Channelling Nationalisms: Yugoslavisms in Croatian and Serbian Schoolbooks in the 60s and 70s

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Abstract • This article examines how common histories were represented in Yugoslavian schoolbooks in 1960s–1970s Serbia and Croatia. National discourse analysis is used in combination with Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined communities to define central themes in the sources. Yugoslavia's Marxist education aimed to create socialist citizens and pioneers beyond national boundaries. At the same time, schoolbook authors used nationalisms as keys to evoke a class consciousness. These "national filters" in describing class struggle relate to tribal nationalisms in the 60s. In the 70s, socialist patriotism gradually replaced tribal narratives in schoolbooks. Schoolbook authors were however still (re)creating nationalities for seemingly instrumental purposes to accomplish a revolution. This article shows how supranational Yugoslavism(s) was constructed and negotiated and how tensions between socialism and nationalisms were mediated via mass education.

Keywords • schoolbooks, nationalism, socialism, Yugoslavia, nationalities

Introduction: "Yugoslav socialist consciousness" and schoolbooks as mediators in SFR Yugoslavia

After the end of WWII, when the Communist party replaced the monarchy in Yugoslavia, the party members claimed to have finally solved the national question in the multicultural state. The solution was socialism—based upon the idea of Brotherhood and Unity among the peoples—as a new cultural approach to the national question. Cosmopolitan socialism would prevail over nationalism. However, this solution soon became more complex as the concept of "Brotherhood and Unity," was already rooted in an older and nationally oriented South Slavic kinship. As a consequence of this link, the cultural content of Yugoslav socialism became the subject of continuous debate between those party members who were federalists and those who were centralists. Due to this debate, the party members gradually shifted focus from socialist South Slavic aspirations towards an overarching principle of socialist patriotism. Through a Marxist interpretation, the party members treated the national consciousness as false while the real one was considered to be the class consciousness. In line with this view, the state was seen as predestined to wither away.[1]

These political issues, debates and parallel existing efforts of conceptualising Yugoslavia in new ways occurred over several decades and permeated the educational system, which, in turn, was reorganised during the post-war period. Education became mandatory for every child and illiterate adult, schools took shape as crucial socialising arenas, and educational teaching materials became important as prime mediating tools for communicating new ideas and political directives to future citizens. As is well known, Yugoslavia disintegrated in the 90s.

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1 Katrine H. Haug, *Creating a Socialist Yugoslavia: Tito, Communist Leadership and the National Question* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 1–8, 119; Dejan Jović, "Yugoslavism and Yugoslav Communism: From Tito to Kardelj," in *Yugoslavism: Histories of a Failed Idea,* ed. Dejan Djokić (London: Hurst & Co, 2003), 156–61.

Aim and research questions

In tracing back to identify Yugoslav socialism in this political setting, this article aims to highlight how this supranationalism was presented, renegotiated and mediated through schoolbooks in the socialist republics of Croatia and Serbia in the 60s and 70s. There is a specific focus on how common histories was represented, which leads to the question: What kind of conceptions are launched in terms of cultural history and how does these conceptions relate to different perceptions of Yugoslavism vis-à-vis sub-nationalisms? How is supranationalism renegotiated? Furthermore, what is the relationship between nationalism and socialism in the schoolbooks and can tensions between these two ideological concepts be discerned? All in all, this article aims to shed light on how educational material helped to mediate representations of common pasts and contributed to the re-creation of multiple nationalities in former Yugoslavia.

The source material

The focus of this article in relation to the mentioned political changes is thus educational material in the form of schoolbooks. The main principle guiding the selection of data is that the books were authorised by the republican administrators. Thus, the source material for the study was officially approved for educational purposes within the framework of party politics and its official historiography. This means that the cultural content that was provided by the authors could not clash with the official agenda of the authorities.

What started out as a rather broad selection process—including some 50 books—in the end resulted in an empirical sample consisting of twelve officially approved schoolbooks published during the 1960s and 1970s in the socialist republics of Croatia (SRC) and Serbia (SRS). To fulfil the aim of this article, the schoolbook material also needed to contain ideologies of Yugoslavism. Since the supranational concept of socialist Yugoslavism predominantly relied on the ties between two major groups—Serbs and Croats—the empirical sample was chosen from the socialist contexts of Croatia and Serbia. This selected material thus reflects only how supranationalism was mediated through and renegotiated in the educational media in these two republics and not in other republics or autonomous regions.

Five of these schoolbooks were published in Croatia while seven originated from Serbia, making the sources quite evenly distributed between the two republics. Six were published in the 60s and six in the 70s, which reflects the political renegotiation of the socialist Yugoslavism in the educational material. The material consists of two Croatian textbooks, one in geography and one in history, for upper secondary school, and also eight reading books and two handbooks for secondary and upper secondary school. These reading books are called *čitanke* and were frequently used for educational purposes in order to combat illiteracy, along with school handbooks (*priručnici*). These schoolbooks were often accompanied by textbooks that contained maps and descriptions of historical events. The selection of schoolbooks thus consists of a certain variation of genres. The reading books and handbooks are selected from within the field of cultural history, consisting of Yugoslavian literature with selections of prominent authors. Other reading books consist of collections of folk tales, lyrics and poems with supplementary descriptive and interpretative content for the pupils.

As scholars like Simone Lässig have pointed out, textbook research alone reduces the overall underlying complexities of historical, social, and cultural contexts in which textbooks becomes produced and renegotiated. It is therefore desirable to go beyond the textbook in the narrow sense and include a greater variety of source materials. Different types of schoolbooks will reflect how national discourses are constructed through various genres in the broader educational context in which textbooks are conditioned.[2] The combination of different types of schoolbooks highlights the cultural ideals and values in the educational media in these two republics during the Socialist era. Because all selected schoolbooks were authorised by the republican administrators and addresses Yugoslav ideologies, they are appropriate sources for a study that sets out to examine patriotic Yugoslavism as a part of the Titoist historiography.

Theoretical approach and methodological considerations

In order to conduct a study of the production and renegotiation of supranationalism in schoolbooks, the theoretical question of what constitutes a nation needs to be addressed. This article takes a general theoretical stance in Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as an imagined political community that is both inherently limited and sovereign. Narratives of a cartographic space and histories of group inclusion and exclusion in turn determine the boundaries and limitations of the nation. The notion of sovereignty is provided with, for instance, narratives of liberation, and thus it contributes to a national biography and projects a mental image with a notion of individuality.[3]

This theoretical approach thus presupposes the view on the origins of *national identities* as a non-static and mobile process which is dependent on politics and historical bonds between social groups.[4] Recent research stresses the significance of co-existence between multiple nationalities, which enables supranational communities.[5] The texts from the schoolbooks are analysed through the lenses of national discursive representations. This means that the national discursive representations could not be handled mere as a text, but will reflect the overall historical and socio-political reality with the standardised norms, values, attitudes and practices of that time.

