

**Bratstvo i jedinstvo | Братство и јединство**  
**Brotherhood and unity: exploring language and  
nationalism in Yugoslav primers, 1941-1992**

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A dissertation

submitted to the Faculties of  
the department of Political Science  
and the program in Linguistics  
in the department of Eastern, Slavic, and German Studies

in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Boston College  
Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences  
Graduate School

May 2024



# **Bratstvo i jedinstvo | Братство и јединство**

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1941-1992

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Nationalism and national identity are abstract yet extremely powerful forces that can be at once a source of cohesion and faction. And a government's ability to harness or rein-in these powers can be a crucial factor to its longevity, lest it be overcome by them on other fronts. These concepts—along with *nation* itself—are an amalgam of many elements that can include culture, economics, geography, history, language, politics, religion, etc., and the importance of a particular element can vary from group to group. In this dissertation, the focus is on the salience of language as an essential element of national identity, and the exploration of this topic has been done through an analysis of elementary language primers from 1941 through 1992 from the region known for a majority of that time as Yugoslavia.

I argue that we can measure how important governments think language is as a component of a particular national identity by seeing how they treat and utilize—even instrumentalize—the language or languages spoken in their territory. This direct governmental use of language as a tool is particularly important in revealing how that government connects language to the national identity(-ies) in question. Certainly language policy and laws passed by a government to bolster or limit a particular language's use can tell us a lot—in a very straightforward and overt way—about what that government sees as important; but, there is another more subtle—yet potentially more long-lasting—thing that can strengthen these efforts even further: teaching children. Looking at educational materials, in this case elementary language primers, can provide insight into what the government thinks is important with respect to its national identity.

This analysis, done within a framework that focuses on three historical periods in the history and development of Yugoslavia, shows that governments do use language primers as a vehicle to promote and strengthen the nation, national identity, and national cohesion. We can be fairly confident that every book analyzed in this study was approved or published by the government where it was used; and, in each of the three historical periods that fall within the scope of this study, we see the goals of the state reflected in the language, content, and pedagogical methodology of the primers that were published during a given period.

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## Acknowledgements

I want to express my gratitude and thanks to everyone who accompanied me through graduate school and through the process of researching, write, and—most importantly—finishing this dissertation. Profs. Thomas and Easter were excellent mentors through this allowing me the time I needed and especially the good advice that I needed. Thanks, too, to Prof. Bailey who enthusiastically agreed to be on my committee and with whom I look forward to talking more about this project.

Dean Candace Hetzner and Prof. James F. Keenen, SJ encouraged me for many years to do the PhD—and get it done! I'll be forever grateful for their encouragement, guidance, and friendship.

A special acknowledgement to Prof. Aleksandar Tomić, who brought back some excellent primers for me from his trips to Belgrade and Podgorica. These additions filled key gaps in my corpus.

And, of course, there are no words to express how thankful I am for my family and friends. Even though I'm sure everyone was tired of hearing about it, my parents, Ellen and Russell, my husband, Peter, and his parents, John and Jane, were always there when I needed them. My friends were, too.

This couldn't have gotten done without everyone's support.

Thank you! Merci! Hvala!

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## Prologue

During a recent summer, I listened to a podcast called *Wind of Change*.<sup>\*</sup> The podcast’s author and producer, Patrick Radden Keefe, explores a rumor that he heard through friends of friends connected with the CIA that the song “Wind of Change” by the German-national, English-language-singing, heavy rock band the Scorpions was actually part of a furtive propaganda campaign to promote Western ideas and values through art—specifically music. In other words, there is a rumor that “Wind of Change” was written by the CIA! The song went on to become an unofficial anthem of the post-communist transition. I could not help but think of my own research and find striking parallels. From episode one, Radden Keefe cites the role the CIA—and its predecessor, the OSS—played in the arts and culture during WWII and onwards, mentioning, for example, that the CIA secretly funded literary magazines like *The Paris Review*.<sup>†</sup> No definitive, de-classified proof of this is available to us, but this story highlights the fact that a government can use its power—or at least try to—to influence the people in an effort to further its own interests. This is especially the case with nationalism and national identity, and this interaction is what will be explored in this dissertation.

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<sup>\*</sup> Radden Keefe, Patrick. 11 May 2020. *Wind of Change*, Pineapple Street Studios, Crooked Media and Spotify. <<https://crooked.com/podcast-series/wind-of-change/>>.

<sup>†</sup> Radden Keefe, Patrick. 11 May 2020. *Wind of Change*, Episode 1 “My Friend Michael”, 0:22’30”. Pineapple Street Studios, Crooked Media and Spotify. <<https://crooked.com/podcast-series/wind-of-change/>>.

## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1. The Idea**

#### *1.1.1. How important is language in the makeup of national identity?*

Nationalism and national identity are abstract yet extremely powerful forces that can be at once a source of cohesion and faction. And a government's ability to harness or rein-in these powers can be a crucial factor to its longevity, lest it be overcome by them on other fronts. These concepts—along with *nation* itself—are an amalgam of many elements that can include culture, economics, geography, history, language, politics, religion, etc., and the importance of a particular element can vary from group to group. In this dissertation, the focus will be on the salience of language as an essential element of national identity, and the exploration of this topic will be done through an analysis of elementary language primers from communist-era Yugoslavia.

How important is language to a people's national identity? Although this may vary from place to place, in many cases, language is one of the most important elements in a group's identity. Discussions of nationality very often include language as an important component. In *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville (1835) writes “The tie of language is, perhaps, the strongest and most durable that can unite mankind.”<sup>1</sup> Other prominent philosophers and thinkers from the 18th and 19th centuries also wrote about the importance of language as a unifying force for the existence of a nation, e.g., Goethe, Herder, and

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<sup>1</sup> Tocqueville, A. de. (1835). *De la démocratie en Amérique*. Brussels: L. Hauman et Cie.

Saussure. David Laitin says “...language is often seen as the most precious national resource.”<sup>2</sup> Benedict Anderson highlights the fact that “in almost all of [the 19th-century nationalistic movements in Europe] ‘national print-languages’ were of central ideological and political importance.”<sup>3</sup>; and, Bernard Spolsky echoes this when he tells us that “both the French Revolution and German Romanticism held a view of nationalism that assumed that a single unifying language was the best definition and protector of nationhood.”<sup>4</sup> Specifically relevant to the geographic area of interest in this study, the Balkans, Greenberg (2004), drawing on Edwards (1985), describes 19th-century nationalism as having been “enthusiastically received” in the region and says that “at the root of this brand of nationalism, was the [...] belief that a nation's existence was inconceivable without its own language.”<sup>5</sup> Another scholar, Henrik Birnbaum (1980) says that language has proven to be a “strong nation-building force [...] [and] the strongest link holding together the fabric of a nation in its everyday life[; it is also] the vehicle of a people’s verbal creativity [and] symbolizes and lends artistic expression to the supreme national values cherished by the people of a country...”<sup>6</sup> Not only does it symbolize the nation, but Bilaniuk (2005) suggests that citizens can also use language to “confer or deny others’ social legitimacy” or nationality—especially, she argues, during

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<sup>2</sup> Laitin, D. D. (1977). *Politics, language, and thought: The Somali experience*. Univ. of Chicago Press., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson, B. R. O. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. and extended ed). Verso., p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> Spolsky, B. (2003). *Language Policy* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511615245>, p.57.

<sup>5</sup> Edwards, J. (1989). *Language, society and identity* (Repr). Blackwell. quoted in Greenberg, R. D. (2004). *Language and identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its disintegration*. Oxford University Press., p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Birnbaum, Henrik. 1980. Language, Ethnicity and Nationalism: on the linguistic foundation of a unified Yugoslavia. In: D. Djordević, ed., *The Creation of Yugoslavia, 1914-1918* (Santa Barbara: Clio Books), pp. 157-182.

periods of social change like revolutions, wars, etc.<sup>7</sup> Further, linguist Ranko Bugarski says that in Yugoslavia, “political events were often anticipated in matters concerning language...[and that] it is no exaggeration to say that the final break-up of Yugoslavia had been presaged in language issues a good quarter-century before it actually occurred.”<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, a recent survey conducted by the Pew Research Center gives us new and strong evidence that language does, indeed, play an extremely important role in people’s conception of their national identity—so strong that Pew identifies language as “the cornerstone of national identity” (p. 9). Their 2017 report, entitled *What it takes to be truly one of us*<sup>9</sup>, states that “majorities in every country surveyed say it is very important to speak the dominant language to be considered truly a national of that land.<sup>10</sup> This includes a median of 77% in Europe and majorities in Japan (70%), the US (70%)<sup>11</sup>, Australia (69%), and Canada (59%)” (Pew 2017, p. 4). While the Pew survey was not conducted in any country that had been a part of Yugoslavia, this is compelling evidence that language is an essential component of national identity and allows us to infer that the strong feelings about language that existed before in that region are still present.

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<sup>7</sup> Bilaniuk, L. (2005). *Contested tongues: Language politics and cultural correction in Ukraine*. Cornell University Press.

<sup>8</sup> Bugarski, R., & Hawkesworth, C. (Eds.). (2004). *Language in the former Yugoslav lands*. Slavica Publishers.

<sup>9</sup> Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2017). *What it takes to be truly ‘one of us’*. Retrieved from: <<http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/02/01/what-it-takes-to-truly-be-one-of-us/>>.

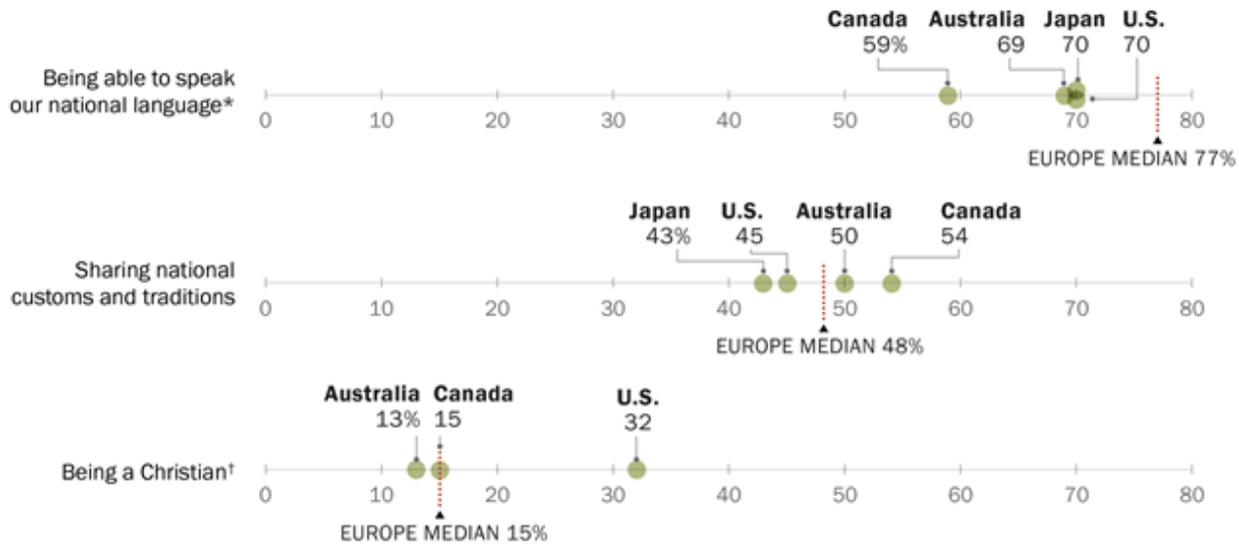
<sup>10</sup> The question asked “Being able to speak our national language is very important for being truly [survey country nationality].”

<sup>11</sup> Of course, it must be pointed out that the United States does not have an official national language.

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## Wide agreement that language is at the core of national identity

\_\_\_ is very important for being truly (survey country nationality)



\* In Canada, national language asked as "either English or French."

† In Italy, Poland and Spain asked "Catholic." Not asked in Japan.

Note: European median based on 10 countries.

Source: Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey. Q85b-d.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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Fig. 1. *Wide agreement that language is at the core of national identity*, from Pew (2017).

### 1.1.2. *Primers can provide insight into the language-national identity relationship*

Beyond the meta-linguistic commentary people might offer, I argue that we can measure how important governments think language is as a component of a particular national identity by seeing how they treat and utilize—even instrumentalize—the language or languages spoken in their territory. This direct governmental use of language as a tool is particularly important in revealing how that government connects language to the national identity(-ies) in question. Certainly language policy and laws passed by a government to bolster or limit a particular language's use can tell us a lot—in a very straightforward and overt way—about what that government sees as important; but, there is another more subtle—yet

potentially more long-lasting—thing that can strengthen these efforts even further: teaching children. Looking at educational materials, in this case elementary language primers, can provide insight into what the government thinks is important with respect to its national identity.

### *1.1.3. The role of government-sponsored primers in shaping national identity in Yugoslavia*

This study will also shed light more specifically on the role language primers and other educational materials sponsored or produced by the government played in shaping national identity in Yugoslavia and to what extent they contributed to the consolidation and/or fragmentation of Yugoslav national identity during the second half of the 20th century.

### *1.1.4. Why primers?*

#### **\* Primer**

A primer [ˈpɪm.ə] is a foundational text introducing a subject at its basal, elementary level. In this dissertation, the primers being studied are the books that teach how to read from the very beginning. They usually begin with “the ‘ABCs’” and move on to syllables, words, then sentences. Some primers in the corpus also include an elementary “reader”, which contains short stories, poems, or other passages for students to continue learning and practicing.

There is a strong case to be made that where governments go to great lengths to create textbooks (or other educational tools) and require their use in schools, we will see the beliefs

and ideologies of that government reflected in these books' content.<sup>12</sup> With language, the same is true. The particular language—or variant thereof—that the government sees as the one most important to the nation's identity will be the one that is taught to children. And also, what better way to inculcate and engrain the ideologies of the regime than to embed them in the stories, poems, example sentences, and illustrative graphics of elementary pupils' primers? Greg Yudin, who is a Russian sociologist doing research at Princeton comments on recent developments in the Russian curriculum saying, "The single best possible way for [the government] to get [the Russian] society mobilized is to brainwash the young."<sup>13</sup> In fact, years earlier, the Nazis relied heavily on the books used in the educational system to espouse their racist ideology into the population from a young age. According to Goutam (2014) "The entire education plan of the Nazis was in such a way that through education, they propagated Nazi ideals among the youth since childhood." "[...] The German youth were the foundation of the rebuilding of the German people and the German fatherland."<sup>14</sup> This project will examine such efforts in the South Slavic lands during the turbulent twentieth century—particularly in the territory that was known during much of that time as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

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<sup>12</sup> We see this happening in the United States today with the ideological conflicts over textbooks throughout the country.

<sup>13</sup> MacFarquhar, N., & Mazaeva, M. (2023, June 3). In Russian Schools, It's Recite Your ABC's and 'Love Your Army.' *New York Times*, 1.

<<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/world/europe/russia-schools-military-war.html>>.

<sup>14</sup> Goutam, U. (2014). Pedagogical Nazi Propaganda (1939-1945). *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 75, 1018–1026. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44158487>>, p. 1021.

Further evidence of the power of primers can be found in people's response to them. Positive memories<sup>15</sup> and reminiscences of primers show the imprint these books had on their young readers. Take, for example, the vividly detailed story told by Croatian writer Dubravka Ugrešić as she comes across and rediscovers her own primer after many years in storage. The essay is befittingly entitled "My First Primer"<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> cf, Trošt, T. P. (2019). Remembering the good: Constructing the nation through joyful memories in school textbooks in the former Yugoslavia. *Memory Studies*, 12(1), 27–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698018811986>

<sup>16</sup> Ugrešić, D. (1998). *The culture of lies: Antipolitical essays*. University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press. | Croatian version: Ugrešić, D. (1999). *Kultura laži: Antipolitički eseji*. Arkzin. In Croatian, the essay is entitled simply *Počtnica*.

The other day...my primer...slunk out of a dusty box along with some old papers.

The first four pictures filled me...with the joy that comes when change brings us 'true remembrance'. Or perhaps more exactly with the mixture of feelings brought by belated sudden recognition. I remembered staring long and fervently into those fresh clear colours, mostly bright blue and bright green. I remembered adding depth to the simple, flat lines through my entranced gaze. It was not that I was thinking up stories, I was just meticulously examining every detail, every smallest detail. I examined the pictures with my gaze as a fish does the limpid river bottom.

I scrutinise the pictures. I can't read yet. I notice the brightly coloured, pleasing harmony of the most various objects and concepts; here are a horse and a harp, a man and a mouse, fingers and a flower...Each of them happily (as I would later discover) pronouncing their own sound: a boy—ah, a girl—oh, a sheep—baa, a cow—moo.

I learn sentences. *Jemal and Jafer are good friends. They come from Bosnia. Jafer has no family. He lives with Jemal. Jemal's mother loves him like her own son. Jemal and Jafer go to a distant town to learn a trade. Jemal's mother puts an apple in each of their pockets. As they leave she says: 'Work hard, children, light of my life. Gladden your mother's heart with good reports!'*<sup>17</sup>

The sentences make soft imprints, outline common coordinates in the empty fields of our future personal biographies. Some letters stand out: F for family. (*There are mummy, daddy, brother, sister...*) H for homeland. (*Like a mother, with its Plan, the state takes care of every man.*) The state is something quite incomprehensible. The homeland is sea and mountains, and that's entirely comprehensible. B for brother. All people are brothers, especially Africans. (*A long way away, in Africa, live peoples with dark skins. They greet our sailors joyfully. They point to the red star on our flag. They shake our sailors firmly by the hand and shout in their own language: 'Yugoslav sailors are our brothers!'*)

There are Serbs and Croats. They are brothers too. And *when brotherly hearts unite, nothing can oppose their might!* So my primer proclaims.

As Ugrešić's detailed memories show, primers can make an indelible mark on the still malleable minds of their young users. And as such, primers provide an effective and valid measure of the importance of language in the makeup of national identity in the South Slavic lands.

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<sup>17</sup> Italics in original.

## 1.2. The Concepts

### ※ Dialect

A dialect is a linguistic variant of a language that is identified with a particular group or geographic region. Dialects can include variations that are phonetic (i.e., the way things are pronounced), lexical (i.e., the words that are used), or grammatical (i.e., the way words are put together to make sentences and phrases that other speakers also understand). Dialects are not “incorrect” or “wrong” versions of standard languages.

### 1.2.1. Language

There is an frequently quoted quip<sup>18</sup> that says “a language is a dialect with an army and a navy”. While it makes a valid point about what factors and forces are often involved when making such a distinction, more precision is needed. Depending on their particular inclination in the field, linguists might define ‘language’ in varying ways; but, David Crystal offers us a good, practical description that defines the concept in a way appropriate for this project. Crystal (1997)<sup>19</sup> says that language is generally “the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs, or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression.” To be clear, this dissertation will largely stay clear of the debate over the difference between language and dialect—not only for the convenience of defining the general concept, but also since a major component of making that differentiation is the crux of this inquiry, i.e., language, writ large, and the important role it plays in identity—specifically national identity. Therefore, in this paper, the concept of language, e.g., as a component of the construct of

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<sup>18</sup>It is frequently quoted to the point of becoming banal. Moreover, to whom it should be attributed is not entirely clear, cf., [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A\\_language\\_is\\_a\\_dialect\\_with\\_an\\_army\\_and\\_navy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_language_is_a_dialect_with_an_army_and_navy) for an account of who said what when.

<sup>19</sup> Crystal, D. (1997). *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language* (2nd ed). Cambridge University Press., p. 430

identity, will make no distinction between—and thus include—dialects and other forms of regional and social language variation.

### *1.2.2. Nation, Nationalism, National Identity*

A **nation** is a community that shares a common set of essential elements that unite the group together and form a sense of “us”. These elements can include culture, economics, geography, history, language, politics, religion, etc., and the importance of a particular element can vary from group-to-group and even change over time. Nation, nationalism, and national identity are all different facets of the same, broader concept; so, in seeking to better understand that concept, this section will look at what has been said about nation, nationalism, national identity, and identity in general. Finding consensus on a definition is not as straightforward as one might think at the outset; many scholars have attempted to define a ‘nation’, but we are left with a relatively wide range of ideas. Prasenjit Duara, who writes the most compelling discussion I have read so far about the forming of a national identity says that it is, “after all, a subjective, fluid, and elusive phenomenon.” (Duara (1996), p. 151). It is clear, though, that whatever the abstraction is that encompasses nation and national identity, it is the wellspring of an important and powerful force that can be at once a source of cohesion and faction; it evokes strong emotions and fervor in people—strong enough that they are willing to die expressing, upholding, and protecting it.

Where does it come from? Is it primordial or constructed (cf. Anderson 1991)<sup>20</sup>? David Laitin (1998) says “construction and choice, rather than blood and inheritance, is now the standard story line about identities.” (p. 12). Some say it is a relatively recent construction while others disagree and say that nations have existed long before the modern period. To be sure, we are not talking about the nation-state or a “country” in the vernacular sense but rather about something very different and less tangible—although the physical and political boundaries might indeed overlap the “less tangible” ones.

In his book, Imagined Communities, Benedict Anderson (1991) gives a short (and now famous) definition of a nation as an “imagined political community”. It is the idea that individuals feel connected with others through shared commonalities that they—on some abstract “imagined” level—agree upon. Even though everyone in this community of people—this nation—could never possibly meet nor know each other personally, they agree collectively that these shared attributes bring them together as one. This is a very good theoretical starting point, but let’s dig a little deeper.

Similarly, Anthony Smith (1989)<sup>21</sup> says that “a[n ‘ideal-type’] nation is a named community of history and culture, possessing a unified territory, economy, mass education system and common legal rights.” Smith believes that people can act to create or maintain a nation through an ideological movement with that very goal in mind (he calls this nationalism). Although he traces them back to pre-modern collectives of people with various

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<sup>20</sup> Anderson, B. R. O. (1991). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (Rev. and extended ed). Verso.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, A. D. (1989). The origins of nations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 12(3), 340–367.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1989.9993639>

commonalities, for Smith, a nation is a community that has been created through certain processes that transform these pre-modern collectives into nations based on a shared culture and history.

In discussing the force of nationalism, Anthony Marx (2003)<sup>22</sup> says that it is formed by “a collective sentiment or identity, bounding and binding together those individuals who share a sense of large-scale political solidarity aimed at creating, legitimating, or challenging states[, and it is] often perceived or justified by a sense of historical commonality which coheres a population within a territory and which demarcates those who belong and others who do not.” While Marx seems to tie the concept too much to the nation-state<sup>23</sup>, this last point is a very important notion when considering the definition of nation for this project, i.e., that it is something that creates an “us” and a “them”, those who belong and those who do not.

For Karl Deutsch, “what counts [for the construction of a nation] is not the presence or absence of a single factor, but merely the presence of sufficient communication facilities with enough complementarity to produce the overall result.” The Swiss may speak four different languages and still act as one people. Each of them has enough learned habits, preferences, symbols, memories, patterns of landholding and social stratification, events in history, and personal associations, all of which together permit him to communicate more effectively with

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<sup>22</sup> Marx, A. W. (2003). *Faith in nation: Exclusionary origins of nationalism*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>23</sup> cf. Marx, A. W. (1998). *Making race and nation: A comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil* (1st pbk. ed). Cambridge University Press., p. 4, ff.

other Swiss than with the speakers of his own language who belong to other peoples.<sup>24</sup>

Andrew Wachtel (1998)<sup>25</sup> would agree. For him, a nation “contains people with a broad range of both similarities and differences. Insofar as it is a nation, its members have agreed to overlook the differences and view the similarities as essential.” Again, we see an us-versus-them.

Echoing the multiplicity of factors making up a nation, Miroslav Hroch<sup>26</sup> writes that a nation is “[...] a large social group integrated not by one but a combination of several kinds of objective relationships (economic, political, linguistic, cultural, religious, geographical, historical), and their subjective reflection in collective consciousness.” “Many of these ties could be mutually substitutable—some playing a particularly important role in one nation-building process, and no more than a subsidiary part in others.” Of course, of particular interest in the present study are the cases where language and linguistic ties play the “particularly important” role. Hroch goes on to say that “among [these ties], three stand out as irreplaceable: (i) a ‘memory’ of some common past, treated as a ‘destiny’ of the group[...]; (ii) a density of linguistic or cultural ties enabling a higher degree of social communication within the group than beyond it; (iii) a conception of the equality of all members of the group organized as a civil society.” Hroch’s formula is very helpful to our

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<sup>24</sup> Deutsch, K. W. (1978). *Nationalism and social communication: An inquiry into the foundations of nationality*. Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press. (Originally published in 1953), p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> Wachtel, A. (1998). *Making a nation, breaking a nation: Literature and cultural politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford University Press., p. 2

<sup>26</sup> Hroch, M. (1996). *From National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation: The Nation-building process in Europe*. In G. Eley & R. G. Suny (Eds.), *Becoming National: A reader* (pp. 60–77). Oxford University Press.

understanding of what makes up a nation, and he highlights language (“linguistic ties”) and being an integral part of that.

The view I find most convincing and appropriate for this dissertation is that of Prasenjit Duara. Like other scholars mentioned here, he sees various and multiple sources building the community ties that form a nation. Duara (1996)<sup>27</sup> says “an incipient nationality is formed when the perception of the boundaries of community are transformed: *when soft boundaries are transformed into hard ones.*”<sup>28</sup> He goes on in detail to describe what he means by this:

Every cultural practice...is a potential boundary marking a community. These boundaries may be either soft or hard. One or more of the cultural practices of a group, such as rituals, language, dialect, music, kinship rules, or culinary habits, may be considered soft boundaries if they identify a group but do not prevent the group from sharing and even adopting, self-consciously or not, the practices of another. Groups with soft boundaries between them are sometimes so unselfconscious about these differences that they do not view mutual boundary breach as a threat and could eventually even amalgamate into one community. Thus, differences in dietary and religious practices may not prevent the sharing of a range of practices between local...communities. The important point is that they tolerate the sharing of some and the non-sharing of other boundaries.

Duara suggests that when a group seeks to move toward defining itself, it does so by prioritizing one (or more) of these shared practices and making it a more important defining marker of the group’s identity, “thereby heightening the self-consciousness of this community in relation to those around it”. Through this process, we see the hardening of that boundary and the shaping of the group as a result: who belongs, who does not. And it is important to

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<sup>27</sup> Duara, P. (1996). Historicizing National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When. In G. Eley & R. G. Suny (Eds.), *Becoming National: A reader* (pp. 151–177). Oxford University Press.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. Emphasis is my own.

highlight that this process is deliberate and can be put into motion whenever a group feels it necessary to redefine itself—either as a way to bolster or strengthen its identity or to create a new one.

Thus if a common history is privileged over language and race[...], language and race always lie as potential mobilizers of an alternative nation that will distribute its marginals differently. Thus within the hard community there will always be other soft boundaries which may potentially transform into hard boundaries, or new soft boundaries may emerge and transform into hard ones. Moreover, boundaries between communities exist along a spectrum between hard and soft poles and are always in flux.<sup>29</sup>

It is with this view of the hardening and softening of boundaries in mind that this study moves forward in its exploration of language and national identity. Considering broad questions such as “What are the cases in which language is a hard boundary?” and “When and how does language become transformed into a hard boundary?” will get us closer to understanding the salience of language in the makeup of national identity. More specifically, this study aims to show that if a government sees language as an integral element of its national identity, it will put great effort into prioritizing that language and hardening the boundary that it creates. The primers under scrutiny here provide an avenue for this identity-boundary hardening to begin taking place in various ways as citizens learn the target language. Using primers in this way also ensures that these efforts' effects are long-lasting.

To summarize and bring some resolution to this discussion, I propose once again the following definitions that will carry throughout this dissertation: A **nation** is a community

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 168-169.

that shares a common set of essential elements that unite the group together and form a sense of “us”. These elements can include culture, economics, geography, history, language, politics, religion, etc., and the importance of a particular element can vary from group-to-group and over time. **National identity** is the feeling of belonging to such a community.

## 2. Why Yugoslavia?

### **2.1. *Supra-national identity***

There is another piece to the Yugoslav case that adds an extra layer of complexity—and also another set of boundaries and layer of identity; that is, a *supra*-national identity. Based on the definition of national identity that we have established here, perhaps we need to go no further than to say that a supra-national identity is the feeling of belonging to a community of communities sharing a common set of essential elements that have joined together to form a wider “us” by establishing further boundaries and projecting an additional layer of identity above their national identity. But why the need for this additional layer of identity? Although she seems to conflate supra-national and supra-ethnic identity, Vesna Godina (2007)<sup>30</sup> provides a useful schema to describe and motivate supra-national identity. She describes it as a “very specific non-ethnic identity, which can be found especially in multiethnic societies”, and that it helps represent the ways other identities interact within that construct. She

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<sup>30</sup> Godina, V. (2007). Supra-ethnic identity in multiethnic societies: The case for Yugoslav multiethnic identity. *Ethnoculture*, 1, 59–71.

illustrates this with an “identification matrix”. Table 1, below, is a version of an identification matrix with general identity categories relevant to this dissertation plugged in.

| SUPRA-NATIONAL IDENTITY        |                             |                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| National Identity <sub>1</sub> |                             | National Identity <sub>2</sub> |                             |
| other identity <sub>1</sub>    | other identity <sub>1</sub> | other identity <sub>2</sub>    | other identity <sub>2</sub> |
| etc.   etc.                    | etc.   etc.                 | etc.   etc.                    | etc.   etc.                 |

Table 1: Hierarchy of Identity, based on Godina (2007)

The idea that there are different levels of identity makes sense. As discussed, people can identify with a number of elements of identity. Let’s assume that a new level of identity is formed as these elements are shared between communities, forming a new, larger “imagined community”. In Duara’s terms, boundaries are softened in order to define this new, larger community. For example, different communities formed around religious identity at one level might be included in the same community on a higher level, and on up the identity hierarchy (cf., Table 2).

| YUGOSLAV IDENTITY |             |             |             |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Bosnian           |             | Croatian    |             |
| Muslim            | Orthodox    | Catholic    | Orthodox    |
| etc.   etc.       | etc.   etc. | etc.   etc. | etc.   etc. |

Table 2: Hypothetical example of different identities in the identity hierarchy

Godina suggests that the reason a supra-national identity is created is that it produces “non-conflict relationships between different [...] groups”. In other words, for example, if there is a particular difference between two groups (a hard boundary) that is a cause of conflict, they make an effort to focus on other elements that they share and thereby create a new shared identity on a higher level while the other identities still stay intact on a subsidiary level. This is done in an effort to reduce conflict. Godina uses the Yugoslav example to illustrate her theory, and for good reasons.

This understanding of an identity hierarchy and the motivation behind the creation of a new identity level will prove valuable when seeing how and when language serves as a principal element of national identity—especially in the Balkans.

The Yugoslav identity is, perhaps, the quintessential example of supra-national identity in recent history. The clear-cut (and strong) national identities and language diversity found in the constituent nations and the push for a post-WWII supra-national Yugoslav identity make this the obvious and most straightforward case to study. A supra-national Yugoslav identity was created. How important a role did language play in that?

