). The Communist Party saw itself as the protector of brotherhood and unity, thus trying to avoid any intolerance between different peoples (Hopkins, 1997). Memories contrary to what was prescribed existed among the people, but they were not allowed to be presented publicly, and therefore there was a "conflict of memory" (Burke, 1989, pp. 97–113). Otherwise, there would be persecution, imprisonment and even liquidation. Especially in the years immediately after the war. Individual memories were therefore suppressed because they represented a danger, but also a certain political force (Higonnet, 1987).

In socialism, the publication of anything beyond censorship was dangerous for the individual and the possibility of losing freedom, job and being blacklisted. Efforts were also made to eradicate most of the social hierarchies based on customs, traditions and practices that preceded the emergence of the new system (Legutko, 2019). “To make themselves the master of memory and forgetfulness is one of the great preoccupations of the classes, groups, and individuals who have dominated and continue to dominate historical societies. The things forgotten or not mentioned by history reveal these mechanisms for the manipulation of collective memory” (Le Goff, 1992, p. 54). Through the teaching process, an effort was made to influence the shaping of the image of the past by giving it an integrative dimension, which in turn should serve to understand contemporary processes and build the future in accordance with the ideological settings of the ruling elite. The school, as an instrument of support and legitimization of the established post-war communist government, had a key role in the ideological formation of the future builders of Yugoslav society, and therefore teachers were very important, as was their political commitment. According to Lenin’s interpretation, which became an integral part of the Yugoslav party program, the task of the new pedagogy was “to connect the work of the teacher with the tasks of the socialist organization of society” (Gončarov, 1948, p. 13). This meant that the teacher was responsible for proper preparation of the future active builders of the communist society as well as for upbringing and education “with the introduction of current socialist elements” (Đorgović, 1989, p. 202).

Abolition of Religious Education in Schools and Newly Established National Holidays

“Communist activists were recognizable for their dogmatism, predictability, simple mind and complete subordination of their opinions to the political program. This subjugation stood out with pride as an achievement of the new times. They showed a strong aversion to the Church, religion, people, classical metaphysics, moral conservatism, family. They showed extreme arrogance towards everything that was not ideologically approved. With their revolutionary intoxication, they tried to

remove such phenomena from society” (Legutko, 2019, p. 183). The limitation of the religious influence on education began with the abolition of private schools, among which those owned by the Church took the lead, through legal regulations on religious education as an optional subject, until its complete removal from state schools and the separation of theological faculties from universities (Beus, 2016). The role of the new school was presented in a different way, the one determined by the ruling party “[...] the attempt of this school is to create a new type of teachers for secondary schools. Progressive, constructive and full of excitement. This teacher would be a patriot who is tied up with his nation and his task is to educate youngsters and peoples in the spirit of the progress and love towards science, traditions of National Liberation Struggle, homeland and nation and its healthy historical and cultural traditions” (Šamić, 1946, p. 14). Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that teachers were under constant surveillance both by the party and by relevant state authorities. Although the Ministries of Education in cooperation with local authorities paid great attention to the “political suitability” of teachers. If a teacher did not come to terms with the powerful revolutionary, progressive changes that have taken place, does not understand current social reality, he was not capable to be a teacher in the true sense of the word, nor a teacher and educator of the young generation (Beus, 2016, p. 273). Such teacher who did not perceive the establishment of the new regime as liberation was proclaimed as “bourgeois, reactionary and decadent” (Dobrivojević, 2011, p. 7). Even though the program of the Communist party spoke of tolerance of religion and the church in a new, socialist society, an atheistic view of the world was a prerequisite for Party membership, and also a precondition for desirable social behavior (Zrinščak, 1993).

