

COURAGE

Cultural Opposition: Understanding the Cultural Heritage of Dissent in the Former Socialist Countries

Country Reports



CROATIA SLOVENIA

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1. Introduction

This text focuses primarily on an analysis of the situation in Croatia, while the situation in Slovenia is covered on a much smaller scale.¹

Croatian society is still struggling to come to terms with the consequences of the legacy of undemocratic regimes and systems of the 20th century. In the Croatian public sphere, there are different interpretations of the past, which are not always rooted in the scholarly research and debate. It may be said that Croatian society is deeply burdened by the past, with a “verbal civil war” (Ivo Banac) still being waged. Newspapers and daily news programmes have been full of debates steeped in deeply polarized interpretations of the past, primarily the Second World War, but also of the subsequent communist period. A basic consensus on the interpretation of these historical events and phenomena is even absent in academia, but the lack of a genuine academic dialogue in the debates about these problems is genuinely troubling.²

The evidence that this situation has become untenable is the fact that the Croatian Government under Prime Minister Andrej Plenković decided to establish the Council for Dealing with Consequences of the Rule of Non-Democratic Regimes from World War II to Croatian Independence in March 2017, and thus finally begin the long-awaited process of officially dealing with the past. Eighteen persons with different worldviews and academic and institutional backgrounds, mostly legal experts, political scientists and historians, who had already dealt with these issues in their professional careers, were appointed to the Council, which is chaired by the President of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zvonko Kusić. The Prime Minister emphasised in the rationale for the Council’s establishment that “an understanding of the tragedy of systematic violations of human rights during the reign of undemocratic regimes in the 20th century must be conveyed to new generations.”³ Therefore, the main task of this Council was to provide the Croatian government with recommendations on the preservation of the culture of memory, scholarly research, documentation, the policy for naming streets and squares, access to archival materials, and the education of children and young people about violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms under undemocratic regimes. The point of departure in this Council’s work was supposed to be a clear break from every form of totalitarianism, both fascist and communist.

¹ The reason is that the HIP COURAGE team conducted most of its activities (especially in the search for potential stakeholders and dissemination activities) in Croatia. Also, the writers of this report are much better acquainted with the situation in Croatia than with the situation in Slovenia. Situation in other post-Yugoslav countries is described in Milena Dragičević Šešić, Jacqueline Nießer: “Serbia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Kosovo”, COURAGE Country Reports. Regensburg, November 2018, <http://doi.org/10.12345/cr-serbiaetal>.

² Mihaljević and Shek Brnardić, “The Communist Legacy and Public Discourse in Croatia: the Example of Archives.”

³ “Predsjednik Vlade: Brinemo o budućnosti, a ne o prošlosti.”

However, due to the rumours that not only the symbols, but also the nature of public discussion of these past systems will be regulated, a group called "Croatian intellectuals for the freedom of thought," consisting mostly of historians, art historians and literary historians headed by Prof. Ivo Banac, issued a public appeal on 11 October asking the Croatian public and all responsible authorities to refrain from the political, legal and judicial restriction of academic research and any attempt to enforce a desirable and ideologically orthodox truth.⁴ The appeal opens with this statement:

"For quite some time now the Croatian public has witnessed the attempts of political leaders and parties to turn themselves into supreme interpreters of national and world history, especially that of the twentieth century, and then most especially of the Second World War. These attempts are manifest not only by endeavors to manipulate the public, but notably in aspirations to prescribe the historical truth by way of resolutions and declarations made by political institutions and their para-political offshoots, and sometimes in attempts to limit scholarly research and interpretations by decisions of judicial bodies that are relevant for individual, concrete cases."⁵

In February 2018, the Council for Dealing with Consequences of the Rule of Non-Democratic Regimes, which was set up earlier in 2017 after the dispute erupted, adopted two documents with recommendations (to the Government) for a comprehensive legal solution. The recommendations were called a "dialogue document."⁶ They included suggestions on how to deal with the arduous past of the 20th century, primarily the symbols of totalitarian regimes. The slogan "For home (land) – ready!" (*Za dom – spremni*), which was used during World War II by the Ustasha movement, was proclaimed unconstitutional, while communist symbols (e.g. the red star) were declared ambiguous, with the negative connotation of the human rights violations and mass crimes of the communists, but also a positive connotation in the antifascist struggle. The next step by the Government (in the legislative sense) is still being awaited.

Keeping in mind this context, it is obvious that researchers face many difficulties when dealing with the period of socialism in Croatia. Most policy-makers adopt a black and white approach when it comes to the history of the socialist era. The attitude toward communism and the socialist past is contingent upon the political divisions between the political left and right, and therefore the scholarly research of that period is often neglected due to a lack of understanding by the creators of politics. This lack of consensus and political will has institutional consequences: there is no separate public institution that studies the socialist

⁴ "Hasanbegović, Banac i drugi apeliraju: Suzdržite se od propisivanja ideološki pravovjerne istine."

⁵ "An Appeal of Croatian Intellectuals for the Freedom of Thought."

⁶ "Dokument dijaloga."

past (an institute or museum). Therefore, when discussing the efforts to preserve and study the memory of dissent and opposition, we must consider the consequences of political indifference, such as a general lack of funding. Moreover, the cultural legacy of dissent did not get much public attention, except for socialist neo-avant-garde non-conformism in the history of art, which was the topic of many exhibitions, especially in the contemporary art museums in Zagreb and Rijeka.⁷

In Slovenia, the situation is slightly better, but some similar political (and academic) debates regarding the socialist period of Slovenian history still exist.⁸

2. Contexts

2.1 Researching Opposition under State Socialism

After the fall of communism in Croatia 1990, scholars studying the history of the socialist period could write about it freely. However, the frameworks of the newly established states after the break-up of Yugoslavia placed some new (albeit different) barriers before researchers. In Croatia (and in Bosnia and Herzegovina), the war was an additional aggravating circumstance. In Croatia, research in the first decade was mainly focused on cases of communist repression (e.g., the murder of the émigré dissident writer Bruno Bušić). Although some important papers were published only the first decade of the 21st century intensified the research of socialism.⁹ For historiography, the last two decades were a period of opening new themes, acclimating to new work conditions and confronting the challenges of interpreting the recent past.

In Croatian historiography, although many books deal with the socialist period,¹⁰ the seminal book *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji* (Croatia in Yugoslavia)¹¹ by Zdenko Radelić is the only comprehensive monograph that covers the socialist period of Croatian history exclusively. Over the past decade, some valuable exhibitions on the socio-cultural aspects of socialism have emerged, such as the exhibition *The 1950s in the Croatian Art* (Zagreb, Croatian Fine Arts House, 2004), or the exhibition *Socialism and Modernity: Art, Culture, Politics 1950-1974* (Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary Art, 2011-12).¹² A good example of co-operation between institutions from several post-Yugoslav countries is the exhibition on Yugoslav

⁷ See for example, Milovac, *Neprilagođeni*.

⁸ Prijon, "Slovenian Communist Legacy"; Flere and Klanjšek, "Was Tito's Yugoslavia totalitarian?"; Dežman, "Communist Repression and Transitional Justice in Slovenia"; Sputnik, "Mediating communism: Slovenian media coverage of the recent past and historical reprogramming."

⁹ Duda, "Nova istraživanja svakodnevica i društveno-kulturne povijesti jugoslavenskoga socijalizma," 577.

¹⁰ For example, Bilandžić, *Moderna hrvatska povijest*; Goldstein, *Hrvatska 1918-2008*.

¹¹ Radelić, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*.

¹² Kolečnik, *Socijalizam i modernost*.

architecture and urbanism, *Unfinished Modernizations: Between Utopia and Pragmatism. Architecture and Urbanism in Socialist Yugoslavia and the Post-Yugoslav Countries* (2012-14), which was first opened in Maribor and then hosted in Belgrade, Zadar, Ljubljana, Sarajevo, Cetinje, Skopje, Tirana and Zagreb.¹³

Extensive research has also been conducted on the Croatian Peasant Party (*Hrvatska seljačka stranka* - HSS) and on the activities of the remains of Ustasha formations after the end of World War II ("Crusaders").¹⁴ The resistance of Stalin's supporters against Tito has also been relatively well researched. There are also several studies on the opposition of the Catholic Church. Research into the Croatian national movement (the "Croatian Spring" in 1971/1972) has begun relatively recently, and significant progress has already been made.¹⁵ Marko Zubak recently published an important book about the significant transformation of the Yugoslav youth press from the late 1960s.¹⁶

A comprehensive study of dissent as a phenomenon in Croatian historiography is still lacking. Positive exceptions are the article written by Katarina Spehnjak and Tihomir Cipek,¹⁷ and the proceedings of the international scholarly conference *Dissent in Contemporary History*, which was held in Zagreb in 2009.¹⁸ The book analysed various examples of opposition, dissent and similar phenomena, and includes the article by Katarina Spehnjak, in which she discussed the phenomenon of dissent as a research topic in Croatian historiography and in the historiographies of other countries that have emerged from the collapse of Yugoslavia. Spehnjak stressed that the low number of books and articles written on the topic of dissent and opposition in Croatian historiography is due, along with certain social reasons, to methodological problems, namely the lack of a proper definition of dissent and a research paradigm.¹⁹ The book also contains an important article by Slovenian historian Aleš Gabrič on dissent and dissidents in Slovenia. Gabrič, who is a crucial scholar of Slovenian dissidents,²⁰ offered a typology that is applicable to the whole Yugoslav and Central

¹³ Duda, "Nova istraživanja svakodnevice," 583.

