

## **“Patriotic Tourism” – a Tool in the Yugoslav Communist Party Ideology (Youth in the Ideology of the “New Man”)**

### *1. Introduction*

After finishing of the Second World War Yugoslav communist regime tried to reconcile ethnic communities creating “Yugoslav identity” (as a supranational entity), apart from particularistic national (not necessarily nationalistic) visions, based on fighting of all Yugoslavs against enemies, especially domestic antirevolutionary forces. Development of that policy was embodied in the overall ideal of “brotherhood and unity” which became leading path toward new socialist society, and creation of the socialist “new man”.

Irrespective of their role during the Second World War, every Yugoslav ethnic community should have found its place under umbrella of “brotherhood and unity” whose materialistic expressions were particular historical communist sites, memorials or official activities, something that helped building and empowering authorized ideology and which gathered all Yugoslavs around the meaning of the overall ideal. This policy was supported by every day campaign and propaganda which ought to collect feelings of different Yugoslav ethnic groups toward the same aim.

*Yugoslavia, a beautiful word that sounds great to every real and truthful communist. Brotherhood and unity of Tito's Yugoslavia which was written by flags of Kozara, Neretva, Zelengora, was created by blood of workers, partisans, everybody was one. The task of all communists is to take care of further existence of Yugoslavia, fraternized community whose roots are in truthful brotherhood and unity, together and equal to be included in all productive battles, happiness and all troubles. That is the only way of being on this bleakness.<sup>1</sup> (Radovan Grbović, a delegate of IX Congress of Montenegro League of Communist)*

Creation of the “new man” in the course of socialist Yugoslavia was something that inspired Yugoslav communist *nomenklatura*, aiming combating still persisting anti-revolutionary ideology and interethnic hatred. “New man”, the one who had to be someone above national closure, carrier of supranational emotions, real believer and truthful follower of the official ideology, free of nationalistic rhetoric and burden of intertribal fratricidal war from the recent past was the clear objective that would primarily targeted young Yugoslav population born after the Second World War or who were young during the war operations, but certainly ones without clear knowledge and experience of tragic war events. Main stakeholders of that action should have been school age children, or youth in general, *tabula rasa* where possible to write what communist party leaders wanted to draw, on which way they would be ready to fight against

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<sup>1</sup> 13. Kongres Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, magnetofonske beleške, knjiga 2, Komunist, Beograd 1988, str. 192 (*XIII Congress of Yugoslav League of Communists, transcripts, Vol. 2, Komunist, Belgrade, 1988, 192*)

repetition of the grave experience from the past and to be prepared for restructuring of the country towards socialism and creation of the ‘new man’. Thus, conclusions of Communist party conferences, starting with V Congress in 1946, defined and repeated on the following sessions until XIII Congress in 1988 broad agitation targeted the youngest population that should start from grassroots, from early ages, precisely from the preschool and school times. Therefore, schools should carry out widespread educational and socialist style bringing up process of children who should be shaped in the spirit of the Yugoslav way, where functionality of the ‘new man’ was defined as follows: to be useful to society, to be truthful follower of the party ideology and to develop hatred toward enemies of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, on which way road to everlasting slogan ‘brotherhood and unity’, a reconciliation process as such, could be paved.

Lack of clear knowledge how that direction should have been tracked was important obstacle in the communist brainstorming sessions, or, precisely, which instrument could be the most appropriate to be implemented in order to have functional and truthful socialist youth, worth to communist ideals.

During the first years after the Second World War all spheres of life were under umbrella of powerful Stalinist style body for agitation and propaganda, AGITPROP, which was empowered to shape that ‘all ships should go in one direction’. However, the body had inexperienced agitators, communists without proper dogmatic training in Marxism and Leninism. From the other side, members of the Communist party within organizations primarily included in the process of agitation, like media or schools, were outnumbered. For example, editors in chief were communists, but not journalists. The same thing can be said for schools too, where directors were communists but teachers on the much lower scale. That situation persisted until maturity of socialist Yugoslavia as it was specifically stressed in the words of Nada Bogdanovic, communist party delegate from Zagreb:

*The fact that only 10% of teachers in the Zagreb high schools are members of the Communist party clearly shows insufficient ideological determination of the teaching staff. It is possible to find that in some of Zagreb high schools just three to four teachers are members of the party out of total number of 50, 60 professors. More characteristic is that in some municipalities only 1% of teaching staff are members of the Communist party. For teaching staff we should select only most talented candidates, ideologically built cadre. However, unfortunately teachers are not well educated in Marxism.<sup>2</sup> (Nada Bogdanovic, a delegate from Zagreb)*

This quotation becomes more important having in mind already stressed influence of the anti progressive forces, or bureaucratic forces, or bourgeois which were inimical according to communist agenda, over inexperienced youth, *tabula rasa*, which should be something drawn on. With small percentage of ideologically well prepared teaching staff, the problem of efficient fight against old forces becomes more questionable which could be read from the congress’ brochures and decisions on the highest party level, with usual repetition of the same problem, but without proper solution.

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<sup>2</sup> 10. Kongres Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, stenografske beleške, knjiga 3, Komunist, Beograd 1975, str. 239 (*X Congress of Yugoslav League of Communists, transcripts, Vol. 3, Komunist, Belgrade, 1975, 239*)

Having in mind things previously stated, teachers should have been just extended hand of the party politics and directly responsible for accepting, or not, of official propaganda. School teachers shaped children. Teachers were one of the main tools for upbringing of school age children in the communist spirit. Going in this line it is possible to follow official stance of communist party senior officials who strongly demanded how schools should perform upbringing part of the educational process, side by side with educative instruments.

Stressing upbringing part of the educational process, Yugoslav authorities on Communist party congresses predominantly put stress on the communist partisan epic tradition and their fight for the country through building memorials, visiting partisan historical sites and organizing public lectures there which was defined as outclass activities where central place would be selected for war veterans or JNA, side by side with agitation for mass public service that should be main task for youth as a sort of “patriotic tourism”. Those places have become unique pilgrimage resorts targeted school age children or youth in general, persons who have not been burdened with the grave legacy of the past, and who might fully participated in the new vision, and public services - way of self-sacrificing for the common cause – self building through building the country. However, it could be totally performed just with the proper functional school, and exact school curricula.

## ***2. Youth in reconstruction process – reconstruction of the country as a special form of ‘patriotic tourism’: usable vision of tourism***

In his opening speeches on the congresses of Yugoslav communists party Tito usually welcomed agitation among youth referring to reconstruction of the country as the main task in their upbringing process. Beside that, notion of gathering of youth around common aim plainly define vision of togetherness and possibility of reaching ‘brotherhood and unity’. That was explained by several reasons. Free time of youth had to be organized on the right way – self-building through serving the country. Precisely, free time should not be spent in leisure how same age youth from the west would do. Communist youth ought to be useful in every moment serving the country and raising above small every day pleasure without collective utility. Through serving the country youth will become better in qualitative way and functional to the society, and the appropriate method to reach the usefulness to the society was taking part in the youth working action, or ORA, ‘*Omladinska radna akcija*’. Importance of ORA for building the ‘new man’ can be pulped from Tito’s speech on the VI Congress of the Yugoslav Communist party:

*Youth took over and realized great obligations like our greatest objects so far: railways 422 km long, highway Belgrade - Zagreb ... Youth working actions have not given just big material contribution to our socialist restructuring, but contribution in ethical, political and ideological raising of youth, which built itself on the general ground ...*

*Common life of youth from different republics on the youth working actions did huge work on entrenchment brotherhood and unity among our people.*<sup>3</sup> (Tito, *Fight of Yugoslav Communists for Socialist Democracy*)

More important reason for involvement in ORA may be divided in two lines: one is better understanding between different Yugoslav nationalities which would be gathered during ORA actions in terms of culture exchanging. Through serving the country youth would construct collective spirit, learn cultures and languages (dialects) of other ethnic groups from different part of Yugoslavia. Knowing the language is a good tool in passing barriers in communication and acceptance of cultural products of other compatriots that is clear demand pulped from Communist party congresses. Another aim is plainly political: after war youth were not involved in the war campaign and interest of *nomenklatura* is to provide development of youth on the right way and to turn their education and upbringing in the socialist spirit. They should develop and foster revolutionary traditions through building spiritual bridge with war times youth acquainting their deeds. Thus, appropriate framework is making a parallel with partisan times: devotion and usefulness through rebuilding the country as a kind of battlefield in the peace times, precisely self-sacrificing of youth born after the Second World War and giving their immolate for the collective cause – right track to creation of the new socialist man.