In the initial stage of the analysis, sentences, titles, words, citations and paragraphs that represented any form of national content were extracted from the schoolbooks. Furthermore, the analysis consisted of a categorisation of the subjects in the representations and their positions in the narrative. The subjectification highlights which in-groups become alienated in the sentences and what this means in terms of oppression and hostility. Three main themes were initially formulated for the analysis: *a) The development of national territory or territories,* b) *The reactionaries—internal and external enemies,* and c) *The cultural uniqueness(es)—The revolutionaries.*

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2   See Simone Lässig, "Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)," *The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1, no. 1 (2009), 7–11.

3   Benedict Anderson, *Den föreställda gemenskapen: Reflexioner kring nationalismens ursprung och spridning* [Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism] (Göteborg: Daidalos, 2005), 21–22.

4   See the work of Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1969).

5   David Corkill, "Multiple National Identities, Immigration and Racism in Spain and Portugal," in *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe*, ed. Brian Jenkins and Spyros A. Sofos (London: Routledge, 1996), 155–60.

These themes are inspired by the works of Wodak, de Cillia, and Reisigl.[6] These three themes, can in turn be seen as linking to a process of territorialisation, alienation and homogenisation that together shape conceptions of an imagined community. These three methodological themes are thus operationalised through Anderson's theory and expose histories and a metanarrative that contribute to a greater understanding of what kinds of teleological narratives such supranationalism relies on. The chronologies and histories vary from the medieval period to modern times and are presented in the same way in several themes in which nationality (-ies) can be shaped.

After examining and analysing the three themes, an additional fourth theme also emerged in the schoolbooks labelled: d) *Embodied tensions between socialism and nationalisms.* Anderson argued that Marxists in essence are nationalists but they have largely ignored rather than confronted issues concerning nationalism.[7] In regard to Anderson's critique, nationalism within a Marxist theoretical outlook is treated in this fourth theme that deals with ideological antagonisms and postulations in the schoolbooks between socialism and nationalisms. Because the class struggle takes place within the nation according to Marxist theoretical frameworks, these four categories together can be seen as exposing the class struggle and how tensions between socialism and nationalisms appear. These representations in turn creates a conception of "us" versus "them," which shows the unique abstraction of how a socialist community ought to be portrayed.

Previous research: History, political context and historical representations in schoolbooks

In the aftermath of the Yugoslav conflicts of the 90s, scholars began looking at the ideological and structural conditions for the integration and disintegration of the various Yugoslav state structures.[8] However, these studies did not provide clear and specific knowledge as to how histories were mediated through education, let alone how representations in schoolbooks can launch historical conceptions that help mediate supranationalism. In order to understand how supranationalism was developed and renegotiated, we have to pay close attention to research regarding the political and educational contexts.

The various levels at which collective identification patterns circulated in Yugoslavia in the 60s and 70s do not have hard boundaries, and are therefore not easily distinguished. A notion of commonality among various peoples operated on several levels during this time. State buildings in the Kingdom period and in the Socialist era functioned as unified wholes through a patchwork of nationalities. However, Yugoslavism was not *one* ideology, but rather several ideologies that became a subject of negotiation by various elites in the 20th century. Therefore, the notion of commonness among the Yugoslav peoples had different connotations at different times. The state composition and renegotiation of the concept of "Brotherhood" among the elite can be more easily categorized into a *South Slavic* brotherhood, a *socialist brotherhood* among the working class, a *centralist* arrangement, and a *decentralist* arrangement.

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6   Ruth Wodak, Rudolph de Cillia, and Martin Reisigl, "The Discursive Construction of National Identities," *Discourse & Society* 10, no. 2 (1999), 153–55.

7   Anderson (2005), 19, 154.

8   See the works of Haug (2013); Ivo Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia: Origins, History, Politics* (Ithaca: U.P. Cornell, 1984); Sabrina Ramet, *The Three Yugoslavias: State-Building and Legitimation, 1918–2005* (Washington D.C: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2006).

Consequently, the historical representations in schoolbooks regarding nationalism and socialist patriotism underwent too many changes in this region due to regime changes or political reforms in the 20th and 21st centuries. This lack of stability in turn led to clashes between generations regarding knowledge, identities, cultural values, attitudes and notions concerning "us" versus "them."

Prior to the unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, schoolbook researcher Charles Jelavich claimed that students in Serbia were unprepared for South Slav nationalism introduced in some schoolbooks a couple of years before the unification. Instead, schoolbooks in Serbia in the late 19th and early 20th century were filled with Greater Serbianism. Bosnia, for instance, was described as a land of Serbs (including three religious faiths) and the Croatian language was presented as a western Serbian dialect. The idea of South Slavism was simply introduced too late to prepare future Serb students to live under the same roof with Croats and Slovenes.[9] Along with unification and the creation of a new state, *narodno jedinstvo* (national oneness) was introduced, which proclaimed that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were not distinct, but rather one South Slavic kindred folk with three names (*troimeni narod*).[10] This idea, however, was not favoured by many Croats and Slovenes in a centralist state.

A schoolbook study conducted by Pieter Troch focused on the interwar period (1920–1940), during King Alexanders' rule. Troch highlights how tribal Yugoslavism was promoted through what he calls parallelism in the textbooks. This parallelism connected several historical and religious cultures into one greater overarching South Slavic national experience in which Serbs had a specific leading and normative role among these national representations. The nation was a subject of negotiation, making Yugoslavism in the Kingdom indecisive, according to Troch.[11]

Bearing in mind that both Greater Serbianism, South Slavism, and confessionalisms in schoolbooks were continuously renegotiated and became a subject of social design, it came as no surprise that the Communists later treated these nationalisms in schoolbooks as "false," meaning that they were designs invented by political elites rather than reflections of "objective" national boundaries.

The bourgeois invention of nationalism can be seen through the prism of historical materialism in schoolbooks where history was presented as progress to advanced stages of human relationships and social orders. History starts from primitive life, proceeds to slavery, feudalism, and capitalism, for which imperialism and fascism serve as a superstructure of the bourgeoisie. The Marxist framework has in this sense ultimate means and functions, with the ultimate point of human development being the classless society. Nationalism and ethnocentrism were however encouraged in Yugoslav schoolbooks, although international solidarity in a socialist sense was advocated. Revolutionary leaders were idolized, while the ruling classes were denounced.[12]

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9   Charles Jelavich, "Serbian Textbooks: Toward Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia?" *Slavic Review* 42, no. 4 (1983): 605, 609, 614–15, 618.

10 Zdenko Zlatar, "The building of Yugoslavia: The Yugoslav Idea and the First Common State of the South Slavs," *Nationalities Papers* 25, no. 3 (1997), 391; Dejan Djokić, *Elusive Compromise: A History of Interwar Yugoslavia* (London: Hurst & Co, 2007), 21; Banac (1984), 98..