## ***2.2. Relevant historical background***

The shared history of the Balkans and its people is long and complex. Throughout this long history, the region has been conquered and ruled by many different groups, including the Persian, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, Habsburg, and Venetian Empires. The Balkans have also been the site of numerous wars and conflicts, including more recently the First and Second

Balkan Wars, the First and Second World Wars, and the Yugoslav Wars. Lampe (1996) sums it up, saying that “by the 1800s, the territories that later became Yugoslavia had suffered even more warfare and forced migration, foreign intervention, and internal division than had their Mediterranean or Central European neighbors.”<sup>31</sup> and that this “political disarray” and the resulting economic hardship had been going on for practically a millennium. This long and complex history involving many different groups left an indelible mark on the region. To condense and contextualize all of this, this section will highlight some of the important events and stories that are relevant to the understanding of the region for the purposes of this dissertation.

### *2.2.1. Empires in the neighborhood*

Here, we will focus on two main players in this long and complicated history of imperial chess in the region: the Ottoman and Habsburg<sup>32</sup> Empires. And to start things off, there is one place in particular that plays a major role in the region's history for the centuries that follow: Kosovo Polje.

#### *2.2.1.1. Kosovo Polje*

Kosovo Polje is a field in Kosovo—not far from modern-day Priština—that is considered to be the site of the Battle of Kosovo, which took place on 15 June 1389. The battle was a decisive victory for the Ottoman Empire over the Serbian Empire. A major turning point in the history of the region, the battle marked the beginning of the Ottoman conquest of the

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<sup>31</sup> Lampe, J. R. (1996). *Yugoslavia as history: Twice there was a country*. Cambridge University Press., 9

<sup>32</sup> The Habsburg Empire is also commonly known as the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Balkans, and it had a profound impact on the region's culture and politics—the “decisive and long-remembered battle” to this day.<sup>33</sup> Slobodan Milosević, a former president of Serbia, said “Kosovo is the very heart of Serbia [...] all our history is in Kosovo.”<sup>34</sup>

In 1389, the Serbian army was led by Prince Lazar Hrebeljanović with help from a neighboring lord, Vuk Branković. The Ottoman army was led by Sultan Murad Hüdavendigâr, who was accompanied by his two eldest sons. At first the Serbs did well upon their initial attack, but the Ottoman forces, who outnumbered the Serb forces, eventually broke through. Both the Prince and the Sultan were killed during the battle. Historians disagree on who “won” the battle, but most agree that this battle was the turning point to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. And it has had a profound impact on identity in the region—particularly among Serbs, who see Kosovo as central to the narrative of their people. As Sowards (1996) says, “Kosovo allowed the Serbs to remember who they were by remembering their enemies.”<sup>35</sup> This was one of the legacies of the long history of imperial rule that still permeates the region. Another legacy important to remember here would be the multi-ethnic makeup of the region and the long history of political entities governing groups of people with diverse ethnic, religious, and linguistic identities.

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<sup>33</sup>Lampe, J. R. (1996). *Yugoslavia as history: Twice there was a country*. Cambridge University Press., 9. Emphasis added.

<sup>34</sup> *The Death of Yugoslavia, Episode 1, Enter Nationalism*. (1995). British Broadcasting Corporation. 5:35”

<sup>35</sup> Sowards, S. 1996 <https://staff.lib.msu.edu/sowards/balkan/lecture3.html>

### 2.2.1.2. The Ottoman Empire

The Ottoman Empire ruled in the region beginning in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and ending in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Ottomans ruled through a centralized form of government administered out of Constantinople (today's İstanbul) with the Sultan as its head. Different regions were ruled by an elite group of Muslim nobles, who then governed the people more directly. Among the people themselves, less focus was given on a person's ethnic or national identity than on his/her religion: one was Muslim or not and was considered part of a *millet* based on this identity. Muslims made up one millet, Orthodox Christians another, and Jews yet another. It was through one's *millet* that access to the government, to certain rights, and to other matters was managed. In a way, the Ottoman *millet* system allowed each religious group to govern itself, while still being subject to the overall authority of the Ottoman state. Did this structure create a space for various levels of identity to form in such a way that the region therefore become a natural environment in which different levels of identity could develop, therefore leading the way to supra-national identities? For example, one could be an Orthodox christian from Serbia yet "Ottoman" at the same time.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> While outside the scope of this dissertation, it would be interesting (1) to explore whether there was a strong "Ottoman" identity throughout the entire empire and (2) to do a comparative study to look at the legacy of different identities and potential identity hierarchies in places where there was and was not a millet system in place.



Map 2.2.1.: The Ottoman and Habsburg Empires in 1909<sup>37</sup>

### 2.2.1.3. Habsburg Empire

While the Ottomans ruled much of the southern and eastern Balkans at various points over roughly more than 5 centuries, the Habsburgs controlled much of the remainder of the region to the north and west to various extents during much of that same period. Catholicism played a strong and important role in the history and fabric of the Habsburg Empire, although it was not officially a Catholic Empire. Catholics, Orthodox, Jews, and Muslims all lived within its borders. The empire was also highly multilingual. Geographically, our focus here is mostly

<sup>37</sup> Map from Amzi-Erdoğdular, L. (2024). MAP 2.: Ottoman and Habsburg empires, 1909. In *The Afterlife of Ottoman Europe: Muslims in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina* (1st ed., pp. xii–xiv). Stanford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.8305943.6>

on the military frontier, the *Krajina*, which included portions of modern-day Croatia, Bosnia, and the regions of Slavonia and Vojvodina. These borderlands acted as a buffer between Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empires. By the early 20th Century, the Habsburgs also controlled much of Bosnia.

#### 2.2.1.4. Imperial Legacies

Using simplistic dichotomies, Sowards (1996b) says “it is common to regard these two empires as opposites: Eastern and Western, Muslim and Catholic. At the same time they shared many traits and above all this one: both were multinational empires, made up of numerous ethnic groups and governed without much regard for the political expression of national identity.”<sup>38</sup> Indeed, another legacy important to remember here would be the multi-ethnic makeup of the region and the long history of political entities governing groups of people with diverse ethnic and religious identities.

•Centuries of imperial rule also left deep resentment (e.g., “The Ottoman Yoke”)

Each group had a shared sentiment of wanting to rid the lands of the oppressor/aggressor/occupier. Alexander also says that “many felt that the heroes of Kosovo, in their 14th-century resistance to the Ottoman Turkish onslaught, should become the emblematic core of a general Yugoslav myth (not just a Serbian one)”.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> <https://staff.lib.msu.edu/sowards/balkan/lecture4.html>

<sup>39</sup> Alexander, R. (2006). *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a grammar: with sociolinguistic commentary*. University of Wisconsin Press, p. 411.

## •The Great (Serb) Migration

Serbs fleeing the encroaching Ottomans in the late 17th century settled in the military borderlands, where they were promised land by the Habsburg emperor. As a result, another legacy of the imperial history in the region is that this Serb diaspora (known as *prečani*) existed; and, depending on one's allegiance, struggles have persisted for centuries that sought either to reunite everyone back together into a merged political unit or to expunge them from the regions into which they had migrated. These migrations also meant the language variants were migrating and spreading with the people and influencing the other variants with which they came into contact.

### 2.2.1.5. Kingdom of Yugoslavia post-WWI

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia initially began as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, & Slovenes in 1918 but was known colloquially as “Yugoslavia”, meaning “land of the South Slavs” in English. When King Peter I died, his son King Aleksandar became king and renamed the kingdom the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. He eventually dissolved parliament and made it an authoritarian kingdom under the principle of “one state, one nation, one king”.<sup>40</sup> After the assassination of King Aleksandar, Prince Paul became regent, and he liberalized the Kingdom's institutions giving back more power to the people and to the constituent regions since he realized this was a better way to bring the people together—rather than by royal decree. Historian Predrag Marković suspects that had there not been WWII, the Kingdom of

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<sup>40</sup> Drapac, V. (2010). *Constructing Yugoslavia: A transnational history*. Palgrave Macmillan, p. 146.

Yugoslavia very well might have become a federation much like the Communist Federation that was formed after WWII.<sup>41</sup>

### 2.2.2 WWII-era

Yugoslavia was able to remain neutral at the beginning of the war. Prince Paul, as regent, did not want Yugoslavia to suffer through another war, particularly after heavy Serbian losses in WWI. He refused to sign the Tripartite Pact initially, but with pressure building to allow Axis powers access to Greece and threats of invasion, the government eventually signed the agreement on 25 March 1941. Two days later a *coup d'état* led to the overthrow of the government and the end of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Hitler invaded just over a week later.<sup>42</sup> One could say that the Yugoslav lands fell into chaos at this point with conflicts on many different levels. On one hand, there were fights of resistance against foreign occupiers. On the other hand, there were ideological fights between communists, non-communists, and monarchists. To make things even more complicated, there was ethnic fighting between Serbian Četniks and Croatian Ustaša—both of whom were fighting the Partisans (the Communists).<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Films Media Group. (2016). *An impossible unity. Films On Demand*. Retrieved May 14, 2023, from <https://fod.infobase.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=95406&xtid=161001>. (@21:55)

<sup>42</sup> For a concise but informative read about this particular chapter of Yugoslav history, see Lampe, J. R. (1996). *Yugoslavia as history: Twice there was a country*. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>43</sup> Films Media Group. (2016). *An impossible unity. Films On Demand*. Retrieved May 14, 2023, from <https://fod.infobase.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=95406&xtid=161001>. Timestamp: 31:00

### 2.2.2.1 Glossary of terms, iconography, slogans, and parties in the drama

The following entries describe terms, images, slogans, people, and groups that are important to the history of the region and who are often found in the pages of the primers being studied in this dissertation.

#### ※ Četniks

A guerrilla group loyal to the exiled King Peter II. They were royalists, who wanted to



restore the Yugoslav monarchy, which was overthrown in 1941. Četniks could also be considered Serb nationalists.

Their banner includes a skull and crossbones with the slogan “За Краља и Отаџбину ☠ Слобода или смрт” =

“For King and Fatherland ☠ Freedom or Death” on an all-black field (cf., image to the left).

#### ※ Mihailović, Dragoljub “Draža” / Михаиловић, Драгољуб “Дража”

Draža Mihailović was the leader of the Četniks from 1941 until his death in 1946.

#### ※ Partizan, *pl.* Partizani, *fem.* Partizanka, *fem. pl.* Partizanke

The Yugoslav Partisans were a group of communist-led fighters in Yugoslavia led by Josef Broz, who became known around the world as Tito. They held at least four official names over the course of their history but have been known colloquially as “partisans” in English and “*partizani*” in the languages of Yugoslavia. They began as a guerrilla group fighting in the resistance movement against the Axis powers, but as the war went on and as they became

more successful, more organized, and larger, they were the primary resistance movement in the region, eventually gaining the support of the Allied powers. The Partizans also gained the support of members from multiple ethnic groups in the region, who joined the movement, whereas the Četniks remained predominantly Serb.

#### ※ Pioniri = the Pioneers

Established in 1942, the Pioneers (*Pioniri* in the languages of Yugoslavia; formally, the Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia, *Savez pionira Jugoslavije*) were a youth group associated with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Becoming members in elementary school (usually around the 1st grade), Pioneers then also automatically became members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.<sup>44</sup> According to Bogić (2018), “Tito’s pioneers is one whose identity was significantly marked by the event of becoming a pioneer, that is, the moment when their status as citizens and Yugoslavs is symbolically confirmed and celebrated”

#### ※ Tito, Josip Broz

Josep Broz, known around the world as Tito, was born on 7 May 1892 in a village called Kumrovec in what was then the Austro-Hungarian Empire—today in present-day Croatia right on the Croatian-Slovenian border. His mother was a Slovene from one side of the river Sutla, his father a Croat from the other. To describe the sociolinguistics of this area at that time, Hungarian was the official language, the middle class also spoke German, while the lowest

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<sup>44</sup> Bogić, A. (2018). Tito’s Last Pioneers and the Politicization of Schooling in Yugoslavia. In I. Silova, N. Piattoeva, & Z. Millei (Eds.), *Childhood and Schooling in (Post)Socialist Societies* (pp. 127–144). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62791-5\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62791-5_7)

class only spoke the local Slavic language. With a Slovene mother and Croatian father, Tito spoke both of those languages. Having worked in various locations throughout the Empire, he also learned or became familiar with Czech, German, Italian—and eventually Russian as well.<sup>45</sup>

In 1913, he returned to Croatia to do his military service but was captured in 1915 and eventually ended up in a camp in Novosibirsk. After the end of the war, he went back home to Yugoslavia (at that point, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes). He became a political and workers' union activist and eventually a leader in Yugoslav Communist Party. As WWII began, Tito's role as a leader began to grow. He was able to leave Zagreb and move to Belgrade in May 1941, where he wanted to set up his headquarters. Over the next few years, Tito organized and led the Partisans on various missions and battles against the Axis powers as well as against the Četniks, with the ultimate goal of establishing a Communist state that he would lead. After more than a year of setbacks and missteps, Tito and his Partisans began to make inroads and win battles. Due to his successes, eventually, Tito won more and more support from the Allies. He even gained respect from his adversaries with Heinrich Himmler purported to have said in a speech: "He is our enemy, but I wish we had a dozen Titos in Germany, men who were leaders and had such great resolution and good nerves that though they were constantly encircled they would never given in."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> West, R. (1995). *Tito and the rise and fall of Yugoslavia*. Carroll and Graf.

<sup>46</sup> West, R. (1995). *Tito and the rise and fall of Yugoslavia*. Carroll and Graf, p. 182.

## ※ Titovka

A hat associated with the Partisan movement during WWII. The design is an army-green sidecap with a red star on the front. Later, it was also used by the Pioneers in Yugoslavia, a youth group associated with the Communist party. The Pioneers' *titovka* was usually blue (sometimes white), also with a red star.



Fig. 2 Titovka



Fig. 3. Pioneer's Titovka

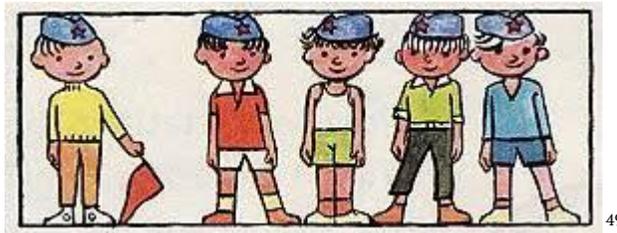


Fig 4. Image of Pioneers wearing a Titovka

## ※ Ustaša - The Ustaša; pl. Ustaše

The Ustaša, meaning 'uprising', was a group of right-wing ultra-nationalists whose goal was to form an independent Croatia, using violence as necessary. The Ustaše were led by Ante Pavelić, who eventually became the leader of the Independent State of Croatia, or NDH.

<sup>47</sup> Image source: From Wikipedia, Fair use, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?curid=34847161>

<sup>48</sup> Image source: *Union of Pioneers of Yugoslavia*. (2009, August 3). Yugoslavia – Virtual Museum. <https://yugoslavian.blogspot.com/2009/08/union-of-pioneers-of-yugoslavia.html>

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

※ NDH: Nezavisna Država Hrvatska = Independent State of Croatia

Known by many as one of the most abhorrent regimes in history,<sup>50</sup> the Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (NDH), or Independent State of Croatia in English, was a Nazi puppet state in Croatia in existence between 10 April 1941 and 25 May 1945. According to Lampe (1996) the NDH carried out “the most savage intolerance seen anywhere in Europe during the Second World War, outside of the Nazi regime itself.”<sup>51</sup> He went on to say that “its overriding purpose was to create an ethnically pure Croatian state from which Serbs, Jews, and gypsies would be permanently cleansed.” Additionally, the NDH’s Education Minister, Mile Budac, announced further that Serbs (and Jews and Roma) in the new state would either be deported, converted, or killed.<sup>52</sup> Allow me to emphasize here that this is the minister of *education*. This is something to keep in mind as we discuss educational materials produced by the NDH later in this dissertation. The regime held the view that because their mere existence in the region endangered Croatian existence there, Jews, Roma, and Serbs “had no place in Croatia”, and they used propaganda to broadcast this message throughout the NDH. Vadkerty (2020) says the message was that, according to the 31 July 1941 edition of the *Hrvatski narod* newspaper, Serbs “carried a specific Serbian soul emanating from centuries of bad breeding. They could not be allowed to ‘defile’ the Croatian ‘national body.’”<sup>53</sup> “Roma were simply considered

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<sup>50</sup> West, R. (1995). *Tito and the rise and fall of Yugoslavia*. Carroll and Graf, p. 75.

<sup>51</sup> Lampe, J. R. (1996). *Yugoslavia as history: Twice there was a country*. Cambridge University Press, p. 204.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

<sup>53</sup> Vadkerty, M. (2020). Anti-Jewish Propaganda in the NDH and the Slovak State. *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe*, p 123.

‘subhuman’.”<sup>54</sup> While it is impossible to fully know the exact number of victims, the genocide campaign carried out by the NDH was severe: some estimates say at least 600,000 Serbs, 60,000 Jews, 40,000 Roma, and tens of thousands of others who disagreed with the government.<sup>55</sup>

※ *Hrvatski državni ured za jezik* and the 1941 decree banning the use of Cyrillic

On 25 April 1941, the NDH issued a decree banning the use of the Cyrillic alphabet. This was part of a much wider plan<sup>56</sup> to suppress Serbian identity and “cleanse” the homeland—and even to obliterate the Serbs from it. Soon after the ban was implemented, the government established the *Hrvatski državni ured za jezik*, the Croatian State Office for Language.

Alexander (2006) describes four particular tasks that the Office was given. (1) “monitoring all aspects of Croatian language use”, (2) creating textbooks for schools (e.g., primers and readers) and language reference materials (e.g., dictionaries and grammars), (3) enforcing laws about language, and (4) “carrying out linguistic propaganda”. Through this office, she says that the Ustaše government effectively—and officially—“took on the task of ‘cleansing’ the Croatian language” and “eradicating all Serbian-based ‘impurities’”.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Paul Mojzes, *Balkan Genocides: Holocaust and Ethnic Cleansing in the Twentieth Century* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), p. 54. Quoted in Vadkerty (2020).

<sup>55</sup> Films Media Group. (2016). *An impossible unity*. *Films On Demand*. Retrieved May 18, 2023, from <https://fod.infobase.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=95406&xtid=161001>. [26:40]

<sup>56</sup> West, R. (1995). *Tito and the rise and fall of Yugoslavia*. Carroll and Graf, p. 89.

<sup>57</sup> Alexander, R. (2006). *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a grammar: With sociolinguistic commentary*. University of Wisconsin Press.

### 2.2.3. *The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY)*

#### **※ The unifying role of Tito**

Tito knew the challenges he had in store for him. Creating a Yugoslav state, (re-)creating a Yugoslav nation, and building and maintaining the strength of both of these would not be easy. Tito would work to become a father-like figure to the Yugoslavs, and in many ways the people's love and admiration for Comrade Tito replaced the attachment they previously had for others (e.g., the Church, previous regimes).

#### 2.2.3.1. Post-war rebuilding and forming the Yugoslav state (1945-1948)

Tito's Partisans liberated Yugoslavia from the Axis occupation in 1945. By November, the monarchy—still in exile—was abolished and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was established. The federation was made up of six republics: Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia. At this point, as a multi-ethnic country, one of Tito's goals—and challenges—was, as Drapac (2010) puts it, "effecting Yugoslav synthesis"<sup>58</sup> and maintaining support for the revolution. The Communists

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<sup>58</sup> Drapac, V. (2010). *Constructing Yugoslavia: A transnational history*. Palgrave Macmillan

nationalized industries and large farms. Immediately after the war, Yugoslavia remained aligned with the Soviet Union, but after numerous ideological and political disagreements, there was a split between Tito and Stalin in 1948, and as a result, Yugoslavia was removed from the membership of the international Communist organization.

※ **Brotherhood and Unity / Bratstvo i jedinstvo / Братство и јединство**

“Brotherhood and Unity” is a slogan used by the Communists during WWI and then later the motto and a guiding principle of the SFRY to promote the idea of one synthesized Yugoslav nation from among the different loyalties and identities of the constituent nations. The Pioniri swore an oath at their induction ceremony in which they promised *da [će] razvijati bratstvo i jedinstvo i ideje za koje se borio drug Tito*—that they shall promote brotherhood and unity and the principles for which Comrade Tito fought (Bogić 2018).

#### 2.2.3.2. Modernization: strengthening the Yugoslav nation (1948-1974)

After the Tito-Stalin split, Yugoslavia took a different path than that of its communist neighbors. Tito knew that he needed to strengthen and modernize the Yugoslav nation and bring about social and economic equality among its peoples. The new Yugoslav form of communism that resulted from this new path, and which became known as “Titoism”, was a middle ground between Soviet-style state capitalism and Western-style free market capitalism. The main principles of Titoism were self-management in industry, national

equality through federalism, and political non-alignment.<sup>59,60</sup> It offered a “third way” where the state owned the large businesses, but they were managed by the workers themselves. Socially, too, Yugoslavia was freer, more open, and more liberal than its neighboring communist countries. These things were meant to encourage economic growth and freedom. Tito also knew that in order to strengthen Yugoslavia, he needed to stress “brotherhood and unity” and ensure that all Yugoslavs were equal, understanding that national inequality, i.e., among the constituent nations, was one of the downfalls of the previous Kingdom. Drapac (2010) suggests that Tito understood that “the regime would flounder and fail if it did not do enough to eliminate inequalities among its peoples,” and Tito thought keeping some centralized control and direction in the country was key to ensure this. Finally, with respect to non-alignment, as the Cold War went on, Tito did not align himself solely with the Eastern Bloc or the West, and he and the country maintained peaceful relations with both sides. In 1956, Yugoslavia went on to become a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Throughout the 50s and 60s, economic growth and social liberalization were prioritized and continued to improve. The challenge of cultivating and strengthening the Yugoslav supra-national identity became more of a focus during this period. Lane (2004) suggests that while “brotherhood and unity” and solidarity had been important since the beginning, the emergence of Yugoslavia’s own way of communism/socialism led to a need to more clearly define Yugoslavia and Yugoslav identity.<sup>61</sup> Standardization of Serbo-Croatian as a common

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p 212.

<sup>60</sup> Lane, A. (2004). *Yugoslavia: When ideals collide*. Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p 116.

literary language is one of the ways the state sought to do this. And through this common language, the hope was to also develop a common educational curriculum with a Yugoslav language, design, and focus. The Novi Sad Agreement of 1954 formalized the status and name of the common literary language: “Officially, the name of the language must include reference to its two constituent parts (i.e., both ‘Serb’ and ‘Croat’).<sup>62</sup> The order of the “constituent parts” depended on the variant spoken. The western variant—centered in Zagreb—would be called *hrvatskosrpski*, and the eastern one—centered in Belgrade—would be called *srpskohrvatski*.<sup>63</sup>

#### 2.2.3.3. Challenges, Tensions, and Disintegration (1974-1992)

In 1974, a new constitution was adopted, and Tito was made President for Life. Another important provision of this constitution was to create a new structure for the presidency in an effort to keep the federation together and prevent power struggles after Tito’s death. The Presidency of Yugoslavia was restructured so that each republic and autonomous region would have one representative. After Tito’s death, the chairman of the presidency would rotate among the members each year. Economic woes began to emerge by the late 70s. Tito died in Ljubljana in 1980. Almost immediately, tensions began to rise as a result of economic disparities as well as a reëmergence of nationalist sentiments, e.g., in Kosovo and Croatia. The economic difficulties continued throughout the 1980s as did the tensions between and among

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<sup>62</sup> Translated and quoted in Greenberg, R. D. (2004). *Language and identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its disintegration*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>63</sup> See §2.3 for details about linguistic variation in the region in general and §2.3.5.5 for more on the Novi Sad Agreement specifically.

the constituent nations. With the “fall of communism” in Eastern Europe in 1989, nationalist elements in Yugoslavia became emboldened. By the end of 1991, Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia declared independence. Bosnia and Herzegovina followed in 1992 with a referendum, the results of which were overwhelmingly in favor of independence. The SFRY dissolved officially in 1992 with Serbia and Montenegro establishing a rump state known as the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. By then, war had broken out in Bosnia and Croatia where brutal fighting, ethnic cleansing, and other atrocities claimed the lives of over 100,000 people and displaced countless others.

## Timeline

1389 – Battle at Kosovo Polje

1892 – Josip Broz, a.k.a. “Tito”, born on the 7th of May

1941 – Establishment of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), puppet state of Axis powers.

1943 – The Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) resistance movement, led by Josip Broz Tito, proclaims the creation of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. The former monarchy remains in exile.

1945 – The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia is established, following WWII and communist party success in elections. The monarchy is abolished.

1948 – Yugoslav Constitution recognizes “the equality of all languages”. The Tito-Stalin split occurs: Yugoslavia breaks with the Soviet Union and pursues its own brand of communism, emphasizing self-management and worker participation.

1954 – Novi Sad Agreement

1963 – Yugoslavia is renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). A new constitution decentralizes power further, granting greater autonomy to the six constituent republics.

1967 – “Croatian Spring” and the *Declaration on the name and status of the Croatian Literary Language*: Croatian intellectuals renounce Novi Sad, saying that in effect it denied the existence of the Croatian language.

1974 – A new Yugoslav constitution further weakens the federal government and strengthens the republics. It establishes a collective presidency to maintain stability after the death of Tito, with each republic taking turns holding the presidency for one year.

1980 – Tito dies on May 4th.

1980s – Economic difficulties and rising nationalism create tensions between the republics. Calls for greater autonomy or independence grow.

1991 – Slovenia and Croatia declare independence. The Yugoslav Wars begin.

1992 The SFRY is dissolved. The remaining republics except Serbia and Montenegro declare independence. The Yugoslav Wars continue through the decade.

### 2.3 The languages—linguistic description of relevant regional languages

As mentioned before,<sup>64</sup> there is a debate over the distinction between language and dialect, and this debate gets right at the heart of the discussion of language, politics, and identity. Thinking of the language that you speak as a dialect of another language rather than a separate language in its own right can have a profound impact on how much that language plays a role in your identity. Likewise, governmental policy dictating how a particular language/dialect should be treated and defined can have a profound impact on efforts to shape, create, or maintain a particular national identity.

The main players in the discussion here are the languages spoken by the people in the region that was known throughout much of the twentieth century as Yugoslavia, namely<sup>65</sup>, in

alphabetical order, Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, Serbian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovenian<sup>66</sup>. All of

these—with the exception of Albanian—are related South Slavic languages and part of a



Map 2.3.: South Slavic Dialect Continuum

dialect continuum (see Map 2.3.). While in this dissertation the focus will be primarily on what has been called Serbo-Croatian, the situation with each of these languages and their

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<sup>64</sup> cf., §1.2.2.

<sup>65</sup> The names listed here have not always been what the languages have been called. Here, I introduce all of these names and will later discuss the historical and socio-historical situation relevant to this study.

<sup>66</sup> This list includes major languages, but is not an exhaustive list of languages spoken in the region. Many minority languages are also spoken, including Hungarian, Rusyn, Turkish, and dialects of Romani, to name a few.

importance to the respective identity should yield essential information and indications towards supporting the idea that language is a vital component of national identity.

### 2.3.1. Serbo-Croatian

For various reasons, the appropriate place to begin this discussion is with Serbo-Croatian, a member of the South Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family, which could be considered the supra-national language of the Yugoslavs. It is also the language being taught in the majority of the primers in the study. The Summer Institute of Linguistics classifies Serbo-Croatian as a “macrolanguage” comprising Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian.<sup>67</sup> It is described as the language “used for ‘inter-ethnic communication’”,<sup>68</sup> and Victor Friedman talks about it as being a “lingua franca” for the region.<sup>69</sup> Ranko Bugarski says that “Serbo-Croatian is both one language and several languages, depending on the perspective one takes.”<sup>70</sup> Of course the “perspective” Bugarski mentions here is often a nationalistic one, making Serbo-Croatian a vital component in this study on the topic of language and nationalism and another reason why Yugoslavia is a quintessential case to study.

The 1867 *Grammatica della lingua serbo-croata* by Pero Budmani<sup>71</sup> was the first time a grammar of the language was published with the combined name, and the 1954 Novi Sad

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<sup>67</sup> <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/hbs/>

<sup>68</sup> Brown, W. (1993) Serbo-Croat in Comrie, B., & Corbett, G. (Eds.). *The Slavonic languages* (pp 306-387). London: Routledge, p. 306.

<sup>69</sup> Friedman, V. A. (1999). *Linguistic emblems and emblematic languages: On language as flag in the Balkans*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University, Dept. of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures.

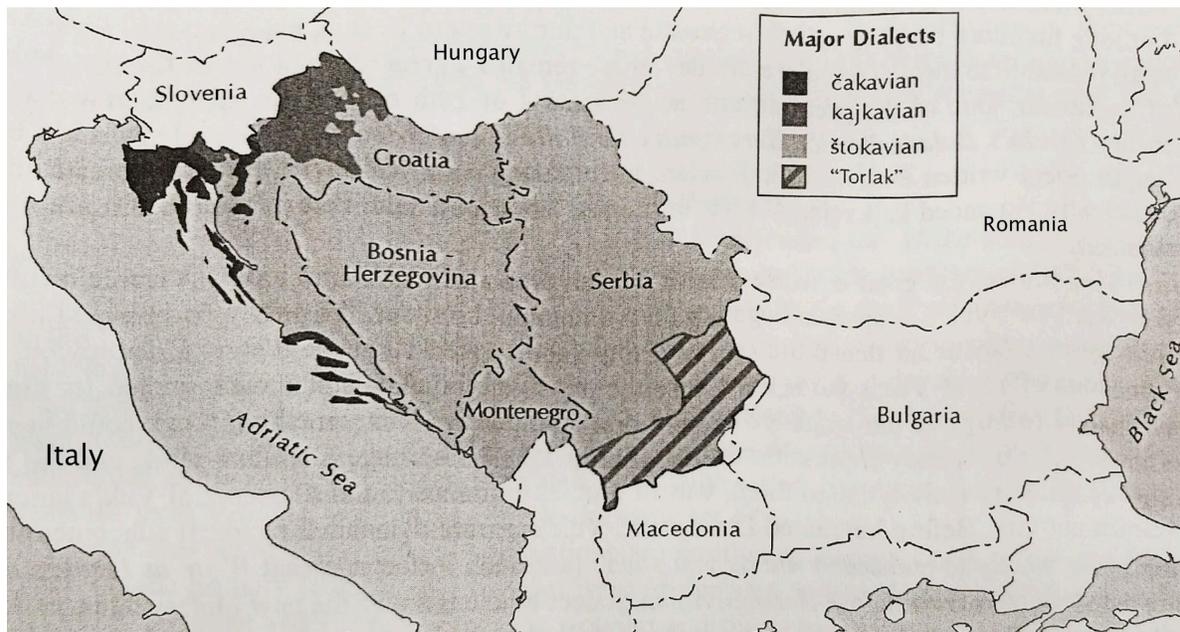
<sup>70</sup> Bugarski, R., & Hawkesworth, C. (Eds.). (2004). *Language in the former Yugoslav lands*. Slavica Publishers, p. 6.