A special role was intended for teachers of history and natural sciences, who were expected to contribute to the fight against the religious view of the world through scientific arguments, and their effect. According to the opinion of educational inspector Ivan Lerik, these efforts were considered successful “only if practical results are also shown, such as much less attendance at religious education classes” (Beus, 2016, p. 277). In order to set an example for other teachers on how to behave

in the new state, disobedient and unfit teachers, who persisted in the religious education of children, were dismissed. Thus, the teacher Alojzija Ulman was fired because “she did not adopt a materialistic understanding of the world”. Hela Žnidarčič, a teacher in Bosanski Brod, was expelled from the teachers’ association because of “her expressions of religious feelings” (Beus, 2016, p. 277). Unlike the previous regimes, in communism the cross became undesirable and the government made sure that its citizens did not have it on their necks. The same control was exercised over students. In such a community, all people were comrades, equal citizens united by a common concern for the survival of socialism. The communist party watched over all the processes (Legutko, 2019).

One of the forms of perseverance in that struggle was the new legal regulations on the celebration of religious holidays. The new government signaled to the lower authorities in a confidential notice that Christmas is no longer recognized as a school holiday, which was officially confirmed in 1949, when all religious holidays were removed from the list of school holidays. Religious customs were forbidden, church holidays and ceremonies such as Christmas have been abolished. At least until 1952, the sale of Christmas trees was prohibited (Boeckh, 2006). According to the Law on National Schools, which was adopted on November 26, 1951, the school received the status of a social institution whose employees became public social workers with the task of raising children in a socialist spirit, and already at the beginning of 1952, in accordance with Tito’s theory about the consistent separation of the Church from the state, religious education was completely expelled from state schools. This decision was additionally accompanied by propaganda about the school as an educational institution that must rest on scientific foundations, while religiosity was interpreted as a personal matter of the individual, which could be violated by “social and educational workers” (Beus, 2016, p. 281). Communist authors often quoted Stalin and his view of science and its application in everyday work “but there is one discipline of science that must be obligatory for all Bolsheviks of any scientific discipline – it is the Marxist-Lenin science of society, social development, development of proletarian

revolution, socialism structuring development, victory of communism” (Begić, 1948, pp. 24–25). Politics within the Party was aimed at consolidating power and dominating society. Becoming a Party member already meant, if not direct privilege, then in any case the prospect of privilege (Đorđević, 1989, p. 196).

While earlier teachers organized the observance of religious holidays, now they were obliged to organize new national holidays that were mostly based on celebrating the days of the glorious past: Youth Day – Tito’s birthday (May 25th) – youth saluted Tito at the stadium, Republic Day (November 29th) – ceremonial welcome to pioneers, Women’s Day (March 8th) – events in honor of mothers (Batinić, Radeka & Šušnjara, 2016). Students participated at the competitions during the manifestation known as *Tito’s revolutionary trails* showing the knowledge about heroic battles and important dates from Tito’s past and League of Non-Aligned Nations. “Almost all official holidays were focused on the memory of World War II. The Communist party ordered what should be remembered and forgotten. Memories were continually being recreated” (Šušnjara, 1999, p. 146). Apart of the schools and other educational and cultural institutions, other factors of socialistic education needed to influence children free time, such as magazines, radio or TV (Šušnjara, 2021). “The intention was to create a uniform mass of people that moves like a herd under the direction of the conducting baton of the rulers” (Rajský, 2023, p. 56). Every year in honor of Comrade Tito’s birthday, a baton-carrying event was organized throughout the country, and schools and labor organizations participated in it, thus showing devotion and loyalty to the president of the country. The relay’s final destination was on May 25 at the stadium in Belgrade, where the chosen youth would read to Tito birthday specially prepared card and hand him the relay. Everything was broadcast by state television and it was a prime time and event that should not be missed. It was “communist mass youth events where hundreds of thousands of uniformed individuals in a monolithic collective identity created large mosaic figures, a kind of pathetic militant choreography, representing the titanic collective “new man”. Young

people thus dissolved their individual identities in totalitarian uniformity” (Rajský, 2023, p. 56).