¹⁴ Radelić, *Križari - gerila u Hrvatskoj 1945.-1950.*; Radelić, "Hrvatska: komunisti i oporba nakon rata 1945"; Radelić, "Opposition in Croatia 1945-1950"; Radelić, "Projugoslavenska protukomunistička gerila u Hrvatskoj nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata: problemi istraživanja."

¹⁵ Klasić, *Hrvatsko proljeće u Sisku*; Dukovski, *Istra i Rijeka u Hrvatskome proljeću*; Batović, *The Croatian Spring*. Matica hrvatska, the oldest Croatian cultural institution and publisher, regularly commemorates the legacy of the Croatian Spring, which is also reflected in the gatherings it organizes (see, for example, Zidić, *Hrvatska i Hrvatsko proljeće 1971.*) and the publications that it publishes (e.g. the series "Sources for the History of Matica hrvatska").

¹⁶ The Yugoslav youth press grew from a communist propaganda tool into a media space for rebellious standpoints opposed to official standpoints. Zubak, *The Yugoslav Youth Press 1968-1980*.

¹⁷ Spehnjak and Cipek, "Disidenti, opozicija i otpor - Hrvatska i Jugoslavija."

¹⁸ Kisić Kolanović, Radelić and Spehnjak, *Disidentstvo u suvremenoj povijesti*.

¹⁹ Spehnjak, "Disidentstvo kao istraživačka tema - pojam i pristupi," 20.

²⁰ Some of the most important of his articles on dissent include "Opposition in Slovenia in 1945"; "Slovenska kulturnopolitična razhajanja med kulturno ustvarjalnostjo in politično akcijo 1980-1987"; "Odnos oblasti do kulturne ustvarjalnosti slovenske emigracije."

European context as well.²¹ Generally, Slovenian historiography covered dissent and cultural opposition more than its Croatian counterpart.

2.2 Institutions and Legal Foundations of the Preservation and Interpretation of the Past

2.2.1 Legislative Framework

Open access to archives is a civilizational achievement of democratic societies. Unfortunately, the practice implemented in Croatia from its independence until 2017 – that is, in the past 27 years – did not entirely adhere to these principles. Evidence to this is that, until recently, the amount of classified archival documentation in Croatia was much greater than in other EU countries.²²

Since it gained its independence at the beginning of the 1990s, Croatia amended its legal framework regarding access to archival materials. Until the new Archival Materials and Archives Act²³ was adopted several months ago, the previous Archives and Archival Institutions Act, adopted in 1997, was still in force. It was later supplemented with the Regulations on Use of Archival Materials (1999), the Personal Data Protection Act (2012), the Freedom of Information Act (2013, 2015), the Data Secrecy Act (2007, 2012) and the Information Security Act (2007). This framework placed many obstacles before researchers of the history of socialism in Croatia, because some of these regulations were in collision.

Historians were seeking open access to archives because their profession necessitates the use of sources in order to support their interpretations with objective evidence. However, over the last ten years, there have been many complaints and objections by historians regarding the availability of archival materials created during the period of communist rule. The collision of the aforementioned legislation put archivists between “two fires,” that is, between users (mostly historians) and regulations, which limited the access even to material that are not sensitive at all. A further aggravating circumstance for historians of communism was the fact that special permission for the use of materials of the Central Committee (CK) of the League of the Communists of Croatia (SKH) had to be obtained from the current Social Democratic Party (SDP).

A major event which focused public attention on the question of accessing the archives of the former Communist Party was the “Perković case.” Germany launched the process in 2008 by issuing a European Arrest Warrant for Josip Perković and Zdravko Mustač, former officers of the Yugoslav State Security Service (*Služba državne sigurnosti* – SDS) accused of involvement in the murder of Stjepan Đureković, a Croatian émigré in Wolfratshausen in

²¹ Gabrič, “Disidentsvo u Sloveniji.”

²² “Grmoja: Izmjenama Zakona o arhivu prevladati podjele u društvu.”

²³ “Zakon o arhivskom gradivu i arhivima.”

1983. The arrest warrant became legally binding for Croatia only after 1 July 2013, that is, after Croatia's accession to the EU. A scandal broke out when the Croatian Parliament (when SDP's Zoran Milanović was prime minister) enacted an amendment to Croatia's extradition law just days before formal EU accession, preventing the extradition of its citizens for crimes committed prior to 2002 when the new EU extradition rules came into effect. This amendment was even called "*Lex Perković*" by its critics because they claimed that the law was amended explicitly to protect Perković. Under pressure from Brussels, the Croatian law was finally rescinded. The European Justice Commissioner Viviane Reding accused the Croatian Government of "protecting the communist killers of Croatian dissidents."²⁴ After much haggling, Perković was extradited in January and Mustač in April 2014. The court in Munich presided by Judge Manfred Dauster issued a sentence of life in prison in August 2016, with this explanation:

"This case was brought before this court only because it was not prosecuted before in Croatia. We do not ask why this was so. We hope that in countries that have emerged after the collapse of Yugoslavia will come to terms with this historical period in a reasoned manner. How neglected this field of history is there is demonstrated by the fact that we had to summon a Danish and a German historian as experts. Future generations will pass judgment on why the process of dealing with this strange history has not yet happened."²⁵

This trial highlighted the issues regarding access to the archival materials created during communist rule.

The most critical archival funds, which are also the primary objects of dispute, are the collections of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia (CK SKH) and the archives of the State Security Service (SDS) of the Republic Secretariat of Internal Affairs, which are kept in the Croatian State Archives (HDA) in Zagreb. The collection of documents of the State Security Service for Croatia was formed on the basis of their formal transfer from the public authorities and security and intelligence services of the Republic of Croatia in the period from 1991 to 2015. In 2015, the Security and Intelligence Agency (*Sigurnosno-obavještajna agencija* – SOA) had handed over the documents from the socialist period to the HDA. The documentation covers various areas of the prior service's activities: internal affairs, emigration, foreign intelligence services, the service's operations, analytical reports and assessments, significant information and other materials, including files on dissidents, the opposition and enemies of the state.²⁶

It should be noted that most of the documentation was originally marked by degrees of confidentiality. In September 2015, the SOA issued a decision on the declassification of the SDS materials in the Croatian State Archives. As stated in the Agency's 2016 report, "SOA's intention is to make this valuable archival material available to the scholarly and general

²⁴ "Josip Perković." Croatia was also threatened with economic sanctions from Brussels.

²⁵ "Pročitajte kako je sudac obrazložio presudu Perkoviću i Mustaču."

²⁶ "Javno izvješće 2016.," 24.

public and to provide greater insight into that period of Croatian history."²⁷ The archival fund (collection) has become more accessible to the public. In a statement dated 25 September 2015, published on the SOA website, it was also stressed that the submission of the SDS archival material to the HDA "is a departure from linking SOA with the operations, methods and traditions of the former SDS."²⁸ The year 2015 was especially dynamic as far as public pressure for declassification of materials is concerned, which may be related to the publicity given to the Perković case and the willingness of the Social Democratic government to clear their name and prove its commitment to democratisation.

The other important archival collection is that of the Central Committee of the League of Communist of Croatia (CK SKH). The CK SKH collection is a massive body of 1630 l/m of archival materials. It was assumed by the State Archives in two ways: by merging the former Archives of the Institute for the History of the Labour Movement (*Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta*) and by directly assuming it from the current Social Democratic Party (both in 1995). In the Handover Protocol, a clause was added stating access to and use of some segments of the materials require the permission of the SDP, which explicitly listed said materials. These were, among other things, documents on the members of the SKH and other personal files. Furthermore, there was a restriction on classified materials (labelled "confidential"). Due to a negative public image and the announced amendments to the Archives Act, the Social Democratic Party relinquished this right in March 2017.

In Croatia, rumours have been circulating for years that a major part of the Party materials was "purged" before it came to the Archives. When the truth of these allegations was investigated, the Croatian State Archives replied that it was evident that some of the materials are not complete, but that the exact number and amount of the missing documentation is unknown. The processing, consolidation and verification the materials are ongoing. In a similar vein, the State Security files on citizens were "abridged," especially the files of prominent people, which makes lustration impossible. Today, the archival collection of the State Security Service, which includes intelligence files on 68,800 citizens, is open to the public and described in the COURAGE registry.