11 Pieter Troch, "Between Yugoslavism and Serbianism: Reshaping Collective Identity in Serbian Textbooks Between the World Wars," *History and Education* 41, no. 2 (2012), 193; Pieter Troch, "Yugoslavism Between the World Wars: Indecisive Nation Building," *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 2 (2010), 227, 239.

12 John Georgeoff, "Nationalism in the History Textbooks of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria," *Comparative Education Review* 10, no. 3 (1966), 442, 448. John Georgeoff, "Social Studies in Yugoslav Elementa-

Given the fact that nationalisms were to be regarded as false *within a nation,* the remnants of integral (tribal) Yugoslavism in schoolbooks were supposed to be meaningless in a socialist sense. Socialist Yugoslavism was however, elaborated by various literary historians, party officials, intellectuals, educational ministers, lawyers and ideologues. In the 70s, the ideas of the economist Edvard Kardelj increasingly replaced those of the conservatives and unitarists.[13] These political decisions by the authorities increasingly supported the rights of minorities, strengthened ethnic individualities and particularities, with the overall principle of "unity in diversity." Decentralisation and self-management politics were the expression of de-étatism, with party members working actively to achieve a process in which the state would wither away. By so doing, the authorities never attempted to create nationalities at all. The notion of "Brotherhood" and "Yugoslavhood" became exclusively socialist, meaning brotherhood among the working class.[14] Jović claims that the official narrative of socialism divided people exclusively into "forces of the past" and "progressive forces."[15] However, Haug points out that the political elite wanted to promote a "Yugoslav socialist consciousness" that would complement and not deny existing individual national cultures.[16] Following Marx's view that the proletariat must gain political power and "constitute itself *the* nation," the Yugoslav elite argued that class consciousness could arise by the means of national emancipation.[17] Previous research thus clearly shows that Yugoslav supranationalism was rooted in co-operation among several historical cultures.[18] In the present study, Yugoslavism(s) is regarded both as a form of *supranationalism* and *socialist-civic* citizenship. The Yugoslav state was a social contract between federal units, but the state was provisional and any attempt to create a nation was undesirable.

Although the concept of "ethnos" was meant to be abolished theoretically in accordance with the anti-statist ideological narrative, Jurica Botić pointed out that we can follow an (ethno)-terminology wandering from three nations (Serb, Croat and Slovene) to six nations/people *(narod)* in Yugoslav history textbooks (adding Macedonian, Muslim, Montenegrin, but not counting "Yugoslav" as one more national

ry Schools," *The Elementary School Journal* 66, no. 8 (1966), 436. 37. Wayne S. Vucinich also notes when reviewing a wider Yugoslav historiography, that the historians must be careful not to emphasize achievements of one ethnicity at the expense of another. These representations, as he states, "could not further create exclusive ethnical monopolies." Wayne S. Vucinich, "Post-war Yugoslav Historiography," *The Journal of Modern History* 23, no. 1 (1951), 41–42.

13 Ramet (2006), 217–19; Haug (2012), 163, 182, 185; Tomaž Ivešić, "The Yugoslav National Idea Under Socialism: What Happens When a Soft Nation-Building Project Is Abandoned?," *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 1 (2021), 142–61.

14 Jović (2003), 161, 165-66.

15 Dejan Jović, "Communist Yugoslavia and Its 'Others'," in *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe,* ed. John Lampe and Mark Mazower (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 280–83.

16 Haug (2012), 150. See also the development of a "Yugoslav socialist consciousness" with Marxist perspectives on South Slavic aspirations in Sanimir Resić*, En historia om Balkan: Jugoslaviens uppgång och fall* [A history of Balkans: The rise and fall of Yugoslavia] (Lund: Historiska media, 2010), 238–39.

17 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967), 102.

18 Vesna V. Godina, "The outbreak of nationalism on Former Yugoslav Territory: A Historical Perspective on the Problem of Supranational Identity," *Nations and Nationalism* 4, no. 3 (1998), 409, 416.

category) while also adding minorities/peoples *(narodnosti)* to socialist patriotism.[19] Jelena Marković studied the (re)construction of identities in schoolbooks for Croatian children from 1945 up to today. Marković pointed out that the wartime enemies were simply those who were the "stealers of the common good" of the peoples or those who "weren't satisfied" with the brotherhood of the Yugoslav peoples.[20]

Class conflict and representations of the bourgeoisie needed to be introduced as something tangible at the earliest ages and later develop into something abstract. In order to develop and expand the microcosm of the child, Marković claimed that educational material needed to start from the closest surroundings of a child (home and family) and then expand into the public domain and more distant social surroundings—following the local, regional, republican, the federation and lastly the global.[21] This hierarchy that appears in Croatian schoolbooks creates identities that are ideological, communal and territorial-political rather than ethnic.

Tea Sindbæk focused mainly on how internal warfare during WWII was presented in the educational material. She mentioned that national hatred was externalised and blamed on occupational forces, ruling classes and the fascists who were marionettes of the Axis powers. The people, however, were not to be blamed for this hatred.[22] According to history didactics researcher Snježana Koren, this above-mentioned narrative of the People's Liberation Struggle provided the basis for legitimizing the socialist regime, along with Tito and CPY.[23] By comparing newer and older Croatian textbooks, Koren concluded that those under the socialist regime were heavily ideologised, while those from the 90's were ethnicised. Marxism and Yugoslavism were then abandoned at the expense of Croatism.[24] Similar processes of fragmented and ethnicised content in schoolbooks took place in Serbia.[25] From the 90's onward, schoolbook content in post-socialist countries has increasingly replaced the concept of "class" with exclusivist and mono-national identities. This process has correlated with socio-economic conditions like globalisation and neoliberal policies.[26]

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19 Jurica Botić, "Problem nacije u jugoslavenskim udžbenicima povijesti [The Issue of the Nation in Yugoslav Schoolbooks in History]," *Školski vjesnik* 61, no. 4 (2012), 498, 502–4.

20 Jelena Marković, "(Re)konstrukcije identiteta u udžbeničkoj produkciji: Analiza sadržaja udžbenika za prva četiri razreda osnovne škole od 1945. godine do danas [(Re)constructions of identity in the production of schoolbooks: Content analysis of schoolbooks from the four first years of elementary school from 1945 until today]," *Narodna umjetnost: Hrvatski* časopis *za etnologiju i folkloristiku* 43, no. 2 (2006), 72–73.

21 Marković (2006), 69, 72, 87.

22 Tea Sindbæk, *Usable History? Representations of Yugoslavia's Difficult Past From 1945 to 2002* (Copenhagen: Aarhus University Press, 2012), 82–86.

23 Snježana Koren, *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945–1960). Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija* [The politics of History in Yugoslavia (1945–1960): The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, History Education, Historiography] (Zagreb, Srednja Europa, 2012), 309–77.