<sup>71</sup> Budmani, P. (1867). *Grammatica della lingua serbo-croata* (illirica). Vienna: A spese dell'Autore. Retrieved from: <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwsj8p>>.

agreement codified that the name of the language would officially include both the Serbian and Croatian components in the name.<sup>72</sup> In English, the most frequently seen name was “Serbo-Croatian”, however, in Yugoslavia, it was common to see either “half” of the name in the initial position, i.e., *Srpskohrvatski* or *Hrvatskosrpski jezik*, depending on where you were.

### 2.3.1.1. Variants

This macrolanguage can be divided linguistically into a number of main dialectal variants. The chief division is classified by and gets its name from the word used for ‘what’, viz., *ča*, *kaj*, or *što*. Map 2.3.1.1.a. below shows the three main variants based on this feature and the geographic regions in which they dominate: štokavian, kajkavian, and čakavian.



Map 2.3.1.1.a. Dialect divisions: Štokavian/Čakavian/Kajkavian<sup>73</sup>, from Alexander (2006)

<sup>72</sup> cf. §§2.2.3.2 and 2.3.5.5.

<sup>73</sup> Torlak is a štokavian dialect that approaches the Bulgarian/Macedonian end of the dialect continuum.

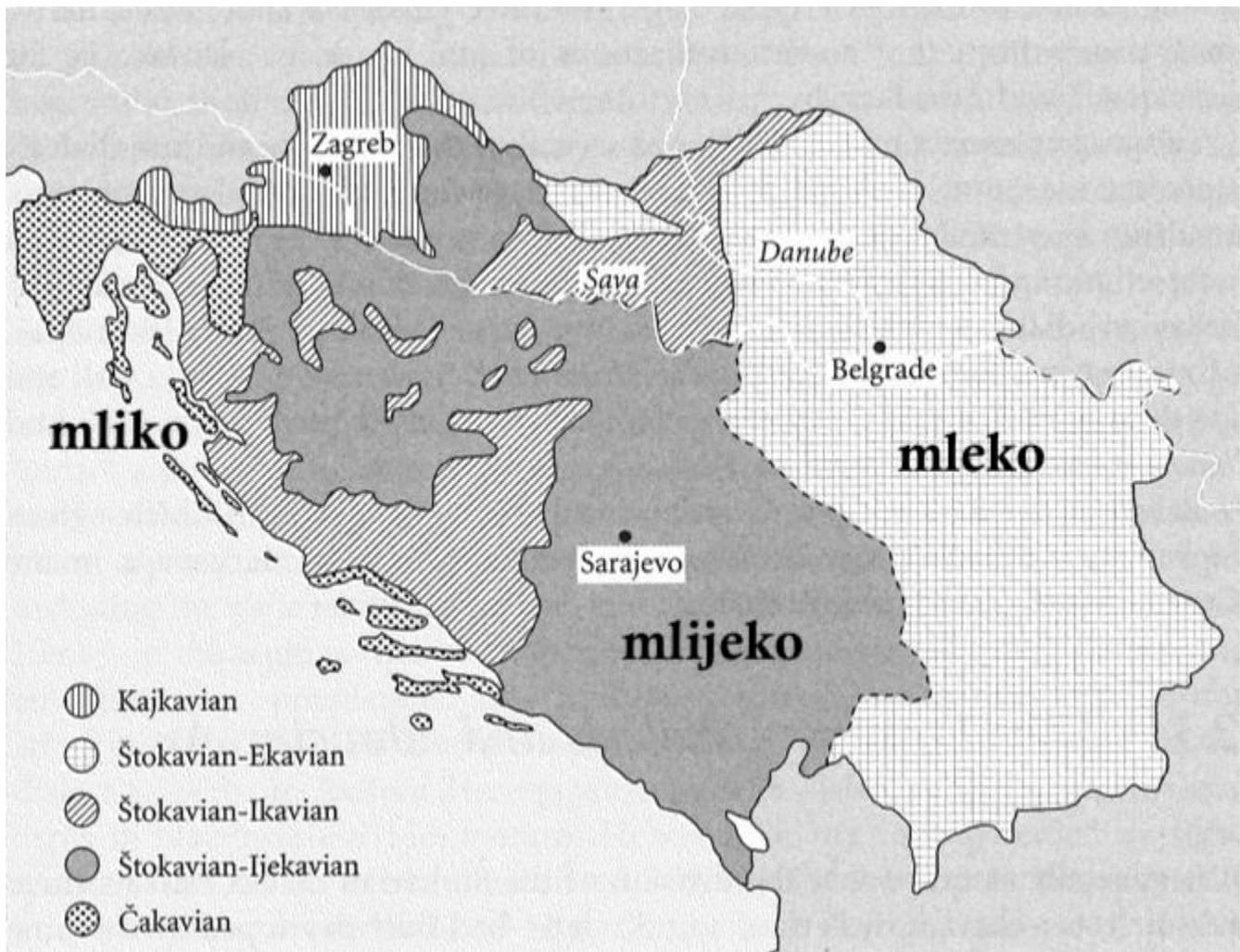
To be clear, the word for ‘what’ is not the only difference among these dialects; there are other lexical, morphological, syntactic, and phonetic differences as well, which will be discussed in the following sections. Nevertheless, the dialects are generally mutually intelligible—especially the closer two given points are along the dialect continuum (cf. Map 2.3. above). Despalatović (1975)<sup>74</sup> gives us an example from “translations” of Miroslav Krleža’s poem “Khevenhiller”, which was originally written in Krleža’s Kajkavian variant:

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Kajkavski | Kak je, tak je, tak je navek bilo,<br>Kak bu tak bu, a bu vre nekak kak bu!                      |
| Štokavski | Što je, je; tako je uvijek bilo,<br>Što će biti, bit’ će, a nekako već će biti!                  |
| Čakavski  | Ča je, je, tako je navik bilo<br>Ča će bit’, će bit’, a nekako će već bit’!                      |
| English   | What is, is; and it has always been so,<br>What will be, will be, and somehow it will always be! |

The other notable division that delineates the main dialectal variants of Serbo-Croatian is phonetic in nature. As the Slavic languages evolved over time, various articulations of the vowel, *jat’* <ǰ> occurred, and the different pronunciations based on one of these reflexes are a prominent feature in the dialectological variation we see in the region. These variants, ekavian, ijekavian, and ikavian, are named after the modern pronunciation of that vowel, which can be seen in Map 2.3.1.1.b. along with an example of the word for ‘milk’ in each variant: *mleko*, *mlijeko*, and *mliko*, respectively.

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<sup>74</sup> Despalatović, E. M. (1975). *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*. East European Quarterly ; distributed by Columbia University Press.



Map 2.3.1.1.b. Milk: Dialect divisions—Ekavian/Ijekavian/Ikavian. Based on Greenberg (2004).

Although there are many other differences, using these two main divisions, we can describe any regional variant of the language. As Map 2.3.1.1.b. illustrates, in general terms, the majority of the region speaks a štokavian variant. In Serbia, the dominant variant is štokavian-ekavian. In Bosnia & Herzegovina and Montenegro, the štokavian-ijekavian variant is most common. Within the borders of present-day Croatia, the map shows a bit more diversity; the štokavian variants are most common with ijekavian predominant in the interior and ikavian in the littoral regions as well as north of the Sava river. Kajkavian is found around

the Croatian capital, Zagreb, and čakavian in Istria and on the Dalmatian islands in the Adriatic.

### 2.3.2. *Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian (BCMS)*

The previous section described a supra-national macrolanguage called Serbo-Croatian, and this is the language that is the primary focus of this dissertation. After the wars that tore apart Yugoslavia in the 1990s, Serbo-Croatian likewise was effectively broken apart. Today, what one calls the language s/he speaks—which is, paradoxically, “simultaneously one and more than one”<sup>75</sup>—depends on a number of things, but often it seems national identity plays the most important role.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless Alexander (2006) maintains that “without a doubt...the core of BCS functions as a single linguistic system just as the numerous references to Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian [within her textbook] have demonstrated that each of these individual systems has its own noteworthy identifying characteristics.” Linguists or those trying to be sensitive to all groups involved will refer to the languages at once as Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, using the initials BCS (sometimes stylized as B/C/S). This denomination began to be used in 1994 at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. This particular issue continues to evolve and is further evidence of the strong relationship between language and national identity in this region. In fact, when the new constitution of Montenegro was ratified in 2007, it named Montenegrin as the official

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<sup>75</sup> Alexander, R. (2006). *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a grammar: With sociolinguistic commentary*. University of Wisconsin Press., p. 379.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

language of that country<sup>77</sup>; and, in December 2017, Montenegrin was officially accepted as the name for the language spoken in Montenegro by the International Organization for Standardization and thus officially recognized internationally as a language wholly separate from Serbian (Tomović 2017).<sup>78</sup> Since these developments, the abbreviation BCMS is also used to include Montenegrin.

### 2.3.3. *More on the linguistic variation in the region*

Even though this dissertation focuses primarily on Serbo-Croatian both because of the socio-political and historical situation during the majority of the time period under examination and also for the sake of the main argument around language and identity, it is nevertheless important for these exact same reasons to describe in more detail the language(s) spoken in each region.<sup>79</sup>

#### 2.3.3.1 Salient features

Having established that the regional languages are related, part of a dialect continuum, and—for the most part—mutually intelligible, what are the salient linguistic features that distinguish them? The most salient features that define the variants of Serbo-Croatian have already been discussed in §2.3.1.1., viz., the word for ‘what’: štokavski/kajkavski/čakavski and the pronunciation of particular vowels: ijekavski/ekavski/ikavski. As shorthand, we will refer

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<sup>77</sup> cf., Article 13 of the Constitution of Montenegro, ratified 19 October 2007:

<http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/78709/119464/F1430048365/MGO78709%20Eng.pdf>

<sup>78</sup> Tomović, D. (2017, December 12). *Montenegrin Language Granted International Recognition*.

<https://balkaninsight.com/2017/12/12/montenegrin-language-gained-international-recognition-12-12-2017/>

<sup>79</sup> These languages then eventually took on the same name as the region or country they were spoken as introduced above, i.e., Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian, etc.

to the former as the WHAT feature and the latter as the JAT<sup>80</sup> feature. We have also discussed that differences in lexical items, i.e., vocabulary, do exist among the languages, and these are also particularly salient. We will refer to this feature as LEX, and for our purposes here, we will include official spelling conventions within the LEX distinguishing feature. Another salient feature has to do with the use of the infinitive, which we will refer to as the INF<sup>81</sup> feature here. In these languages, the infinitive form is [root]+<ti><sup>82</sup>, e.g., *jesti* ‘to eat’, *gledati* ‘to watch’, *govoriti* ‘to speak’, *spavati* ‘to sleep’. When the subject of both verbs is the same, some speakers use a different construction instead of the infinitive, viz., *da* + [present tense], but the meaning is the same.<sup>83</sup> The sentences “Saša wants to eat.” and “Marija started to study linguistics.” are given as an example below. 2.3.3.1.a and .c are [+INF]; 2.3.3.1.b and .d are [-INF].

2.3.3.1.a. *Saša želi jesti.*

|           |         |         |
|-----------|---------|---------|
| Saša      | želi    | jesti   |
| Saša.SUBJ | want.3S | eat.INF |

Saša wants to eat.

2.3.3.1.b. *Saša želi da jede.*

|           |         |      |        |
|-----------|---------|------|--------|
| Saša      | želi    | da   | jede   |
| Saša.SUBJ | want.3s | CONJ | eat.3S |

Saša wants to eat.

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<sup>80</sup> Named after the slavic vowel jat <ѣ>, different reflexes of which resulted in the various pronunciations we encounter today in the regional variants/languages. <ѣ> has represented /æ/, /ɛ/, /a/, or /ja/.

<sup>81</sup> [+INF] will denote usage of the infinitive; [-INF] will denote usage of the *da*- construction with no infinitive; [±INF] will denote that both options are available and in use in the language.

<sup>82</sup> Sometimes -<ći>.

<sup>83</sup> cf., Alexander (2006), pp. 30-31, for further discussion.

2.3.3.1.c. *Marija je počela studirati lingvistiku.*

Marija je počela studirati lingvistiku  
Marija BE.3S.AUX start.3S.FEM.PSTP study.INF linguistics.ACC  
Maria started to study linguistics.

2.3.3.1.d. *Marija je počela da studira lingvistiku.*

Marija je počela da studira lingvistiku  
Marija BE.3S.AUX start.3S.FEM.PSTP CONJ study.3S linguistics.ACC  
Maria started to study linguistics.

One final distinguishing feature to include when comparing the languages is which alphabet is used. The historical development of the alphabets and other important details will be discussed in later sections, but here it will suffice to say that modified versions of both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts are used to write the languages being studied here. Other scripts have been used historically and do come into play when language and national identity are being discussed, but for the time period of focus here, Latin and Cyrillic are the main players. ABC will be the shorthand used here when discussing this feature.

※ **Abecedarium or Abecedary**

An abecedary is a tool used to teach the alphabet, which features and highlights each letter individually. The letters are typically listed in the relevant canonical alphabetical order and are often accompanied by words, images, or even poetry that feature the letter being presented. The *New England Primer* features a famous abecedary to teach the English alphabet (and particular mores of the time). “In Adam’s fall, we sinned all. ¶ Thy life to mend, this **B**ook attend. ¶ The **C**at doth play, and after slay. ¶ A **D**og will bite a thief at night.”

### 2.3.3.2 Bosnian

We begin in alphabetical order with Bosnian, which is one of the official languages in both present-day<sup>84</sup> Republika Srpska<sup>85</sup> and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina<sup>86</sup>, which are the constitutive entities of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bosnia has a long history and has existed as a polity since at least the early Middle Ages, but the current republic has roughly the same borders as it did at the end of WWII and has a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population. Bosnia has a complicated history, but there is a complicated debate about the name of the language as well. The term “Bosnian” (*bosanski jezik*) has been used to describe the South Slavic language spoken by the inhabitants of the country (*Bosanci*, Bosnians)<sup>87</sup> and the South Slavic language spoken by the Bosnian *Muslims*, also known as Bosniaks (*Bošnjaci*). Some language planners have preferred to call the language “Bosniak” (*bošnjački jezik*) based on this demonym, but the Bosniak language planners themselves tend to prefer the term “Bosnian.”<sup>88, 89</sup> The constitution of Republika Srpska refers to the language as “*jezik bošnjačkog naroda*”, which translates to “the language of the Bosniak people”.

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<sup>84</sup> The Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina are the constitutive entities of the state of Bosnia & Herzegovina.

<sup>85</sup> cf., Article 7 of the constitution of Republika Srpska, in which they call it “*jezik bošnjačkog naroda*”: <https://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/62457/119643/F-532269236/BIH62457%20Srb.pdf>

<sup>86</sup> cf., Article 6 of the constitution of the Federation of Bosnia & Herzegovina: [https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL\(2000\)054-e](https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL(2000)054-e)

<sup>87</sup> Meaning that this word can serve as a demonym for the inhabitants of the country—no matter what national group they might otherwise identify with.

<sup>88</sup> cf., Alexander (2006), pp. 408-409.

<sup>89</sup> cf., Isaković, A. (1993), pp. 17-19.

In the introduction to *Rječnik karakteristične leksike u bosanskome jeziku = Dictionary of characteristic words of the Bosnian language*,<sup>90</sup> first published in 1992, Isaković makes the point that Bosnian was not created *from* Croatian or Serbian but rather that it has developed alongside them. Any language or variant thereof changes and develops over time along the same kinds of boundaries discussed previously—physical boundaries like mountains and large bodies of water and the other “hard” and “soft” boundaries like political borders, culture, religion, etc.<sup>91</sup> Isaković says “if the Bosnian language were a pure result of the above-mentioned components, which it is not, even then it would be complete just as the Serbian and Croatian languages are complete, since its essence is not expressed by the formula  $A + B$  ( $A+B$ ) but by  $A + B + (AB + C)$ , where  $C$  represents a characteristic usage of the  $h$  sound.”<sup>92,93</sup> The reality would include far more variables that would distinguish Bosnian from the other languages he mentions, but his point is well taken that these languages have existed and have been evolving all at the same time but in different ways and in different places.

#### 2.3.3.2.1 Distinguishing features in Bosnian

To describe the salient comparative linguistic features, standard Bosnian is štokavian-ijekavian [WHAT & JAT], and its speakers use both the infinitive and the *da*+present constructions, i.e., it is [±INF]. For [ABC], both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets are official and in

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<sup>90</sup> Isaković, A. (1993). *Rječnik karakteristične leksike u bosanskome jeziku = Dictionary of characteristic words of the Bosnian language* (Original edition: Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1992). Bambi: Wuppertal.

<sup>91</sup> cf., §1.2.2. for the discussion of Duara’s points on hard and soft boundaries from Duara (1996).

<sup>92</sup> The phoneme is /x/, but it is spelled <h> in the Latin script.

<sup>93</sup> Isaković, A. (1993). *Rječnik karakteristične leksike u bosanskome jeziku = Dictionary of characteristic words of the Bosnian language* (Original edition: Svjetlost, Sarajevo, 1992). Bambi: Wuppertal., p. 7.

use. Cyrillic is prioritized in Republika Srpska, but the Latin alphabet otherwise dominates.<sup>94</sup>

Regarding [LEX], Bosnian includes many more lexical items with a Turkish root when compared to its neighboring variants. Isaković also mentions “usage of the *h* sound”, and indeed he includes an <h> in entries in his dictionary, which were not present in other orthographic conventions, e.g., the entry for *kahva* ‘coffee’ insists that the spelling is <kahva>, not <kafa> or <kava>. Alexander (2006) lists additional words that fall into this category: *lahak* (not <lak>) ‘light’, ‘easy’; *mehak* (not <mek>) ‘soft’; *sahat* (not <sat>)<sup>95</sup> ‘clock’.

Before moving on, one anecdote from Bosnia that adds proof that language can be deeply tied to national identity comes from 1993 when the leader of Republika Srpska wanted to force residents there to use the ekavski variant to align themselves with Serbia and differentiate themselves from the others in the Federation. The problem was that the majority of the speakers in the region are ijekavski speakers. The policy did not last. Both pronunciations are allowed, but the majority still speak the ijekavski variant.<sup>96</sup>

### 2.3.3.3. Croatian

Beginning in the 6th century CE, Slavic peoples moved into the area then known as the Byzantine province of Illyricum.<sup>97</sup> Croatia as a polity has existed in some form since the 7th century, whether independently or under subjugation of another kingdom or empire. The

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<sup>94</sup> Other writing systems have been used throughout Bosnia’s history, including an earlier variant of Cyrillic, called *Bosančica*, as well as an alphabet based on the Perso-Arabic script, known as *Arebica*.

<sup>95</sup> Isaković (1992) proposes <sât>, but Halilović (1999) indicates both <sahat> and <sat> are acceptable.

<sup>96</sup> Alexander, R. (2006). *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a grammar: With sociolinguistic commentary*. University of Wisconsin Press., p. 419.

<sup>97</sup> Drapac, V. (2010). *Constructing Yugoslavia: A transnational history*. Palgrave Macmillan., p. 259.

South-Slavic language spoken there evolved over the centuries into the variants we have previously discussed. The Institute for Croatian Language and Linguistics (*Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje*) dates the “written linguistic heritage” of Croatian back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>98</sup> Between the 15<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, there was a real renaissance along the Dalmatian coast—centered around Dubrovnik—in which neither Italian nor Latin were used (despite their power and influence in the region at that time) but rather the Slavic vernacular was the language these literary works were written in.<sup>99</sup> Efforts to settle on one Croatian literary standard began in earnest during the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of Romantic nationalism and the Illyrian Movement; we will come back to this in more detail in later sections.

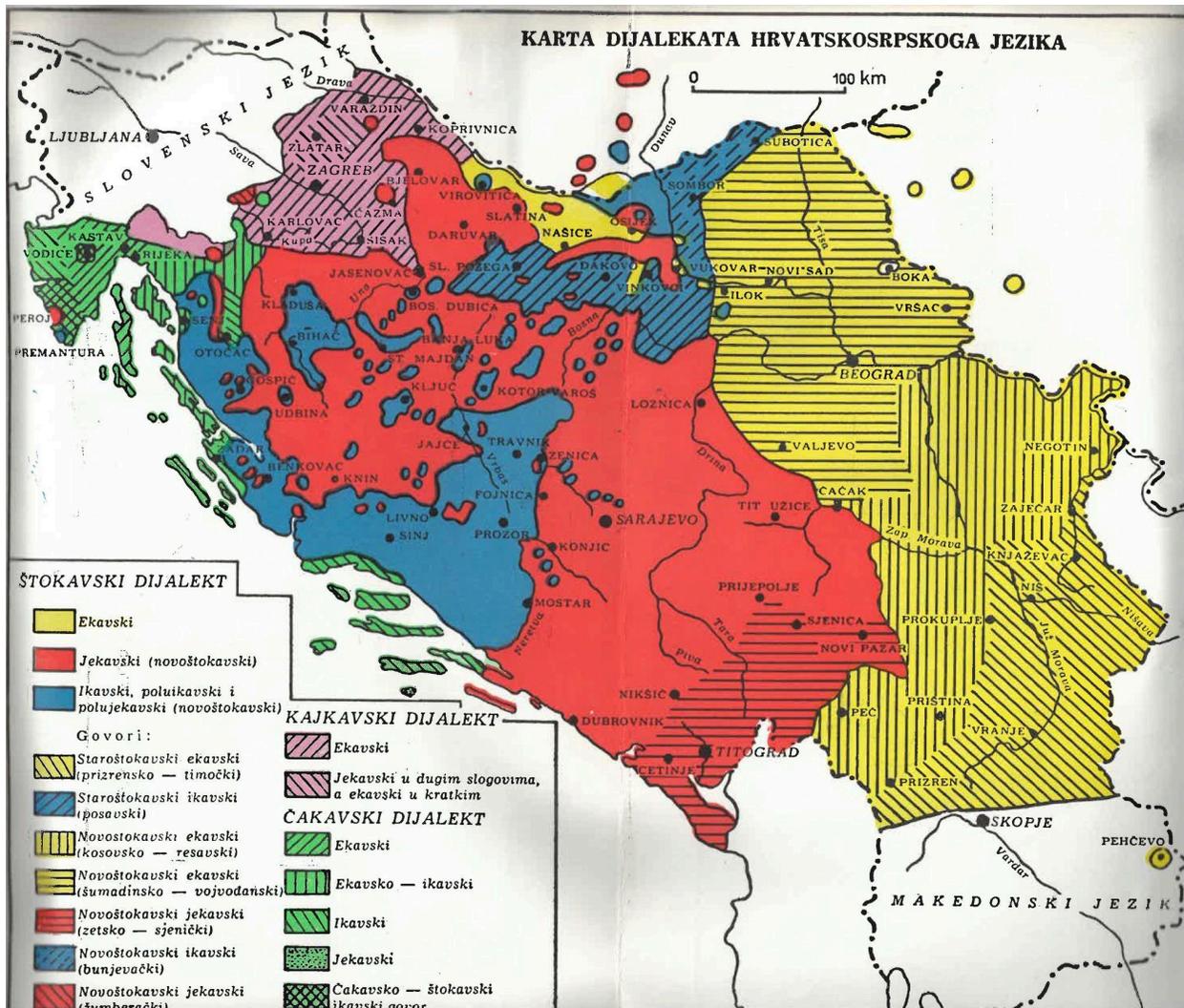
#### 2.3.3.2.1 Distinguishing features in Croatian

WHAT & JAT: Standard Croatian is štokavian-ijekavian, however, both kajkavian and čakavian variants are widely spoken within the present political boundaries of modern-day Croatia. Map 2.3.3.2.1. below illustrates generally that kajkavian speakers (in lilac) are concentrated in the northern regions bordering Slovenia and Hungary, while čakavian is spoken predominantly on the Istrian peninsula and the Adriatic islands. These čakavian regions in Croatia are where the ikavian pronunciation is most frequently found, but otherwise beyond this generalization, the pronunciation one might find in a given area could vary from village to village—or even be idiolectal.

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<sup>98</sup> <http://ihjj.hr/stranica/o-hrvatskome-jeziku/26/>

<sup>99</sup> Butler, T. (Ed.). (1980). *Monumenta Serbocroatica: A bilingual anthology of Serbian and Croatian texts from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century*. Michigan Slavic Publications., p. 179.



Map 2.3.3.2.1.: “Dialect map of the Croato-Serbian language”<sup>100</sup>

INF: Croatian is [+INF], i.e., its speakers tend to use the infinitive instead of the [da + present] construction.

LEX: The vocabulary of Croatian is also important to note since efforts to “purify” the lexicon of foreign influence have been significant, especially when compared to the other neighboring languages. Throughout its history, there have been efforts to reject foreign

<sup>100</sup> From Brabec, I., Hraste, M., & Živković, S. (1970). *Gramatika hrvatskosrpskoga jezika* (9th edition). Školska knjiga, Zagreb

borrowings from the Croatian vocabulary—especially those borrowings from occupiers’ languages, e.g., German, Turkish—even those thought to be “Serbianisations”. Any such words were replaced with old words that could be traced back to have a Croatian lineage or new words were coined based on Croatian or Slavic roots. Some examples follow:

| English         | Croatian    | Bosnian        | Serbian | English   | Croatian | Bosnian  | Serbian |
|-----------------|-------------|----------------|---------|-----------|----------|----------|---------|
| factory         | tvornica    | fabrika        |         | January   | siječanj | januar   |         |
| library         | knjižnica   | biblioteka     |         | February  | veljača  | februar  |         |
| music           | glazba      | muzika         |         | March     | ožujak   | mart     |         |
| railway station | kolodvor    | stanica        |         | April     | travanj  | april    |         |
| airplane        | zrakoplov   | avion          |         | May       | svibanj  | maj      |         |
| telegram        | brzozjav    | telegram       |         | June      | lipanj   | jun      |         |
| university      | sveučilište | univerzitet    |         | July      | srpanj   | jul      |         |
| bread           | kruh        | kruh / hl(j)eb | hleb    | August    | kolovoz  | avgust   |         |
| train           | vlak        | voz            |         | September | rujan    | sepembar |         |
|                 |             |                |         | October   | listopad | oktobar  |         |
|                 |             |                |         | November  | studeni  | novembar |         |
|                 |             |                |         | December  | prosinac | decembar |         |

Table 3.: Comparison of lexical items in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian variants

ABC: In Croatia today, the Latin alphabet is official, but throughout its history, Cyrillic and another, older alphabet also attributed to Sts. Cyril and Methodius called Glagolitic, or *glagolica*, were used. Glagolitic was used at least by the 12<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by fragments of an early Croatian missal found that dates back to that time.<sup>101</sup> Over the next few centuries, Glagolitic thrived during the Dalmatian renaissance for writing Slavic-language texts, and a specific Croatian style of the alphabet developed, which Butler (1980) refers to as the “native Croatian Glagolitic”. This style was more angular (i.e., less loopy, fewer circles) than the earlier style. Glagolitic remained the primary script for centuries until the Latin script began to gain prominence in the 16<sup>th</sup> century with the invention of the printing press. On a recent

<sup>101</sup> Butler, T. (Ed.). (1980). *Monumenta Serbocroatica: A bilingual anthology of Serbian and Croatian texts from the 12th to the 19th century*. Michigan Slavic Publications., p. 17.

trip to Zagreb, it was striking how much *glagolica* could be seen around the capital.<sup>102</sup> In the Zagreb Cathedral, there is a wall immediately as you enter the nave with a very large inscription; it is written in Glagolitic and dated ☒•☒•☒•☒, or 1941. The inscription commemorates the 1300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Croats’ adoption of Christianity.



Fig. 5. Glagolitic inscription in Zagreb Cathedral.<sup>103</sup> Photo credit: Bryan Fleming

In the National and University Library (*Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu*, or NSK), big *glagolica* suspended from the ceiling greeted you in the front atrium, and the carpet showcases the letter <☒>—also the logo of the NSK.

<sup>102</sup> In my field notes, I wrote “Glagolica are everywhere, and it’s clearly a cultural and national symbol now!”

<sup>103</sup> The inscription translated into English says: “Glory to God in the highest! At the commemoration of the 1300th summer of the baptism of the People of the Croats, who swore eternal fidelity to the Rock of Peter, receiving from it the promise of help in all suffering. The Society of the Brotherhood of the Croatian Dragon, which preserves the legacy of the forefathers, dedicates the Croatian fatherland to the great Mother of God. 1941.”



Fig. 6: left: Entrance to the National and University Library in Zagreb (NSK).  
right: a close-up of the NSK's carpet, featuring glagolitic letter <Ѣ>

The Školski Musej also featured an abecedarium in the classroom exhibit that included both Latin and Glagolitic scripts. Shops around town sold ties and other garments that featured *glagolica*, and to pay for these items, you could use money with *glagolica*.



Fig 7. left: clothing featuring glagolitic. right: a close-up of the 100 kuna note with an inscription in glagolitic

One gets a clear sense that the glagolitic alphabet holds a place of national importance and pride; this adds additional weight to the importance of language to Croatian national identity.

#### 2.3.3.4. Montenegrin

When the new constitution of Montenegro was ratified in 2007, it named Montenegrin as the official language of that country<sup>104</sup>; and, in December 2017, Montenegrin was officially accepted as the name for the language spoken in Montenegro by the International Organization for Standardization and thus officially recognized internationally as a language wholly separate from Serbian (Tomović 2017).

<sup>104</sup> cf., Article 13 of the Constitution of Montenegro, ratified 19 October 2007:  
<http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/78709/119464/F1430048365/MGO78709%20Eng.pdf>

Montenegrin is štokavski-ijekavski, and it is [-INF], i.e., uses the [*da* + present] construction. Historically, the language spoken in Montenegro has been written in the Cyrillic script, but today, for both political and practical reasons more and more people are using the Latin script, so it is common to see both. Politically, some strong proponents of differentiating Montenegrin from Serbian suggest using the Latin script. Proposals to add two additional letters to each alphabet to represent sounds used in Montenegrin that were not represented in the 30 letters of the Gaj/Karadžić alphabets was officially adopted by the government in 2009.<sup>105</sup> These letters are (in Cyrillic and Latin respectively) <ć> and <š> for [ɕ] and <ɟ' > and <ž> for [ʒ]. Linguistically, the sounds in question are not phonemic, however, and it is currently impractical due to these new letters not being typed easily.

#### 2.3.3.5. Serbian

Serbs are proud of their long history and language, which has long been tied to the Serbian Orthodox Church and the liturgical language (Old Church Slavonic), from which South Slavic languages derive. As the vernacular evolved, some purists resisted modernization and codification of the vernacular as a Serbian literary language. A struggle for the literary language (which also included nationalist elements) that began during the Enlightenment finally resulted in a series of standards and norms, many of which exist to this day.<sup>106</sup>

WHAT, JAT, and INF: Serbian is štokavski-ekavski, and it is [-INF], i.e., uses the [*da* + present] construction in the appropriate environment. ABC: Officially, Serbian should be

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<sup>105</sup> Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke, Crna Gora. (2009). *Pravopis crnogorskoga jezika i rječnik crnogorskoga jezika*.