Unfortunately, practice in the first two decades of Croatia's independence shows that there were severe obstacles in Croatia if one wanted to research the history of the socialist period (1945-1990). This was primarily because the relevant archival materials were not available. These obstacles were a consequence of the serious lack of political will of the most prominent political parties to approach this matter seriously. However, the Munich trial prompted a new political and social development in Croatia. Soon an initiative by a relatively new political party (MOST) emerged in Croatian political life which set in motion amendments to the Archives Act in the direction of their full disclosure. At their initiative in May 2017, the Croatian Parliament enacted the Amendments to the Archives Act. The Amendments formalized the tendency to make the materials produced during the

²⁷ Ibid, 42.

²⁸ "Vijesti."

communism period accessible whenever possible and put an end to many former restrictions.²⁹

The impact of these legislative changes still needs to be seen in research practice. Time will show how important archival accessibility is to deal with the socialist past. It is certainly important as a practical step, but even more as one of the democratic and civilizational principles long advocated by almost all historians in Croatia. How many historians will take advantage of the increased availability of archival materials and how many of them will find documents that will form the basis of some new and different interpretations of a troubled past should be seen in the coming years.

Slovenia had similar problems with “missing materials.” Materials collected by the former State Security Service (in democratic Slovenia transformed and renamed the Slovenian Intelligence and Security Agency - *Slovenska obveščevalno-varnostna agencija* SOVA) were gradually transferred to the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (ARS) pursuant to a Government Decree. A part of the Archives of the Interior Ministry containing documents from the State Security Service was incorporated in 1992 and 1998, respectively.³⁰ However, most of the archives of the secret political police were destroyed in the late 1980s and early 1990s (according to some estimates, over 2/3 of the materials were destroyed).³¹ The “materials concerning the so-called internal problems, such as protesters, dissidents, and religious communities,” were destroyed in the last phase in 1990.³² The Historical Archives of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia was incorporated into the ARS in 1996.³³ As for the situation in Slovenia regarding the use of and access to archives in the first 25 years of its independence, it is far better than in Croatia. Many Croatian historians who could not get certain Party documents in Croatia visited the ARS and found the documents they needed there.³⁴ Access to archives in Slovenia is regulated by the Archival Institutions Act that was adopted in 2006.³⁵ Protection of classified information in Slovenia is regulated by the Classified Information Act, adopted in 2001.³⁶

2.2.2 Institutions

After the fall of communism in Croatia, a specialised institutional body was established whose main goal was to examine the nature of the repression exacted by the communist regime. The Commission on Wartime and Post-war Victims was established on the basis of

²⁹ A few months ago the new Archival Materials and Archives Act based on these amendments was adopted. “Zakon o arhivskom gradivu i arhivima.”

³⁰ Dornik Šubelj, “Opening or Closing the Archives in Slovenia?,” 61-2.

³¹ Valič Zver, “Political and Social Confrontation with the Totalitarian Past in Slovenia.”

³² Dornik Šubelj, “Opening or Closing the Archives in Slovenia?,” 62.

³³ Ibid, 61.

³⁴ Marijan, “Koga ugrožava otvaranje komunističkih arhiva?.”

³⁵ “Zakon o varstvu dokumentarnega in arhivskega gradiva ter arhivih.”

³⁶ “Zakon o tajnih podatkih.”

the Law on the Determination of World War II and Post-war Victims Act adopted in October 1991.³⁷ This law defined the relevant issues to ascertain the historical facts about the number of people killed in World War II and its immediate aftermath, and the circumstances in which they died. The Commission's task was to establish the historical facts about the number of wartime and post-war victims in Croatian territory, and in other places if there were casualties caused by the war and post-war operations. The Commission had to determine the circumstances in which these crimes occurred, regardless of the national, racial, religious, ideological, political or any other affiliation of the victims and regardless of who killed them. It had to arrange for suitable marking and the eventual transfer of bodily remains and their burial. The Commission was entitled to demand information and documents relevant to its task from archives, museums, ecclesiastical institutions, political organisations, companies, government bodies and other institutions. On the other side, Croatian citizens were obliged to respond to the Commission's summons and to divulge relevant information. The Republic of Croatia provided funding for the Commission, which consisted of over 60 members (historians, lawyers, physicians and other professionals) appointed by the Croatian Parliament. The Commission began its research in February 1992,³⁸ but provoked numerous public debates, especially in high politics, because it was registering previously (in Socialist Yugoslavia) unregistered victims, mostly those who had opposed the communist authorities.³⁹ The Commission submitted its Report to the Croatian Parliament in 1999,⁴⁰ but Parliament sent it back for revision due to the objections raised by members of the Croatian Social Liberal Party (*Hrvatska socijalno-liberalna stranka* – HSLs).⁴¹ Perhaps this is one of the reasons why it was officially abolished by the left-centre coalition government in June 2002.⁴²

A similar parliamentary research commission on post-war mass killings was founded in Slovenia in 1992, led by Jože Pučnik.⁴³ Due to many obstacles, the Commission has not been able to complete its work in full.⁴⁴ Significant work in the field of so-called transitional justice has been done by the Slovenian Government Commission on Resolution of the Question of Concealed Mass Graves (field research, probing, exhumation of victims, in some cases

³⁷ "Zakon o utvrđivanju ratnih i poratnih žrtava II. svjetskog rata."

³⁸ "Poslovnik Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava."

³⁹ The Commission used a selective methodology, listing mostly victims who were Croatian by nationality in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and who were not included in the previous official (Yugoslav state) list of human losses in the Second World War made in 1964. Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugom svjetskom ratu koje su prouzročili 'okupatori i njihovi pomagači,'" 710-11.

⁴⁰ *Izvešće o radu Komisije za utvrđivanje ratnih i poratnih žrtava od osnutka (11. veljače 1992.) do rujna 1999. godine.*

⁴¹ "O radu saborske komisije za žrtve rata i poraća."

⁴² "Zakon o prestanku važenja zakona o utvrđivanju ratnih i poratnih žrtava II. svjetskog rata."

⁴³ "Vmesno poročilo o raziskovanju poveljnih množičnih poveljev Preiskovalne komisije Državnega zbora Republike Slovenije o raziskovanju poveljnih množičnih poveljev, pravno dvomljivih procesov in drugih tovrstnih nepravilnosti."

⁴⁴ Jančar and Čerňič, *Poročilo o poveljih.*

identification and burial) which was led by Jože Dežman.⁴⁵ It was more successful and completed a massive amount of fieldwork.⁴⁶

Although the previously mentioned Commission of the Croatian Parliament was the only institutional body formed by the Croatian state to researching any aspect of the socialist past, an important institution was established recently. Thanks to the efforts of a few enthusiasts in Pula to strengthen the research into the socialist era, the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism (*Centar za kulturološka i povijesna istraživanja socijalizma* - CKPIS) was established at the Juraj Dobrila University in Pula in 2012. "Its researchers have focused on history, ethnology and anthropology, musicology, literary history and cultural studies."⁴⁷ So far, they have accomplished respectable results with their research projects and international cooperation. The Centre published a series of monographs and edited volumes, and organised the biennial conference "Socialism on the Bench" with a hundred participants from all over Europe. We can say that the Centre is an important meeting place for researchers of Yugoslav socialism and related topics.⁴⁸

There are many research institutions in Croatia and Slovenia which deal with the socialist past, but are not exclusively dedicated to that period of history, like the Study Centre for National Reconciliation (*Študijski center za narodno spravo*) and the Institute of Contemporary History (*Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino*) in Ljubljana. Also, there are many universities and institutes with history programs which include the history of state socialism, such as the Croatian Institute of History (*Hrvatski institut za povijest*) in Zagreb.

The support mechanism for the institutions and programs that preserve the cultural heritage in Croatia and Slovenia is mostly limited to the tenders posted by the State. Slovenia allocates more funding for cultural activities than Croatia. In 2015, Slovenia allocated €275.3 million for cultural services (including national and local budgets), or 0.7% of GDP. This places Slovenia in the upper echelons of European countries, which on average set aside 0.4% of GDP for culture. The budget of the Slovenian Ministry of Culture in 2017 was €155,222,162.⁴⁹

In 2016, Croatia allocated 0.26% of GDP for cultural activities.⁵⁰ The 2017 budget of the Croatian Ministry of Culture, which is responsible for the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of Republic of Croatia, was approximately €152 million, which is 0.92 per cent of the Central Budget.⁵¹ From that amount, 10 per cent goes to the activities of

⁴⁵ Dežman, *Tranzicijska pravičnost*.

⁴⁶ Jambrek, *Crimes committed by totalitarian regimes*.

⁴⁷ Duda, "Nova istraživanja svakodnevice," 591.