24 Snježana Koren, "Slike nacionalne povijesti u hrvatskim udžbenicima uoči i nakon raspada Jugoslavije [Images of National History in Croatian Textbooks Before and After the Breakup of Yugoslavia]," *Historijski zbornik* 60 (2007), 259–63.

25 Irena Pejić, "Национална историја у школским уџбеницима: од југословенске до националистичке интерпретације: компаративна анализа уџбеника историје из 1978, 1994. и 2002. године [National History in Schoolbooks: From the Yugoslav to the Nationalist Interpretation: A Comparative Analysis of History Schoolbooks from 1978, 1994 and 2002]," Часопис Архива Југославије 1–2 (2016), 171, 186–87.

26 Tatjana T. Kostić, "Obrazovanje u društvenom kontekstu [Education in the Social Context]," *Sociološki pregled* 54, no. 1 (2020), 144–47.

The present article focuses specifically on the pre-90s. The objective is steered towards how Yugoslav socialism was developed and renegotiated in educational material in the 60's and 70's and how the relationships between sub-identities were intertwined and connected to (Yugoslav) socialism. In previous research about Yugoslavian schoolbooks, tensions and interactions between nationalism, socialism, ideology, and class have either been overlooked or ignored. This article analyses national representations and imagined communities in Yugoslav schoolbooks through a dynamic analytical approach, where tensions between ideological concepts are seen as conflated. This article shows how supranationalism and national representations appeared in schoolbooks in a socialist country where nationalism was aimed to be contained on the one hand and obliterated on the other.

The development of multiple national identities through common pasts in schoolbooks

What follows in this article are the four themes a) *The development of national territory or territories* b) *The reactionaries - internal and external enemies* and c) *The cultural uniqueness(es)—The revolutionaries.* Taken together, these themes could be seen as generating, to use Anderson's word, "a limited imagined community." A fourth and final theme that is introduced in the analysis can be regarded as consisting of elements in the schoolbooks that aims to contain and undermine nationalisms, namely d) *Embodied tensions between socialism and nationalisms.*

The development of national territory or territories

This theme refers to the geographic dimension of the state, for example the national territory being the creation of a geographical space within its specific national boundaries. The nation is portrayed through a discursive interpretation as a place, a landscape in which a metaphoric "homeland" appears. What is very apparent in the schoolbooks, is that the authors provided descriptions in order to form national attachment to the space even before the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and later Socialist Yugoslavia. The history of the territory was represented in a teleological way, with the borders evolving in a certain direction and being finally determined in the second Yugoslavia. Metaphorically speaking, the borders prior to the second Yugoslavia were thus presented as something temporary and incomplete while the borders of the second Yugoslavia were presented as completed space. In a Croatian geography textbook this was articulated as follows:

> Some parts of present-day Yugoslavia were liberated from the Turks only in 1913, and others from Austria-Hungary as late as 1918. Turkish domination caused a centuries-long stagnation in the development of the eastern parts of our country, and Austria-Hungary—the subordination of the development of the western parts of present-day Yugoslavia to economic centres located outside our national territory.[27]

What is evident in this sentence is that the national space is depicted as an eastern and a western part, equally lacking freedom in different ways. While the eastern parts are

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27 Veljko Rogić and Stanko Žuljić, *Geografija Jugoslavije: Udžbenik za 4 razred gimnazije* (8th ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1972), 191.

described as underdeveloped, the western parts are portrayed as economically exploited. The sentence indirectly implies that the state is now a complete totality that was formerly a space that lacked national independence. What is evident in the text books is that this space didn't have a specific name prior and geographical possession was created by referring to the space as the "Pannonian peninsula," "our regions," "our soil," "our countries," or simply "our neighbourhoods."[28] Geographical conceptualisations was widely used, as in this example with overlapping descriptions of the Serbian statehood and the Austro-Hungarian Empire prior the unification:

> The beginning of the 20th century in many ways meant the continuation of the already ushered in movements in the socio-political life of the Yugoslav peoples. For some, like the Serbs, it was a time of unquestionable ascendancy of capitalist economic and social relations. Similar socio-economic processes were taking place among the Croats and Slovenes, who remained under the rule of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Capitalism had finally shattered traditions and old patriarchal relations, fully consolidating its power and its rule.[29]

Likewise, one Croatian geography textbook presented students with questions such as: "What was the geographical position of Ljubljana and its development?" or "Give a geographical explanation of the economical and the cultural-national role of Kruševac!"[30] Using the educational system to create a socialist Yugoslav mind-set in geographical terms entailed creating a scope that would incorporate not just the territory of just one people or one republic, but the territory of the state as a whole. In a Serbian reading book, Croatian territories where represented where it also created geographical conceptualisations that overlapped empires:

> While the Turks ruled almost the entire Balkans, Dalmatia was held by the Venetians, and northern and western Croatia by the Austrians. Fighting went on for centuries on the border between these parts of our country and the Turkish Empire.[31]

Such geographical conceptualisations create an image of a proto-national space. Pupils were given explanations as to why the border with Hungary was the oldest one, formed after the first world war, while the "youngest border" was with Italy, which was "definitively decided" after the Second World War. By using words such as "youngest" and "oldest," to specify the *ages* of the borders, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia is conceptualised teleological, as a preliminary stage of the nation, and the second Yugoslavia as an ultimate stage.[32] In that sense, the state was to be regarded as born in 1945, while the Kingdom was described as a *prelude* to the second Yugoslavia.

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28 See for example Rogić and Žuljić (1974); Miroslav Krleža, *Eseji i Zapisi: lektira za srednje škole* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1977); Petar Gudelj, *Na zvezdanim drumovima*: Čitanka *za VIII razred osnovne* škole (6th Rev. ed. Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1971); Tomo Čubelić and Dragutin Plavličević, *Povijest 2: Udžbenik za srednje škole*, (4th ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1979); Tvrtko Čubelić, *Narodne pripovijetke* (4th. Rev. ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1963), 29.

29 Dragutin A. Stefanović and Vukašin Stanislavljević, *Pregled jugoslovenske književnosti: Priručnik za srednje* škole (Vol 4, 5th. ed. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1968), 34.

30 Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 92.

31 Gudelj (1971), 323.

32 Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 10.