Elementary Schools and Working Class

New authority claimed that new elementary school needed to be under the influence of a new spirit. This meant an introduction of the new contents and instruction of a teacher on how to educate children properly. Teachers' activity was controlled and observed by the inspector for education who evaluated their work. When it comes to the development of the eight-year primary school, politics and pedagogical science were relatively in harmony until 1964, when there was an immediate conflict between educational policy and pedagogical science (Medveš, 2020). The policy makers set an account on dogmatization in science and pedagogy. They concluded that the aim of education was to form of an “universally educated free constructor of socialism, who is distanced from bureaucracy and narrow mindedness” (Subotić, 1984, p. 112). It was declared “we need education which would prepare and educate our children for life in which only work and labor results define the position of human beings within society. The individual should be formed according to the Marxist standard and its world view. The school has an irreplaceable role in the development of self-managed socialistic awareness of the young generation. This is an important condition for the young generation if we want them to take over responsibility for further self-managed development of our society” (Mesihović, 1987, pp. 4–5). However, the uniformity of the program and the rigid understanding of the uniformity of the curriculum did not meet the expectations of improving the conditions for the successful education of children from a lower social class. With the socialist school policy implemented in this way, the myth that a school is the basis of socialist pedagogy began to be dispelled. In 1966, Schmidt proved that a formally unified school for all cannot remove the injustices caused by differentiated school systems, and he showed through historical analysis that the ‘unified school’ is more a project of civil society than of socialist society (Medveš, 2020, p. 68). It is clear that the socialist school policy has identified the concept of a fair school with the

concept of a unified school. The value of justice is replaced by a collectivist organizational form of unity – justice is what is equal for all (Medveš, 2020, p. 71).

Similar can be seen in relation to the laborers position. Namely, despite to their successes the laborers' results were not always seen as the tool for better life. The current regime and its dogma could not feel the core of the society it aspired to transform because the consciousness of the society and the consciousness of the leaders differed significantly (Kamberović, 2000). In the 1960s there were appeals of the workers who found themselves betrayed by their leaders. They even dared to write letters to Tito claiming that their comrades who were on chief position showed characteristics strange to the working class. They drew expensive cars, had better salaries, luxury apartments while they worked hardly for minimum of salaries. "Communist equality was actually an illusion because the political system was a form of terror. Namely, there was no equality between party members and those who were not party members or who opposed it, between the political secretary and an ordinary worker. In such disintegrated societies, political power becomes the only regulating force, because all hierarchies, traditional ties and social differences were abolished, so that this force did not encounter any resistance" (Legutko, 2019). Therefore, it is clear that brotherhood and unity were not present correctly especially the same rights for all. Despite the public promotion of equal rights for all, the situation was different in practice as following examples illustrate.

One worker who wrote a letter to Tito noted. "The enterprise I work in is a large organization; workers are investing substantial resources in housing and apartments are being built, but for whom? As the proverb goes: 'Who comes to the fire first, he warms up the most'."¹¹ Another one clearly describe the situation on the terrain: "I do not have enough time now to describe everything I know that is going on within my work collective because I could be sacked or even locked out through a short

11 The application of Josip K. – a plea for housing intervention addressed to the Federal Executive Council and to the President of Yugoslavia, 6 August 1969, p. 1. box 401, case No. 1314. HDA-SSRH.

procedure because who has the money is the judge [...]. Let a determined, and decent man examine pay lists of regular and extraordinary income and black funds, and it will be clear to him: workers do not manage the factories, there is no distribution according to work, worker's self-management is non-existent. Who has an apartment and how did he get it and how many apartments does he have in his family? How do direct producers live off their income and how big is their income compared to the non-producers? Behind the mask of self-management, the same people are managing the way they have wanted for years [...]."¹²

The well-known Yugoslav dissident Đilas explained that after the war, the top management got villas and cars and there were no existential problems. He also explained, how the idea of self-government came about. That idea of self-governance, which was promoted at the Assembly in 1950, emerged from the belief that "[...] it is the final path to the death of the state and a classless society" (Đorgović, 1989, p. 148). And Tito enthusiastically clicked: "Well, that's Marx's thing – factories for workers!" (Đorgović, 1989, p. 148). Tornquist (1966) claimed that self-governance, admired by many in the West at the time, was actually just a circuitous and convoluted way the party used to implement its decisions. He believed that the party was an obstacle to the success of self-government. He noted that party members play a leading role in workers' councils, and in doing so must follow the instructions of the Central Committee, regardless of whether it was to the benefit or detriment of the enterprise they head. Managers were not elected by the workers but by the Party and they were almost always communists. He argued "I wonder why the army is divided into small garrisons and stationed in small towns. Are they not a warning to the population that the guns are in the hands of the state? If such a warning is needed, what kind of relationship must there be between the citizens and the government, to which the revolutionary slogan is 'Freedom to the People'" (Tornquist, 1966, p. 9). All of the above was obviously not depicted in practice in the way the workers expected. A kind of elitism