<sup>106</sup> More about Vuk Karadžić, one of the main players in this story follows in the next section.

written in the Cyrillic script.<sup>107</sup> Unofficially, most citizens are proficient in both Cyrillic and Latin scripts.

| Language    | WHAT | JAT | INF | ABC      | LEX  |
|-------------|------|-----|-----|----------|--|
| Bosnian     | što  | ije | ±   | both     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Far more words with Turkic, Persian, or Arabic roots.</li> <li>•Inclusion of /h/ in pronunciation and &lt;h&gt; in many official spellings.</li> </ul>   |
| Croatian    | što  | ije | +   | Latin    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Lexical "purification" efforts aimed at reducing foreign borrowings in favor of words with Slavic roots.</li> </ul>  |
| Montenegrin | što  | ije | -   | both     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Initially, two letters were added to both alphabets to represent two sounds that most linguists consider to be allophonic. This effort seems to have subsided, and the letters are no longer used in governmental publications.</li> </ul> |
| Serbian     | što  | e   | -   | Cyrillic |  |

Table 4. Comparison of linguistic features in Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Serbian

<sup>107</sup> cf., Article 10 of the 2006 constitution of the Republic of Serbia:  
[http://www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/documents/Constitution\\_%20of\\_Serbia\\_pdf.pdf](http://www.parlament.gov.rs/upload/documents/Constitution_%20of_Serbia_pdf.pdf)

### *2.3.4 Language as instrument*

So far in the discussion of the importance of language to national identity, we have mentioned how language can be used as a tool—an instrument—to promote, strengthen, or even create a national identity. For example, the people themselves can choose to use a particular language as a way to signal a certain identity—consider the variations discussed in the previous section and what these variations can tell someone who sees or hears them. Also, governments can, on the one hand, write policy that prescribes or prohibits the use of a particular language; or, on the other hand, they can raise the status of a language from being a vernacular, “common” language to being the official language with all of the prestige that accompanies such status. Language policy can, thus, act as a good and accurate measure of the importance of language to a given identity.

Key in this dissertation is the idea that another way governments and the elite can use language as an instrument to effect a desired goal is through the schools and education. What language is taught—and, conversely, what languages are strictly forbidden in the schools—provides clear evidence about the importance of language to national identity; and, moreover, textbooks, primers, dictionaries, and grammars can offer a glimpse into just how this was done. In many cases, linguists have been among those elites driving such a thing forward.

### 2.3.5. Linguists and their role

Linguists have played an important role in the nationalist histories of the region, which is another reason why Yugoslavia is an excellent case study to explore the relationship between language and national identity. This region was long under the yoke of foreign powers, but the nineteenth century, however, saw the rise of nationalist thought throughout Europe and the beginning of the breakdown of these empires. Andrew Wachtel says “The nationalist movements that destabilized the Hapsburg Empire in the course of the 19th century illustrate with particular clarity the ways in which belief in a shared national destiny arose and developed, for the patterns in which each of the [minority groups living under its yoke] “discovered” its nationality were very similar. [...] The first step was a linguistic and cultural awakening, [...and with it] the revival and codification of the national language.”<sup>108</sup> During this time, two of the most important figures in the efforts for linguistic and cultural awakening in the region were two linguists, Ljudevit Gaj and Vuk Stefanović Kàradžić, who were involved, respectively, in the Illyrian Movement and a movement some refer to as Pan-Serbism. Although they were working separately and in two different parts of the region, arguably—and in very basic terms—the goal for these movements was unity among the South Slavs (Yugo-slavs) who were seen to be distinct but very closely related groups; and for many, the means by which this unity was seen to be best achieved was through a common (literary) language.

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<sup>108</sup> Wachtel, A. (1998). *Making a nation, breaking a nation: Literature and cultural politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford University Press., pp. 20, 24.

### 2.3.5.1. Vuk Stefanović Karadžić / Вук Стефановић Караџић

Vuk Karadžić was born in 1787 in what was then the Ottoman Empire, now present-day Serbia. He published a grammar of Serbian in 1814 and a dictionary of that language in 1818. Instead of basing these texts on the then-current, somewhat artificial, literary standard, which was understood by few (mainly elites) and heavily influenced by the liturgical language of the Serbian Orthodox church (which itself had influences from Russian), Vuk chose to base it on the language of the people, namely, the Štokavian dialect from Eastern Hercegovina, which was understood by many more people throughout the entire region. According to Alexander (2006), Vuk was very strict and did not include any “word or grammatical form [in his dictionary] that did not exist naturally”<sup>109</sup> in that dialect. Vuk’s aim in writing this grammar was, certainly, language reform for the reasons mentioned here before, but he also wanted to help writers—to Wachtel’s point—as part of the literary and cultural awakening. In his own words: “For some years, the Serbs have been emerging from the darkness of ignorance and have begun to be active in the field of literature. But [...] Serb writers have never agreed about the language in which they wrote [...] and] the lack of any written rules of the Serbian language hinders their desire, presents them with difficulties, and causes disagreement among them.”<sup>110</sup> In short: a common language will help bring them together.

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<sup>109</sup> Alexander, R. (2006). *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a grammar: With sociolinguistic commentary*. University of Wisconsin Press.

<sup>110</sup> Quoted in Wilson, D. (1970). *The life and times of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, 1787-1864: Literacy, literature, and national independence in Serbia*. Oxford University Press., pp. 100-101

### 2.3.5.2. Ljudevit Gaj

Ljudevit Gaj was born in 1809 in present-day Croatia. Under the Illyrian movement, the efforts to standardize a common language stemmed from the fact that there were three dialects spoken as we mentioned before: Štokavian, Kajkavian, and Čakavian. Although Gaj's own dialect was Kajkavian, he proposed using Štokavian as the basis for the common language since there was already a well established literary tradition in Dùbrovnik dating back from the Dalmatian renaissance, as well as the fact that Vuk's choice for a common literary language was also based on Štokavian.<sup>111</sup> Again, these choices point to the fact that the language is an important component to this national identity and a tool by which they hoped it would coalesce. Gaj's on words point to the importance of the language to the national identity:

Countrymen! Let us not permit Croatia, whose courage and strength once awoke wonder in men, to sink to a position of deserved inferiority in the nineteenth century. Let us now, in peacetime, become heroes of the intellect (spirit), so that our language, spoken with love and reverence by the greatest men of our nation and defended by them with their blood and property, does not, through neglect, fall into a dark grave.<sup>112</sup>

In addition to this quote, Despalatović goes on to highlight Gaj's fervent belief that language was a symbol of the nation and that "men who neglect their own language [...] sin against their nation"<sup>113</sup> and that "a nation has nothing holier nor dearer than its natural

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<sup>111</sup> cf., Wachtel, A. (1998). *Making a nation, breaking a nation: Literature and cultural politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford University Press., pp. 26-27.

<sup>112</sup> Despalatović, E. M. (1975). *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*. East European Quarterly ; distributed by Columbia University Press., p. 53.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

language, for it is only through language that a nation, as a particular society, continues or vanishes.”<sup>114</sup>

### 2.3.5.3. Common alphabet & orthography

One of the biggest and most enduring things to come out of these linguists' efforts to standardize the language was work towards a common alphabet and orthography. Both Kàradžić and Gaj thought that it was very important to replace the “foreign-influenced” orthography with a new one. They both wanted a phonetic orthography with a one-to-one sound-to-character ratio, which would make it easier for the people to read and write. In the introduction to his 1814 grammar, Vuk explains that he believes that people should „пиши као што говориш, а читај као што је написано”; “write as you speak; read as it is written”. Although they were proposing different alphabets, one Latin, one Cyrillic, their goals of unity were the same. Developed over years, the alphabets were tailored for the phonology of the languages, were eventually adopted officially, and have been used in the region since.

#### 2.3.5.3.1. Gaj's common Latin alphabet

Gaj used a modified Latin alphabet. Accented letters and digraphs were added for the affricates [tʃ], <č>; [tʃe], <ć>; [dʒ], <dž>; and [dʒe], <đ>, as well as palatalized [ʎ], <lj> and [ɲ], <nj> and the fricatives [ʃ], <š> and [ʒ], <ž>. Latin letters not used in the language were removed, viz., <q>, <w>, <x>, and <y>.

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

Aa Bb Cc Čč Ćć Dd Dždž Đđ Ee Ff

Gg Hh Ii Jj Kk Ll Llj Mm Nn Njnj

Oo Pp Rr Ss Šš Tt Uu Vv Zz Žž

#### 2.3.5.3.2. Karadžić's common Cyrillic alphabet

Similarly, Karadžić used a modified Cyrillic. Letters were added for the affricates [tʃ], <ч>; [tʃ], <ћ>; [dʒ], <џ>; and [dʒ], <џ> as well as for palatalized [ʎ], <љ> and [ɲ], <њ>; finally, the Latin <j> was added to represent the palatal glide [j]. Non-utilized or redundant Cyrillic letters were removed.

Аа Бб Вв Гг Дд Ђђ Ее Жж Зз Ии

Јј Кк Лл Љљ Мм Нн Њњ Оо Пп Рр

Сс Тт Ћћ Уу Фф Хх Цц Чч Џџ Шш

#### 2.3.5.4. The Vienna Agreement of 1850

The next important event in the region relevant to this study of language and its importance to creating a common Yugoslav national identity was a convening of linguists from Croatia and Serbia in Vienna in 1850, including Vuk Karadžić. The agreement that they signed at the end of the meeting became known as the Vienna (Literary) Agreement. It, in effect, brought the Croat and Serb movements together and created a joint common Yugoslav

literary language that would be based on the vernacular—specifically the štokavian-ijekavian variant, and it could be written in both alphabets. These linguists were promoting a common standard that was not the standard any of them spoke as their “mother language”, but they were willing to “sacrifice [their] own linguistic habits for what [they] saw as the common good”, i.e., unity.<sup>115</sup> This was important since now there is a common goal, and a common language, and new dictionaries began to be published.

#### 2.3.5.5. Naš jezik: What’s in a name?

The languages that were the subject of the Vienna Agreement went by various names (e.g., Serbian, Croatian, Slaveno-Serbian), but for the sake of unity and a cohesive national identity, it seems that something more inclusive would be better for the name of the common language. This was not dealt with, however, in the Vienna Agreement. The new dictionaries that began to emerge following Vienna continued with the various regional names; that is, until Pero Budmani published his *Grammatica della lingua serbo-croata* in 1867.<sup>116</sup> This is the first time we see a grammar with the combined denomination for the language that became Serbo-Croatian. The cover of Budmani’s grammar is shown in the image to the right.

This issue of the language’s name was in some sense put to rest—although temporarily—in the 1954 Novi Sad Agreement,



<sup>115</sup> Wachtel, A. (1998). *Making a nation, breaking a nation: Literature and cultural politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford University Press., p. 29.

<sup>116</sup> Budmani, P. (1867). *Grammatica della lingua serbo-croata (illirica)*. Vienna: A spese dell’Autore. Retrieved from: <<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwsj8p>>.

which was the result of another conference of linguists from all over Yugoslavia that came together to discuss their common language. One of the conclusions of that agreement spoke specifically to the name: “Officially, the name of the language must include reference to its two constituent parts, i.e., both ‘Serb’ and ‘Croat’.”<sup>117</sup> The order of the “constituent parts” depended on the variant spoken. The western variant would be called *hrvastkosrpski*, and the eastern one *srpskohrvatski*. So, in effect, there were two names for what was officially one common language—and now also two official variants, one centered in Zagreb and one in Belgrade, and still two official alphabets. Despite these dualities, the official conclusions that were agreed upon at Novi Sad were all in the name of “brotherhood and unity”. The most unifying name, however, might not have been one decided upon and promulgated by a group of linguists, but rather the way any person on the street might describe what s/he spoke: *naš jezik*, ‘our language’.

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<sup>117</sup> Translated and quoted in Greenberg, R. D. (2004). *Language and identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and its disintegration*. Oxford University Press.

### **3. Why Primers?**

#### ***3.1 Why primers? – redux***

Not to fully rehash the material presented in the first section (§1.1.3), let us briefly revisit the argument that primers and other similar educational materials—when written, published, and/or approved by a government—are a valid measure of the salience of language in the makeup of national identity and that they provide valuable insight into what the government thinks is important to its identity, strength, and survival. The target users of a primer are usually young children learning to read; their minds are malleable at this stage of development, and primers are a perfect vehicle to introduce other elements beyond learning how to read, e.g., cultural values and mores—and what makes a good citizen. A quote in a recent piece about a new Russian primer<sup>118</sup> still has not left my mind: “The single best possible way for [the government] to get [the Russian] society mobilized is to brainwash the young.”<sup>119</sup> Of course, this idea is not only understood by the Russian government, and others throughout history have taken advantage of it.

#### ***3.2 They stick***

Not only are primers powerful vehicles to deliver content widely to a captive audience, it is clear that the information sticks, and we have anecdotal and empirical evidence of this.

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<sup>118</sup> *Азбуки о важном*. <https://azbuka2023.ru/>

<sup>119</sup> MacFarquhar, N., & Mazaeva, M. (2023, June 3). In Russian Schools, It's Recite Your ABC's and 'Love Your Army.' *New York Times*, 1.  
<<https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/03/world/europe/russia-schools-military-war.html>>.

Dubravka Ugrešić's account<sup>120</sup> of finding her old primer shows how well she remembers even small details about her time with the book. Larger themes stuck with her as well like “brotherhood and unity” and the importance and closeness of Yugoslavia's friends in the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>121</sup>

Previous research has also shown the importance emotions play when people form a sense of belonging to a group—a key component to national identity—and how evoking these emotions through recalling certain memories in textbooks is very effective. Trošt (2019) provides evidence for this, even exploring whether there is a difference between the effectiveness of evoking positive memories versus negative ones.<sup>122</sup> The primers under consideration in this dissertation clearly use important national memories through images and language to evoke these kinds of emotions and a sense of belonging to a particular identity.

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<sup>120</sup> cf., §1.1.4.

<sup>121</sup> “B for brother. All people are brothers, especially Africans. (A long way away, in Africa, live peoples with dark skins. They greet our sailors joyfully. They point to the red star on our flag. They shake our sailors firmly by the hand and shout in their own language: ‘Yugoslav sailors are our brothers!’) There are Serbs and Croats. They are brothers too. And when brotherly hearts unite, nothing can oppose their might! So my primer proclaims.” Excerpt from Ugrešić, D. (1998). *The culture of lies: Antipolitical essays*. Pennsylvania State University Press.

<sup>122</sup> Trošt, T. P. (2019). Remembering the good: Constructing the nation through joyful memories in school textbooks in the former Yugoslavia. *Memory Studies*, 12(1), 27–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698018811986>

### 3.3 Das ist Propaganda!



Fig. 8. “Rob nikada!”<sup>123</sup>

Another reason primers are effective at evoking emotions to promote a national identity and make it stick can be summed up in one word: propaganda—propaganda in the most neutral, non-pejorative, and academic sense of the word.

Propaganda in this sense is a relatively ubiquitous thing. In a 1984 video entitled “WWII: The Propaganda Battle”,<sup>124</sup> Bill Moyers introduces the segment by saying that “propaganda has been around ever since the serpent seduced Eve with the illusion that a taste

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<sup>123</sup>Featured on the Instagram account @propagandapolis with the caption:

“Never a slave!” – Croatian poster from the Second World War (1944) showing a soldier holding the torn flag of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH), the Axis puppet state established in 1941 following the invasion. Throughout the war the NDH was governed by the fascist Ustaše, whose ‘U’ emblem you can see in the top left of the flag. By the time of this poster’s publication, the forces of the NDH were in retreat, being steadily overwhelmed by the combined forces of Tito’s partisans and the approaching Red Army. In power, the Ustaše had pursued a racial policy not unlike Germany’s that led to the building of a network of concentration camps and the killing and deportation of hundreds of thousands of Jews, Serbs and Romani.

<sup>124</sup> Films Media Group. (1984). World War II: The propaganda battle. Films On Demand. <https://fod.infobase.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=95406&xtid=42063>.

of forbidden fruit would make her the equal of God.” Few would disagree that propaganda has played a major role in the history of the past century and a half as well; and, the language and language primers under scrutiny in this study are an important vehicle through which propaganda has been delivered during that time. But what *is* propaganda? Edward Bernays offers a good definition in his 1928 book<sup>125</sup> aptly entitled *Propaganda*: propaganda is “the mechanism by which ideas are disseminated on a large scale.” This is a fine, clear, and useful definition for that “neutral, non-pejorative, and academic sense” of the word. Later in his video introduction, Moyers offers that “the aim of the propagandist is to create attitude and mold behavior.” The writers and publishers of the primers included in this dissertation are without a doubt trying to mold the behavior of those who use their books and teach them how to read. I argue that, at the same time, they are trying to mold their behavior in another way and, in Moyers’ words, “create [an] attitude” among the students to love and revere their nation and its leaders.

If we are to take Bernay’s definition and adopt it for use in this dissertation, why must we continue to qualify this usage as the “neutral, non-pejorative, and academic” meaning? I am acutely aware—as was Bernays—that, for most people, the word ‘propaganda’ carries a lot of heavy baggage and quite a negative connotation; but, understanding ‘propaganda’ as a “neutral” concept is important when objectively examining the behind-the-scenes machinations under consideration in this project. It is true that many of the examples and discussions of propaganda in this very section are often quite grim, but they clearly illustrate

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<sup>125</sup> Bernays, E. L. (1928). *Propaganda*. H. Liveright.

the force propaganda has in all its forms. Miller (2004) says “the word itself [is] pejorative...today. [When] we say someone does propaganda...we don’t usually mean it as a compliment. We’ve come to accept the word as a kind of synonym for lying. The interesting thing about this word is that it didn’t have that kind of a connotation before World War I.”<sup>126</sup> Miller describes how the propagandists in the United States and the United Kingdom tended to use the word only to describe actions taken by the Germans and that “its exclusive use in conjunction with the enemy made it seem to be a fairly reliable synonym for deception.” “Never did the American or British propagandists refer to their own propaganda...*only the enemy did propaganda.*”<sup>127</sup> The word itself according to many sources was coined by the Vatican in the early 1600s and gets its name from the Office for the Propagation of the Faith, the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (or *Propaganda*<sup>128</sup> for short), which was a reaction to the Reformation and whose main goal at the time was to curtail the spread of Protestantism. As an official arm of the Vatican, its aim was to spread the “truth”, and Miller asserts that the word ‘propaganda’ at its inception was not pejorative, in fact, it was “regarded as one of the holiest activities.”

Later, in his book, Bernays adds some precision to his definition saying that “modern propaganda is a consistent, enduring effort to create or shape events to influence the relations

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<sup>126</sup> Miller, M. C. (2004, September 29). *Propaganda*. in *Book TV*. C-SPAN2.  
<<https://www.c-span.org/video/?183741-1/propaganda>>

<sup>127</sup> Ibid. Emphasis is my own.

<sup>128</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary’s etymological information for the entry for ‘propaganda’ points to the word’s source as the feminine gerundive of classical Latin *propāgāre*, ‘to propagate.’  
<<https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/152605>>

of the public to an enterprise, idea, or group.”<sup>129</sup> Miller says quite positively that “propaganda...performs a very useful and necessary social function.”<sup>130</sup> Unfortunately—as is too often the case—things whose functions can be used for the common good can also be used to promote quite the opposite.

Fritz Hippler, whom Moyers interviewed in the documentary, ran the Nazi Propaganda Ministry under Joseph Goebbels, and he says that under Goebbels, he learned that

The secret of propaganda is to simplify complex or complicated things, to make them as simple as possible. [So] simple that even the less [sic] ingenious men can understand what I mean. Simplify. And then, if you had found the [formula] which tells a complicated thing in the simplest way, when you have found this form, then, secondly, repeat it! Repeat it every day. Simplify and repetition [sic]. That's the secret of modern propaganda.

Simplified messages such as Hippler describes are easily embedded into primers, which necessarily use simplified language. Hippler continued to describe his own use of propaganda saying, “We spoke to the souls or to the unconsciousness of the public. The propagandist, he has to speak the language of the masses. But by speaking so, he also can govern the souls of the masses.” I would argue that those (authors, educators, politicians) behind many of the primers under consideration in this study understood the power of propaganda in the same way that Hippler and Goebbels did. To be sure, I would surmise that Bernays would agree.

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<sup>129</sup> Bernays, E. L. (1928). *Propaganda*. H. Liveright., p. 25

<sup>130</sup> Miller, M. C. (2004, September 29). *Propaganda*. in *Book TV*. C-SPAN2.

<<https://www.c-span.org/video/?183741-1/propaganda>>

The following are some examples of Nazi propaganda found in children's primers and picture books from the 1930s and 40s.



Fig. 9.: Nazi book for children featuring symbols of the Nazi party and a patriotic song.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Wiener Holocaust Library. (n.d.). *A is for Adolf: Teaching German Children Nazi Values*. <https://wienerholocaustlibrary.org/exhibition/a-is-for-adolf-teaching-german-children-nazi-values-2/> The song lyrics in English are: “Germany, Germany above all / Above all in the world  
When it always, for protection and defence / Brotherly stands together.  
From the Meuse to the Neman / From the Adige to the Little Belt, /  
Germany, Germany above all / Above all in the world.”



Fig. 10.: Two pages from “Hand in Hand fürs Deutschland”, a handwriting guide and primer from 1935. On the left, the page for <h> and <heil>; on the right, the page for <ie> and <ich>. <sup>132</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Wiener Holocaust Library. (n.d.). *A is for Adolf: Teaching German Children Nazi Values* (Online exhibition). <https://wienerholocaustlibrary.org/exhibition/a-is-for-adolf-teaching-german-children-nazi-values-2/>



Fig. 11.: A page from the primer “Mein Buch” by Hans Brühl, featuring Nazi images and slogans.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>133</sup> From: Brühl, H. (1941). *Mein Buch—Zum Anschauen, Zeichnen, Lesen und Schreiben*. Oldenburg, Munich. p. 29. In English, the page reads: “On the Radio / We hear music. / We hear the drum. / We hear “Sieg Heil” [x3] / We hear the song: / Germany, Germany Above All” / and the song: / “Raise the Flag!”

### 3.3.1 Propaganda throughout past ~100 years

Examples from propaganda campaigns from the past century can further illustrate the point and better connect it to the way propaganda is used in primers. These examples can also help illustrate its effectiveness. Beyond the examples from Nazi Germany presented on the previous pages, another very effective use of propaganda can be seen in North Korea. Its citizens are taught from a young age the hagiography and legends that created and perpetuate the cult of personality of the Kims, and they are met on every corner with propaganda reminding them of all the good that their “benevolent” and “great” leaders are doing on their behalf.



Fig. 12.: Examples of North Korean propaganda from B. R. Meyers' "The Cleanest Race"<sup>134</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Myers, B. R. (2010). *The cleanest race: How North Koreans see themselves and why it matters* (1st ed). Melville House.

They are also constantly reminded of the evils of their enemies, who are purportedly out to destroy them and their way of life.



Fig. 13.: “Propaganda poster in a primary school at the Chongsan-ri Farm.”<sup>135</sup>

Myers (2010) describes how the omnipresent propaganda seen throughout North Korea in all aspects of life shows how effective it can be. Particular pieces of propaganda that the people might not believe to be literally true are nevertheless believed in essence, such as acts by the Kims that are often described in overly fantastic ways.

The effectiveness of the regime’s use of propaganda in North Korea is made manifest by the existence itself of the cult of personality surrounding the Kims and the population’s

<sup>135</sup> The poster says “it’s fun to play as soldiers who beat up & kill american bastards” ~Translation by Seung Hwan Leo KIM 김승환 레오. Image from WikiCommons by user (stephan) - Propaganda Poster. North Korea., CC BY-SA 2.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=47897396>. Captioned “Propaganda poster in a primary school at the Chongsan-ri Farm.”

absolute reverence to them. The inculcation of the Juche ideology (주체사상) and the associated creation myths whence this cult of personality arose were made possible through propaganda. Fifield (2015) says, “Indeed, an all-encompassing personality cult has kept the country intact even as the Soviet Union collapsed and as China and Cuba have opened up.”<sup>136</sup> North Korean propaganda continues to this day to mold the people through posters, media, song, and literature—including children’s books. “The regime never tires of conveying the message, not least through the monumental landscape paintings before which the leader receives foreign dignitaries, that the motherland’s physical attributes—from the loftiness of its peaks to the purity of its mountain lakes—reflect the virtues of the race itself.”<sup>137</sup>

The indoctrination begins in kindergarten. Propaganda-filled children’s books are written by government cronies, and some are even attributed to the Kims themselves.<sup>138</sup> A scholar of North Korean children’s literature, Christopher Richardson, describes a few of the books. The first, *Boys Wipe out Bandits*, supposedly written by Kim Jong Il and first published in 1989 teaches its readers that if they—virtuous and pure—stick together, they can prevail over those who might seek to destroy them. Richardson recaps the allegory in which the readers find a “vulnerable village” (North Korea) surrounded by enemies, but by the end of the

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<sup>136</sup> Fifield, A. (2015, January 16). In North Korea, it’s never too soon to start the brainwashing. *Washington Post*. <[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/for-north-koreas-kims-its-never-too-soon-to-start-brainwashing/2015/01/15/a23871c6-9a67-11e4-86a3-1b56f64925f6\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/for-north-koreas-kims-its-never-too-soon-to-start-brainwashing/2015/01/15/a23871c6-9a67-11e4-86a3-1b56f64925f6_story.html)>.

<sup>137</sup> Myers, B. R. (2010). *The cleanest race: How North Koreans see themselves and why it matters* (1st ed). Melville House.

<sup>138</sup> “The government [...] musters a team of ghost writers whose job it is to capture the essence of the leader’s political and literary wisdom, known as ‘the seed’.” Christopher Richardson quoted in Flood, A. (2014, March 13). North Korean dictators revealed as children’s authors. *The Guardian*. <<http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/mar/13/north-korean-dictators-childrens-authors-kim-jong-il-kim-il-sung>>. Also, cf., Gee, A. (2014, February 19). North Korea’s storytelling autocrats. *BBC News*. <<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25816000>>.

tale, the children have overwhelmed and beaten back the enemies through “merciless violence”. And “As the sun rises, a triumphant [hero] Ye Dong restates the moral of the story, the wisdom of a child declaring that ‘no matter how formidable they are, we can defeat the enemy when we pool our strength and wisdom and have courage. Let’s build our village to be an earthly paradise.’”<sup>139</sup> The young readers are taught and reminded that they should always be prepared to give their lives to protect the homeland and its leaders.

In another allegorical children’s book, *The Butterfly and the Cock*, purportedly to have been written by Kim Il Sung, a butterfly (symbolizing North Korea) and a rooster (symbolizing the United States) are the protagonists. The rooster sets about to “ruin an idyllic garden and bully the other animals, but a plucky young butterfly [...] stands up to the invader and saves the day.”<sup>140</sup> In Fifield (2015), Tatiana Gabroussenko, a scholar of North Korean literature, describes the way North Korea “infantilizes its citizens [...] by not allowing [them] to form their own opinions.”<sup>141</sup> She goes on to say that “North Korea molds children socially” through the books they read in school. In a children’s book, “a child will be fighting Americans by throwing pepper in their eyes and making them sneeze and cough”, and that there is a central message that “‘We are one nation’ [which] implies that you can’t rebel against your father, you can’t rebel about your government, that it’s important to stick together.” That this propaganda

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<sup>139</sup> Flood, A. (2014, March 13). North Korean dictators revealed as children’s authors. *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/mar/13/north-korean-dictators-childrens-authors-kim-jong-il-kim-il-sung>>

<sup>140</sup> Gee, A. (2014, February 19). North Korea’s storytelling autocrats. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-25816000>

<sup>141</sup> Fifield, A. (2015, January 16). In North Korea, it’s never too soon to start the brainwashing. *Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/for-north-koreas-kims-its-never-too-soon-to-start-brainwashing/2015/01/15/a23871c6-9a67-11e4-86a3-1b56f64925f6\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/for-north-koreas-kims-its-never-too-soon-to-start-brainwashing/2015/01/15/a23871c6-9a67-11e4-86a3-1b56f64925f6_story.html)>

is effective is evident on its face by the actions of the people in North Korea. Even defectors who realize after escaping the country that it was “all lies” allude to propaganda’s power. For example, defectors interviewed in Fifield (2015) say “I believed in this [...] for more than 20 years.” Another says “I didn’t really ask questions.”<sup>142</sup>

Another example comes from underground resistance to the Nazis. Rutigliano (2020) describes a charming-looking children’s book, *Kriebeltje de Boskabouter*, which was published in the Netherlands around 1943. Within its pages is a clear yet subtle allegory teaching its young readers that hateful fascists should not be allowed to get stronger.



Fig. 14: Images from *Kriebeltje de Boskabouter* (1943)

[The book] tells the story of a small forest elf who goes on a frolicsome adventure. But one of his meanderings causes him to encounter a strange caterpillar, who bears significant resemblance to Adolf Hitler. The creature has an insect’s body and a human head, complete with stringy side part and toothbrush mustache—a true monster, but also extremely puny and unimportant. [...] Indeed, not long after they meet, the Hitler-faced caterpillar is pierced with the pincers of an ant, and duly eaten, allowing Kriebeltje the gnome to continue on his merry way.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Rutigliano, O. (2020, March 11). This 1940s Dutch children’s book depicts Hitler as a bug who eventually gets eaten. *Literary Hub*.

<https://lithub.com/this-1940s-dutch-childrens-book-depicts-hitler-as-a-bug-who-eventually-gets-eaten>

The Soviet Union and other nations in the Soviet bloc very commonly used propaganda to shape both political and social aspects of their societies as in Figs. 15 and 16 below.<sup>144</sup>



Left: "Put up your hair" (1989); Right: "The illiterate is like a blind man." (1920);



Left: "The Motherland Is Calling" (1941); Right: "YOU! Have you signed up with the volunteers?" (1917)

<sup>144</sup> Images from Epatko (2017) and Wikimedia Commons.

The forces on the other side of the iron curtain also used propaganda—although we recall that they did not call it that. There are also the covert operations of the CIA, which used all forms of the arts as a medium for propaganda<sup>145</sup> to convince others that the ideals espoused by “the West” were superior to those of communism. These governments also made heavy use of propaganda not only during the Cold War but also during the World Wars.



Fig. 17.: United Kingdom: “Keep Calm and Carry on” (1939)<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> e.g., as described in Saunders, F. S. (2000). *The cultural cold war: The CIA and the world of arts and letters*. New York: New Press. and Radden Keefe, Patrick. 11 May 2020. *Wind of change*, Pineapple Street Studios, Crooked Media and Spotify. <<https://crooked.com/podcast-series/wind-of-change/>>.

<sup>146</sup> *Keep Calm and Carry On*. 1939. UK Government, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons



Fig. 18.: USA: "We Can Do It!" (1942)<sup>147</sup> and "I Want You For The U.S. Army" (1941-45)<sup>148</sup>

Today, creators of propaganda are still very much active—often in the form of marketing and advertising companies. A notable example comes from the COVID pandemic when citizens all over the world were prompted to wear a mask, practice physical distancing, wash hands, and get vaccinated. Examples include the AdCouncil's *Mask Up, America!* campaign and prevention and solidarity campaigns from governments and IGOs.