The work of the Croatian partisan poet Vladimir Nazor was presented in a Croatian reading book, with the author using Nazors lifetime to highlight the evolvement of unification:

> In early adulthood, he experienced the Balkan War with victories over Turkey, the First World War with a reversal of the fortunes of war, the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the creation of Yugoslavia, and the tension and injustice within it. In his old age, he saw the collapse of Yugoslavia, the occupation, lived through the People's Liberation Struggle, and welcomed its victorious end.[33]

For students in Croatia, the sentence produces a conceptualisation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia initially as an historical achievement, while the occupation during the WWII is presented as a threat of potential annihilation of the nation. Depicting the "old" Yugoslavia as a prelude to the second was also the case in a Serbian reading book where questions where directed to students such as: Have you heard about the fall of old Yugoslavia? What was the reason for its fall? Did the people want to protect their country and their freedom?[34] In a Croatian textbook from the 70's, a sentence marks how the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was in a sense "incomplete" due to the politics relating to the national question and because it "lacked" national territories that formed part of Italy and Austria:

> The territory of the new state consisted of these countries: Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia (excluding parts that were under Italian and Austrian rule). The total area of the new state was 247,542 km2 with approximately 12 million inhabitants. According to the interpretation of the ruling circles, the population of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes included only three recognised tribes (Serbs, Croats and Slovenes), which they considered to be one people. Macedonians and Montenegrins were not granted the right to a tribal and national name but were considered Serbs, whereas Muslims were treated as Croats or Serbs of the Islamic faith. There was a large number of people living in the country whose rights were not respected. The most numerous among them were Albanians, Hungarians, Germans, Turks, followed by Czechs and Slovaks.[35]

This passage shows how a new approach was taken in the 70's history textbook where socialist patriotism was advocated instead of the former integral, trinominal Yugoslavism. In this paragraph, a lack of equality for unrecognised tribes and peoples is stressed. The word "tribal" and "national" are used as synonyms with no further distinction between the words. The second Yugoslavia with its federal borders thus becomes justified, while the first one is represented as problematic with unsolved national issues. In this paragraph, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Muslims are nationally recognised as part of the state. This in turn creates a conceptualisation of "extended" tribes, synonymous nationalities, where also minorities, or "peoples" are

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33 Dimitrije Vučenov and Radmilo Dimitrijević, *Čitanka za IV razred gimnazije*, (9th ed. Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačkografički zavod, 1971), 67.

34 Radmilo Dimitrijević and Dimitrije Vučenov, *Čitanka za VIII razred osnovne* škole (9th. ed. Belgrade: Štampa vojno štamparsko preduzeće, 1963), 248.

35 Čubelić and Plavličević (1979), 44.

acknowledged in the socialist representation. Even though negative representations regarding the first centralistic, bourgeois Yugoslavia are stressed, it is still associated with a progressive historical achievement and thus creates a mind-map of an old nation that is connected with the new state which creates a notion of consecutiveness. The space was described as being of importance for foreigners in a reading book, meaning the imperial powers. One empire was replacing another, and foreign powers were constantly trying to block the territorial integrity of the people who populated the area. For instance:

> Even during Kočić's life, the Bosnian villages and peasants were severely oppressed by serfdom, the remnants of Turkish feudalism, Aghas and Beys. On the other hand, the capitalist mode of exploitation brought by Austria with its occupation of Bosnia was just as harsh. Now, instead of one, there were two masters, and each sought for himself the benefit of peasant labour. The Bosnian peasants fought against this as best they could. Petar Kočić was one of their most prominent political leaders and a tireless fighter for the liberation of the Bosnian peasantry.[36]

Here, the Bosnian peasants were described as first suffering under the Ottoman authorities and later under Austro-Hungarian rule. While the Ottoman Empire was described as an old, backward feudal order, the capitalist Austro-Hungarian rule was portrayed as equally onerous as the Ottoman rule. Different *types* of imperialism were described in one Croatian reading book by means of cardinal points depending on which areas of the territory were subjected to imperialism. For instance:

> Križanić came from Croatia, occupied by enemy troops of northern (Austrian), southern (Italian) and Turkish (eastern) imperialism, which was the object of foreign spheres of interest, a Balkan battlefield and a post of German mercenaries.[37]

The subject of this sentence is not the totality of Yugoslav space, but rather the Croatian space, and the Croatian author Juraj Križanić, who was "the first great pan-Slavist" during the 17th century. The schoolbooks thus provided students with mind-maps of the existing proto-nations prior to the nation-building processes. In that sense, the educational system provided pupils with proto-Yugoslav and at the same time proto-Croatian and proto-Bosnian descriptions of the territory prior to the existence of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Communist Yugoslavia. However, such conceptualisations also create an idea that world powers rule over the territories. Sometimes, the self-management politics also reflected geographical mental pictures of the republics and territories as demonstrated in a Croatian textbook through Titos words to the pupils:

> I would like to tell you a thing or two about brotherhood and unity. It is a great, holy thing. Without brotherhood and unity, there can be no strong and happy Yugoslavia, and without a strong and happy Yugoslavia, there can be no strong and happy Croatia, Serbia,

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36 Dimitrije Vučenov and Ljubica Živanović Klajn, Čitanka *za VII razred osnovne* škole (13th ed. Belgrade: Štampa vojno štamparsko preduzeće, 1964), 104.

37 Krleža (1977), 254.

> Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. One cannot exist without the other. When we talk about a federal Yugoslavia, we do not mean separatism, but a new model of the state, a model of a new Yugoslavia, in which everyone will be able to govern themselves, and at the same time be part of a single state, of which we will be proud in front of the whole world and which already today enjoys such a reputation among all advanced civilisations as no other country in the Balkans has ever done.[38]

The quote to the pupils does not create conceptual hierarchies in terms of mental borders, however, creating mental borders for socialist republics and socialist Yugoslavia did not completely cover up older national ideologies. In one Croatian reading book, the South Slavist intellectual and Croatian bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer was mentioned, who in 1867 founded the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb.[39] An opponent to Strossmayers' South Slavic aspirations was Ante Starčević, who promoted Greater Croatian aspirations and was described in the Croatian schoolbook as a rightist regarding the Serbian Question. In the further passage that follows, the schoolbook author describes how the Greater Croatian aspirations does not contradict the Yugoslav idea:

> There is no need to overthrow the Old Man [Ante Starčević] in Strossmayer's favour, for there must be room on our altars for both the Shepherd and the Leader. Like anything great, they complement each other. Greater Croatia and Yugoslavia are in fact one and the same. For Harambašić, the Croatian homeland—that of Illyrians, spans from Triglav to the Balkans.[40]

The sentence above shows that the author implements the historical notion of a Greater Croatia within a Yugoslav territorial framework. This shows how different nationalisms were channelled into a revolutionary cause in the educational material. Therefore, all forms of nationalism become simply a prerequisite for Marxism. In that sense, the ideology of Greater Croatism was adjusted and channelled into the ideology of Yugoslavism. These representations of the space thus stressed the historical nation(s) and socialist republics both in sovereign *and* integral frameworks. As a result, many different ideological and conceptual options appear.

According to Anderson, the function of maps contributes to a cartographic discourse that is composed of a politico-biographical narrative linked to a specific space. This cartographic discourse in turn is vital for the creation of a national consciousness.[41] In this particular case, we see how proto-national geographical spaces were presented in schoolbooks prior to the creation of the two Yugoslav state buildings. In summary, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was presented as a prelude space, incomplete and with political issues concerning the national question, while the second Yugoslavia was presented as the final space in which both socialist- republican countries were represented, while at the same time older national ideologies were intertwined

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38 Čubelić and Plavličević (1979), 280.