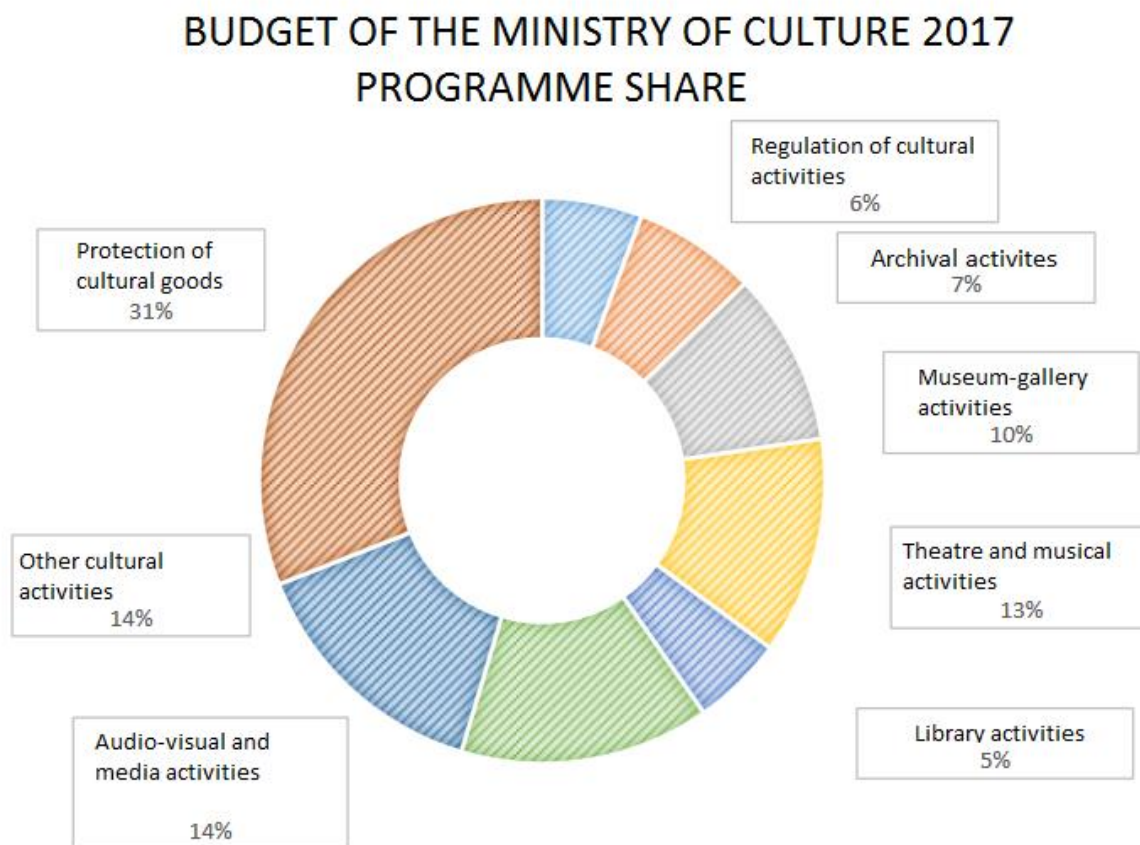
⁴⁸ Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism.

⁴⁹ "Analiza financiranja kulture"; "Proračun Ministarstva za kulturo Republike Slovenije 2017."; Total GDP in Slovenia was US\$48.77 billion in 2017. "Slovenia GDP."

⁵⁰ "Možda nismo prvi po gospodarskom rastu, ali nam u ovome nema premca u Europi."

⁵¹ The central budget for 2017 was approximately €16.4 billion. Total GDP in Croatia was US\$54.85 billion in 2017. "Croatia GDP."

museums and galleries, 7 per cent to archival activities and 5 per cent to libraries.⁵² The annual budget of the Croatian State Archives is €4.5 million.



Picture 1: Share of cultural activities in the Central Budget of the Republic of Croatia in 2017.

Most public collections are rarely funded with direct or special funding. Collections that are held in public institutions (archives, museums, libraries) are usually financed by the state (Ministry of Culture) through the financing of these institutions. Very few collections are privately funded. The same applies to the collections described in the COURAGE registry – most of the public collections do not have a separate legal status, which means that they cannot apply for funding at the local, national or European level.

⁵² "Proračun Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske 2017."

3. Analysis of the Collections in the COURAGE Registry

3.1 Typology

The Croatian COURAGE team tried to cover most of the topics that were defined in the COURAGE project. The goal was to include those collections that will represent the most important oppositional phenomena of the socialist era in Croatia and Slovenia. However, the description of the Croatian and Slovenian collections in the COURAGE registry neither covers all collections of potential relevance nor does it aim at being representative in a statistical sense. It may be noticed that some important collections on cultural opposition cannot be found in the registry. There are many factors that caused this, but the most important is that some of the owners did not want their collections to be included in the COURAGE registry or to participate in the project at all.⁵³ The Croatian collections prevail in the registry because most of the researchers in the Croatian COURAGE team were experts in Croatia. There are 54 described collections from Croatia, 11 from Slovenia and 6 from abroad (4 from the USA and 2 from Italy).

We can analyse the collections on the basis of several categories and types. If we glance at the ownership category, most of the described collections are held and operated in public institutions (61), and the state is usually their owner. A smaller number (10) is owned privately and mostly created at private initiative. The public collections described in the Registry are mostly the archives of the state institutions and associations. If we look at the type of operating organisations, 32 collections are held in archives, 9 in libraries, 9 in museums or galleries, 8 in academic institutions, and 3 in NGOs.

It was not unusual for collections to move from private to public ownership. This was common with the personal papers of individuals whose heirs (or they themselves) donated their collections to archives. This was the case with many collections after the fall of communism, when many private collectors donated their collections to state archives and other institutions because these institutions have the professional staff, necessary means and usually adequate storage space.

Most collections in Croatia are found in public archives (48.14%), libraries (14.81%) and museums and galleries (12.96%). To a much lesser extent, the operators of collections are NGOs (5.5%) and academic institutions (3.7%). 14.81% of these collections are in private hands. In Slovenia, approximately 45.4% of the collections are operated by archives, 18.18% by libraries, and 9% by museums, 9% by academic institutions, and 18.18% by private owners.

Most of the described collections are held in the capital cities – Zagreb (46 or 64.78%) and Ljubljana (11 or 15.49%). This is due to two factors. First of all Slovenia, and Croatia to an

⁵³ Perhaps the best example is Marinko Sudac, who owns the most significant collection on neo-avant-garde art in Central and Eastern Europe. Marinko Sudac Collection.

even larger degree, are highly centralized countries (Zagreb is home to almost a fifth of the country's citizens) so they host most of the national cultural institutions. The second reason is that our COURAGE team is in Zagreb and the collections in Zagreb were more accessible for research. However, 8 collections were included from other parts of Croatia (Pula, Zadar, Rijeka, Solin, Split, Osijek, Vinkovci, Koprivnica). The Croatian COURAGE team described 4 collections that are located in Stanford (California, USA) and 2 in Rome (Italy).

If we look at the geopolitical scope of the collections, the majority has an international character (53.3%). Around 13.3% were created in the diaspora, 6.7% has national and 3.3% has a regional character. The Slovenian collections are equally distributed between international, local and national (33.3% each).

The described collections also differ substantially in size. The size of the collections varies from tiny collections, such as the *No Art Collection* of Vladimir Dodig Trokut's Anti-museum, which numbers only ten items, to collections of more than 100 archival boxes of documents, such as the Rudi Supek Personal Papers in the Croatian State Archives. We can say that most of the collections may be regarded as relatively large.

The COURAGE registry also contains 7 *ad-hoc* collections from Croatia and 1 from Slovenia. These collections do not exist as independent units but as part of more extensive collections which contain various materials. This is the case with the sizeable archival collection of the State Security Service of the Socialist Republic of Croatia at the HDA, which contain four *ad-hoc* collections that are in fact the subdivisions of a single archival unit. The situation is similar in the collections of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb

Since most of the described collections in Croatia and Slovenia are held in archives and libraries, the most common content types are archival documents and publications. However, many other content types can be found from self-published publications, movies, video and audio materials, physical artefacts, transcripts, photographs, artworks, paintings, graphics, even furniture as in the case of the Zvonimir Kulundžić Collection at the State Archives in Osijek.

The described collections cover all the socialist period of Croatian and Slovenian history from 1945 to 1990. In the Croatian case, a significant number of collections (4) were founded in 1945, when the communists seized power in Yugoslavia. The average date of establishment of the collections in Croatia is 1967.

3.2 Themes, Actors, Users

The collections from Croatia and Slovenia that are described in the COURAGE registry vary in themes, actors and users. The aim of the registry is to present the multifarious forms of cultural opposition, to increase the possibilities for comparisons and to link collections with

research efforts, and to make them more visible to a wider public. The described collections reflect the diversity of collecting practices.