12 Transcript of an anonymous letter sent to Tito, 1 July 1968. Box 236. AJ-KPR.

reigned in the country, which is evident from the mentioned examples. “The growth of social inequalities between them and the higher social strata in the 1960s was particularly hard for workers because in official discourse the idea of social equality was one of the pillars of the ideology of socialist Yugoslavia” (Mihaljević, 2019, p. 42). Regardless of the egalitarian principles proclaimed in socialist Yugoslavia, social disproportions and class differences endured throughout the socialist period and were regularly increasing (Mihaljević, 2019). “Totalitarianism in power always replaces all first-class talents, regardless of their sympathies, with those freaks and fools whose lack of intelligence and creativity is still the best guarantee of their loyalty” (Arendt, 1973, p. 339).

Conclusion

The educators and cultural leaders were working hard to define a new Yugoslav communist ideology, that would still keep children’s and youth’s lives under their ideological control. Young generation was “seen as a critical pillar of the Yugoslav socialist project, the state invested in the youth both symbolic and economic capital with the hope that the sense of ‘Yugoslav socialist patriotism’ would supersede and replace narrower circles of belonging or ethnic and class divisions” (Spaskovska, 2017, p. 38). The children and youth in Yugoslavia were taught to believe in – equality, liberty, democracy, self-actualization and self-determination, honesty, responsibility, and other values imported by the new regime. Hence, not all Yugoslav children and youth had the same childhood despite the slogan *equality of all*. “In fact, Yugoslavia was far from being homogeneous in any way. Rather, the norm was in the diversity of people in every possible way and the tensions that accompanied these diversities: the circumstances and the localities of their lives (e.g., rural vs, urban), their multitude of ethnicities, their mutual political and ideological oppositions and enmities, etc.” (Marjanović-Shane, 2018, p. 65). All these moves in the background were in the service of building an ideologically unified society that had the task of supporting the political system on which that same government laid (Beus, 2016). Education was of crucial importance for the politicians of the new age. The Communist Party observed and directed educational

processes. Teachers as the key persons were under the strict control of the new regime. Religious education was thrown out and new reality and single-mindedness were taught. Through various organizations, children and young people were indoctrinated to become loyal followers of the new state order. "The lives of children in Yugoslavia were almost entirely planned and designed by the Communist government, especially through its Yugoslav Pioneer Organization and Association of the youth of Yugoslavia. Although it was officially constituted in 1942 during the WWII" (Marjanović-Shane, 2018, p. 67). The language also acquired certain political connotations that were reflected in all areas. Children were perceived as future promoters of the new ideology. Their upbringing and education were carried out under the attentive eye of the communist party. Free time was also filled with certain activities that should serve to honor the citizen of the new society. This is visible through the activities that were carried out during the celebration of certain dates related to "the heroic past of our nations and nationalities". Even memory was directed and forbidden. It was determined what could be mentioned and what could not. Pedagogy in the frame of the new school system was socialistic one, first under the Soviet influence, and later on it started to move differently. The leading pedagogical theorists were valued in accordance with their interpretation of the socialist pedagogy. Despite the differences between pedagogical theorists who were educated before the war under the influence of different pedagogical currents that are in their habit essentially different from the post-war socialist pedagogy in Yugoslavia, they all developed socialist pedagogy after the war. Their differences were recognizable only in nuances and ultimately vague attitudes (Radeka, 2011). The ideological pressure on pedagogy and education was considerably stronger than in some other professional fields. Therefore "Totalitarianism must be remembered not only in order to be able to resist it; we have to remember it in order to know how to remember at all" (Dreher, 2022, p. 123).

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