Participants in ORA resembled as partisan units since they had the same structure: on the top of pyramid stood a brigadier, commander of the whole brigade which divided into battalions, companies and platoons with their leadership. Brigades, battalions, companies and platoons had names of partisan heroes that invoked analogous with the epic partisan tradition, spirit of revolution and partisan sacrifice on which way all participants in ORA should felt gathered.

Very interesting is the system of open and public self-evaluation and evaluation of superior. The logic of assessment is that one should do more than he/she did the day before. The best workers ought to be an example to all how everybody should deal with important collective task. From the other side, there should be negative examples too, as a negation of previous principle.

Thus, objectives of ORA had clear political mark. Through ORA many important infrastructural actions were accomplished, and the thing of strongest importance is the fact that gathered Yugoslav youth finished a proposed work. One of the clearest example is creation of the highway between Zagreb and Belgrade called ‘‘Brotherhood and Unity’’. Making two towns accessible to each other had stronger weight since connections and closeness between people, Serbs and Croats, the axis, means successfulness and happiness of the country or its destruction – viability of ‘‘brotherhood

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<sup>3</sup> 6. kongres Komunističke partije Jugoslavije, Tito, Borba komunista Jugoslavije za socijalističku demokratiju, stenografske beleške, Kultura, Beograd 1952, str. 82, 83 (*VI Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party, Tito, Fight of Yugoslav Communists for Socialist Democracy, transcripts, Kultura, Belgrade 1952, 82, 83*)

and unity”’. This reason caused that work of youth becomes more useful, with clear and everlasting political goal.

### ***3. War veterans and Yugoslav Peoples Army (JNA): role in outclass activities***

Delegates on Communist party sessions stressed that spiritual link between youth and partisans should be supplemented with necessary gathering of youth and war veterans. Precisely, war veterans, those who renounced their youth in the name of rightful cause, fight for freedom, and those who refuse to use free time like ordinary juvenile in order to reconstruct country did similar deed in different times. Therefore, according to Communist party congresses’ directives veterans ought to take respective part in overall upbringing process of youth and allot to SUBNOR, organization of war veterans to prepare appropriate methodology in dealing with nurturing of youth and explaining why to sacrifice for the country.

In the Yugoslav Communist party ideology epic tradition of partisan fight was some kind of above structure, something which should be reached by constant work for common cause. In that atmosphere war veterans were moral of the society, council of mature that should transfer their knowledge and experience from the fight to youth. In return youth would accept to sacrifice in organizing of their every day life. Role of veterans was performed through organizing of outclass activities, mainly tourist, which were stressed as important part of the school education programs. Specific way of school tourism have been organizing of public lectures, ‘public class’ on the famous partisan memorials or sites where veterans had their role educating youth about importance of that particular site stressing sacrifice of those to whom magnitude of specific monument was dedicated. Beside that, schoolchildren would have chance to hear poems and popular stories about war heroes and socialist ideology. Going in that direction, school excursions would imply visiting broader territory like ‘Through AVNOJ<sup>4</sup> Roads’ or marching through partisan paths in order to feel spirit of the fight for the freedom which would track youth toward common ground and acceptable upbringing process.

Since defending country should have been priority to all, curricula was structured in militarized manner, which becomes more important stressing programmatic definition of, for example, class for physical education as very prominent subject especially having in mind teaching style - preparation of schoolchildren for future fight for the country, some kind of pre-military education. Part of that can be seen from organizing of mini excursions, popularly called ‘happy afternoon’ where schoolchildren should spent in the JNA garrisons for some time listening about weapons, military tactics even learning how to use military equipment.

Another way of making closer connection between army and youth is involvement of JNA officer and soldiers in youth debate sessions where youngsters exchange their views

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<sup>4</sup> Partisan war Parliament (*AVNOJ, Antifasticko vece narodnog oslobodjenja Jugoslavije, Antifascist Council of Peoples Liberation of Yugoslavia*)

about politics and social development, but also involvement of soldiers in different socio political and youth organizations like Alpinist Society, Ferial Union, Scout Union etc. Specific way of cooperation with JNA is to have schoolchildren as members of these institutions together with soldiers united on different excursions that were organized by those organizations, even by the army, especially to historical partisan sites.