<sup>147</sup> *We Can Do It!*, featuring "Rosie the riveter". 1942. Public domain. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/535413>

<sup>148</sup> *I Want You For The U.S. Army Enlist Now*. 1941-1945 <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/513533>



Fig. 19.: COVID-era propaganda from around the world

This section has begun to show the pervasive and persuasive use of propaganda to mold the minds and actions of citizens, laying the groundwork for the argument that primers are an effective medium for disseminating information and nationalistic ideals quickly and on a large scale to young and malleable minds.

## **4. The Primers**

### **4.1. Methodology**

#### *4.1.1. The corpus*

The corpus has been built by searching library catalogs<sup>149</sup> using the keyword ‘*bukvar/буквар*’ and ‘*početnica*’, the equivalent for ‘primer’ in the local language variants. To broaden the search, the word ‘*čitanka/читанка*’, meaning ‘reader’, was also included as a search keyword.<sup>150</sup> Eventually, a chance visit to the Croatian School Museum (Hrvatska Školski Muzej) in Zagreb led to a small exhibit of old primers, which also provided titles that could be searched for directly. Colleagues and friends have also brought me their own primers from elementary school or those they collected while visiting the Balkans.

In total, the corpus includes 16 primers at the basal or elementary level. These are predominantly written for young language learners in the first grade of elementary school. Additionally, a number of the books included in the corpus were created to teach illiterate adults; the language level is the same, but the target audience is different. Nine (9) books are from Croatia, six (5) from Serbia, one (1) is from Montenegro, and one (1) was published in Skopje in what is today known as North Macedonia. The books were published between 1941 and 1996. The major part of the analysis will cover the years during which the Socialist Federal

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<sup>149</sup> E.g., the Serbian National Library (Народна Библиотека Србије), the National and University Library of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Nacionalna i Univerzitetska Biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine), and the Slovenian National and University Library (Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnitsa)

<sup>150</sup> For those books that included a “reader”, the reader makes up the second part of the book—readers are necessarily higher-level than primers. This dissertation is focusing primarily on primers, but the corpus does include books that feature a reader after the primer—and some that are solely readers.

Republic of Yugoslavia existed; the years just before its creation and just after its breakup are included for comparative purposes.

### List of Primers in the Corpus

| <b>Date</b> | <b>ID</b>   | <b>Title</b>  | <b>Place of Publication</b> |
|-------------|-------------|---|-----------------------------|
| 1941        | 1941NDH1    | Moj Dom   | Croatia                     |
| 1944        | 1944PRZ1    | Partizanska Početnica                                     | Croatia                     |
| 1945        | 1945PRZ1    | Početnica za analfabetske tečajeve u Jugoslovensko Armiji | Croatia                     |
| 1945        | 1945MKD1    | Буквар со читанка за прво одделение                       | Macedonia                   |
| 1946        | 1946VOJ1    | Početnica za osnovne škole                                | Serbia<br>(Vojvodina)       |
| 1946        | 1946HRV2L   | Početnica za nepismene                                    | Croatia                     |
| 1956        | 1956SRB2    | Читанка за први разред осмогодишње школе                  | Serbia                      |
| 1960        | 1960HRV10a  | Početnica za I. razred osnovne škole                      | Croatia                     |
| 1961        | 1961SRB3    | Буквар за први разред основне школе                       | Serbia                      |
| 1967        | 1967HRV8    | Sunce na prozorčiću                                       | Croatia                     |
| 1971        | 1971CrG6    | Буквар  | Montenegro                  |
| 1976        | 1976HRV1    | Saznanje i znanje   | Croatia                     |
| 1980        | 1980SRB4    | Моја прва књига   | Serbia                      |
| 1981        | 1981HRV1    | Dobro jutro 2 : početnica za prvi razred osnovne škole    | Croatia                     |
| 1988        | 1988SRB1    | Буквар за први разред основне школе                       | Serbia                      |
| 1992        | 1992HRV2mod | Dobro jutro 1 : početnica za prvi razred osnovne škole    | Croatia                     |

## Country of Publication

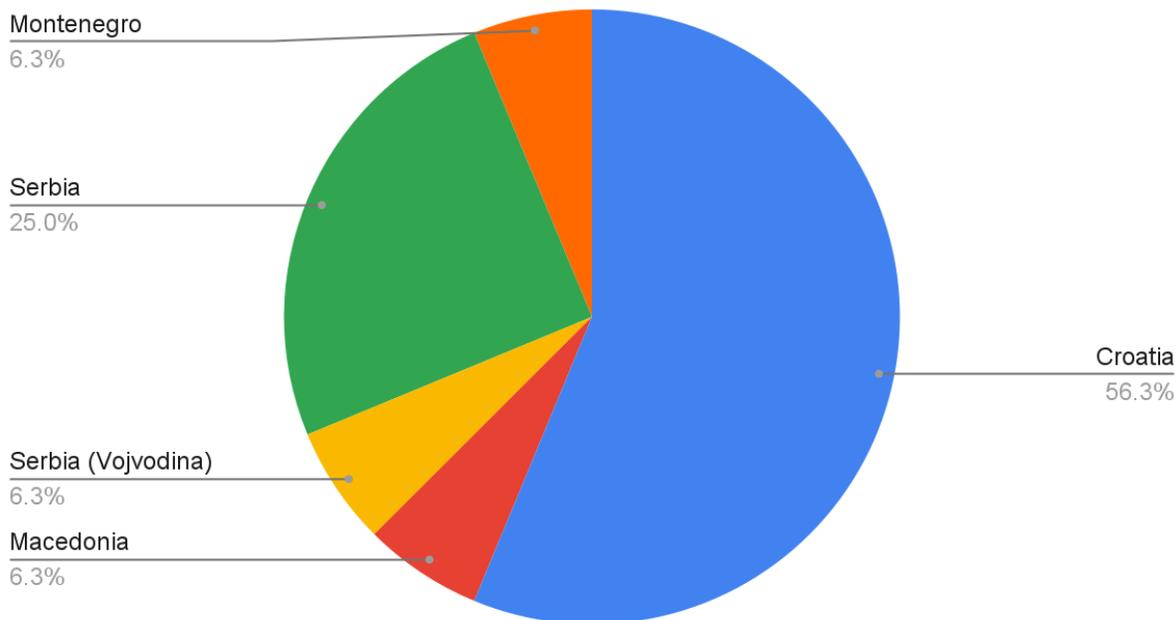


Chart 1: Country of publication of the primers in the corpus

### 4.1.2. Content Analysis – Measuring & Evaluating the Primers

In order to examine each primer in a consistent manner and to set the groundwork for an efficient and valid content analysis, each primer will be evaluated both qualitatively and quantitatively using a list of conceptual features thought to be important and relevant to this study. These features include (1) evidence of governmental sponsorship, (2) descriptions of the usage and treatment of the target language, and (3) the existence of national and political symbols, images, and slogans.<sup>151</sup> During the analysis of each book, notes are made on a worksheet, as outlined below.

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<sup>151</sup> A complete and more granular list of these features will be included as an appendix, along with descriptions.

#### 4.1.2.1. *Qualitative Analysis: the process*

Each primer will undergo an analysis following the same procedure. First, each book will be assigned an ID for ease of reference since many of them have the same title; bibliographic information will be gathered, including which language—or languages—is being taught and, where possible, the number of impressions<sup>152</sup>. Second, qualitative notes will be made about each book on a worksheet (Appendix W), with a particular focus on the general features mentioned above. In addition to simple tick-marks identifying the existence and frequency of a particular feature, a long-form description will be made on the worksheet providing details about that particular feature; other noteworthy details will also be recorded, including any insight about why a particular feature might be absent. This analysis will help determine whether (1) the primer is condoned by a governmental body and (2) in which ways—and to what degree—it presents itself as nationalistic. This will identify the extent to which a government instrumentalizes the language and language-instruction tools to build national identity, thereby measuring the importance of language as a component of that national identity.

#### 4.1.2.2. *Quantitative Analysis*

In order to measure the intensity of the politicization of a particular book, one quantitative measurement will be taken, which we will call the “politicization quotient” or “PQ”. To determine each book’s PQ, a tally will be made of all the political images or slogans that appear in the book—including on the front and back covers. This number will be divided

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<sup>152</sup> This might prove to be very difficult, however, since many of these publishing houses are defunct.

by the total number of pages—including the front and back covers. An image or slogan will be considered political as discussed in Appendix 1. This score will help more easily compare the different books and look for any trends over time or geographic space.

#### *4.1.2.3. Linguistic Analysis*

A linguistic analysis of each primer will also be done to evaluate the actual language used in the books. Sociolinguistically, does the language being presented in a given book point in any particular way to a specific national identity—or supra-national identity? For example, does a book published in Croatia include linguistic features or variants that would be associated more so with the language variant spoken in Serbia or Bosnia-Herzegovina? Or on the other hand does a Croatian book teach that any other variant not spoken within its geographic boundary is “wrong”, that only pure Croatian variants are acceptable? Such linguistic clues present in these primers will also help determine the extent to which language is being used as a tool to promote a particular identity and, therefore, measure the importance of language in the makeup of national identity.

## 4.2. Analysis of the Primers



- Која ти је успомена, Друже Тито, најмислија?
- Најлепша је успомена прва књига прочитана.
- Учио сам прва слова и сеоској малој школи,  
из књига сам научио како земља да се воли.

- What’s your favorite memory, Comrade Tito?
- The best memory is reading my first book.
- I learned my first letters in a small village school;  
from the book, I learned how to love the country

—From *Моја прва књига* (1980)



The primers in the corpus have been divided into three periods that coincide with different historical periods and developmental stages in the history of Yugoslavia. They will be analyzed individually and as a group for each period. The historical periods are (1) Post-war rebuilding and forming the Yugoslav state (1945-1948), (2) Modernization: strengthening the Yugoslav nation (1948-1974), and (3) Challenges, Tensions, and Disintegration (1974-1992).

## End of WWII, post-war rebuilding, and forming the Yugoslav state (1941-1948)

### Moj dom : početnica i čitanka za prvi godište pučkih škola (1941)

*My home : primer and reader for the first year of public school*

1941NDH1

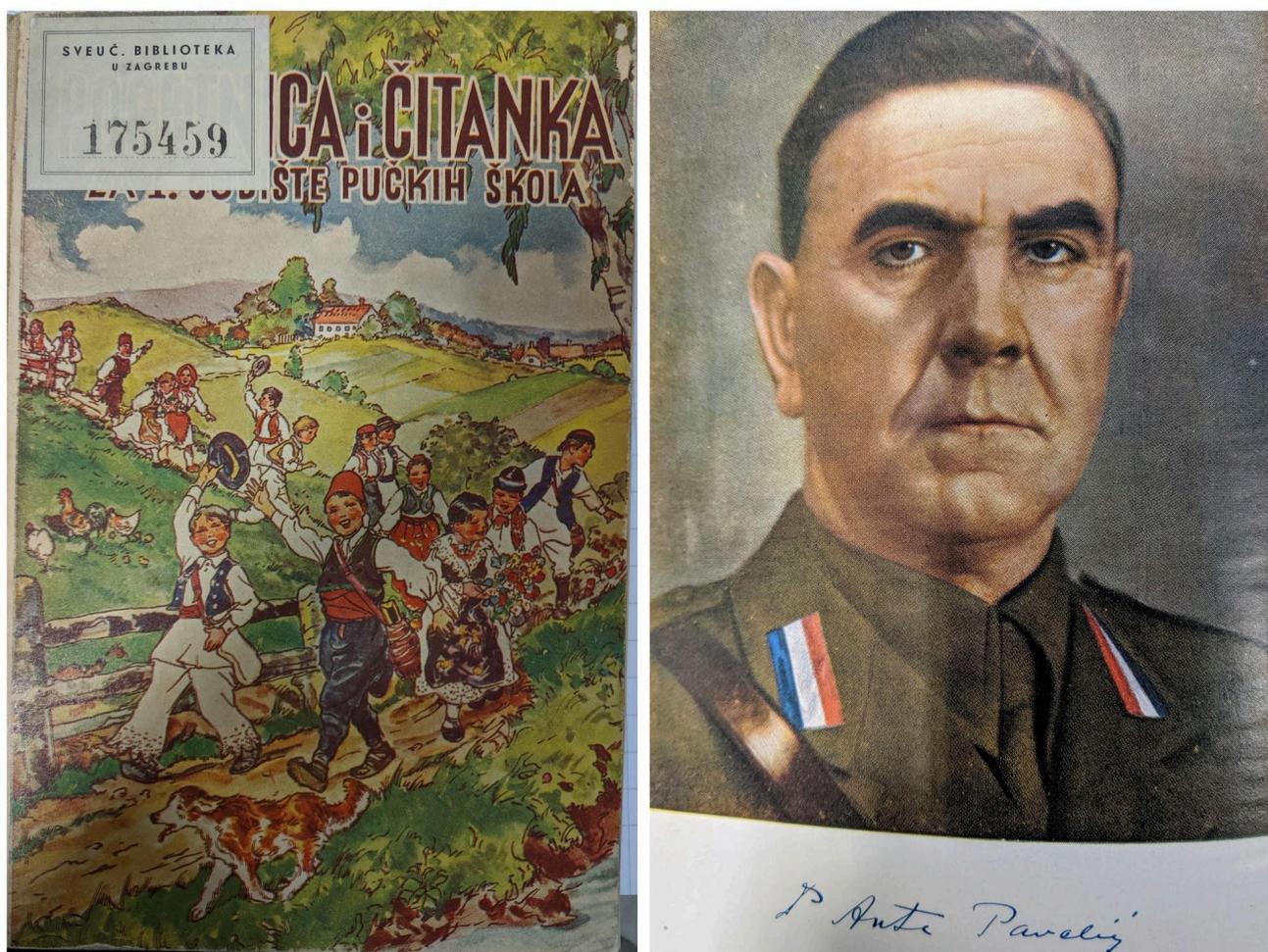


Fig 20: left: cover of 1941NDH1, *Moj Dom*; right: frontispiece featuring Ante Pavelić

The very first primer I came across at the Croatian National and University Library (and which incidentally is also the oldest one in the corpus) was *Moj Dom: početnica i čitanka za prvi godište pučkih škola*. It was published in Zagreb in 1941 by the State Printing Office of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* or NDH). The NDH was a genocidal,

fascist puppet state of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy from 1941 to 1945, which carried out some of the most horrific ethnic-cleansing campaigns in Europe; and, it is important to note that it encompassed territory that included most of present-day Croatia, all of Bosnia & Herzegovina, and small portions of present-day Serbia and Slovenia. It is included here as one of the entities governing the region during this period. This book scored 0.429 on the PQ scale.<sup>153</sup>

On its face, the book looks to be a wonderful children’s book. Its cover shows an idyllic scene with happy children wearing various traditional regional clothing, parading through the verdant countryside, picking flowers, greeting one another, seemingly on their way to or from school. This happy feeling is rather immediately crushed, however, by the frontispiece: a full-page color portrait of a scowling Ante Pavelić, the fascist leader of NDH.<sup>154</sup>

Once past Pavelić, idyllic images of rural family life return, as we see children run toward Mama, everyone in traditional clothing. The reader is given simple words and syllables to accompany these colorful images. Each page introduces another letter, another syllable, and then—building on the previous pages—short words and phrases. By p. 10, the student is already provided a short dialogue about gathering eggs. Over the course of the next 15 pages, there are longer stories and more images celebrating family and the rural life of the nation. One can easily argue that these images do promote a sense of nationalism in that they make

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<sup>153</sup> As described in §1.3.2.2, the “politicization quotient”, or PQ, is a measure of how politicized a particular book is and is determined by a tally of all political images or slogans that appear in a book. This number is then divided by the total number of pages to calculate the PQ.

<sup>154</sup> Over the years, I have held a number of copies of this book, and Ante Pavelić’s image had been cut from the copy I received through an inter-library loan from Yale Libraries.

one proud of the homeland and the traditional family, but nothing here is explicitly nationalistic. Grandpa is a good storyteller. Strong oxen pull Uncle's big wagon full of pumpkins. Grandmother is sick; she loves you. Fishermen catch fish. A wasp ran into me! Little shepherds keep sheep in the mountains. Children gather acorns. Then, on p. 26, there is a shift.

This page is unquestionably politicized. As seen in Fig. 21 below, we see happy young boys, dressed in traditional clothing, carrying the state flag in parade formation. At the bottom is the national symbol of Croatia and the U symbol of the ruling fascist Ustaša party; together, these make up the coat of arms of the NDH. Also on this page, we find a short reading passage that in no way belies the nationalistic ideologies of this government.



Fig 21. Page 26 from *Moj dom* (1941)

Hey, what are these little soldiers getting up to so fast! It's good to see them. The first bears the Croatian flag.

Croats were always brave heroes. They know no fear. If necessary, they will die for their homeland Croatia!

Will you, children, fight for your homeland?

We will! Long live Croatia!

This passage is overtly nationalistic in both its imagery and its content, and strong statements like the one seen here that people should “die for their homeland” are seen in other fascist and ultra-nationalistic propaganda, e.g., from Nazi Germany or North Korea. Beyond the symbolism found in the images, the linguistic symbolism clearly shows the language used is the expected štokavski-ijekavski variant used in Croatia and Bosnia. For example: *djeco* vs. *deco*; *uvijek* vs. *uvek*; *umrijeti* vs. *umreti*; *vidjeti* vs. *видему*; *Živjela* vs. *Живела*.

## *Džafer*

Another very striking page is p. 31, the page for the graphemes <dž> and <f>, seen in Fig. 22 below. This page shows a group of young pupils in traditional clothing standing and staring inquisitively at another young boy, who is dressed markedly differently than the rest. While the other children wear traditional Croatian clothing, the boy now the center of attention is wearing clothing traditional of Bosnia—most notably a fez-style cap. The scene is quite remarkable. The children’s body language clearly shows that they view this boy as different from them. They stare and point, leaning in to examine him with an eager curiosity. We learn that this new pupil’s name is Džafer (for <dž>) and that he is from Bosnia. Up to this point, all of the images in the book have been clearly Croatian, and this image is striking because there is now a very direct focus on this boy who was markedly depicted as “other”. The inquisitive children ask him, “Who are you and where are you from?”, to which he responds, “I am a Croat from Bosnia.” We soon learn that in his village, everyone goes to the mosque every Friday to pray. Knowing that this book was published by the government of the NDH, the reader might be worried for Džafer. The NDH’s genocidal, fascist regime led by the dictator Ante Pavelić killed hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews, Romani, and others who “endangered Croatian existence”.<sup>155</sup> Despite these atrocious facts, Lampe (1996) indicates that Pavelić regarded Bosnian Muslims as the “purest Croats” and called them “the flower of the nation” (p. 205). All of a sudden, this page makes sense. Pavelić held Bosnian Muslims in high regard.

Apparently in this passage, so did all of these school children: when it came to their new

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<sup>155</sup> Lampe, J. R. (1996). *Yugoslavia as history: Twice there was a country*. Cambridge University Press., pg. 205.

schoolmate, Džafer, “He was everyone’s favorite”. The pride and purity of Croatia and Croats is on full display.



Fig 22. *Džafer*, p. 31 from *Moj Dom* (1941)

A new student came to school.  
 His name was Jafer. He was asked:

- Who are you and where are you from, Jafer:
- I’m a Croat from Bosnia.
- Is everyone in your village wearing fez?
- Of course, all men. Women wear a veil.
- Is there a school in your village?
- There are schools and mosques. Every Friday we go to the mosque for prayer. That's where the hodža teaches.

They placed Jafer on the first bench.  
 He was everyone’s favorite.

Going back to the linguistic analysis of this book, we also see marked Croatian lexical variants throughout, e.g., *kruh* ‘bread’ (p. 46), *tko* ‘who’ (p. 31), and *tvornica* ‘factory’ (p. 92) (versus *fabrika* seen elsewhere). There is also the introduction of words associated with the Bosniaks, e.g., *ahšam*<sup>156</sup> ‘evening’, *feredža* ‘headscarf’, *fes* ‘fez’, and *pura*, a dish similar to polenta (p. 90). In fact there are a number of passages that relate to Islam and describe Bosniaks’ religious life, including the introduction of the words *džamija* ‘mosque’, *munare* ‘minaret’, *mujezin* ‘muezzin’, and “*Bajram mubarek olsun!*” / *Stretan Bajram!*, ‘Happy Eid!’ Along with descriptions of Christmas, Easter, and the associated Croatian traditions with Catholic holidays, featuring these vignettes of life in the NDH fits perfectly with the views of the government of what a pure Croatian is.

As for the [INF] feature, both [-INF] and [+INF] are included in the book’s passages, which is not surprising given that the language variants spoken in the NDH, which included geographically much of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, use both [INF] variants.

1941NDH1.INF.a *Hoće da me pojede.* (p. 50)  
 hoće            da    me            pojede  
 want.3S      CONJ 1S.PRO.ACC eat.3S  
 He wants to eat me.

1941NDH1.INF.b *Danas moram vući kola.* (p. 86<sup>157</sup>)  
 danas            moram            vući            kola  
 today            must.1S        pull.INF        cart.ACC  
 Today, I have to pull the cart.

<sup>156</sup> Also seen spelled <akšam>.

<sup>157</sup> It is very interesting to note that the passage that includes examples (.b) and (.c) above is also found in the 1946 *Početnica* from Vojvodina (1946VOJ1).

1941NDH1.INF.c Treba med kupiti. (p. 86)

treba            med   kupiti

need.3S        honey buy.INF

He needs to buy honey.

**Početnica (1944)**  
aka *Partizanska početnica*  
1944PRZ1



Fig. 23. Cover of Početnica 1944: left: back cover; right: front cover

This primer is attributed to Miljenko Grubelić and Helena Gamulin<sup>158</sup> and was first published in 1944 by the Education Board of the State Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia.<sup>159</sup> On its face, it is very political. The cover features a young Partizan boy wearing a Titovka and reading a book. The title <POČETNICA> is written in red uppercase

<sup>158</sup> According to Rosandić, J. (2013). *Razvoj školstva u Hrvatskoj od 60-ih godina 19. stoljeća do kraja 20. stoljeća* (Diplomski rad). Osijek: Sveučilište Josipa Jurja Strossmayera u Osijeku, Filozofski fakultet. <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:142:932560>

<sup>159</sup> I have seen a number of references that say that this book was published in both Latin and Cyrillic scripts, but I have only been able to find a Latin-script version.

letters. The back cover has only the seal of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia—all black except for the red star. The very first page introduces the letters <T>, <I>, and <O>, spelling out TITO, replete with an image showing his likeness and three adoring children seemingly very excited to see the portrait. All four of them are wearing the Partizan Titovka.

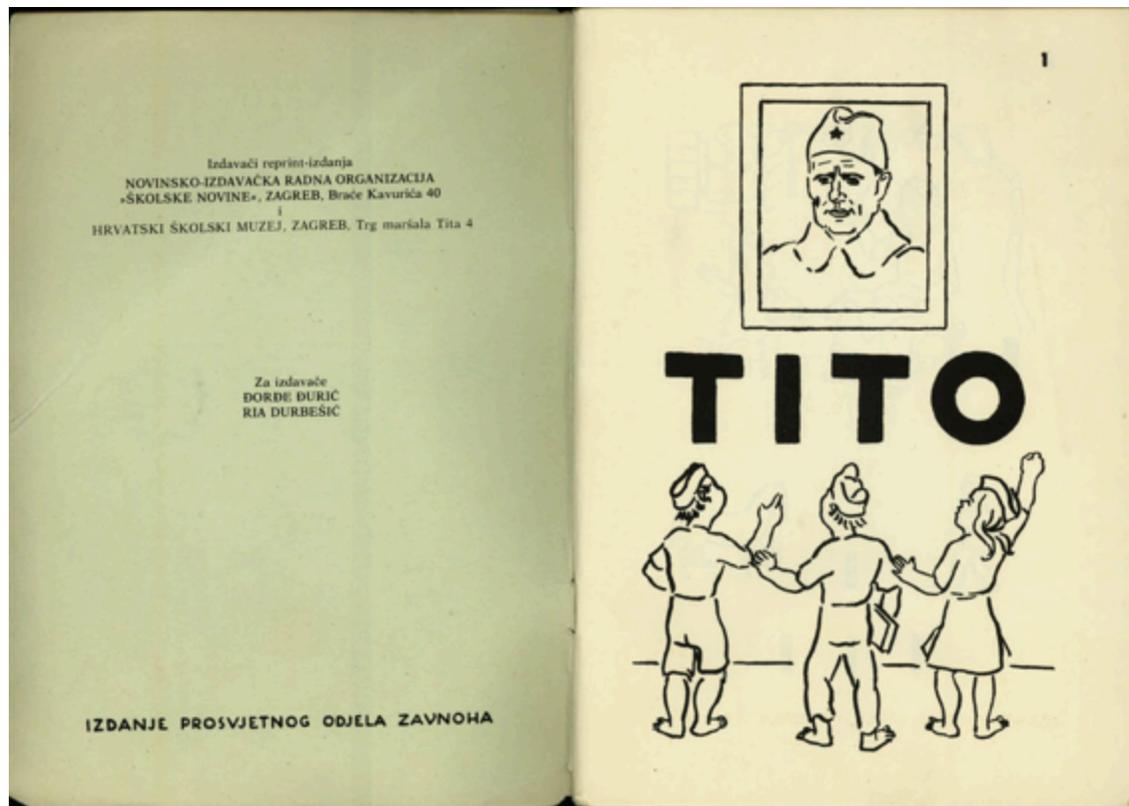


Fig. 24. Copyright page and page 1 of Počenica 1944

The next few pages introduce more letters and one- or two-syllable combinations, building rather quickly to short sentences. Each page introduces one or two new letters and features images of family life at home and also of the national liberation struggle. In every one of the images, at least one of the characters is wearing a Titovka, showing clearly their allegiance. On page 9, the page for <M>, we learn that one of the characters is a young boy named Mile, and we follow Mile throughout the book. The pages continue in this way,

introducing new letters, longer sentences, and eventually paragraphs, all while telling the story of Mile and his Partizan comrades in their struggle to liberate the nation from their enemies. Both through the images and the words, the pages of this primer depict the Partizans as the nation's heroes and the fascists clearly and overtly as the enemies. The use of symbols and slogans is also very prominent in this primer. Beyond the Titovka found in almost every image, the star is featured prominently and even has one page devoted to it (p. 25). "Death to Facism! — Freedom to the People!" is also seen a number of times as is "Long live {X}" (where "{X}" could be Tito, one of the governmental bodies, or Yugoslavia). On p. 63, we also find part of the lyrics to what became the Yugoslav national anthem.

Once all the letters have been introduced, the book transitions from a very basic primer format into an introductory reader with fewer images and longer and more complicated stories. It is interesting to note that everything up to p. 39 is presented in uppercase letters. Unlike other primers in this corpus, the early pages in this text that introduce the letters only include the uppercase forms, and this seems to be done for both pedagogical and practical reasons to teach the very basics for literacy as quickly as possible during the time of an ongoing struggle. An abecedary with upper- and lowercase letters in both print and script finally appears on p. 50 with a note that not all comrades have learned both upper- and lowercase letters yet and that this chart can be referred to when needed. Overall, this book scored a PQ of 2.625, the highest in the corpus.

The reader section remains extremely political and contains stories that mention or specifically relate to the national liberation struggle, telling of the heroic acts of the Partizans

in the war as well as the horror perpetrated by their enemies. Many of these stories use “negative memories”<sup>160</sup> to evoke a sense of nationalistic pride as a way to build unity and national identity, but it also contains many positive and hopeful images and stories—especially those featuring the Pioneers and working together as comrades. For example, the featured word for the page for <F> is <FAŠISTI>, and the short passage tells how the fascists attacked the village and killed a lot of people. (Mile escaped but does not know what happened to his family.) The next several pages follow Mile as he is saved by a group of Partizans while hiding in the countryside; he sees how they protect each other and wants to join them. He finally finds his father again and learns that his mother made it out, but his sister and grandmother were killed during the attack. Mile looks forward to returning to the village with his father to help his comrades rebuild.

Another story in the reader that elicits negative memories specifically names the language “*Hrvatski*” ‘Croatian’. This is done when telling how the fascists forbade speaking Croatian both in school and at home. “And what do you think? Have our children forgotten Croatian? No! [...] They loved our beautiful language even more, which they could only speak in secret.” (p. 56). This passage gives support for the notion that language is an important component of the national identity being consolidated during this time. Moreover, it shows that those in power recognized that importance and how to manipulate it to help achieve their goals.

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<sup>160</sup> cf., Trošt, T. P. (2019). Remembering the good: Constructing the nation through joyful memories in school textbooks in the former Yugoslavia. *Memory Studies*, 12(1), 27–45.

The reader section also extols the importance of getting an education and learning to read. Finally, the last part of the primer provides a quick history and civics lesson about the new Yugoslav Federation and the bodies that govern it. In it are glimpses of the idea that the unity of the constituent nations working together in brotherly love and harmony is crucial to protecting the nation.

Linguistically, the primer is intriguing. The language used in the primer is štokavski-ijekavski, with many instances of *što* for [WHAT] and examples of ijekavski [JAT] seen, e.g., *cvijeta* ‘flower’ (p. 13), *zvijezda* ‘star’ (p. 25), *cijelo* ‘whole’ (p. 26), *vrijeme* ‘time’ (p. 35), *ljepši* ‘prettier’ (p. 46), *pjesma* ‘song’ (p. 48), and *mlijeko* ‘milk’ (p. 58). These are all variants used in Croatia, where the book was published. Lexically [LEX], we also see the Croatian variant *kruh* ‘bread’ (pp. 31 and 58) but also a borrowed word *miting* ‘meeting’; ‘rally’ instead of a “purified” Croatian word used by those who would shun such non-Croatian words. What is particularly interesting is the [INF] variation found in the primer, specifically, that we see both the [+INF] phrases as well as the [-INF] *da*- constructions. This is interesting since it shows that the language used in this text is neither markedly Croatian nor Serbian; in fact, with respect to the linguistic features considered here, it follows patterns seen in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In other words, the language exhibits features used throughout the region and does not simply reflect one particular nation or nationality.

1944PRZ1.INF.a. *Narod želi da vidi Partizane.* [-INF] (p. 22)

|            |         |      |        |                 |
|------------|---------|------|--------|-----------------|
| Narod      | želi    | da   | vidi   | Partizane.      |
| people.DEF | want.3S | CONJ | see.3S | partisan.ACC.PL |

‘The people want to see the Partizans.’

1944PRZ1.INF.b. *Kojim su samo kriomica mogli govoriti. [+INF] (p. 56)*

kojim su samo kriomica mogli govoriti  
who.REL they only secretly can.3P.PST speak.INF  
'who could only secretly speak'

1944PRZ1.INF.c. *Možete li se sjetiti čime su ih punili? [+INF] (p. 60)*

Možete li se sjetiti čime su ih punili  
Can.3P Q REFL remember.INF what.INST.REL they them.3P.ACC fill.3P.PST  
Can you remember what they filled them with?

**Početnica za analfabetske tečajeve u Jugoslovenskoj Armiji**

*Primer for illiteracy courses in the Yugoslav Army*

1945PRZ1

As the title clearly indicates, this primer is intended to teach illiterate soldiers in the Yugoslav Army how to read and write. It was produced and published by the Propaganda Department in 1945 and is accordingly full of political symbols, slogans, and messages.