39 Resić (2010), 128.

40 Vice Zaninović, Čitanka *s pregledom jugoslavenskih književnosti za IV razred gimnazije,* (9th ed. Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1965), 89.

41 Anderson (2005), 168.

in a Yugoslav territorial landscape. Given these multiplicities of representations, several types of national conceptualisations appear, all within the framework of the finite, second Yugoslav geographical image. Spaces-within-space are presented within this theme, thus consolidating multiple (national) and socialist identities on several levels due to the use of several ideologies and different geographical conceptualisations in the schoolbook.

The reactionaries—internal and external enemies

In this theme I am analysing the in-group and out-group of the discursive interpretation of the nation. In other words, inclusiveness and exclusiveness as studied through the representations of "we" and "them" throughout history. By defining the antagonists in the historical representations, protagonists could also be identified, thus determining conceptualisations of nationhood. These in-groups in turn create a metaphoric nation, or at least the idea of *becoming* a nation while enemies of the nation are therefore traitors of a specific struggle. Such narratives create a conception of comradeship, thus consolidating an idea of collectivism. From this historical biography of alienation, any form of identity can be shaped.[42]

   In the socialist Yugoslav national identity that was implied in the textbooks, many enemies of the nation could be identified. First of all, every empire was portrayed as an enemy. The Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Hungary, Austro-Hungary were portrayed as enemies, to name just a few. The West was also portrayed as an enemy. One author pointed out to the pupils, applying a Marxist perspective on why the whole of Balkans was materially colonised on behalf of the West:

> The superiority of the Western European spirit followed the criminal victories of certain imperialisms as a shadow. This magnificent edifice of Western European civilisation was built on the bones of defeated and trampled peoples, among whom, unfortunately, were we, from Carinthia and Lake Balaton to Istria and Thessaloniki. The greatness of Byzantium and Constantinople, Aachen and Venice, the Lateran and the encyclopaedic case (let's call it that) is unfortunately quite dissimilar to the Western European versions of the justification of the victory of Arms and Spirit, because we belong to the category of those civilisations which could not develop because foreign forces denied us right to moral and material survival.[43]

If we further view these representations in relation to previous research, they can be linked to Marxism, as Georgeoff found in the textbooks. But as can be seen, this passage surpasses even South Slavism. Instead, the conception of "we" is simply the trampled peoples in the Balkans. However, Troch identified representations of the South Slavs as being "Slaves of other peoples: Turks, Germans and Hungarians" in the textbooks prior the Communist rule.[44] Combining these results, it rather seems that this Marxist anti-colonial spinoff did not collide with the colonial representations of the interwar period.

   A frequently used word in the textbooks in the context of different historical

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42 Anderson (2005), 192.

43 Krleža (1977), 267.

44 Troch (2012), 183.

epochs in the region was the Serbo-Croatian word *tuđinci* or туђинци, meaning "foreigners" and another, *velike sile* which means "great powers."[45] South Slav parallelisms could be found in the schoolbooks, which was also found by Troch in the pre-war period. A great example of the mutual South Slav subjection is in the representations of the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389:

> The Battle of Kosovo was the last joint attempt to stop the Turkish wave that was increasingly sweeping the Balkan Peninsula. The collapse of the Serbian army and the death of Prince Lazar reverberated in all South Slavic countries. The dam was breached and nothing more stood in the way of the Turkish torrent. One by one, our provinces lost their independence and fell under the Turks.[46]

This representation opens up for a pluralistic South Slav historical consciousness. Kosovo was also presented in a Croatian geography textbook from the 70s as "Kosovo and Metohija," thus primarily in favour for pan-Serb representations while also Macedonian historiography was developed.[47] At the same time, while the schoolbooks did provide histories of fraternity among the exploited South Slavic peoples, the out-groups in the books referred to South Slav ruling classes that historically found benefits from an empire. For instance, Serbian vassals were negatively portrayed and various elites, such as "Austrophiles," "Germanophiles," "Magyarophiles," "Slovenian bourgeoisie," "Croatian bourgeoisie" or "domestic bourgeoisie" in the schoolbooks.[48]

During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the "Serbian bourgeoisie" became an internal group during WWII that was negatively presented in the schoolbooks, representing an unequal, unitaristic and hegemonic society. The out-groups therefore become the trinominal "domestic bourgeoisie." These results lie in line with Höpkens findings of the South Slavic bourgeoisies as enemies in textbooks.[49] The ordinary Croat and Slovene people, however, were presented in a Serbian reading book as being subjected to denationalisation, Germanisation and Hungarisation.[50] The greater part of the population was presented as yearning for national freedom:

> It was not easy for foreigners who in the past ruled over some of our peoples or parts of our lands, to hold on to power since the people offered constant resistance. At certain moments, that resistance turned into more serious and major conflicts. The desire for national freedom was expressed in other ways, too.[51]

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45 Čubelić and Plavličević (1979), 6; Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 46; Krleža (1977), 268; Dragutin A. Stefanović, *Pregled jugoslovenske književnosti: Priručnik za srednje škole* (Vol 3, 3rd. ed. Belgrade: Štampa vojno štamparsko preduzeće, 1962), 23; Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 69.

46 Gudelj (1971), 321.

47 Rogić and Žuljić (1972), 45.

48 Dimitrije Vučenov and Radmilo Dimitrijević, *Čitanka za III razred gimnazije* (11th ed. Belgrade: Beogradski izdavačkografički zavod, 1975), 6; Stefanović and Stanislavljević (1968), 130.

49 See Wolfgang Höpken, "History Education and Yugoslav (Dis)-Integration," in *Öl ins Feuer?: Schulbücher, Ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa* [Oil on Fire? Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Europe], ed. Wolfgang Höpken (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 109.

50 Vučenov and Dimitrijević (1975), 92, 129.

51 Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 69.

The in-groups in relation to the 60's integral Yugoslavism in the schoolbooks are therefore the lower classes of the trinominal people—Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The lessons to be presented to the student was that several elites sought to consolidate their economic positions throughout history, and foreign empires took advantage of this. These descriptions aim to evoke a class consciousness but are rather filtered through nationalisms.

The analysis of this theme has shown how in-groups and out-groups were strongly linked to the author's Marxist understanding of the histories of South Slavs and the Balkan region. Negative connotations of groups such as Turkish vassals, Austrophiles, Germanophiles, Magyarophiles and domestic bourgeoisie could be understood as the out-groups, meaning that the South Slavic political elite sought to hold on to power and consolidate their economic positions within empires, thus maintaining the empires and eliminating the possibility of socio-economic change and liberation for the in-groups, that is, the lower classes. Being under different empires, the South Slavs was being subjected to "denationalisation" in various ways. In one sense, a colonial past was presented in which out-groups referred to groups that supported foreign rule. These out- groups were the ruling elite, from which students were expected to distance themselves emotionally.