In collections that were created through the work of institutions and organizations, the history of collecting and preserving generally does not involve significant cultural-opposition stories. In most of the cases, the law mandated the acquisition of these collections by the state archives. In Slovenia, the only institution founded by the state and charged with the task of researching themes close to dissent and opposition is the Study Centre for National Reconciliation. Its primary task is not to research cultural opposition and dissent but to examine recent Slovenian history with emphasis on the study of all three totalitarian systems present in the Slovenian territory: fascism, Nazism and communism.⁵⁴ In Croatia, we have the Miko Tripalo Centre for Democracy and Law⁵⁵ (Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo) which was founded by a group of citizens in 2003 as a civil society association dedicated to the rule of law and promotion of democratic ideas, adhering to the ideals and values for which Miko Tripalo strived even in the socialist era.

However, many collections described in the registry were founded thanks to the efforts of individuals, such as the Bogdan Radica Collection.⁵⁶ Radica's daughter Bosiljka and Ivo Banac organized the transfer of the Bogdan Radica Collection from the United States to Zagreb on three occasions (in 1996, 2001, and 2006). Today the collection is preserved, well organised and open to researchers and the broader public. This is not the only such case. Many Croatian collections that were founded in the diaspora were transferred to the homeland after the fall communism (9 collections). Moreover, 5 collection are still abroad, and one collection (Foreign Croatica Collection) was founded in Croatia but its scope is completely oriented toward the diaspora. This tells us that the activities that were opposed to

⁵⁴ They collect and study documents, stories and recollections from witnesses of that time and publish research papers and books, such as Čoh Kladnik and Strajnar, *Represivne metode totalitarnih režimov*. They also organise consultations and discussions on the topic of Slovenian history in the 20th century and are involved in educational process. The Centre tries to increase understanding of recent historical events which have marked Slovenian people and highlight not yet explored and often secretive topics. See Study Centre for National reconciliation.

⁵⁵ Ante (Miko) Tripalo (Sinj 1926 – Zagreb 1995) was one of the most prominent figures among the Croatian communists in the Croatian Spring. He made efforts to democratise the social and political system of socialist Yugoslavia. Despite being touted as one of the potential successors to Josip Broz Tito, in 1971 Tripalo took a stand at the forefront of the Croatian reform movement and remained consistent in his reformist views and demands for crucial social changes. After the fall of Croatian Spring, he was dismissed from all posts and excluded from public life until the end of the communist era in Croatia. COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Tripalo, Ante (Miko)."

⁵⁶ Bogdan Radica (Split 1904 – New York 1993), writer, journalist and historian, was one of the most prominent Croatian émigré after 1945. In 1940, he relocated to Washington, DC and as of 1941 worked in the press bureau of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in New York. During the Second World War he distanced himself from the Yugoslav Government, which was in exile, and advocated for the Partisan movement. After the end of the war in 1945, he came back to Belgrade where he worked for a time in the Ministry of Information. He was soon disappointed with the new communist authorities in Croatia and Yugoslavia, and decided to settle in the USA. In his writings, he was critical of the communist regime in Yugoslavia, also becoming a defender of the idea of Croatian statehood. He worked as a professor of modern European history from 1950 to 1974 at Fairleigh University in New Jersey. During these years, he wrote a high number of essays and several books, which were banned by the communist regime, as they had criticized the Yugoslav political and social system. COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Radica, Bogdan."

communist rule were not limited to activities in the country, because people who were forced to leave or did not want to live under communist rule continued their struggle against communism from abroad. There are probably some relevant collections in the Slovenian diaspora but they were not found due to the financial and staffing limitations of our COURAGE team.⁵⁷

The variety of the described collections highlights the different arenas where cultural opposition was expressed: from alternative lifestyles, through environmental activism, literature, art and filmmaking, religious activities, to open dissent and opposition. They also show the variety of people and interests involved both in the practice of opposition and its documentation. When we talk about topics that are represented in the Registry, it is difficult to provide firm statistics. Namely, most collections are not limited to one topic, as their materials are related to many of them. That is why no numerical statistics are available here. However, we can say something more on the topics as well.

In the case of collections in Croatia, the topics related to the diaspora, national movements (the Croatian national movement), and state and party control are the most common. Furthermore, the Croatian national movement is represented in most of the émigré collections and in the vast majority of collections on state and party control and censorship. The most representative collections of Croatian émigrés are the Vinko Nikolić⁵⁸ Collection at the National and University Library in Zagreb and the Bogdan Radica Collection in the Croatian State Archives (HDA). The national question preoccupied Croatian intellectuals in Croatia who were also the key figures behind the national reform movement (the so-called Croatian Spring). In this movement, the most influential organization was Matica hrvatska, the Croatian cultural institution which was founded in the first half of the 19th century and the archives of which are located in the HDA. In addition to institutions, political dissidents also left a significant mark on the Croatian Spring. That was the case of Miko Tripalo, whose collection is held in the Center for Democracy, which was named after him. Cultural societies that cultivated national culture have also been suspended, as evidenced by the case of the Prosvjeta Serbian Cultural Association (Srpsko kulturno društvo Prosvjeta) and its collection, which is held in the HDA.

The topic of state and party control is well covered in the registry. Such collections are mostly found in state archives, such as the HDA in Zagreb (e.g. the Collection of the

⁵⁷ Janez Arnež, the founder of the Studia Slovenica Archives Research Institute in Ljubljana - the biggest and the most relevant Slovenian émigré collection - declined to co-operate with a project co-ordinated by the Croatian researchers.

⁵⁸ Vinko Nikolić (Šibenik 1912 – Šibenik 1997), writer, poet, journalist, and literary critic, was one of the most prominent Croatian émigré intellectuals. During the Second World War he was involved in the public life of the Independent State of Croatia, where he dealt with issues of culture and propaganda for the Ustasha regime. After the downfall of the Independent State of Croatia, he moved abroad and lived in Austria, Argentina, France and Spain. Although he remained anti-communist, during his life as an émigré, Nikolić distanced himself from the Ustasha regime, and became critical of the Ustasha movement. He advocated for historical reconciliation between communists and nationalists and for a democratic Croatian state, free from every ideology and historical burden. He is mostly known as the editor-in-chief of one of the most renowned Croatian émigré journals, *Hrvatska revija* (Croatian Review). COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Nikolić, Vinko."

Commission for Ideological and Political Work of the People's Youth of Croatia) and the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (the Collection of the Slovenian State Security Service on monitoring Slovenian scientists in the period from 1945 to 1962). Collections of a similar type are held in state archives in other cities (Vinkovci, Sisak, Pula). The collection on the notorious labour camp for political prisoners on Goli Otok documents the repressive character of the system (the collection is held at the Croatian History Museum).

One topic related to state control is censorship. Censorship in film is documented by the holdings in the Collection of Forbidden Films of Nikša Fulgosi, which is held in the archives of the Croatian Radio-Television. The HDA contains the Iljko Karaman Collection of Court Records on Censorship and the Aleksandar Stipčević Personal Papers. Of the works which were censored, the most in both Slovenia and Croatia were books. The press clipping collection of writer Ivan Aralica offers insights into the situation in Croatia, and the Edward Kocbek Collection shows the case of the author who wrote a volume of short stories entitled "Fear and Courage" in 1951, which made him a *persona non grata* in Slovenia.

Several collections concerning the art scene are also described in the registry. In Croatia, the neo-avant-garde visual and conceptual arts had many essential representatives. Works by these artists are found in several collections of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, in the EXAT 51 and New Tendencies Collection at the Tošo Dabac Archive, and in the No Art Collection of the Vladimir Dodig Trout Anti-Museum. The Gordana Vnuk Collection (EUROKAZ) bears witness to neo-avant-garde art in the performing arts.

Intellectual dissent in Yugoslavia is palpable in the phenomenon of neo-Marxist philosophy and sociology, which had a significant legacy in Croatia. The relevant material for this phenomenon in Croatia is found in the Rudi Supek Personal Papers and the Praxis and Korčula Summer School Collection.

The theme of opposition to the regime by religious institutions in the COURAGE registry is primarily related to the Catholic Church in Croatia and Slovenia. In Slovenia, the most important collections are the Antun Vovk Collection and the Alojzije Šustar Collection. In Croatia, there is a rich collection of the Catholic priest and journalist don Živko Kustić and the Smiljana Rendić Collection.

Youth sub-culture and music are represented in the FV 112/15 Group Collection, which testifies to the Slovenian alternative music scene, which was the strongest in Yugoslavia.⁵⁹ In Croatia, there is a significant collection of rock and disco culture in Rijeka (Velid Đekić Collection), and the photo archive of Goran Pavelić Pipo offers thrilling insights into youth sub-culture and the new wave music scene of Zagreb. The theme of the student movement is covered in Operation Tuškanac in the Croatian State Security Service Collection in the State Security Service files of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (at HDA).

⁵⁹ It should be emphasized that through research, we also discovered some other important collections containing materials relevant to the counterculture and artistic scene in Slovenia, especially concerning the creative group *Neue Slowenische Kunst*, but the owners of the collections did not want to collaborate with the COURAGE project.