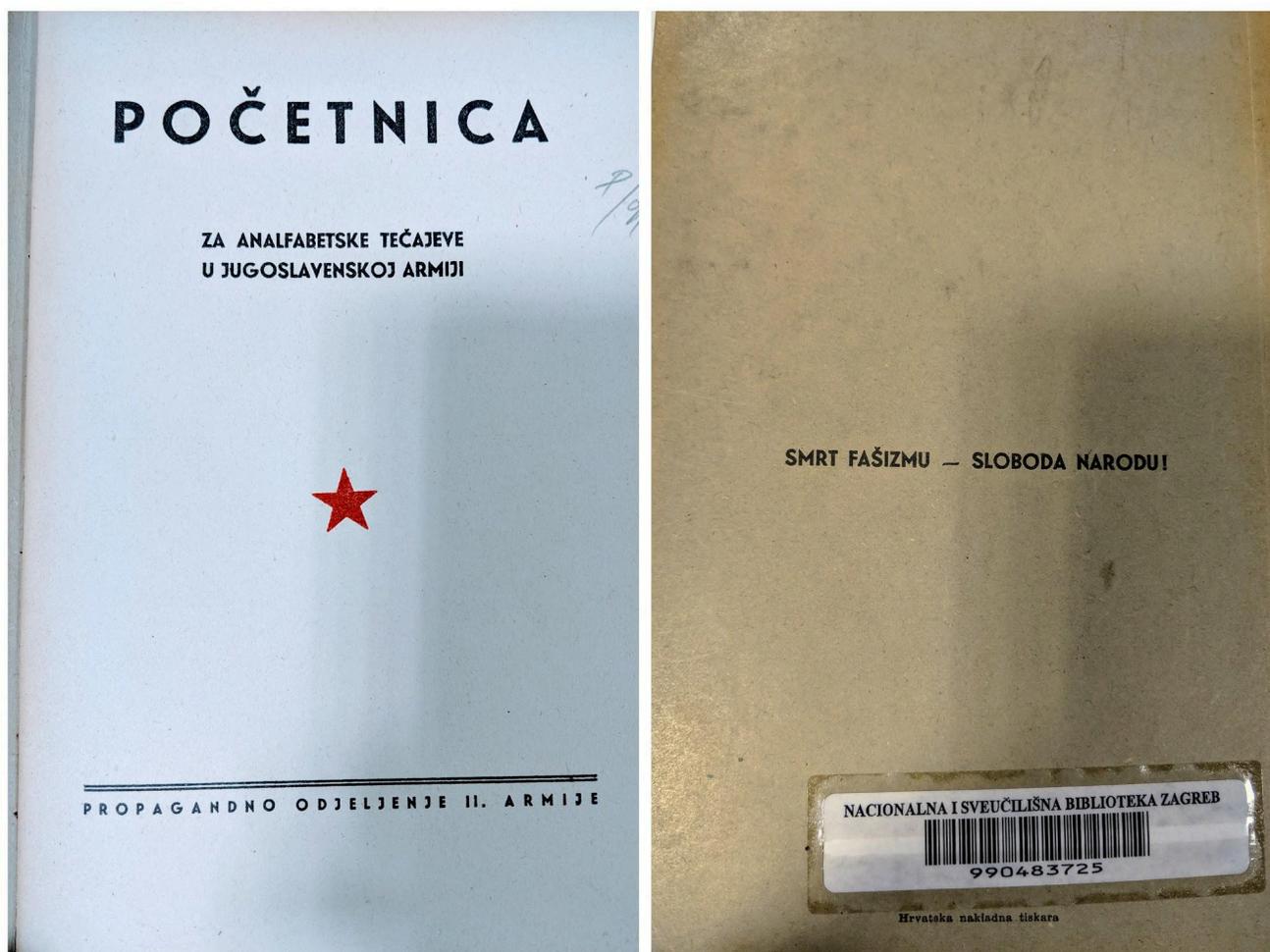


Fig. 25. Title page and back cover of *Početnica* (1945PRZ1)

The Propaganda Department deftly incorporates these elements to teach the student not only how to read and write but also what the party's principles and ideology are. The book's PQ is high at 1.4. Once past the image of a uniformed Tito on the frontispiece, each letter is

introduced on its own page that features each letter in both uppercase and lowercase forms,

and in both printed and

handwritten forms, in other

words, all forms of the letter

are introduced at once. The

letters are also accompanied

by images representing words

that start with the featured

letter. In this primer, a

majority of the images deal

with warfare or are otherwise political in nature. Once enough letters are introduced, longer

words begin to be included on the “letter” pages, and eventually political slogans emerge, e.g.,

ŽIVIO TITO! ‘Long live Tito!’ and ŽIVJELA NOVA JUGOSLAVIA!, ‘Long live the new

Yugoslavia!’. After all of the letters have been introduced, the numbers and Arabic numerals

are presented—again with images associated with war, e.g., one tank, two cannons, three

rifles, etc.

A short reader follows, and the first passage describes how the student soldier has

“battled to learn the Latin letters and now will fight equally as hard to conquer (learn) the

Cyrillic letters—even if they are harder—because the Partizans are fast and hard-working.”

Themes in the reader passages stress the importance of learning to read, of the greatness of

Tito, the importance of love for the homeland, and of being brave and sacrificing one’s life for



Fig. 26. Pages for <G> and <H> in 1945PRZI

the homeland, country, and people. As seen in Fig. 25, this book ends with a slogan that makes very clear what the goals of its creators are: *Smrt fašizmu – Sloboda narodu!*, ‘Death to facism – Freedom to the people!’

The language in the book is štokavski-ijekavski, written in the Latin alphabet. The language is never named, but as mentioned above, the alphabets are mentioned, and it is made clear that the good soldier should be proficient in both. Given that it was printed in Croatia, the language variant that is used is not surprising, nor is the presence of [+INF].

*1945PRZ1.INF.a Ne može svladati abecedu*

ne može svladati abecedu  
NEG can.3S master.INF alphabet.DAT  
He can’t master the alphabet.

*1945PRZ1.INF.b Zar ne želiš napisati ime Tita?*

zar ne želiš napisati ime Tita  
really.Q NEG want.2S write.INF name.ACC Tito.GEN  
Don’t you want to write Tito’s name?

**Буквар со читанка за прво одделение**

*Primer with reader for the first grade*

1945MKD1

This primer is the only one from Macedonia in the corpus; it was published in 1945 in Skopje and was prepared by the Ministry of Public Education of Macedonia. It is also the only one that is not written in a variant of BCS. It is written in Macedonian in the Macedonian variant of the Cyrillic alphabet, which was approved by the government and literary institute earlier that year. The Macedonian alphabet is similar to Vuk Karadžić's Serbian alphabet but with the addition of three letters—<Ѓ> [ɟ], <Ќ> [c], and <Ѕ> [ʒ]—that represent sounds in Macedonian that are not found in BCS.

The cover is a colorful image of a young boy dressed in traditional Macedonian clothing with a flowering field and mountains in the background. He seems to be happy and in motion in the middle of a traditional folk dance. After the frontispiece with Marshal Tito, the next few pages are images of children doing various things: 3 boys (Macedonian, Bosnian or Turk, Albanian), arm-in-arm, walking with their school books; young people working together in the field to gather and bundle wheat; young men working together to build a railway. On p. 60, <Xop>, Children sing in choir at their school, and they sing beautifully



Fig. 27. Frontispiece of 1945MKD1

together—among them: Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian. They sing various songs—among them hymns from Yugoslavian people. Following this, on p. 82, there is an image and poem about the Pioneers.

The politicization of the book ramps up in the second half once the reader section begins. Common themes in the pages are (1) brotherhood, unity, and equality of the individual nations that make up the larger Yugoslav (*supra-*)nation; (2) commitment to the struggle for freedom, which is often done through evoking negative memories of the war and the sacrifices that were made by national heroes.

On p. 70, language rights are front-and-center with three best friends, who are always together. One is a Macedonian, another is an Albanian, and the other is a Turk. Now, “freedom has given them their first gift” since they can each go to a school that teaches them in their own language. They are proud of their nationality, but they also equally love their common homeland, Yugoslavia. This passage highlights the importance and dignity of each nationality (and national language) but also the *supra*-national Yugoslav identity. It is now in Yugoslavia where they will no longer be slaves but have freedom.

The students get a civics lesson on p. 95 where they learn about the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia and that it is made of six equal units; they are independent but form one nation where everyone has equal rights. “It is called the People’s Republic because power is in the hands of the people.” Then the page goes on to explain the form of government that is made up of local boards that are made up and run by the members of the community itself. Working together, they will make the village better. “The Partizans freed them from their

oppressors, now they live freely in their country. [...] Now the power is ours; we do our own work” This page really drives home the new ideas and structure of the new regime and helps the regime’s in their goal to consolidate power and loyalty in the new state. This book scored a PQ of 1.01.

**Рочетница за неписмене / Буквар за неписмене (1946)**

*Primer for illiterates*

1946HRV2L



Fig. 28. Cover of 1946HRV in both Cyrillic and Latin versions

Great effort was put into relaying the importance of education and literacy in this book, which was created to teach illiterate people how to read and write and approved by the government in 1946. It was published in Zagreb and was printed in both Latin and Cyrillic versions.<sup>161</sup> Once past the Tito frontispiece, the letters are introduced one at a time in upper and lower cases in both print and cursive forms. Once the longer passages begin, the political content begins to pick up with political and national symbols (e.g., the star, national folk instruments), teaching national mores (e.g., working hard, not being a glutton), and of course the importance of literacy and being a good student. Following these types of passages, there

<sup>161</sup> I have only been able to acquire the Latin version but have seen photographs of a few pages of the Cyrillic version, which seem identical to the Latin one, except for the alphabet used. The image above shows the Cyrillic cover on the left and the Latin cover on the right.

are a few pages devoted to an abecedy. All the letters are presented in alphabetical order in two charts: one printed letters, the other cursive; again, both upper and lowercase forms are presented together. Then, a more elaborate abecedy follows, this time with “national proverbs and wise words” for each letter, some of which are nationalistic in nature, e.g., “*Žrtva za otadžbinu i slobodu najslavnija je žrtva*” ‘Sacrifice for the fatherland and freedom are the most glorious sacrifice.’ Following this is a section that teaches writing style and punctuation conventions. This is followed by a more intense section with even longer passages that include “history” lessons and accounts from the war, including atrocities committed against the people and excerpts from famous people and political figures; Tito is often quoted. There are many stories of the people’s struggles during the war caused by the fascists and other enemies—and previous regimes. Other passages explain that the new regime and the new Yugoslavia will be working hard to make everything better, and it is up to all the people to work hard—and work together—to make that happen. Education and literacy, of course, are an important part of that. “National Enlightenment is the main leverage to our happier and better future.” (p. 76) “The more schools, the fewer slaves” (p. 77). Throughout this section, the goals of the regime are abundantly clear: teach the people about the newly formed Yugoslavia and consolidate power through a sense of supra-national Yugoslav pride. This is accomplished through passages in the reader section that are clear propaganda extolling the strength, courage, and industry of the peoples, the wickedness of the peoples’ enemies, as well as the socialist ideals of the state. “Our slogan is ‘Brotherhood and Unity of the People of

Yugoslavia’.” (p. 45) “Power comes from and belongs to the people.” (p.53) “The land belongs to those who cultivate it.” (p. 53)

As for the linguistic description, this book is written in a štokavski-ijekavski variant. It features the typical Croatian [+INF] variant.

1946HRV2L.INF.a *Crn obraz ne može nitko oprati.* (p. 35)

|       |       |     |        |        |          |
|-------|-------|-----|--------|--------|----------|
| crn   | obraz | ne  | može   | nitko  | oprati   |
| black | face  | NEG | can.3S | no.one | wash.INF |

No one can wash a black face.

1946HRV2L.INF.b *To možemo pisati.* (p. 38)

|          |        |           |
|----------|--------|-----------|
| to       | možemo | pisati    |
| that.DEM | can.1P | write.INF |

We can write that.

Lexically, we see words that are marked Croatian variants, e.g., *kruh* ‘bread’ (p. 48) as well as words that are non-marked Croatian variants and therefore more pan-Yugoslav, e.g., *univerziteta* (not *sveučilište*) for ‘university’ and *fabrika* (not *tvornica*) for ‘factory’. (p. 46)

The last section of this book is devoted to introducing the Cyrillic alphabet. Although this version of the book is written in the Latin alphabet, the very first sentences in this section say that “the people of Yugoslavia use two alphabets: Latin and Cyrillic. The Latin alphabet is used in Croatia and Slovenia, and the Cyrillic alphabet [in] Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. In the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, all nations are equal, so both alphabets are equal.” (p. 78)

**Početnica za osnovne škole (ca. 1945-46)**

*Primer for elementary school*

1946VOJ1

This book, edited by Nevenka Franković and Etelka Kujundžić was published by Minerva publishing house in Subotica, a city in the northern Vojvodina region of present-day Serbia. It was published in or after 1945, the year the communist regime “confiscated” the house<sup>162</sup> but not after 1946, the year Minerva closed down.<sup>163</sup> The copy I have been able to examine was cataloged by the Slovenian National and University Library on 19 July 1946.

This book’s cover (right) shows images of happy children playing and reading outside in the countryside. The images are rural and traditional. We see a farmer on a tractor in the background behind the children reading and

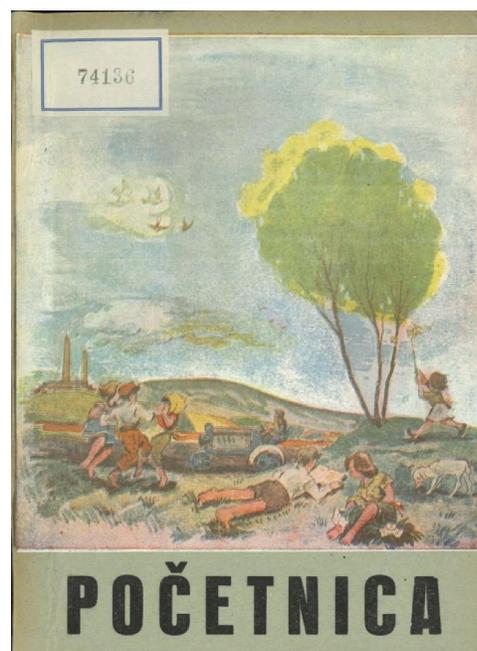


Fig. 29. Cover of 1946VOJ1

playing. Even further back, there is a factory with smoking smokestacks. This cover alludes to the importance of reading, agriculture, and industry to the nation. Once inside the book, however, the ideology is no longer subtle. The frontispiece of this book shows an image (Fig. 30) of Josip Broz Tito, leader of communist Yugoslavia, surrounded surrounded by adoring children, looking like quite the father figure. There is a caption below the photo saying, “Družē

<sup>162</sup> Minerva d.d. ( 1911-1946). (2015, October 29). *Subotica nekada*.

<https://suistorija.wordpress.com/industrija-i-industrijalci-ipar-es-iparosok/minerva-d-d-1911-1946/>

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

*Tito, mi ti se kunemo, da sa tvoga puta ne skrenemo.*” ‘Comrade Tito, we swear to you that we will not deviate from your path’. The book’s first lesson has already been offered even before page 1. At face value, this primer does not seem as politicized as others during this period—the most striking difference when compared to the three previous books is the cover, which shows children playing instead of



Fig. 30. Frontispiece of 1946VOJ1

being emblazoned with soldiers or large political symbols. The content on the inside pages, while also not as overtly political as the previous books in this period, do still send political messages whose aim is to rebuild, strengthen, and consolidate the new Socialist Yugoslav state. With a PQ of 0.95, we can see that the political content and propaganda are still present, but this content is embedded in stories and settings that are less militarized than the previous books.

While government sponsorship is not explicitly stated in this book, we can assume the regime supported (if not commissioned) the text given that the Minerva publishing house was confiscated by the communist authorities in 1945, and before that, it was purported to have been a place where propaganda was produced for occupying Hungarian forces.<sup>164</sup> This assumption is made stronger as one proceeds through the book. The title page displays the

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

pre-1946 version of the Yugoslav national emblem, which is printed again in a much larger format on p. 86 with the caption “Long-live our homeland — Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia!”<sup>165</sup> The images of Tito and the emblem are not the only national symbolism in this book; in fact, it is rife with socialist Yugoslav imagery and symbols. The first page with actual educational content is p. 3, where we see a child rolling a hoop for the majuscule letter <O>. By p. 7, for majuscule <I>, we see Ivo playing with an airplane emblazoned with a socialist star on its tail. On pg. 8 (majuscule <E>), Ivo walks past his sister, Eva; he is wearing a Titovka cap, the side cap with a red star badge that is associated with the communist partisans. The Titovka appears on children’s heads throughout the book, especially once the Pioniri are introduced on pg. 17, the page for <Nn>, “Na poslu” (“At work”), where we see children learning at a young age to enjoy working hard—and working together—to help the country rebuild after the war.

At work

Vesna, Ivan, Ana, Vojmir and Nevena are Titovi Pioniri. They are on the road. There are puddles on the road. There is also a hole. The road needs to be fixed. Pioneers love their work.

They are happy and singing:

We are little Pioneers

This time we fixed it!

---

<sup>165</sup> The combination of the pre-1946 version of the emblem along with the post-29 Nov. 1945 name (FRP Yugoslavia) as well as the historical information about Minerva publishing house and the Slovenian library’s accession date (July 1946) places the publication of this book squarely between late-1945 and early-1946.

Also Džafer reappears on p. 65, being a good Bosnian Yugoslav boy, wearing his Titovka, and going to school. He has come to Vojvodina because his siblings were killed by the fascists during the war. He is happy there now, and all his classmates love him. This is another example where a Bosnian (incidentally named Džafer) is featured in such a prized way, like the perfect Yugoslav specimen. This is also an example of using negative memories to elicit a sense of national pride or cohesion.

The linguistic analysis shows relatively little to note. The book is presented solely in the Latin alphabet and written in the štokavski-ijekavski variant. The [INF] feature is present in both [+INF] and [-INF] forms—even within the same passages.

1946VOJ1.INF.a. *Što ne možeš da razumiješ* (p. 47)

|      |     |        |      |               |
|------|-----|--------|------|---------------|
| što  | ne  | možeš  | da   | razumiješ     |
| what | NEG | can.2S | CONJ | understand.2S |

What you can't understand...

1946VOJ1.INF.b. *Svako mora raditi* (p. 50)

|               |      |          |
|---------------|------|----------|
| svako         | mora | raditi   |
| everyone.SUBJ | must | work.INF |

Everyone must work.

1946VOJ1.INF.c. *Danas moram da vučem kola sa hranom za partizane* (p. 50)

|       |         |      |         |          |      |           |     |                 |
|-------|---------|------|---------|----------|------|-----------|-----|-----------------|
| danas | moram   | da   | vučem   | kola     | sa   | hranom    | za  | partizane       |
| today | must.1S | CONJ | pull.1S | cart.ACC | with | food.INST | for | partisan.PL.ACC |

Today, I must pull a cart with food for the partisans.

1946VOJ1.INF.d. *Treba da skupljam med.* (p. 50)

|       |      |            |       |
|-------|------|------------|-------|
| treba | da   | skupljam   | med   |
| need  | CONJ | collect.1S | honey |

I need to collect honey.

1946VOJ1.INF.e. *Ne mogu, treba muhe loviti.* (p. 50)

ne mogu treba muhe loviti  
NEG can.1S need fly.PL.ACC catch.INF

I can't, I need to catch flies.

1946VOJ1.INF.f. *Tu se djeca mogu sklizati* (p. 56)

tu se djeca mogu sklizati  
there BE child.PL can.3P slide.INF

Children can slide there.

The book ends with the country's seal and an ode to "Our Republic" extolling the homeland and the five nations making up the new (now Federated) People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

## Modernization: strengthening the Yugoslav nation (1948-1974)

**Читанка за први разред осмогодишње школе (1956)**  
*Reader for the first grade of elementary (eight-year-olds') school*  
1956SRB2



Fig. 31. Cover of 1956SRB2

Živojin D. Karić is the author of this book, which, in its second edition, was published in 1956 in Belgrade by Narodna Knjiga (People's Book). It was approved by the government in 1955, and then received an endorsement to extend the approval for another two academic years, i.e., through AY 1957-58.

In terms of the linguistic analysis, the primer is written in the Cyrillic alphabet in a štokavski-ekavski variant. The word <хлеб> *hleb*, 'bread' on p. 27 gives us an example of both the Eastern (Serbian) [JAT] variant as well as the lexical variant preferred in the region (i.e., *hleb* vs *kruh*). The prime [JAT] example <млека> *mleka* 'milk' is also found on p. 80. Airplanes

are featured on p. 47 and pp. 50-51, and the words used there are <аероплан> *aeroplan*, and <авион> *avion*; the use of loanwords is typical and not problematic in Serbian usage. We also see the [-INF] variant used in the book, which is the expected form.

1956SRB2.INF.a Хоћу да шијем (p. 6)

hoću           da     šijem  
want.1S       CONJ sew.1S  
I want to sew.

1956SRB2.INF.b Треба да слажу (p. 25)

treba           da     slažu  
should.3P     CONJ agree.3P  
They should agree.

Politically, the overall face value from the cover onwards is that this book is not strongly nationalistic or political, and this is reflected in the PQ of 0.511. As usual, Tito is present on the frontispiece, but even the political stories and poems are not presented in an overtly political way when compared to the vast majority of the books from the previous period. Tito is the only political figure featured in the book (except unnamed national heroes, vets, pioneers and partizans). Tito is always featured as a father or grandfather—and always a great friend—of the children and the nation. Love of the homeland (*Heimatliebe*) is somewhat present. There is talk of the homeland, but again, it is not as celebrated as overtly as in other books. Scenes from the countryside are more poetic and are usually direct illustrations of a story or some other non-political/non-nationalistic theme of the page, e.g., the seasons.

Teaching mores and national values as the school children using the book are practicing their reading seems to be one of the biggest goals of this book. A majority of the

stories teach some kind of moral or lesson, which is often about loving, protecting, and helping your family and comrades and working hard (cf. pp. 23, 25, 27). Page 27 in particular shows a group of Pioneers who went to help an old lady whose family had been killed during the “war for freedom” to dig and prepare her garden for the next year. Also the importance of going to school, learning, reading, and not being ignorant are common themes evident from the images on the cover and other content throughout the book. Pages 26 and 29 extol the importance of bathing (stay clean: “impurity destroys!”). These themes are perfectly in line with the goals of the regime during this period of modernizing and strengthening the Yugoslav state by strengthening national identity, cohesion, and unity.

Returning to Tito, he gets practically a six-page spread later in the book. There is a story where Tito, out in the field during the war, came across a Partizan soldier who was shocked and honored to meet Tito and saluted him. There is a fable about Tito and his goodness. There is a song, *We love you, Tito*: “Tito, our dear brother”; “Tito, the nation’s son”; “Our struggle brought us Marshal Tito”. After the song, there is a note to the student that requests “If you don’t know [the song], learn it!” Finally, on p. 57 there is an image of Tito (featured here to the right) surrounded by many happy children under the title “To the grandfather”. “Many children came from all over our homeland...to wish happy birthday to their best friend, the President of the Republic.” Now, Tito has moved from



Fig 32. Page 57 from 1956SRB2

military figure and national hero to a friendly fatherly figure that the whole nation should love.

Technology is also a new feature in this book when compared to earlier books in the corpus, which is another glimpse at the regime's push for modernization of the country. We see planes—not in a military function—coming closer to the people. Automobiles, too. There is an image of a radio with a question that asks: “Do you have a radio at home? Do you listen to the Pioneer programming on the radio?”. Interestingly, the majority of the drawings show people in traditional clothing, but that is about to change.

**Početnica za I. razred osnovne škole**  
*Primer for the 1st grade of elementary schools*  
1960HRV10a

Seeing this book's colorful cartoon-like cover (right) immediately signals that things have changed and are changing. The image of the young girl wearing a green pleated skirt, red jumper and matching beret with her school bag and puppy could be on the cover of any European schoolbook from the era. Once inside, the illustrations of everyday life in Yugoslavia are less realistic than in the previous books. There are more vignettes of city life beginning to appear, and the clothing that the

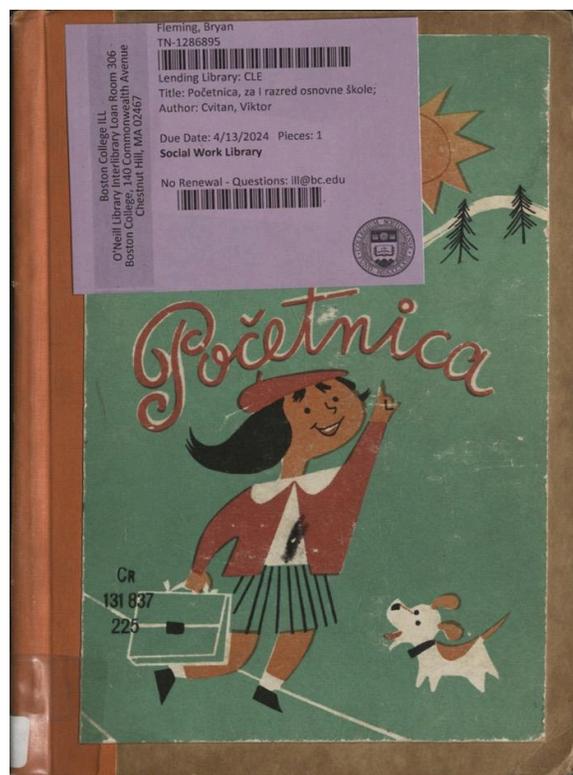


Fig. 33. Cover of 1960HRV10a

characters are wearing in these images is the modern clothing of the time and not regional traditional clothing as is seen in many of the other books when non-military people are depicted. This book does also contain vignettes of traditional country life where we see people in specific traditional regional clothing, but even so the details on the clothing are not as refined in this book as they are in others where you could see the lace trim and other fine details on their clothes.

The edition that is being examined in this corpus is the 10th abbreviated edition of this *početnica*, which was published in Zagreb in 1960 by Školska Knjiga and was written by Viktor

Cvitan and Edo Vajnaht. There is no frontispiece with Tito (or anyone) in this book. This primer is markedly not as political as those in the first section, which is reflected in its PQ of 0.413. In fact, there is not even an inkling of anything political until the red star on the airplane on p. 30. This can be compared to the airplane ([LEX] *avion*) on p. 18 (the page for <Aa>) that has “AB CD” written on the wings where the political symbol usually appears in other titles in this collection. Eventually, we see mention of the Pioneers when the pages for <Pp> come up (pp. 40-41), but this mention is matter-of-fact and does not seem to be trying to convince children to join. Even most of the pages that scored higher individually on the PQ tabulation are less strikingly political than in other books but still manage to get the point across that this is a Yugoslav book or story. An exception is found on pp. 78-79, the pages for <Đđ>. As I read the passage *Na lađi*, I thought it sounded familiar, and then I realized that this is the book that inspired Dubravka Ugrešić to write her essay entitled *Početnica*, which inspired this dissertation “Very far away in Africa live black peoples. They happily meet our sailors. They see the red star on our flag. [...] They shout ‘Yugoslav sailors are our brothers—long live Yugoslav sailors!’” / “SERB AND CROAT: When brotherly hearts unite, nothing can escape their might.” / “My Homeland: Like a mother with a plan, the state takes care of every man.” This page makes quite a few political statements, and it is clear from Ugrešić’s essay that the messages left a mark on her memory.

The language is written in the Latin alphabet in the expected štokavski-ijekavski variant. Lexically, we have words that are markedly Croatian and others that are not and therefore more Yugoslav. Airplane is only seen as the loanword *avion*. Factories are discussed

in the book using both the Croatian *tvornica* and the loanword *fabrika*. The [+INF] variant is used throughout.

1960HRV10a.INF.a *Voli čitati priče.* [+INF]

|         |          |              |
|---------|----------|--------------|
| voli    | čitati   | priče        |
| like.3S | read.INF | story.PL.ACC |

He likes to read stories.

1960HRV10a.INF.b *Ne može im nitko na put stati* [+INF]

|     |        |            |        |    |         |           |
|-----|--------|------------|--------|----|---------|-----------|
| ne  | može   | im         | nitko  | na | put     | stati     |
| NEG | can.3S | PRO.3P.DAT | no.one | in | way.LOC | stand.INF |

No one can stand in their way.

**Буквар за I разред основне школе: упоредна обрада штампаних и писаних слова**  
*Primer for the 1st grade of elementary school: comparative processing of printed and written letters*  
1961SRB3

This book was published in Belgrade in 1961 by the Institute for Textbook Publishing of the People's Republic of Serbia; it was printed and approved by the government. The 1961 version seems to be the third edition, according to the Serbian library catalog system. On its face, the book gives off a nice and happy vibe and does not seem overly political. The cover (right) shows a boy and girl playing in a green field in front of their school; they seem quite content. They are wearing contemporary clothes, and in what is very meta and self-referential, the girl is reading this very primer itself. The first nineteen pages feature images from both urban and rural families. Some images depict family life at home while others show everyone at work—whether in the fields or working in the city.

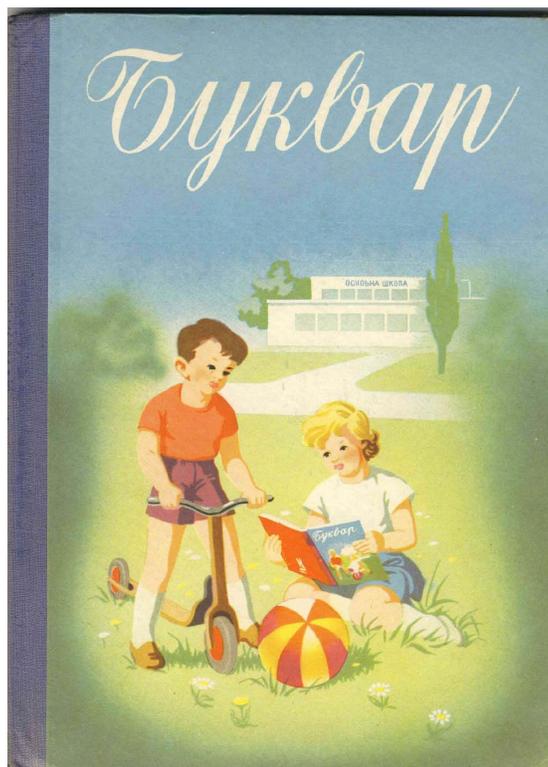


Fig. 34. Cover of 1961SRB3

Rural images show the people dressed in traditional clothing, while those in urban settings are wearing modern clothing *en vogue* at the time. The images seem to show that both urban and rural life are important to the homeland. In one place, food is grown by hard-working families; in the other, hard-working families purchase food from stores and artisanal vendors. Each relies on the other. The nation relies on everyone. School and learning are given importance in

this book as are agriculture and industry. These are the things that will help continue to build a strong nation.