Supranationalism (being the class consciousness) was shaped in schoolbooks through representations of a deep fellowship between peasants and workers while denouncing South Slav upper classes and foreign forces. Such mediation creates conceptualisations of a specific community for the working class. But who was actually be seen as the Yugoslav working class differed and pupils' encountered various representations of national workers, of "us," in the 60s and 70s. In the next theme, findings concerning internal and external enemies are highlighted as an outcome of historical representations and experiences that together bring about a symbolic ethos—*the cultural uniqueness of revolutionaries.*

The cultural uniqueness(es)—The revolutionaries

In this theme I refer to the representations of "attitudes" or "behaviour" of the nation. The mental projection of a nation consists of "a way of being," a mentality, thus providing a cultural approach to the nation. Representations of distinctiveness in texts function to create a national uniqueness. These cultural attributes in the texts in turn create a conception of "us." In this sense, I am considering the cultural references to the nation in the texts. What cultural attributes where presented prior to the nation-building processes of the 20th century?

Primarily, it seemed to be a rebellious fighter with a love of freedom. As Anderson states, the notion of a sovereign state lies on the idea of liberation.[52] One schoolbook author pointed out that the main history of the area should be that of centuries-old non-conformism, drawing parallels between the myth of the heretic Bogumils in medieval times and "Tito's heresy" with respect to Stalin in 1948. The Croatian peasant and ringleader Matija Gubec, who lead the Croatian-Slovene Peasant revolt in 1573. In the following extract the ordinary Serb peasant Stanko becomes an opposer of the forces of the past, in this case the Ottomans but also of Serbian traitors. He chooses to leave his family and village to fight for a better role alongside the hajduks in the mountains:

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52 Anderson (2005), 22.

> The honourable village boy Stanko Aleksić was slandered by the traitors of the Serbian people, who conspired with the Turks, alleging that he stole a bag of money from his neighbour. In that way, the Turks wanted to fued a fight between fellow peasants in Crna Bara and embarrass one of the best and strongest cooperatives in the village. When the authorities came to search and found bags of money, which the Turkish flunkey Marinko buried in the dung in Stanko's yard, the suspicion of theft fell on Stanko whom they wanted to tie up and take to the Turks for trial. Stanko wouldn't let himself be tied up and instead took arms and went to the mountains to take avenge on those who wanted to tarnish his honour and that of his family. The hajduks took him on as a comrade after first testing his abilities.[53]

There was praise for various groups that had fought the Ottomans during the Middle Age, such as the Uskoks.[54] However, much of this content was left over from the pre-war period.[55] Combining these pre-war elements with the new socialist order then created pre-revolutionary conceptualisations. One author that abandoned the integral Yugoslavism in a 70s Croatian reading book still projected a Slavocentric representation of Marxism to upper secondary school students:

> The vital criterion and the fundamental axis of our civilisation is the developmental curve: Bogumils – Križanić – Kranjčević, while in the socio-national sphere it begins with Matija Gubec, the fall of the Bastille and the victory of the October Revolution as the only valid landmarks in the assessment of the past, critiques of the present, and projection of the future.[56]

While on the one hand pointing to the Croatian author and missionary Juraj Križanić, who was the first recorded pan-Slavist, the French Revolution was of major significance for the "behaviour" of the state; it was after all a *socialist* peasant state born out of a class struggle. The national struggle was historically constrained by the "great powers" and differentiation and divergences among the peoples was created as a result of the territory being an economic sphere of interest for empires throughout history. Furthermore, the churches had negative connotation. The church institutions were propagating their ideas among the masses:

> Even at the time of the Christianisation of our peoples, various churches waged a persistent and relentless struggle for the strongest possible influence over our peoples, to most fully, in ideological and moral terms, encompass and guide the people's feelings and opinions. For the churches to succeed to the fullest extent possible, and since they could not approach the people with their ecclesiastical and scholarly language, they used the vernacular in their work and to promote their ideas, that is, they tried to get closer to the phraseology and vocabulary of the spoken language.[57]

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53 Dimitrijević and Vučenov (1963), 106–7.

54 Čubelić (1963), 223.

55 See Ljubodrag Dimić and Danko Alimpić, "Stereotypes in History Textbooks in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia," in *Öl ins Feuer?: Schulbücher, Ethnische Stereotypen und Gewalt in Südosteuropa* [Oil on Fire? Textbooks, Ethnic Stereotypes and Violence in South-Eastern Europe], ed. Wolfgang Höpken (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1996), 92.

56 Krleža (1977), 8. There is a lack of sources that support that Bogumils existed in the region. There were, however, people who referred to themselves as "Bošnjani," who were Slavic Christian heretics with an autonomous Bosnian church. See Resić (2010), 33; Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 31, 38–39.

57 Čubelić (1963), 9.

According to this text, the peoples of the territory were subjected to religious propagation from the churches. Religion was, in a Marxist sense, associated with backwardness and pupils were given questions such as: "Why did the church prevent people from becoming better acquainted with the laws of nature?" and "Has Christianity succeeded in stopping human research of nature and can it be permanently stopped by the pursuit of progress?"[58] Cultural uniqueness was, in a socialistic sense, primarily to be an atheist. For instance, one author instructed pupils not to address or title God; "The noun god, goddess, allah and jehova, are written with *small* letters."[59] The word "anti-clerical" was a positive word, while the opposite was the case for "clerical." Such historical representations shape a conceptualisation of Yugoslavia as a secular country that belongs to people of different backgrounds.

While fostering pupils into atheism, religion was indeed presented as something negative for the people. In a classical Marxist sense, religion was presented as the opium of the people, and as hindering them from understanding the scientific and material world. According to Banac, some proponents of the idea of South Slavic unification in the early 20th century presented religion as an obstacle, and the national approach within this tradition was seen as anti-clerical with a decline in religious sentiments.[60] In order to overcome religious barriers, the early South Slavic elites argued that commonalities could be stressed through anti-clericalism.

However, cultural pluralism was not presented as an obstacle in the schoolbooks, but rather as a source of national pride. The question of religious or cultural differences was therefore either denounced, ignored, or highlighted as a form of wealth. The paragraph below for instance, implicates cultural wealth despite diverse cultural and linguistic traditions. National pride was supposed to promote the atheist and secular progress of the nation, while exhibiting a pluralistic approach and promoting cultural diversity:

> Our folk literature is a unique cultural and artistic heritage of all Yugoslav peoples and the single Yugoslav territory. As a thematic, ideological and linguistic whole, it could only emerge on such foundations and within such frameworks, overcoming narrow national interests and horizons. However, national themes and problems, as well as the fate of some of our peoples, provided the basis and roots for certain types of folk literature. In terms of the vital and most important element—the way in which the corpus is formed and its shared characteristics—a broader and common, Yugoslav criterion and aspect has been achieved.[61]

The apparent intention of the paragraph is to promote 60's integral Yugoslavism, since it refers to folk literature traditions that are nationally coherent. In this quote, diverse national characteristics are treated within a broader cultural space. Cultural differentiation among the Slavic groups was acknowledged, often treated through parallelisms in the 60s educational material while ethnic particularities was strengthened in the 70's. The narrative about the cultural uniqueness of the peoples before the na-

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58 Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 141.