The theme of counter-cultural activities of sexual minorities is covered in the LGBT collection in the Peace Institute – Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies in Ljubljana and the Collection of LGBT interviews at the Domino Association (Queer) in Zagreb. The feminist movement is represented in the collection of the Centre for Women's Studies (*Centar za ženske studije*) in Zagreb. There is also the Lydia Sklevicky Collection at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research (*Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku*), which contains the personal papers of one of the pioneers of the feminist movement in Yugoslavia.

Human rights movements were strongest in Slovenia, as reflected in the collections. The topic can be explored on the basis of the Alenka Puhar Collection, the Collection of Testimonies at the Study Centre for National Reconciliation Certifications, and the Archives of the Peace Movement in Ljubljana. The Alenka Bizjak Collection testifies to the existence of the environmental movement in Yugoslavia, and the Ivan Supek Collection shows the development of the antinuclear movement and the influence that the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs had in Yugoslavia.

The fall of communism is the most important event in the history of most of the collections in Croatia and Slovenia. It meant the end of an era after which people were able to begin gathering testimonies about cultural opposition and dissent. Institutions opened their doors to the public, and many individuals handed over various materials and collections to archives, museums, and research institutions. The collapse of Communism was a call for those people who had amassed collections in secret, far from the prying eyes of the communist authorities, to open their collections to the public or donate them to institutions that would make them more accessible.

If we analyse the operators, then the largest is the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, which administers most of the described collections (19). The Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb holds 5 (*ad-hoc*) collections and the National University Library in Zagreb owns 4 collections. In Slovenia, the National and University Library in Ljubljana operates with 2 of the described collections.

All of the described public collections are organised and operated by professional specialists. Volunteers are usually not used for these activities. In Croatia most of the operator's staff are female (64.13%), while in Slovenia it is roughly 50% (49.33%).

Most of the collections described in the Registry, however, are rarely used, even after the fall of communism. The potential of these collections has not been sufficiently exploited academically, and even less so socially. Most of the people who have used the collections are researchers, primarily historians. Although most of the collections are fully or partially available for research, only a few (7 in Croatia) are available online. A good example is the Praxis and Korčula Summer School Collection, which is entirely digitized and available to the public.

In Croatia most (90%) of the described collections have some kind of catalogue. They are mostly (53.30%) printed, but there is also 26.70% of those in digital form. Only 3.3% have

online inventories. In Slovenia, all of the collections have a printed catalogue.⁶⁰ Some of the collections only have preliminary file lists, while the collections are not completely described or inventoried. This is the case mostly in larger archives or libraries which have a large inflow of new collections but not enough staff to organise collections faster. That was the case with the *Nova Hrvatska* Journal Collection in the National and University Library in Zagreb, which has still not been classified or inventoried although the collection was donated by Jakša Kušan in 1994.

Another significant problem stressed by the operators is the serious lack of storage capacity. Over 40% of the owners and operators have stated in the interviews that their storage capacity is either insufficient or completely inadequate.

If we look at the data on user/visitors, it is very difficult to say what the average number of visitors per year is, because many of the operators do not keep records of visitors on a specific collection in the institution. However, we can say that these collections are not used very much. Most typical visitors are academics and researchers (76.7% in Croatia, 84% in Slovenia). In Croatia there is also a respectable number users from the general public (13.3%), as well as students (3.3%) and journalists (3.3%). It is hard to say anything more about the age, gender or place of residence of the users because the operating institutions (and owners) do not track this kind of information.

Regarding the impact of the collections we must say that it is very low. The general public is mostly unaware of the mere existence of most of these collections. The larger public institutions, such as archives or libraries which keep these collections, rarely promote or undertake any lobbying efforts for those collections exclusively. In the social sense, only a few collections have attracted substantial media coverage. In Croatia, notable public interest was triggered by the exhibition “A Century of Croatian Periodicals from the Croatian Diaspora from 1900 to 2000” in 2002. In Slovenia, the exhibition “FV: The Alternative Scene of the 1980s,” which was held in 2008, reached out to the public.

One of the reasons why the impact of the described collections is so low is that they are poorly networked. Besides the fact that there are very few donor networks which they can possibly join, we have the problem that most of the collections do not have a separate legal identity because they are only a part of organisations that hold many different collections.

4. Conclusion and Recommendations

We can conclude that not enough attention is being accorded to the preservation of the legacy of dissent and cultural opposition in Croatia and Slovenia. Moreover, the theme of dissent and cultural opposition is marginal not only in public but even in academic circles.

⁶⁰ This data should be different when all the listed collections are described.

One of the most significant problems in conducting our project was the related to the COURAGE terminology and concept. Many of the stakeholders were not familiar with the terminology and concepts of cultural opposition and dissent. Some of them even opposed the COURAGE definitions and concepts and did not want to participate in the project (for example, one of the potential stakeholders opposed to our use of the phrase “Croatia in communist times” or “communist Croatia”). The significantly different position of Yugoslavia in the Cold-War era (after 1948) that distinguished the Yugoslav version of socialism from the Soviet sphere is one of the reasons why many people believe that Yugoslavia had a system which can be defined as “socialism with a human face.” That is why some of the potential stakeholders refused to collaborate in the project because they believe that, for example, rock music in Croatia did not have any features that opposed the communist regime. The character of the communist regime in Croatia and Slovenia is still provoking many debates and disputes.

We can say that both Slovenia and particularly Croatia have not dealt sufficiently with their own pasts. The legislative framework in Croatia over its first quarter century placed many obstacles to research into the socialist period. However, changes in the legislative framework in Croatia in the last several years came at the right moment for the COURAGE project, since we could present previously unavailable collections to the public. The Freedom of Information Act (2015), pursuant to which the SOA decided to declassify the materials of the former State Security Service, and the initiative of MOST in 2017 resulted in new Amendments to the Archives Act that have put an end to many former restrictions.

The Croatian COURAGE team attempted to increase public awareness of the valuable historical and cultural heritage which is hidden in these collections. Also, our team secured significant cooperation with some of the key stakeholders. The best cooperation was with the Croatian State Archives (HDA), with whom our team organised the National (Croatian) Exhibition “Archaeology of Resistance” in October 2018. Two archivists from the HDA also participated in the project as researchers describing some of the collections in the HDA’s possession. Moreover, inspired by the COURAGE project, the Croatian State Archives has decided to publish a guide to the Cultural Opposition Collections that are held in the Archives. This can be a model for other archives and institutions that should be encouraged to generate similar cross-collection descriptions which will help to locate relevant materials. Our cooperation with the HDA can also serve as a model of good practice.

The collections described in the COURAGE registry are poorly networked. There are very few donor networks which they can join. Generally, we can say that the most of the operators do consider networking of these collections important, but our impression is that they do not undertake many efforts to improve their networking. The positive example is the Museum of Contemporary Art, which continuously participates in various forms of networking: exhibitions, digitisation, dissemination, projects and education in collaboration with other institutions. Another good example is the ŠKUC-LL's Lesbian Library and Archive which is a part of the IHLIA LGBT Heritage network (formerly known as International Homo/Lesbian Information Center and Archive – IHLIA) which curates the largest LGBT collection in Europe.

However, these examples are more an exception to the generally poor networking of collections in Croatia and Slovenia.

Since most of the collections do not systematically collect information on visitor statistics, it could be useful (and we recommend) to seek and maintain this information in order to focus on attracting less represented social groups (depending on age, gender, occupation, etc.).

The collections described in the COURAGE registry vary in many parameters. Many of them exist because of the creativity of individuals and groups who wanted to document their own (or someone else's) opposition to the communist regime or the ruling cultural policy or worldview. A significant problem in preserving the cultural heritage of dissent in private collections is that most of them do not have any financial support to preserve their collection and to make them more usable. There is also a danger that some of the collections could be destroyed after their owners pass away.

Besides the fact that the public is generally not interested in the topic, the primary cause of the unenviable position of the theme of dissent and cultural opposition is the lack of funding. The institutions that maintain the collections should try to apply at the national or European level. Most of the collection operators regularly apply for tenders and calls from the Ministry of Culture, and other nation-wide tenders, and some of them even at the EU level. However, their applications are largely not related to a specific collection. It would be a significant step forward if a few institutions like the Croatian State Archives, the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism and the Peace Institute (Mirovni inštitut) in Ljubljana would jointly attempt to apply for EU funding on a topic pertaining to cultural opposition.

Although the lack of funding is a problem that is very hard to solve, some actions may be taken by the operators and stakeholders of the collections to alleviate the problem somewhat. The severe lack of storage capacity could possibly be solved even without some large sums from the State if the government (especially in Croatia) grants (or leases for a small amount) some of its extensive unused real estate and properties to archives and other institutions.

Collection staff members who work as professors at the university level could do more to reach out to the students at their institutions. This would help increase the number of users in the group of academics who will probably always be the group of users most interested in the topic of cultural opposition.