Overt political imagery and slogans are less frequent than in earlier texts, which is reflected in the PQ of 0.571. Marshal Tito in his military uniform is front and center on the frontispiece, but most other instances of political imagery are subtle: a glimpse of a flag on the plane on p. 20; characters in the pictorial scenes reading *Borba*, the Communist Party's newspaper, on pp. 34, 35, 43; or a blurry portrait of Tito hanging on the wall of the classroom portrayed on p. 75, where one can also make out that the teacher is writing "*Tito je naš.*" (*Tito je naš*, Tito is ours) on the chalkboard. Propaganda to promote working—and working together—is interspersed somewhat subtly throughout in both the imagery and reading passages: working together to protect the village (p. 57); factories and industry are important to many aspects of everyday life (e.g., pp. 61, 71, 76 and 77). Traditional clothing and dancing (*kolo*) of the region are shown throughout the book. Less subtle are the two pages devoted to two national heroes, Sava Kovačević (p. 73) and Iva Loka Ivar (p. 93) and the bravery and importance such heroes have for the nation and how they "shed [their] blood for our freedom." Of course, the Pioneers make a showing in a number of places as does the *Titovka*.

One final mention is that a character named Džafer is back, and he is once again someone to look up to: a brave boy who wanted to join the Partizans and the struggle and, after recovering from an injury, rejoined the fight and is now an officer in the Yugoslav National Army.

Linguistically, this book is written in Cyrillic in a štokavski-ekavski variant ([WHAT] and [JAT]). Lexically, we see <хлеб> (*hleb*, ‘bread’), the typical Serbian variant. We also see <авион> (*avion*, ‘plane’) and <џемпер> (*džemper*, ‘sweater’/‘jumper’), an unmarked usage of loanwords. For the [INF] feature, one example is found and is [-INF], the expected Eastern variant.

1961SRB3.INF.a. *Што не можеш да разумеш [-INF] (p. 82)*

što ne možeš da razumeš.  
what NEG can.2S CONJ understand.2S  
‘what you cannot understand.

Of pedagogical interest, this book immediately starts teaching handwriting (cursive), giving the pupils lines to trace so they will become familiar with making the lines and curves that will be written together to form the letters they will soon learn, cf., pp. 9 and 16.

**Sunce na prozorčiču: čitanka za 1. razred**

*Sunshine at the window: reader for the 1st grade of elementary school*  
1967HRV8

Other than *Moj Dom* from 1941, *Sunce na Prozorčiču* is the first book in the corpus in over a 20-year timespan to have a title that is more creative than simply “primer” or “reader”. This book is a basal reader, so the assumption is that the schools using this book do so immediately after teaching the letters with a primer like *Početnica* 1960HRV10a. This edition of *Sunce* was published in 1967—its eighth edition—by Školska Knjiga in Zagreb. Viktor Cvitan is listed

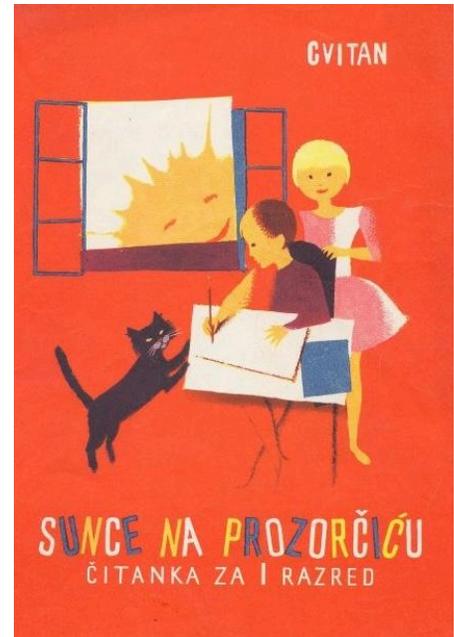


Fig. 35 Cover of 1967HRV8

as the book's “compiler”. The page where the governmental statement of approval typically exists has been removed from the copy I was able to examine, so I cannot make a conclusive determination about the book’s level of governmental support. However, as the major publisher of school books in Croatia and the fact that all other books in the corpus published by Školska Knjiga have been approved by the relevant Ministry of Education/Culture, we can be quite confident that this one would have received the same.

The art on the cover (above right) and in the book are striking in that they are very colorful and relatively simple—especially the images of people. What is even more striking is that the overt propaganda in this book is mostly gone. There is not the usual frontispiece with Tito’s image. The first remotely overt political reference is on p. 21 where there is a red star on top of the main gate of a factory (*tvornica*). Where the propaganda has been reduced, the

pedagogical level and quality of the book has been greatly improved. This book contains reading passages followed by questions or tasks for the students to consider. These tasks involve higher-level thinking, requiring students to think through the practical and moral lessons embedded in the readings. Some highlights are the emphasis made on respecting elders, proper cleanliness and grooming, not lying, avoiding laziness and working hard, working together, and modernizing agriculture to make it more efficient. All of these themes are consistent with the goals of the regime during this period to modernize and strengthen the Yugoslav nation. The more overt political pages are still relatively tame. One page celebrates a political holiday with an image showing a street festively bedecked with flags of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav Communist Party. Another page shows a young girl taking a train ride through the countryside with her father and tells the story of her happily waving at the people, animals, and plants as she “greet[s] [their] beautiful homeland” (p. 61).

Linguistically, *Sunce* is written in the štokavski-ijekavski variant and printed in the Latin alphabet. The Croatian variant *vlak* ‘train’ is seen a number of times in the book (viz., pp. 36 and 61), as is *tvornica* ‘factory’ (p. 21). The [+INF] variant is present and expected.

1967HRV8.INF.a *Sve je htjela pozdraviti.*

|         |           |                 |            |
|---------|-----------|-----------------|------------|
| sve     | je        | htjela          | pozdraviti |
| all.DAT | BE.3S.AUX | want.3S.FEM.PST | greet.INF  |

She wanted to greet everyone.

**Буквар за 1 разред основне школе: упоредна обрада штампаних и писаних слова  
за Социјалистичку Републику Црну Гору**

*Primer for the 1st grade elementary school: comparative processing of printed and written letters  
for the Socialist Republic of Montenegro  
1971CrG6*

This book was published in 1971 by the Institute for Textbook Publishing of the People's Republic of Serbia in Belgrade for schools in Montenegro. This book was first approved for use in the 1st grade by the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science of the Republic of Montenegro. Mita Mitić is listed as the author.

A portrait of Josip Broz Tito appears on the frontispiece in this book with the subtitle “President of the Socialist Federal

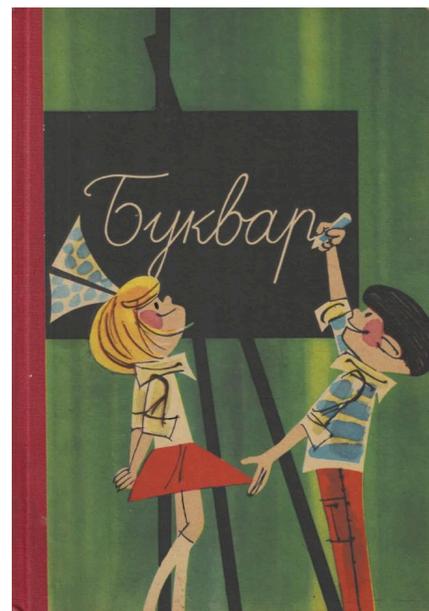


Fig. 36. Cover of 1971CrG6

Republic of Yugoslavia.” Turning the page, we see Tito once again—this time in a grandfatherly way, surrounded by children who are hugging and staying close to him and who seem very happy that they are in his presence. The first 15 pages of substantive content show colorful depictions of children at and on their way to and from school, at home, and on the farm. We also see people hard at work in the city and in the countryside. There are lines underneath the images that allow the children to practice writing the shapes that will become the letters.

While the majority of this book is not overtly political—with a PQ of 0.326—the pages that *are* political make use of the entire page to drive home a particular point. Tito is back on pp 52-53 as he is driven down the road during a parade. The spectators all yell his name and

recount how he protected everyone during the war and how the people were proud to have fought with him. On the next page, Tito’s Army follows him in the motorcade, and the book says that Tito created the army and that “the Army is all of us”. The following four pages feature an “army” of Pioneers who are working together on building and improving the nation’s highways. They are happy to be working hard on this project together and to be doing it for Tito. Later, the pioneers are also reminded to “Love, Keep, and Defend your Homeland!”. In addition to these nationalistic themes of making the Yugoslav nation stronger by being good and proud citizens, there are also a number of reading passages that work to promote good national mores like good health and grooming, helping the family, working hard, and going to school. A few passages also extol the modern farm machinery that helps make the work fast and efficient.

As for the language in the primer, it is written in a štokavski-ijekavski variant in the Cyrillic alphabet. This is consistent with language usage in Montenegro.

1971CrG6.INF.a. Хтио Ниџо да избрише грешку у домаћем задатку. (p.105)

htio            Nidžo da    izbriše            grešku            u            domaћem            zadatku  
 want.3s.PST Nidžo CONJ erase.3S            mistake.DAT in            home.ADJ            assignment.LOC  
 Nidžo wanted to erase a mistake in his homework.

1971CrG6.INF.b. Милан почео да пише. (p. 114)

Milan počeo            da            piše  
 Milan start.3S.PST CONJ write.3S  
 Milan started to write.

## Challenges, Tensions, and Disintegration (1974-1992)

### Saznanje i znanje: početnica i čitanka iz hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika za osnovno obrazovanje odraslihoja (1976)

*Learning and knowledge: primer and reader for the Croatian or Serbian language  
for the education of adults*

1976HRV1

*Saznanje i znanje* was created for teaching adults to read and write and was approved by the Socialist Republic of Croatia's Secretariat for Education, Culture, and Physical Culture for that purpose. It was published in Zagreb in 1976 by Školska Knjiga. It is divided into two distinct sections: the first being, naturally, the *početnica*, the primer, and the second the *čitanka*, the reader. The reader portion of this particular book is at a much higher level than even other similar books in the corpus meant for teaching illiterate adults. For this reason, I have not included the reader section of this book in the analysis.

The primer section starts off very simply—in fact, it could be described as minimalistic. As seen in Fig. 37 to the right showing pp. 8-9, the images are only outline drawings and are all in black and white except for small bits of red here and there. The book gets right to the point and immediately introduces all of

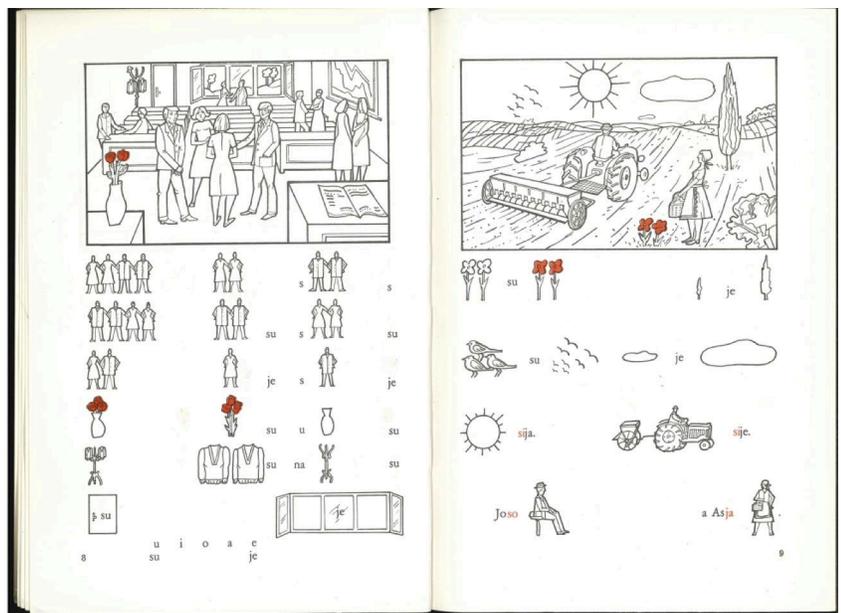


Fig. 37. Pages 8-9 of 1976HRV1

the vowels, quickly adding <j>, <s>, <t>, <m>, and <n>. By p. 25, thirteen letters have been introduced; p. 38 adds another 5, and it continues in this manner adding 3-5 new letters until the last page of the primer where the final letter—the digraph <Dž>—is introduced as the rarest letter that is used mostly in loanwords. As more letters are introduced, the number of images reduces so that by the end of the primer, there are barely any images at all. The reading passages are followed by comprehension questions with a directive that they are meant to be responded to either in writing or orally when called upon by the teacher. This book is quite different pedagogically from most others in the corpus. The number of longer reading passages produces a great amount of opportunity for particular themes to be introduced, and the authors and publishers take advantage of this. At first glance, the face value judgment of this book is that it is very minimalistic in design and in its politicization (n.b, there is no frontispiece with Tito or anything else), but as one advances through the book and the reading passages get longer and more complicated, the politicization factor rises greatly. The entire primer section of this book scores a PQ of 1.71, which is surprising given that the first half of this section has practically zero political content. The stark rise in the politicization in this book likely comes from the fact that the new 1974 Constitution of the SFRY had just come into effect two years earlier. The goal of this constitution was to create a new structure for the presidency in an effort to keep the federation together and prevent power struggles after Tito's death. The Presidency of Yugoslavia was restructured so that each republic and autonomous region would have one representative. It also codified the particular self-management style of Socialism in Yugoslavia as well as confirming the equal rights of the

peoples. As a matter of fact, these are the themes in the majority of the longer reading passages in this primer. What is not a passage that teaches about how the new structure of the government works is usually a passage about a particularly important place, tradition, or person in the country.

The passage on p. 27 (Fig. 38) celebrates the homeland and the nations describing the good work that everyone does for the homeland, particularly that “all those who love their homeland also took part in the war”. It goes on to say that “today, all peoples and nations work to create a happy and unique homeland...homeland is all that we have”. Below this, there are sketches of four individuals wearing traditional clothing from various Yugoslav nationalities. The individual nations are being celebrated as integral parts of the larger Yugoslav nation. This is a great example of the promotion of a supra-national

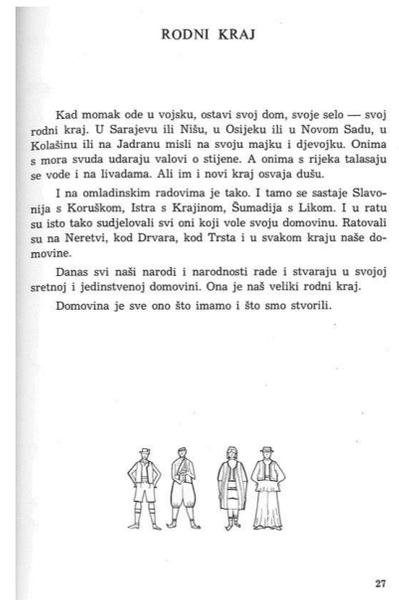


Fig. 38. p. 27 of 1976HRV1

Yugoslav identity. Page 30 celebrates the “Glory Days” and explains holidays like May 1st, celebrated by “many proletarians and nations around the world”, and Republic day on November 29th, the day the new Yugoslavia was created in 1943. Negative memories of the war are evoked briefly here and in the discussion questions that follow. Self-managing Socialism is explained on pp. 37-39. Pages 47-49 present a short history of the formation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with the Socialist Republic of Croatia getting its own treatment on p. 59.

There are also a number of linguistic/etymological readings that are quite interesting. For one, the language itself is named, which is rare among these books. Not only is it named explicitly in the section that teaches about the structure of the Socialist Republic of Croatia: *U Socijalističkoj Republici Hrvatskoj govori se hrvatskim ili srpskim jezikom*<sup>166</sup> ‘In the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the **Croatian or Serbian language** is spoken’, it is also included in the subtitle of the book itself. *Saznanje i znanje: početnica i čitanka iz hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika za osnovno obrazovanje odraslihoja* ‘Learning and knowledge: primer and reader for the **Croatian or Serbian language** for the education of adults’. It is particularly striking that this book is the first in the corpus to highlight the name of the language in this way and at this point in the historical development of Yugoslavia. The 1954 Novi Sad Agreement did stipulate over twenty years prior that “both constituent parts” should be mentioned in the name of the literary language, so this is in perfect accordance with that policy. What seems significant is that the other books in the corpus simply do not reference the name of the language at all.<sup>167</sup>

Two other passages give explanations of the differences between <č> and <ć> and <đ> and <đž>, providing minimal pairs as examples. Then the passages prescriptively describe the “correct” way to pronounce, write, and use the letters, lest one’s interlocutor misunderstand: kreći = ‘on the road’; kreči = ‘chalk’; Džip = ‘Jeep’; đip = ‘an insect that lives under the bark of a

<sup>166</sup> Emphasis added by me.

<sup>167</sup> This could be a response to the *Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Literary Language* that was published in 1967, which was itself a reaction to the Novi Sad Agreement. The 1967 *Declaration* argued that Serbian elements of the language were being advantaged throughout Yugoslavia at the expense of Croatian ones. Many Croatian linguists and cultural elites authored or signed onto this declaration, which called for maintaining that there was a common language, that all regional variants and languages be considered equal in Yugoslavia, and that the Croatian variant standards should be taught in schools and used in the government. It set off a period of intensified language nationalism and purification in Croatia. In the end, many of these terms were affirmed in the 1974 Constitution.

tree'. As for other linguistic features found in the language used in this book, it is another example of a primer written in the štokavski-ijekavski variant written in the Latin alphabet. Lexically, we see <avion> instead of the “pure-Croatian” <zrakoplov> ‘(air)plane’, but the Croatian variants <vlak> ‘train’, <tvornica> ‘factory’, and <studeni> ‘November’ are used instead of the non-Croatian <voz>, <fabrika>, or <novembar>.

**Моја прва књига : Буквар за први разред основне школе (1980)**

*My first book : Primer for the first grade of elementary school*

1980SRB4

This book was first published in Belgrade in 1977 by the Завод за Уџбенике и Наставна средства (Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Aids), with an initial printing of 115,000 copies. By 1987, it was already on its 11th edition, with 150,000 copies printed that year. It was edited by Desanka Stojić-Janjušević, Božidar Timotijević, and Vladimir Milarić. It was approved by the Education Council of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in 1977 with its first edition.

Initially, one is struck by the joyful, colorful design, which seems appropriate to what was *en vogue* artistically in that era. The drawings are cartoon-like and not realistic and evoke happiness with their cheerful colors and cheerful faces on both the animals and humans. After an image of a uniformed Comrade Tito with two young Pioneers on

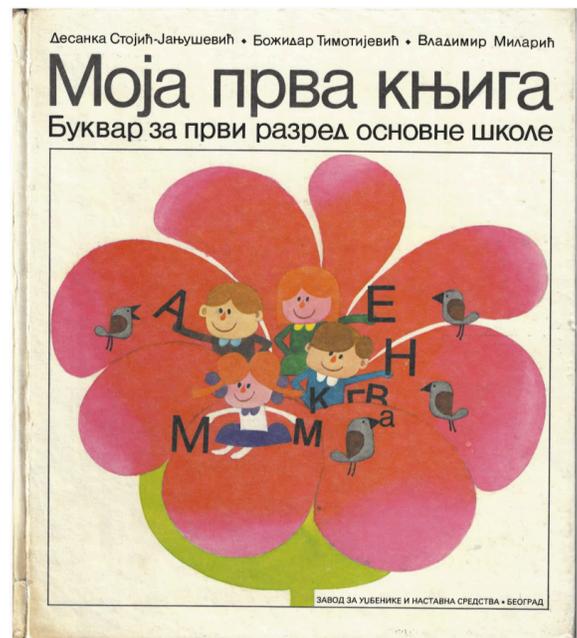


Fig. 39. Cover of 1980SRB4

the frontispiece, the book starts off with a poem called “Homeland”, which conveys the importance of education: “The homeland is defended with beauty, honor, and knowledge / The homeland is defended with life and good education”. After this first infusion of nationalistic fervor, the book moves on to teach common words with a big, colorful image representing that word. Before introducing the letters individually, a big image of a key (with the letters for the

word <letters> as the key's teeth) tells the students that “we (letters) give you the key to books”. On the pages featuring individual letters, playful images of things that include that letter are shown to prompt the student to learn the letter in different contexts within a word. Already both print and cursive forms of the letters are being taught in upper- and lowercase.

Various national mores are emphasized as seen in earlier periods. On p. 55, the page for <Г>, friendship and camaraderie are front-and-center with <Друг> *Drug* ‘Friend’/‘Comrade’. Page 89 tells us “Truth always wins”. Page 100 tells a fable whose moral is that those who work get rewarded and that laziness, on the other hand, gets you nothing. Working together, helping others, not lying, and not being elitist are other themes that are prioritized in this book.

In a story not unlike the one young US-Americans learn about George Washington and the cherry tree, young Tito wants to go sledding after the first snow of the season. Not having a sled, he improvises and uses a feeding trough he found at home. It was just right. He was having a great time sledding until he hit a rock, and the trough broke in half. He had to return home with the broken trough and was anxious about telling his parents. Three discussion questions then ask students to think about what might happen when young Tito returned home, why other children were laughing at him, and what was very serious about the story. Some of the common moral themes mentioned in previous books come through here as well, including not lying and not being elitist.

While promoting national mores counts toward the politicization score of this book, these things are done subtly insofar as there are no political references on the pages

themselves. The book scores low on the politicization scale with a PQ of 0.275; overall there are very few overtly political pages in this book. Two of the most overtly political pages are 98 and 99, where we see a number of characters in uniforms wearing Titovkas and a whole swarm of Yugoslav flags. The reading passages are about the Partizans, the flag, and wishing everyone in the country to be happy. The other passage on these pages promotes another common theme that is part of the national mores often seen in this collection of primers, and that is the importance of reading. Here, Tito tells the students about his favorite memory (p. 98):

—Која ти је успомена, Друже Тито, најмилија?  
 —Најлепша је успомена прва књига прочитана.  
 —Учио сам прва слова и сеоској малој школи,  
 из књига сам научио како земља да се воли.

—What’s your favorite memory, Comrade Tito?  
 —The best memory is reading my first book.  
 —I learned my first letters in a small village school;  
 from the book, I learned how to love the country.



Fig. 40. pp. 98-99 of 1980SRB4

Always ready to emulate their great friend and comrade, students absorb from Tito’s words that they should learn to read—and also that they should love their country. Surprisingly, he has also given us the answer to the question this dissertation seeks to answer: do governments use books such as primers to promote nationalism?

Another page worth highlighting comes immediately before these two. On p. 97, right after the abecedary, we find a full-page portrait of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, the Serbian linguist, who was also an important player in earlier Serbian (linguistic) nationalist movements. Vuk was the one whose suggestions for a Serbian variant of the Cyrillic alphabet were taken to form the alphabet that is used today. The caption under his image says “Now you know all thirty letters of the alphabet. It is called Cyrillic. You learned to read and write quickly and easily. We should thank Vuk Stefanović Karadžić for such an easy alphabet.”

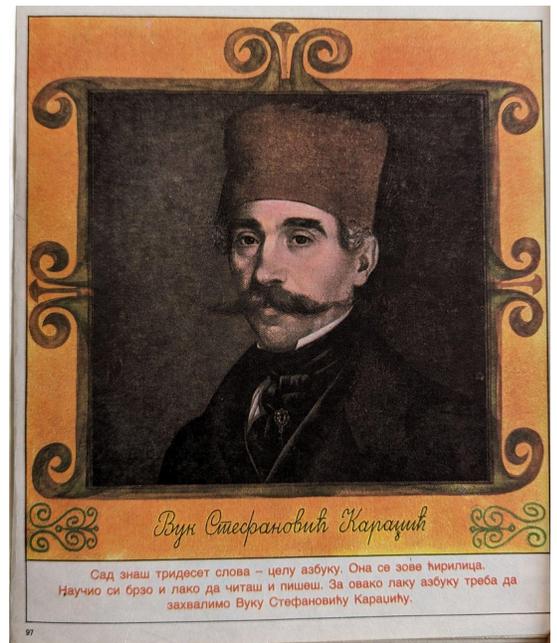


Fig. 41. p. 97 featuring Vuk Karadžić

The book is written entirely in the Cyrillic alphabet, and the language variant used is štokavski-ekavski. Pages 70 and 71 give examples of both the [JAT] and [LEX] features with the word <хлеб> *hleb* ‘bread’ as the example word for <Xx>. This is in contrast to the ijekavski variant *hljeb* and the Croatian variant *kruh*. We also find <фабрика> *fabrika* ‘factory’ and <авион> *avion* ‘airplane’, as expected. For [INF], we also see the expected [-INF] variant in the following:

1980SRB4.INF.a Цин може трамвај да подигне.

|            |        |         |      |         |
|------------|--------|---------|------|---------|
| džin       | može   | tramvaj | da   | podigne |
| giant.SUBJ | can.3S | tram    | CONJ | lift    |

A giant can lift a tram.

1980SRB4.INF.b Треба да захвалимо Вуку.

|        |      |           |         |
|--------|------|-----------|---------|
| treba  | da   | zahvalimo | Vuku.   |
| should | CONJ | thank.1P  | Vuk.DAT |

We should thank Vuk.

**Dobro jutro 2: početnica za 1. razred osnovne škole (1981)**

*Good Morning 2: primer for the first grade of elementary school*

1981HRV1

*Dobro jutro* is a series of primers and readers published by Školska Knjiga and written by Edo Vajnaht, whose name has been seen on many of the books in this corpus. This book is the second volume in the series<sup>168</sup> and continues the work that began in the first. The copy examined in this corpus was published in Zagreb in 1981, soon after the death of Tito.

This book is understated, politically; its PQ is 0.318. The images in the book are colorful cartoon images of children, families, animals, and everyday life in the city and countryside, but the images and colors do not seem as cheerful as others discussed

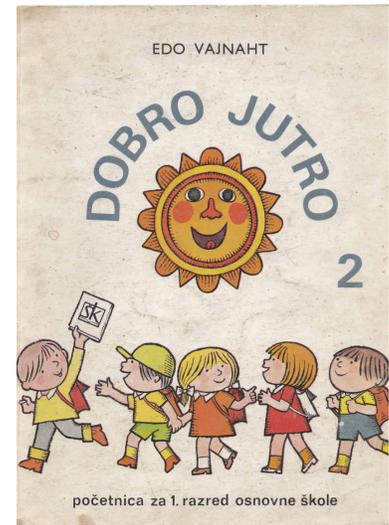


Fig. 42. Cover of 1981HRV1

here so far. Scenes depict life at school and at home, and there are also many images and stories of animals and nature. As mentioned, this is the second volume in a series, and it is the second half of the *početnica*, as it continues with longer reading passages following the introduction of all the letters in *Dobro jutro 1*. *Dobro jutro 3* is the following volume, and it is a basal reader. The topics in the reading passages, for the most part, are simple and a bit banal. But, there are a few worth mentioning here that are relevant to this dissertation.

Despite the relatively apolitical nature of the book's content, the Partizans show up on p. 17 as Grandpa tells the children a story about a brave boy during the war. When a group of Partizans got lost; the only person who was able and brave enough to help them was a young

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<sup>168</sup> For the first volume in the series, see 1992HRV2mod below.

boy named Ivo. He quickly volunteered and became a Partizan guide. Later in the book, the Partizans show up again in a much longer story, which describes how they defended the village from the enemy. The brave, young Pioneers helped them secure food for the village. Both of these stories aim to encourage bravery and sacrifice for the country.

The spirit of the Pioneers shows up again on p. 60 when two children are walking and see an old lady slip and fall on the road. The boy runs to help the woman and to make sure she is okay. When he went back to his friend, she asked him whether that was his grandmother? Aunt? An Acquaintance? He said, no, it was “simply an old woman”. The story explains that the boy was fulfilling his Pioneers promise (i.e., to respect elders and help others) and asks the students how they are fulfilling their promise.

The final political segment to discuss is about Tito. On p. 36, there is a photograph of him that fills half of the page, cf. Fig. 43. The remainder of the page contains a poem celebrating the “immortal name of Tito, which burns in every heart and which flows throughout the homeland through the rivers and land”. Another passage thanks Tito for “fighting tirelessly” to end the war. Finally, the page exclaims, “Thank you, Tito, for everything!”.

Written in the štokavski-ijekavski variant in the Latin alphabet, this book does clearly use Croatian variants. We also see many lexical variants that are markedly Croatian. One page



Fig. 43. Tito in 1981HRV1

in particular contains a few. On p. 7, the page is entitled *Naša Obitelj* ‘Our Family’, and it uses the Croatian variant for ‘family’, *obitelj*, instead of the unmarked *familija*. We also learn that father works in the *tvornica* ‘factory’ and not the *fabrika*. It is fascinating that, to my knowledge, this is the first time the word <obitelj> appears in the entire corpus—even in the hyper-Croatian *Moj Dom* (1941NDH1). It is intriguing to wonder whether this portends a movement toward an invigorated linguistic nationalism and linguistic purism; but, for the time being, this book—where it is at all political—still rings thoroughly Yugoslav.<sup>169</sup>

As for the [INF] feature, this book delivers as expected with the following [+INF]

examples:

1981HRV1.INF.a *Samo treba preskočiti plot.* (p. 12)

|      |         |            |         |
|------|---------|------------|---------|
| samo | treba   | preskočiti | plot    |
| only | must.2S | jump.INF   | log.ACC |

You only have to jump over the fence.

1981HRV1.INF.b *Voli šarati zelenom olovkom.* (p. 23)

|         |          |            |             |
|---------|----------|------------|-------------|
| voli    | šarati   | zelenom    | olovkom     |
| like.3s | draw.INF | green.INST | pencil.INST |

He likes to draw with a green pencil.

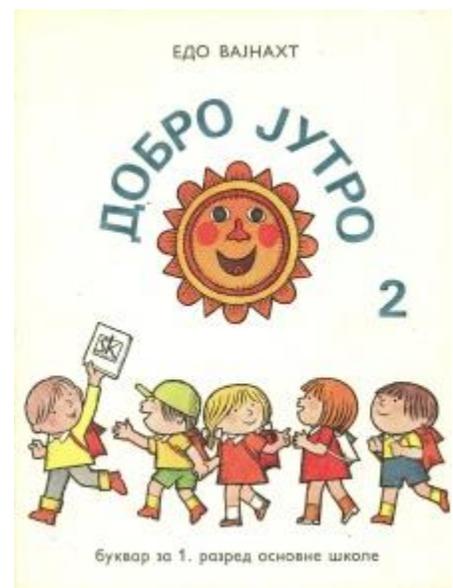


Fig. 44. Cover of a Cyrillic edition of *Dobro Jutro 2*

<sup>169</sup> To that point, a Cyrillic version of *Dobro Jutro 2* does exist, although I have not been able to analyze it.

**Буквар за први разред основне школе (1988)**

*Primer for the first grade of elementary school*

1988SRB1

In 1988, when this book was published, Tito had died, but his importance to the national identity endured. In this book, the frontispiece shows Tito in a blue business suit with his arm around a young uniformed Pioneer. While it is a more formal image than others we have seen where Tito is with children, the image still seems to express an avuncular quality in Tito as the nation's friend, comrade, and father figure. The book was approved by both Educational Councils of Serbia and Vojvodina, and both the Institute for Textbooks and Teaching Materials in Belgrade and the Textbook Publishing Institute in Novi Sad are listed as the publishers. Authorship is attributed to Vuk Milatović and Anastasija Ivković.