59 Vučenov and Dimitrijević (1971), 560.

60 Banac (1984), 411.

61 Čubelić (1963), 48.

tion-building processes in the 20th century was the story of the rebellious freedom fighter, who was an ordinary, poor, exploited peasant who rose up against empires. The lesson for the ordinary student was that the heretical Bogumils, the rebellious Serb or Croat peasants, and the legends of irregular infantries of uskoks and hajduks symbolised popular uprisings against foreign rule and the ruling classes. In that sense, the representations of the 60's in schoolbooks were often coupled with the pre-war South Slavic excerpts and these groups and figures symbolised "us," the "progressive forces." Such cultural attributes and conceptualisations in the narratives strongly support workers and peasants' historical struggle for liberation.

Embodied tensions between socialism and nationalisms

With the exception of South Slavic parallelisms, Greater Serb and Greater Croat ethnocentrisms that appeared in the educational material, there were also elements that could be seen as an expression of criticism and avoidance of all forms of nationalism. The educational material did, for instance, contain a lot of focus on humanism, social realism and cosmopolitanism, with nationalism described primarily as an ideology used by the bourgeoisie to manipulate the masses. One schoolbook was compiled with essays and poems of the prominent author Miroslav Krleža. The upper secondary school students got to rehearse and elaborate on questions such as: "How does Krleža define narrow-minded historicism, especially small-minded, narrow- minded nationalism? Where do you see the class angle in Krleža's interpretation of national, political and social issues?."[62] What is evident in these questions is that students are supposed to disaffiliate with a specific kind of nationalism that is associated with pettiness, backwardness, and parochialism.

Students were supposed to draw the conclusion that national conflicts is an expression of camouflaged class conflicts. Narrow-minded nationalism could thus pose a threat to this new modern, progressive peasant nation born in 1945 as a defence against the occupying Axis forces and domestic traitors. The pupils got questions about the Second World War such as:

> How did our peoples respond to the threats? Who in those fateful days showed remarkable determination and a highly developed consciousness of the right of every man and every nation to independent survival?[63]

The national framework thus becomes rooted in anti-fascism, anti-imperialism and anti- nationalism. Students were also asked questions such as: "Explain what is meant by 'withering away of the state'"?[64] However, in the creation of socialists and the "new man," nationalism was presented as a prerequisite, or freedom, for the peasants:

> The peasant is the people, and while the peasant is a slave, the people cannot be free either. National policy must, therefore, also be socially liberating. He who does not fight for the freedom of the peasants, does not fight for national freedom either, because social slavery does not exist in any free nation.[65]

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62 Krleža (1977), 378.

63 Vučenov and Živanović-Klajn (1964), 111.

64 Čubelić and Plavličević (1979), 272.

65 Vučenov and Dimitrijević (1971), 43.

The "nation" was represented as a space for freedom while backwards forms of nationalisms, such as the bourgeois nationalisms, or "narrow-minded nationalisms" were rejected. Therefore, socialism and nationalism contained elements of each other. This theme thus brings forth, according to Anderson, a national ignorance within a Marxist framework. Nationalism enables the revolutionary road of the working class, creating in turn an imagined community of the "peasant nation."[66] This shows that nationalisms were not to be eradicated but rather overlooked in the schoolbooks. Nationalisms did not have a purpose of their own, but were highly important for the revolutionary cause and for the liberation of the working class. Socialist Yugoslavism lies therefore at the intersection between containing and surpassing nationalisms.

Conclusion and discussion: Channelling contextual nationalisms as emancipatory tools

This analysis has shown that the examined schoolbooks primarily aimed to create *socialists*, which is in line with previous research. The development of a "Yugoslav socialist consciousness" in the schoolbooks worked as a way to override underlying national identities.

However, this analysis also showed that the mediation of a broader "Yugoslav socialist consciousness" was intended just as much to create a "Serbian socialist consciousness" (or other socialist consciousness relating to the republic-, region-, the local-, or to nations). Socialist identities (new and old) therefore appear through local, communal, regional, provincial, territorial-political and ethnocentric filters. National historical elements and mind maps remained in the background of the schoolbook genre, thus providing students with a complex conceptual fabric of a broader Yugoslav identification.

The first theme identified in the analysis highlights the teleological development of the "old" Yugoslavia as it transitioned towards the "new" Yugoslavia, with several spaces-in-space that allowed for a multiplicity of national conceptualisations. The second identified theme shows the presence of reactionary outgroups, which were the ruling South Slavic elites that had collaborated with different empires in order to maintain their economic positions. The third identified theme demonstrates how schoolbooks promoted cultural uniqueness of the revolutionaries, building for example on the legends of *uskoks*, *hajduks*, Serb and Croat peasants, which symbolized the conception of "us" that is, the exploited, revolutionary masses that rose up against the ruling elites and the colonial order. The fourth identified theme shows how nationalism was simultaneously stressed and undermined in the schoolbooks. These four themes together reflect how the class struggle appears and which place nationalism has within this particular struggle.

The analysis also demonstrates how different forms of socialist Yugoslavism were expressed in the schoolbooks. Formulations such as "we" in schoolbooks were used to refer to the working class of "tribes" in the 60s, and such terms evolved into notions of "we" as referring to "trampled peoples," or concerning the working class of "our peoples and nationalities" in the 70s. Ideological ambivalences between nationalisms and socialism lingered and schoolbooks reflected a gradual shift away from the bourgeois remnant of (ethno-) socialism towards (non-ethnic) socialism. Regardless

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66 Anderson (2005), 150–52, 154.

of group inventions and recognitions in the 60's and 70's, all ethnicities and patriotisms can be seen as (re)created localisms and regionalisms of the working class in this particular context.

Socialism and nationalism were interdependent and various kinds of nationalisms were channelled through Yugoslav ideologies. Nationalisms interacted with the socialist notion of self-determination, which makes the nationalisms used in the schoolbooks overtly socialist in their essence. Targeting the trinominal "domestic bourgeoisie" drew the connection to a wider Marxist historiography, where nationalism was viewed as a superstructure that served the interests of the bourgeoisie. A materialist concept of history was thus developed and framed through national matrices. The representations in these schoolbooks could therefore both disguise and reveal nationalisms. Either a class consciousness could be evoked among the pupils or in the other circumstances it's camouflaged due to national filters. However, the (re)creation of nationalities appears as a side-product of social engineering for seemingly revolutionary purposes. Nationalisms were therefore instrumental and used by schoolbook authors as emancipatory tools to evoke a class consciousness and align pupils with progressive forces within a national framework.

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