It would be useful to achieve better cooperation between the local and State Archives and private collectors, in order to ensure that private collections do not vanish after their owner passes away. Perhaps the archives can organise a workshop for the owners of private collections.

Summary

Unlike many other East European societies, Slovenia and, even more so, Croatia are still struggling to come to terms with the consequences of the legacy of the undemocratic regimes and systems of the 20th century. In the public sphere, there are different interpretations of the past, which are not always rooted in the scholarly research and discussions. Bearing in mind this context, it is evident that researchers face many difficulties when dealing with the period of socialism in Croatia. The attitude towards communism and the socialist past is contingent upon the political divisions between the political left and right, and therefore scholarly research into the period is often neglected due to a lack of understanding by the creators of politics. This lack of consensus and political will has institutional consequences: there is no separate public institution that studies the socialist past (an institute or museum). Therefore, when discussing the efforts to preserve and study the memory of dissent and opposition, we must consider the consequences of political indifference, such as a general lack of funding. Moreover, the cultural legacy of dissent did not get much public attention. Although some valuable contributions had been made so far, a comprehensive study of dissent as a phenomenon both in Slovenian and in Croatian historiography is still lacking.

Some of the reasons for this unfortunate situation are methodological (theoretical), namely the lack of a proper definition of dissent and a paradigm that would help in researching the phenomenon of dissent and cultural opposition. The other important issue was access to archives, which was not completely open and free. Practice in the first two decades of Croatia's independence shows that there were severe obstacles in Croatia if one wanted to research the history of the socialist period (1945-1990). This was primarily due to the unavailability of the relevant archival material. Since it gained its independence at the beginning of the 1990s, Croatia amended its legal framework regarding access to archival materials several times. However, the latest changes are user-friendly and enable more accessibility to the archives, which was already exercised within the COURAGE project.

There are many research institutions in Croatia and Slovenia which deal with the socialist past, but there are only a few of them which deal with the socialist period exclusively, like the Centre for Cultural and Historical Research of Socialism in Pula, or the Study Centre for National Reconciliation in Ljubljana. None are dedicated to the theme of dissent and cultural opposition.

Most public collections in Slovenia and Croatia are rarely financed with direct or special funding. Collections that are held in public institutions (archives, museums, libraries) are usually financed by the state (Ministry of Culture) through the financing of institutions. Very few collections are privately funded. The same applies to the collections described in COURAGE registry – most of the public collections do not have a separate legal status, which means that they cannot apply for funding on the local, national or European level.

The Croatian COURAGE team attempted to cover most of the topics that were defined in the COURAGE project. The goal was to include those collections that will represent the most critical oppositional phenomena of the socialist era in Croatia and Slovenia. There are 54 described collections from Croatia, 11 from Slovenia and five from abroad. Most of these collections are held and operated in public institutions (60), and the state is usually their owner. A smaller number (10) is owned privately and mostly created at private initiative. The public collections described in the Registry are mostly archival funds of state institutions and associations. If we look at the type of operating organisations, 30 collections are held in archives, 10 in libraries, 9 in museums or galleries, 8 in academic institutions and 3 in NGOs. The described collections differ in size, type of operation, geographic scope, actors, users and in the themes which they cover. In the case of collections in Croatia, the topics related to the diaspora, national movements (the Croatian national movement), and state and party control are the most common. The collections in Slovenia are more diverse, and none of the themes stands out significantly, except perhaps the theme of human rights movements. In the collections that were created through the work of institutions and organisations, the history of collecting and preserving generally does not involve significant cultural-opposition stories, because in most of the cases, the law mandated the acquisition of these collections by the state archives.

The fall of communism is the most crucial event in the history of most of the collections in Croatia and Slovenia. It meant the end of an era after which people were able to begin gathering testimonies about cultural opposition and dissent. Institutions opened their doors to the public, and many individuals handed over various materials and collections to archives, museums, and research institutions. However, most of the collections described in the Registry are rarely used, even after the fall of communism. The potential of these collections has not been sufficiently exploited academically, and even less so socially. The most significant problem is the lack of funding, which is not very easy to solve. However, some actions may be taken by stakeholders that can alleviate the problem somewhat.

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COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Radica, Bogdan," by Stipe Kljaić, 2017. Accessed: October 01, 2018.

COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Nikolić, Vinko," by Stipe Kljaić, 2017. Accessed: October 01, 2018.

COURAGE Registry, s.v. "Tripalo, Ante (Miko)," by Albert Bing, 2017. Accessed: October 01, 2018.

Appendix

List of Collections Described

1. Aleksandar Stipčević Papers on Censorship
2. Alenka Bizjak Environmental Collection
3. Alenka Puhar Collection on Human Rights Movement
4. Ante Ciliga Collection
5. Anton Vovk Collection
6. Archives of the Peace Movement in Ljubljana
7. Augustin Juretić Papers
8. Bishop Alojzij Šuštar Collection
9. Bogdan Radica Collection
10. Casual Passer-by Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
11. Cinematography Commission of the Government of People's Republic of Croatia (1947 – 1951)
12. Classic Gymnasium Collection
13. Collection of Testimonies at the Study Centre for National Reconciliation in Ljubljana
14. Commission for Ideological and Political Work of People's Youth of Croatia (1945-1962)
15. Commission for the Examination of Nationalist Phenomena in the Emigrant Foundation of Croatia (1964-1967)
16. Commission on Religious Matters of the Vinkovci Municipal Assembly (1963-1993)
17. Croatian State Security Service Collection on Religious Communities

18. D-Fund Prohibited Literature (1945-1991)
19. Dinko Tomašić Papers (Hoover Institution)
20. "Đilas Followers" Collection
21. Environmental protests in Omiš in 1979, ad hoc collection
22. Edvard Kocbek Papers
23. EXAT 51 and New Tendencies at the Tošo Dabac Archive
24. Exploitation of the Dead Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
25. Fištrović Collection
26. For the Democratization of Art Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
27. Foreign Croatica Collection
28. Frane Franić Personal Papers
29. Franjo Tuđman Website
30. FV 112/15 Group Collection
31. Goli Otok Collection
32. Goran Pavić Pipa Photo Archive
33. Gordana Vnuk Personal Collection
34. Grand Jubilee 1976 Collection
35. History of Homosexuality in Croatia Collection
36. Homage to Josip Broz Tito Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
37. Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia (1956 - 1965)
38. Iljko Karaman Collection of Court Records on Censorship
39. Intelligence Files of the State Security Service for Croatia
40. Istrian Fighter Digital Collection
41. Ivan Aralica Collection of Press Clippings
42. Jakša Kušan Personal Papers
43. Jere Jareb Collection
44. Jozo Kljaković Collection
45. Krunoslav Draganović Collection on World War II and Post-war Victims
46. Lesbian Library and Archive ŠKUC-LL
47. Lydia Sklevicky Feminist Collection

48. Mass Movement in Zadar, ad hoc collection
49. Matica hrvatska Collection
50. Mihajlo Mihajlov Papers (Hoover Institution)
51. Miko Tripalo Personal Papers
52. Milovan Đilas Papers (Hoover Institution)
53. Miroslav Brandt Papers
54. Nikola Čolak Collection
55. Nikša Fulgosi's Collection of Documentary Films
56. No Art Collection
57. Operation Tuškanac in the Croatian State Security Service Collection (1971)
58. Pavao Tijan Papers
59. Praxis and Korčula Summer School Collection
60. Prosvjeta Collection
61. Pugwash Movement Collection
62. Rudi Supek Personal Papers
63. Rusko Matulić Papers (Hoover Institution)
64. Smiljana Rendić Collection
65. Slovenian State Security Administration's Surveillance of Maks Samec
66. Velid Đekić Collection of Rock and Disco Culture in Rijeka
67. Vinko Nikolić Collection
68. Vjesnik Newspaper Documentation
69. Woman and Society Feminist Collection
70. Živko Kustić Personal Papers
71. Zvonimir Kulundžić Collection

List of Operating Institutions and Owners

Institution/owner	Collection
Alenka Bizjak	Alenka Bizjak Environmental Collection
Alenka Puhar	Alenka Puhar Collection on Human Rights Movement
Archdiocesan Archives in Ljubljana	Anton Vovk Collection
	Bishop Alojzij Šuštar Collection
Archdiocesan Archives in Split	Frane Franić Personal Papers
Archdiocesan Archives in Zagreb	Smiljana Rendić Collection
Croatian Cinematheque	Nikša Fulgosi's Collection of Documentary Films
Archive of the Republic of Slovenia	Slovenian State Security Administration's Surveillance over Maks Samec
Association Domino-Queer Zagreb	History of Homosexuality in Croatia Collection
Centre for Democracy and Law Miko Tripalo	Miko Tripalo Personal Papers
Centre for Women's Studies Zagreb	Woman and Society Feminist Collection
Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts	Pavao Tijan Papers
Croatian History Museum	Goli Otok Collection
Croatian Institute of History	Jere Jareb Collection
Croatian Philosophical Society	Praxis and Korčula Summer School Collection
Croatian State Archives	Bogdan Radica Collection
	Cinematography Commission of the Government of People's Republic of Croatia (1947 – 1951)
	Commission for Ideological and Political Work of People's Youth of Croatia (1945-1962)
	Commission for the Examination of Nationalist Phenomena in the Emigrant Foundation of Croatia (1964-1967)
	Croatian State Security Service Collection on Religious Communities

	Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia (1956 - 1965)
	Ijko Karaman Collection of Court Records on Censorship
	Intelligence Files of the State Security Service for Croatia
	Krunoslav Draganović Collection on World War II and Post-war Victims
	Nikola Čolak Collection
	Prosvjeta Collection
	Rudi Supek Personal Papers
	Vjesnik Newspaper Documentation
	Aleksandar Stipčević Papers on Censorship
	Environmental protests in Omiš in 1979, ad hoc collection
	Grand Jubilee 1976 Collection
	Matica hrvatska Collection
	Operation Tuškanac in the Croatian State Security Service Collection (1971)
	“Đilas Followers” Collection
Fran Galović Library and Reading Room Koprivnica	Fištrović Collection
Goran Pavelić Pipo	Goran Pavelić Pipo Photo Archive
Gordana Vnuk	Gordana Vnuk Personal Collection
Group of persons	Franjo Tuđman Website
Hoover Institution Library & Archives	Rusko Matulić Papers (Hoover Institution)
	Dinko Tomašić Papers (Hoover Institution)
	Milovan Đilas Papers (Hoover Institution)
	Mihajlo Mihajlov Papers (Hoover Institution)
Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research	Lydia Sklevicky Feminist Collection
International Centre of Graphic	FV 112/15 Group Collection

Arts	
Ivan Aralica	Ivan Aralica Collection of Press Clippings
Jakša Kušan	Jakša Kušan Personal Papers
Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts	Pugwash Movement Collection
Lucija Mihaljević	Živko Kustić Personal Papers
Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb	Casual Passer-by Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
	EXAT 51 and New Tendencies at the Tošo Dabac Archive
	Exploitation of the Dead Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
	For the Democratization of Art Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
	Homage to Josip Broz Tito Collection at the Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb
National and University Library in Ljubljana	D-Fund Prohibited Literature (1945-1991)
	Edvard Kocbek Papers
National and University Library in Zagreb	Ante Ciliga Collection
	Foreign Croatica Collection
	Miroslav Brandt Papers
	Vinko Nikolić Collection
Pontifical Croatian College of St. Jerome	Augustin Juretić Papers
	Jozo Kljaković Collection
ŠKUC-LL	Lesbian Library and Archive ŠKUC-LL
State Archives in Osijek	Zvonimir Kulundžić Collection
State Archives in Vukovar	Commission on Religious Matters of the Vinkovci Municipal Assembly (1963-1993)
State Archives in Zadar	Mass Movement in Zadar, ad hoc collection
Study Centre for National Reconciliation	Collection of Testimonies at the Study Centre for National Reconciliation in Ljubljana
The Peace Institute in Ljubljana	Archives of the Peace Movement in Ljubljana

The University Library of Pula	Istrian Fighter Digital Collection
Velid Đekić	Velid Đekić Collection of Rock and Disco Culture in Rijeka
Vladimir Dodig Trokut Anti-museum	No Art Collection
Vlatka Horvat	Classic Gymnasium Collection

List of People Researched

- Akrap, Gordan
- Aplenc, Andrej
- Aralica, Ivan
- Aralica, Tomislav
- Babić, Stjepan
- Balta, Ivan
- Banac, Ivo
- Bebić, Toma
- Beljo, Ante
- Benažić, Marina
- Benyovsky, Lucija
- Bešker, Irena Galić
- Biletić, Boris Domagoj
- Bizjak, Alenka
- Bosanac, Gordan
- Bosnar, Marijan
- Brandt, Miroslav
- Budak Kulundžić, Nevenka
- Bukvić, Nenad
- Burić, Mladen
- Ciliga, Ante
- Ciliga, Milan
- Crnković, Zlatko
- Čolak, Nikola
- Ćirilov, Jovan
- Ćorić, Šimun Šito
- Ćosić, Stjepan
- Dabac, Petar

- Dabac, Tošo
- Despot, Blaženka
- Dimitrijević, Braco
- Dobrić, Bruno
- Dobrović, Zvonimir
- Dodig Trokut, Vladimir
- Draganović, Krunoslav
- Dučmelić, Željko Ivan
- Dukić, Josip
- Đekić, Velid
- Đilas, Milovan
- Elez, Petar
- Fabekovac, Mario
- Finka, Božidar
- Fištrović, Olivija
- Franolić, Branko
- Gaj, Boris
- Glavan, Mihael
- Gotovac, Tomislav
- Greif, Tatjana
- Grižinić, Marina
- Gverić, Ante
- Hančič, Damjan
- Hanž, Branko
- Horvat, Vlatka
- Hren, Marko
- Iveković, Rada
- Janežić, Helena
- Jareb, Jere
- Jareb, Mario
- Jenuš, Gregor
- Jurčić, Martina
- Juretić, Augustin
- Juričić, Vedrana
- Jurjevčič, Mirjam
- Kadić, Ante
- Kalapoš, Franjo
- Karaman, Iljko
- Kocbek, Edvard
- Kogovšek Šalamon, Neža
- Korda, Neven
- Korsky, Ivo

- Kosić, Ivan
- Kovačić, Slavko
- Kratina, Radoslav
- Krznar, Tomislav
- Kulundžić, Zvonimir
- Kušan, Jakša
- Kušen, Dražen
- Kusić, Zvonko
- Kusin, Vesna
- Lešaja, Ante
- Lopušina, Marko
- Lorković, Tamara
- Lovrenčić, Željka
- Lučić, Melina
- Luetić-Tijan, Nedjeljka
- Lukas, Filip
- Malevich, Kazimir
- Mandić, Dušan
- Marošević, Toni
- Marotti, Bojan
- Matan, Branko
- Matijević, Mario
- Matvejević, Predrag
- Medak, Tomislav
- Mihajlov, Mihajlo
- Mihajlović Trbovc, Jovana
- Mihaljević, Lucija
- Mihaljević, Nada
- Milovac, Tihomir
- Mirković, Igor
- Mladineo, Vanja
- Modrić, Ljiljana
- Moguš, Milan
- Mokrović, Nikola
- Molnar, Marijan
- Nevistić, Franjo
- Nikolić, Vinko
- Novak, Božidar
- Omerza, Igor
- Omrčanin, Ivo
- Oset, Željko
- Otrin, Blaž

- Papić, Dragan
- Papić, Krsto
- Papić, Žarana
- Pavelić Pipo, Goran
- Pavlovici, Florin Constantin
- Pažin, Drago
- Peić Čaldarović, Dubravka
- Pešut, Jasminka
- Petener-Lorenzin, Marija
- Petričević, Jure
- Petrović, Asja
- Petrović, Gajo
- Pintar, John Ivan
- Piškurić, Jelka
- Podhraški Čižmek, Zrinka
- Popović, Koča
- Prpić, George J.
- Puhar, Alenka
- Radica, Bogdan
- Raditsa, Bosiljka
- Razum, Stjepan
- Rev, Jona Veronika
- Rotblat, Joseph
- Rožanc, Mira
- Rubić, Mislav
- Sabolović-Krajina, Dijana
- Samec, Maks
- Simčič, Zorka
- Sirc, Ljubo
- Sklevicky, Lydia
- Smoljan, Ivo
- Sršan, Stjepan
- Stančić, Nikša
- Starčević Štambuk, Anamarija
- Stepinac, Alojzije
- Stilinović, Mladen
- Stipančević, Mario
- Stipanov, Josip
- Stipčević, Aleksandar
- Stipčević, Anđelka
- Strčić, Petar
- Supek, Ivan

- Supek, Olga
- Supek, Rudi
- Šarić, Tatjana
- Škrjanec, Breda
- Škrobonja, Ante
- Šore, Grgo
- Šore, Stjepan
- Šuštar, Alojz
- Tijan, Pavao
- Tomić Tripalo, Vinka
- Tripalo, Ante (Miko)
- Tuđman, Franjo
- Turić, Gordana
- Tutavac-Bilić, Pero
- Valent, Milko
- Valentić, Mirko
- Valič Zver, Andreja
- Vasilj, Kvirin
- Velikonja, Nataša
- Vnuk, Gordana
- Vovk, Anton
- Vrbić, Josip
- Vučenović, Dane
- Vukojević, Vice
- Vuković, Ana
- Vuković, Marinko
- Vukušić, Bože
- Zec, Svetozar M.
- Zupanič, Miran

Map: Location of the Croatian and Slovenian COURAGE Collections