#### ***4. Youth organizations***

Communist party directives recommended forming of large scale mass organizations of youth with clear objective of accepting them in the system in order to get functional and truthful members of socialist society, as a kind of preparation for the future life. That scheme of organizations covered youth from early ages, starting from the pioneer organization, through NOJ<sup>5</sup>, youth of Yugoslavia, which would give capacity to other mass organization like Alpinist Society or Ferial Union, specifically empowered to deal with youth tourist activities, but within firm control of the NOJ. There was inconsistency in explanation why it was necessary for youth to be included within the system of mass organization. They were going from assertion that they do not have political aim

*Building our current concept about pioneer organization and work with children in general, we had to refuse position that pioneers are progeny of some political party, that children should be from early ages politically comprised, to practise political propaganda among children, to shape them to be disciplined and 'servile' citizen.<sup>6</sup> (Mika Tripalo, Problem of pioneer organization)*

until statements that youth should be politically shaped since those organizations had clear mandate to be in the middle of the upbringing process, to determine children in the form of the 'new man'.

*Today, schools and hospitals are opened for us, likewise pioneer railways or pioneer tourist resorts. Tito learns us to love our homeland, to be good pupils. He learns us that all people are our brothers ... In the pioneer organization, through our debate clubs and workshops, in the preparations for the Day of Pioneers and our ceremonies, we, the pioneers, help in rebuilding of our country according to our capabilities. All of us want to become communists. We expect that you are going to educate us on that way.<sup>7</sup> (Branan Marković, a representative of pioneer organization, commander of Danilo Jaukovic Detachment)*

One possible prove that mass youth organization had aim to determine youth in socialist way may gives enrolling of pupils in pioneer organization and NOJ. Schoolchildren from

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<sup>5</sup> NOJ, *Narodna omladina Jugoslavije, Peoples Youth of Yugoslavia*

<sup>6</sup> *Komunist* 9-10, Mika Tripalo, *Problemi pionirske organizacije*, Kultura, Beograd 1956, str. 641 (*Komunist*, 9-10, Mika Tripalo, *Problem of Pioneer Organization*, Kultura, Belgrade 1956, 641)

<sup>7</sup> 5. kongres Komunističke partije Jugoslavije, *stenografske beleške*, Kultura, Beograd 1949, str. 228, 229 (*V Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, transcripts*, Kultura, Belgrade 1949, 228, 229)

the first class, at the age of 7, automatically became pioneers, and in the seventh class, at the age of 13, became part of NOJ. That clearly says how *nomenklatura* wanted to include youth in the official system of Yugoslav socialism and had unique interests in dogmatic shaping of children. All conferences of Yugoslav Communist Party and after that League of Communists stressed how old forces had obvious influence over youth through schools, having in mind awaking of nationalism in certain Yugoslav regions like Kosovo in 1968 or 1981 and Croatia in 1971, since inappropriate school programs and already stressed inexperienced or uninterested teaching staff to be determined in communist dogma and to teach pupils according to official ideology. Thus, immediate participation in the youth organizations became a need of utmost importance in upbringing process where visiting of communist memorials, pulping from programs of Ferial Union which was the organization recommended organizing, among others, tourist activities for youth, patriotic tourism.

*More practical help should provide to Ferial Union as very useful organization which organize travelling excursions and vacation of youth and which can contribute acquainting youth with beauty of our country, with realization our socialist construction with cultural and historical achievements like rapprochement of youth from different part of our country and development of socialist patriotism.<sup>8</sup> (Petar Stambolic, About Work With Youth)*

A broad and aggressive strategy coping with reshaping of youth was necessary part of upbringing process in order to fight old fashioned forces. This is the reason and clear road for acting of mass youth organization in organizing school tourism, outclass activities or gathering youth, war veterans and JNA.

Thus, importance of mass youth organization is not limited just on inclusion of youth in the system but also in organizing of functional free time since NOJ was obliged to wide agitation for collecting youth in taking part in ORA. Therefore, political functionality and dogmatic shaping of youth was the immediate obligation of mass youth organization.

*Working enthusiasm of youth, ORA, the great actions which NOJ take on itself showed that they are good tools which bring up new cadres for our economy. NOJ turned ORA in schools for upbringing of our youth.<sup>9</sup> (Mile Neoričić, Central Committee Union of Yugoslav Communist Youth)*

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<sup>8</sup> 6. plenum Centralnog komiteta Saveza komunista Jugoslavije, Petar Stambolic, O radu sa omladinom, Komunist 3-4, Kultura, Beograd 1956, str. 255 (*VI Plenum of Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communist, Petar Stambolic, About Work With Youth, Komunist 3-4, Kultura, Belgrade 1956, 255*)

<sup>9</sup> 5. kongres Komunisticke partije Jugoslavije, stenografske beleške, Kultura, Beograd 1949, str. 391 (*V Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party, transcripts, Kultura, Belgrade 1949, 391*)

## 5. Conclusion

Adopted directives on Communist party congresses clearly stressed importance that youth should be politically determined in the spirit of Yugoslav socialism through developing of revolutionary traditions, in order to achieve functional socialist ‘new man’. ‘New man’ should have been sensible and truthful follower of the official party ideology, the one who on the right way would participate and support overall slogan of ‘brotherhood and unity’ which was structured to erase ethnic differences and grave experience from the Second World War.

To accomplish that ideal communist political *nomenklatura* targeted school age children to shape them as adequate stakeholders for new society. For that reason many mass youth organizations were formed in order to deal with youth every day life. That broad and aggressive propaganda filled especially upbringing part of education process involving war veterans and JNA. Justification for that approach is hidden behind logic that elementary fact, repeatedly stressed on the communist conferences that satisfactory visions and ideas of youth were not given but through systematic, responsible, strenuous and long-lasting influence over youth of all selected organizations including media or leadership the system will not form just a ‘new man’ but to create in politically correct sense ethical and functional well trained citizen.

Going in that line communist leaders feared of possibility that free time of schoolchildren would look as passively acceptance of all products which come from popular mass culture, media, especially television like it was situation, according to official Yugoslav stance with persons of same age from the ‘decadent’ west. Yugoslav youth should be determined to self-building and to develop personal capabilities. This was the reason why delegates on congresses stressed problem of inexistence of, for example, places for gathering of youth from different republics, side by side with lack of dogmatically shaped teaching staff which had great role in upbringing schoolchildren in the socialist spirit. In that vacuum party leadership found unique interests in including war veterans in the process since they would spread immortal anecdotes and experience from the Second World War especially deeds of youth and their sacrificing. These revolutionary traditions and heritage were sealed and stamped by visiting partisan memorials and sites through outclass activities - patriotic tourism.

From the other side involvement of youth in rebuilding the country through ORA was a momentum that should produce spiritual bridge between youth from the peace time and those from the Second World War – self-building in the course of sacrificing for common interests, achieving a ‘new man’ and support brotherhood and unity.

Decisions adopted on communists’ congresses recommended forming of mass organizations which would cope with functionality and usefulness of youth, but also to make possible gathering of young population from different republics with objective of better knowing and cultural exchange. Because of that the greatest attention was dedicated to Alpinist Society, Ferial Union, Scout Union, Peoples Technique, Musical



Youth etc. Thus, those institutions had to stress ideological and political content over youngest population.

Ferial Union had clear tourist objective. It made programs for youth like excursions, vacations, camping, in order to foster friendship and to develop habits for collective life and work. Therefore, the organization coped with free time of youth, which especially mean gathering great deal of them, and with the objective, as it was stressed in the quotation from above, to develop socialist patriotism.

However, root of any idea and activity stood in partisan epic tradition and importance of their victim for collective cause. Therefore, their fight should have been inspiration for ORA, self-building and living every day life toward accepting features of the ‘new man’ and ‘brotherhood and unity’.

*Rivers of blood and mountains of bones our best sons and daughters connect our people and party, through common suffering and hardships, through fight for freedom and common building of much happier and wealthier future. Those links cannot be and will not be broken under any circumstances. Our unbreakable brotherhood and unity will stand through centuries and victoriously resist to all misfortunes and attacks, no matter from which side they come, as a spring of our strength.<sup>10</sup> (Blazo Jovanovic)*

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<sup>10</sup> 6. kongres Komunisticke partije Jugoslavije, op. cit. str. 318, 319 (*VI Congress of Yugoslav Communist Party, op. cit, 318, 319*)

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