This book, like others in this period, is very colorful with cheerful cartoon images throughout. This book scored a PQ of 0.427. There are frequent references to the Yugoslav flag in this book, including on the cover, so the political imagery is present among these merry characters, but the face-value impression of it is that it is not strongly political.

The first few pages show happy students in the classroom, and classroom objects are shown along with their names spelled out fully. Over half of the book shows simple images with words and teaches the letters individually. The scenes vary from the school, to the city, to the countryside, to the home, etc., and most of the themes are relevant to those things themselves with little supplementary lessons or morals being

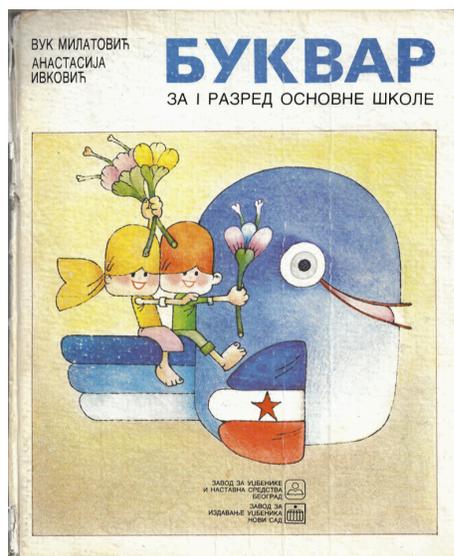


Fig. 45. Cover of 1988SRB1

interwoven into the pages. By p. 59, we see the Pioneers being promoted as Goran and Igor head off to play and share their excitement about becoming Pioneers: “I am a Pioneer, and you?” “I am also a Pioneer.” Later, Zoran also becomes a Pioneer, and he and his family were pleased. To become a Pioneer, Zoran had to make the promise to study hard, love his homeland, be an honest friend, respect parents and elders, and love all the people of the world. His mother told him to always try and fulfill those “beautiful and great words”.

The book proceeds with longer passages and additional letters with most letters getting two pages each—one for printed characters, one for cursive. We see Belgrade celebrated as the beautiful capital city. Later, Igor is on the tramway and gives up his seat when an elderly woman comes on the train. Soon after is a fable that teaches the students that if they do bad things, no one will want to help them. Later, there is a story about Tito selflessly going out to gather wood himself to help keep his soldiers warm so they could rest.

Page 84 is striking in its imagery and message. There is a young child flying with a whale-looking bird creature with Yugoslav flags as wings; they both look very content. Below it is a rebus puzzle that means “love”, and beside that is a short reading that gives a message that any of us could hope all children learn:

Love is when mom and dad love each other.  
Love is when a sister and a brother love each other.  
Love is when you love a friend.  
Love is when you love your homeland.  
Love is when you love people.

Over the next few pages, all the letters will have been introduced to the students. An abecedary is next, then an image of a boy and a girl passing through a very colorful gate

covered in the letters. Above it says “Now I can do anything.” The next page is an homage to Vuk Karadžić. It teaches the students how Vuk helped create their alphabet by believing that one should “Write as you speak, and read as it is written.” It also teaches about Vuk’s work in regional linguistic anthropology as he traveled around the country collecting folk songs, stories, and proverbs and that he fought for literacy, freedom, and for the people’s language itself.<sup>170</sup>

One last passage must be mentioned: *Песма о буквару* ‘Song about a primer’. In it, the primer itself is celebrated, and we see a young Pioneer going along: “You’re a fine book, primer [...] like a magical door behind which life awaits [...] Every letter reveals something new to you; every page of the primer opens up a new world.”

As for the linguistic analysis of this book, it is written in a štokavski-ekavski variant in the Cyrillic alphabet. It uses lexical items typical for the Serbian/Eastern variant, e.g., *biblioteka* instead of *knjižnica* ‘library’, *hleb* instead of *kruh* or *hljeb* ‘bread’, *avion* instead of *zrakoplov* ‘airplane’, and *fudbal* instead of the Croatian *nogomet* ‘soccer’/‘football’.<sup>171</sup> The [-INF] variant is found on p. 81.

1988SRB1.INF.a Људи воле да се фотографишу. [-INF] (p.81)

|                                  |         |      |             |                     |
|----------------------------------|---------|------|-------------|---------------------|
| ljudi                            | vole    | da   | se          | fotografišu         |
| people                           | like.3S | CONJ | 3S.PRO.REFL | take.photographs.3S |
| People like to take photographs. |         |      |             |                     |

<sup>170</sup> There is no mention of the name of that language, however.

<sup>171</sup> Interestingly, the word <računar> is used instead of a common loanword for ‘computer’, <kompjuter>, but *računar* seems to be prevalent in all Yugoslav variants.

**Dobro jutro 1: početnica za 1. razred osnovne škole (1992)**

*Good Morning 1: primer for the first grade of elementary school*

1992HRV2mod

As mentioned, *Dobro jutro* is a series of primers and readers published by Školska Knjiga and written by Edo Vajnaht. The copy examined here is the second modified edition and was published in Zagreb in 1992 right on the cusp of the disintegration of Yugoslavia.<sup>172</sup>

On the whole, this book is not political; its PQ is 0.052, the lowest of this corpus, which seems surprising given the very serious political situation in the region at the time of its publishing. Once again, there are colorful cartoon images of happy children going about their day at school, at home, playing with their friends, and also scenes depicting city and country life. In contrast to other books, this one seems to move slowly in the speed and volume in which it introduces new letters and

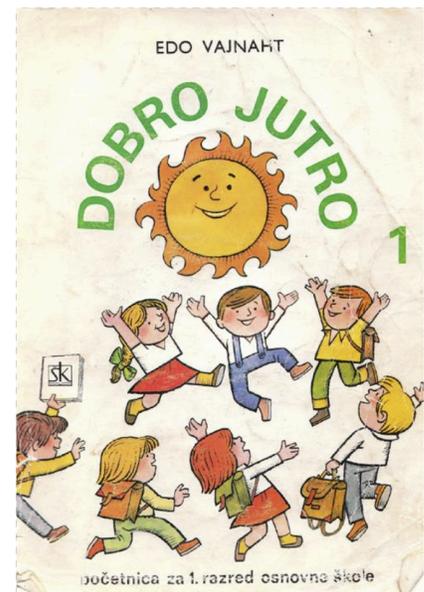


Fig. 46. Cover of 1992HRV2mod

words. Many pages have no words at all on them, presumably allowing the students to practice storytelling as well as the mechanics of writing (shapes, not letters). When longer reading passages begin to appear, they are apolitical and deal mostly with day-to-day life or animals. Page 59 features the traditional dance *kolo*, as is seen in many books. Other pages promote health, like going to the dentist and not smoking. Others encourage the importance of going to school and reading, showing children talking about how great it is to know how to read and

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<sup>172</sup> Croatia declared independence from the SFRY in 1991, so the assumption is that the first modified edition was modified in that year.

a proverb that says “A healthy person who does not know how to read is blind”. But in this particular book, widespread promotion of national mores or any kind of political reference is not present. For example—and also a likely modification made to this edition—it is interesting to note that no ship in this book has a flag on its stern or anywhere else, which is not the case in the other books in the corpus. Compare the two pages in Fig. 47 below from the 1971 *Naš put 1* on the left and p. 68 from this book. They are very similar, but the flag has been removed from the smokestack on both images of the boat.



Fig. 47. Comparison of the 1971 (left) and 1992 (right) versions of the page for <BROD>

When compared with *Dobro Jutro 2* from 1981 (1981HRV1) described above, although that book also has a low PQ, it is as if this book was quickly de-politicized by removing all references to Yugoslavia and republished in its new “modified” version. It would be very

interesting to explore multiple editions of this book and compare them across time to evaluate any changes and what those changes might mean politically.<sup>175</sup>

The book is, as expected, written in the Latin alphabet in the štokavski-ijekavski variant. For a book of relatively few words, there are still a few examples of Croatian-leaning lexical items. The inventory of Croatian variant words includes: *liječnik* ‘doctor’ and *kruh* ‘bread’, as well as many ijekavski forms, e.g., *mlijeko*, *uvijek*, *lijepo*, *svijet*, and *bijeli*. The [+INF] form is also used.

1992HRV2mod.INF.a *Nije volio svirati.* (p. 84)  
nije            volio            svirati  
NEG.BE        like.PST.3S        play.INF  
He didn’t like to play.

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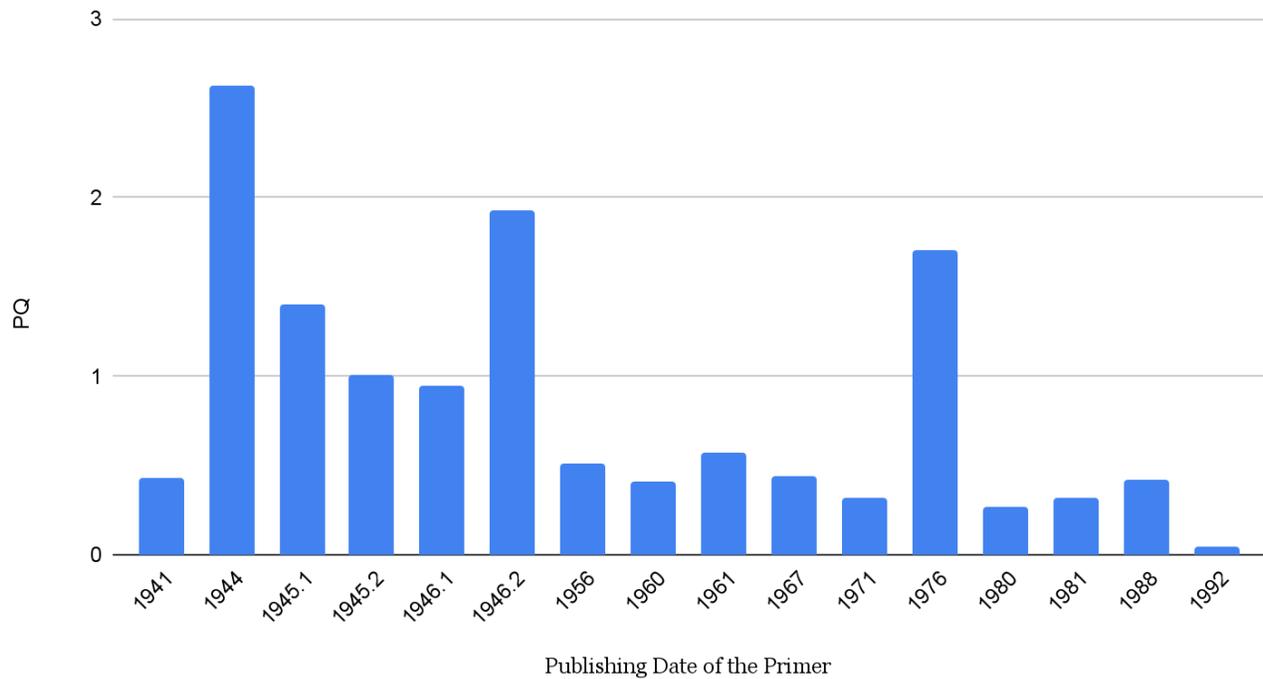
<sup>175</sup>This is outside the scope of this dissertation, but I think it would be a very interesting and fruitful study.

## **5. Discussion and Conclusion**

This dissertation began with a question about the salience of language as an essential element of national identity. Through an analysis of elementary language primers from predominantly communist-era Yugoslavia, this study has shed light more specifically on the role language primers and other educational materials sponsored or produced by the government played in shaping national identity in Yugoslavia and contributing to the promotion and realization of other goals of the state during the second half of the 20th century.

This analysis shows that governments do use primers as a vehicle to promote and strengthen the nation, national identity, and national cohesion. We can be fairly confident that every book analyzed in this study was approved (or published) by the government where it was used; and, in each of the three historical periods that fall within the scope of this study, we see the goals of the state reflected in the content and pedagogical methodology of the primers that were published during a given period.

Chart 2: Political Quotient (PQ) of Primers by Date



### *1945–1948: Post-war rebuilding and forming the Yugoslav state*

For the first period, which spans from the end of World War II through the formation of the new Yugoslav state (1941–1948), we see this more strongly than anywhere. During this period, the primers were very politicized, with an average PQ of 1.391 for the group. Apart from the NDH's *Moj Dom*, which fervently celebrated the Croatian homeland and Croatian-ness, the books in this group are heavily laden with propaganda to promote the new Communist government of Yugoslavia as well as the cohesion of the Yugoslav nation. Themes of heroism and sacrifice for the homeland are common throughout. The books also extol Yugoslavia as a new multi-ethnic, multi-national state where all are equal. The theme-turned-slogan of *Brotherhood and Unity* is expressed throughout as a way to build and

strengthen (supra-)national Yugoslav cohesion. The promotion of the supra-national Yugoslav identity is particularly strong and salient during this historical period. This is done through imagery and stories as well as through the language—particularly a focus on learning both alphabets as a way to strengthen brotherhood and unity. Especially later in this period, the goal of rebuilding the nation after the war is also featured, publicized, and popularized through these books with the promotion of hard work both on the job as well as collectively through groups like the Pioneers, who would work together on infrastructure projects around the country. Also the idea that education and reading are crucial to the new state begins to emerge as a common theme.

*1948–1974: Modernization: strengthening the Yugoslav nation*

That theme is carried through to the next period where the goal of modernizing and strengthening the new Yugoslav state is front-and-center. The primers during this period are far less politicized than the first. The average PQ for this group is 0.452. There is, however, a clear sense that the modernization and strengthening of the state is being emphasized. Technology is being introduced in both the city and the countryside as a positive thing that can bring efficiency and other improvements to life and the nation. Working hard, education, loving and defending the homeland, and national unity continue to be stressed and given prominence in the readings and images as a way of strengthening the state through the promotion and encouragement of national mores and good qualities that a faithful and productive Yugoslav should aspire to have.

### *1974–1992: Challenges, Tensions, and Disintegration*

The last historical period covered in this analysis (and the last of the SFRY itself) has been summarized as “challenges, tensions, and disintegration”. As a group, the primers during this period score slightly higher on the politicization scale than those from the previous period. *Saznanje i znanje* (1976HRV1) is certainly an outlier, which skews the average for this group. It becomes clear why this is so when considering that this book was published at a transitional period in the SFRY’s history, and it has a very specific role in teaching civics and the structure of the government all while teaching illiterate adults to read and write. Nevertheless, overall, the politicization of these primers is demonstrable, but subtle. When something political shows up, the themes are centered around basic national and socialist values, “Brotherhood and Unity”, and the celebration of Tito. The final book in the analysis comes from the newly independent Croatia and seems to have been scrubbed of any politicization in the new edition. The marked difference that these modifications made when compared to earlier Yugoslav editions also adds to the evidence that political elements are knowingly and purposely included in these books with a particular end goal in mind.

#### *Does it work?*

Dubravka Ugrešić’s essay about her first primer shows the indelible mark that book had on her early education and formation. Another scholar reminisces about her early education in Yugoslavia in the 1980s and says that “my schooling experience remains inextricably linked to

the oath, the white, blue, and red uniform, and the ceremonies dedicated to Tito.”<sup>174</sup> all of which are featured prominently in these primers.

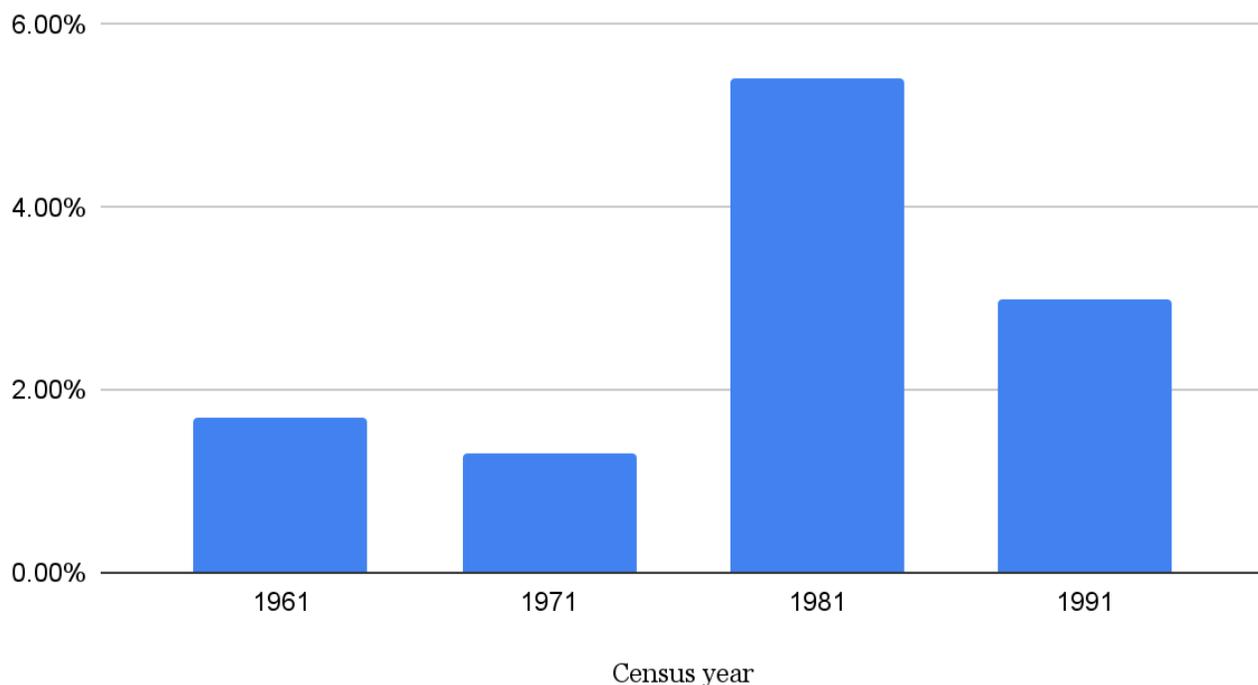
As for Yugoslav supra-national identity, there is a large amount of “real estate” taken up on the pages of these books by the promotion of the notion that there are many nations that make up Yugoslavia and that they are held together through brotherhood and unity. So, it is interesting to note that, from the 60s to the 80s, the census data<sup>175</sup> do show an increase in the percentage of the population that chose ‘Yugoslav’ as their nationality over the nationality of one of the constitutive nations or nationalities (e.g., Bosnian, Croatian, or Serbian, etc.). Granted, these are still relatively small numbers. There might be multiple reasons for this trend—which are outside the scope of this dissertation—but it can be visualized by the data in Chart 3 below. Despite being outside this scope of this study, we could nevertheless extrapolate that the strong focus on the supra-national Yugoslav identity and forming Yugoslav unity during the first historical period discussed here likely helped yield a higher number of self-identifying “Yugoslav” adults 20-30 years later when they were old enough to respond to Census surveys for themselves.

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<sup>174</sup> Bogic, A. (2018). Tito’s Last Pioneers and the Politicization of Schooling in Yugoslavia. in I. Silova, N. Piattoeva, & Z. Millei (Eds.), *Childhood and Schooling in (Post)Socialist Societies* (pp. 127–144). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62791-5\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62791-5_7), p. 131.

<sup>175</sup> Source: <https://www.stat.gov.rs/>

Chart 3: Percentage of population choosing Yugoslav nationality in the census



*Language use and promotion – The salience of language in national identity*

What does the analysis say about the importance of language to a people’s national identity? To start, the only direct references to a named language were made in 1944PRZ1 and 1976HRV1. In the first, there was an account in a reading passage that told how the fascists forbade speaking Croatian both in school and at home, and it made clear that speaking Croatian was an inalienable component of being Croatian. In the second book, which was published after the 1954 Novi Sad Agreement on Language, the language was named in the title, *hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika*,<sup>176</sup> and complied with the agreement that—in a very supra-national way—both “constituent parts” (Croatian and Serbian) would be included. Even

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<sup>176</sup> ‘Croatian or Serbian language’

though they are the only two examples in the entire corpus, this does give evidence that language is so important to the relevant identities that (1) a group would deny another group the right to speak that language and impose harsh penalties if it was used, and the other group persisted nonetheless, and (2) that language is so important that an entire agreement only on what the language should be called was taken up and approved by the government.

Are there any trends in the use of language itself in the primers? All primers in this corpus were written in a štokavski dialect, and the expected articulation of [JAT] is used according to the vernacular of the region for which a given book was to be used. This corresponds with the ideals of Yugoslav supra-national identity and the equality of all peoples and constituent nations. This also means that there was no strong-arming by the federal government to foist a particular variant onto a population whose vernacular was something other than what was being presented in the primer—at least not beyond the long-established literary norms instituted by linguists and others at the 1850 agreement establishing the common literary language of the Yugoslavs.<sup>177</sup> Further on this point, while there are long-established regional lexical differences in the books in this corpus, there are no signs of prescriptive “correction” or new efforts of lexical purification by either the federal or local governments.

The same is true for the alphabet that the books were published in: the expected alphabet is the one that was found in any particular book—with a few additional surprises that were clearly political in nature. In other words, the usage of the alphabets adds some

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<sup>177</sup> cf., §2.3.5.4.

compelling detail about the way that—in the name of “Brotherhood and Unity”—students were taught the *other* alphabet so they could communicate with their brothers/friends/comrades.

In her “autoethnography”, Anna Bogić (2018) describes her schooling in the late 1980s and that “in the Serbo-Croatian class, we wrote our notes, assignments, and dictations in Cyrillic script one week and in the Latin alphabet another.”<sup>178</sup>

The two pages from 1946HRV2L shown in Fig. 48 below show the introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet to a group of students who just finished learning the Latin alphabet. Before introducing them, it explains that some people use Cyrillic and some Latin and that since all peoples are equal, both alphabets are also equal, so it is important to learn both because otherwise “we would not be complete”.

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<sup>178</sup> Bogic, A. (2018). Tito’s Last Pioneers and the Politicization of Schooling in Yugoslavia. In I. Silova, N. Piattoeva, & Z. Millei (Eds.), *Childhood and Schooling in (Post)Socialist Societies* (pp. 127–144). Springer International Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62791-5\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-62791-5_7)

## Ćirilica

Narodi Jugoslavije upotrebljavaju dva pisma: latinicu i ćirilicu. Latinicom se služe Hrvati i Slovenci, a ćirilicom Srbi, Crnogorci i Makedonci. U Federativnoj Narodnoj Republici Jugoslaviji svi su narodi ravnopravni, pa su i oba pisma ravnopravna. Svaki narod voli svoje pismo, ali naša pismenost ne bi bila potpuna, ako ne bismo naučili i ćirilicu.

Ćirilicu ćemo lako naučiti, kad nam je već poznata latinica.

Uporedite sva štampana i sva pisana slova u latinici i ćirilici. Neka ćete slova u ćirilici odmah prepoznati, jer se pišu jednako kao u latinici, ali pazite da li se sva jednako i čitaju! Ostala slova drukčije izgledaju, treba ih naučiti, da bismo znali čitati i pisati ćirilicom.

| LAT.  | ĆIR. | LAT.  | ĆIR. | LAT.               | ĆIR.               | LAT.               | ĆIR.               |
|-------|------|-------|------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| A a   | А а  | L l   | Л л  | <i>A a A a</i>     | <i>L l L l</i>     | <i>L l L l</i>     | <i>L l L l</i>     |
| B b   | Б б  | Lj lj | Љ љ  | <i>B b B b</i>     | <i>Lj lj Lj lj</i> | <i>Lj lj Lj lj</i> | <i>Lj lj Lj lj</i> |
| C c   | Ц ц  | M m   | М м  | <i>C c C c</i>     | <i>M m M m</i>     | <i>M m M m</i>     | <i>M m M m</i>     |
| Č č   | Ч ч  | N n   | Н н  | <i>Č č Č č</i>     | <i>N n N n</i>     | <i>N n N n</i>     | <i>N n N n</i>     |
| Ć ć   | Ћ ћ  | Nj nj | Њ њ  | <i>Ć ć Ć ć</i>     | <i>Nj nj Nj nj</i> | <i>Nj nj Nj nj</i> | <i>Nj nj Nj nj</i> |
| D d   | Д д  | O o   | О о  | <i>D d D d</i>     | <i>O o O o</i>     | <i>O o O o</i>     | <i>O o O o</i>     |
| Đ đ   | Ђ ђ  | P p   | П п  | <i>Đ đ Đ đ</i>     | <i>P p P p</i>     | <i>P p P p</i>     | <i>P p P p</i>     |
| Đž dž | Џ џ  | R r   | Р р  | <i>Đž dž Đž dž</i> | <i>R r R r</i>     | <i>R r R r</i>     | <i>R r R r</i>     |
| E e   | Е е  | S s   | С с  | <i>E e E e</i>     | <i>S s S s</i>     | <i>S s S s</i>     | <i>S s S s</i>     |
| F f   | Ф ф  | Š š   | Ш ш  | <i>F f F f</i>     | <i>Š š Š š</i>     | <i>Š š Š š</i>     | <i>Š š Š š</i>     |
| G g   | Г г  | T t   | Т т  | <i>G g G g</i>     | <i>T t T t</i>     | <i>T t T t</i>     | <i>T t T t</i>     |
| H h   | Х х  | U u   | У у  | <i>H h H h</i>     | <i>U u U u</i>     | <i>U u U u</i>     | <i>U u U u</i>     |
| I i   | И и  | V v   | В в  | <i>I i I i</i>     | <i>V v V v</i>     | <i>V v V v</i>     | <i>V v V v</i>     |
| J j   | Ј ј  | Z z   | З з  | <i>J j J j</i>     | <i>Z z Z z</i>     | <i>Z z Z z</i>     | <i>Z z Z z</i>     |
| K k   | К к  | Ž ž   | Ж ж  | <i>K k K k</i>     | <i>Ž ž Ž ž</i>     | <i>Ž ž Ž ž</i>     | <i>Ž ž Ž ž</i>     |

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## I. ŠAMPANA SLOVA ĆIRILICE

1. Ova se slova u ćirilici **jednako štampaju i čitaju** kao i u latinici, s malom razlikom kod slova k, m, t.

Ćirilica: **A a E e J j O o K k M m T t k m t**  
Latinica: **A a E e J j O o K k M m T t k m t**

2. Ova se slova ćirilice **jednako štampaju** kao i u latinici, ali se **drukčije čitaju**. Pazite na razliku kod malog slova v i n!

Ćirilica: **P p S s V v N n**  
Latinica: **R r S s V v N n**

Pročitajte ova imena:

**Ана, Ева, Јасна, Омер, Коста, Марко, Томо, Ранко, Стево, Наста, Васо.**

3. Ova se slova ćirilice potpuno razlikuju od istih slova u latinici:

Ćirilica: **Б б Ц ц Ч ч Ћ ћ Д д Ђ ђ Џ џ**  
Latinica: **B b C c Č č C ć D d Đ đ Dž dž**

Ćirilica: **Ф ф Г г Х х И и Л л Љ љ Њ њ**  
Latinica: **F f G g H h I i L l Lj lj Nj nj**

Ćirilica: **П п Ш ш У у З з Ж ж**  
Latinica: **P p Š š U u Z z Ž ž**

Pročitajte ova imena mјesta:

**Бихаћ, Цетинје, Чачак, Ђуприја, Дубровник, Баково, Фујине, Госпић, Хвар, Имотски, Лепоглава, Љубљана, Његуши, Петриња, Шибеник, Удбина, Земун, Жупања.**

## Вук и јање

Вук је пио на једном извору. Јање, не видећи га, дође да пије далеко ниже на потоку. Вук, чим га спази, повика:  
— Ту си дошло да ми мутиш воду! Од тебе не могу с миром ни бистре воде да се напијем!  
— Вода, господару, тече од тебе к мени — рече му ужаснуто јање. — Како ћу ти је ја замутити? То није могућно!

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Fig. 48. Introduction of the Cyrillic alphabet from 1946HRV2L

### 5.1. Additional Work & Future Work

The following are intriguing themes or ideas that emerged from this analysis of the primers and which would make fascinating follow-up studies that would add more insight into the governmental machinations that work to create, strengthen, and promote national cohesion and identity through schoolbooks.

#### 5.1.1. Literacy rates

Looking at how literacy rates in Yugoslavia might have changed would be another statistic that would help determine the overall effectiveness of these primers and basal readers

as well as the government's promotion of education and literacy through them. Unfortunately, such statistics have been difficult to find.

### 5.1.2. *Depictions of Tito*

It would be interesting to look more specifically at depictions and representations of Tito in these schoolbooks and compare them across time and across the region. He is represented in almost every book in this corpus. Of course, he is missing altogether, from the 1941 NDH primer. His image on the frontispiece is also not present on some books, but I cannot be sure whether these books originally had them or not since the books falling into this category are ones that I received as scans or that were borrowed from US libraries. We know from the experience of the NDH primer (1941NDH1) that sometimes books may be altered or redacted before going into library circulation. This was the case with the exemplar that was borrowed from Yale University Library. For those received as scans, it is clear that not all pages were included in the scan since important pages like the copyright or title page—and presumably any potential frontispiece—are left out of some scans. This means that Tito's image *might* have been included in all of the Yugoslav books. But even with uncertainty about some books, he is still represented in the vast majority of those in this corpus either on the frontispiece or within the content pages—or both. Images of Tito are usually presented as a portrait, and he is dressed in a military uniform. He is also often shown with children in a fatherly/grandfatherly way.<sup>179</sup> The language used in the captions or title on the page with his images also varies. Examples of this include his signature or name alone, his name with

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<sup>179</sup> cf., p. 57 in 1950SRB2.

“Marshal”, “Comrade”, or “President of the SFRY” affixed to it, or with other descriptors like “great friend of children” or “grandfather”. In other cases, his likeness is accompanied by a poem that praises him for all he has done/did for the people and the nation.



Fig 49. Examples of frontispiece depictions of Tito in various primers in the corpus

### 5.1.3. Everyone's best friend, Džafer

A character named Džafer shows up often in these schoolbooks.<sup>180</sup> While it is convenient that his name<sup>181</sup> begins with <dž>, a relatively uncommon sound in the language, all Džafer characters that appear in this corpus share similar character traits. Džafer is Bosnian and is usually identified as a Muslim—especially in the earlier periods.<sup>182</sup> Džafer is someone to look up to. Džafer is brave and loyal and is someone who is a quintessential citizen. Comparing these pages across time and across the region would be a fascinating story.



Fig. 50. Examples of pages featuring Džafer from 1971 and 1992

<sup>180</sup> The “Džafer” page in 1941NDH1 was one of the first things I found really fascinating in this group of books.

<sup>181</sup> Another name that begins with <dž> is Džemal, who also does appear in a few primers—but he usually plays the role of Džafer’s sidekick.

<sup>182</sup> E.g., in the imagery and in the written depictions, but in the image from 1991HRV2mod, this is not so.

#### 5.1.4. Other periods; other locations

What happens *after* the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the creation of new Republics? Certainly the names, flags, and places changed, but what about the language? Does the “linguistic purification” of foreign, non-Croatian words from Croatian pickup such that primers and other schoolbooks see a marked change in the approved lexicon?<sup>185</sup> Aleksić (2023) suggests that in the future, Croatian will become more distinct from Serbian precisely because of purposeful language planning by the government and language institutes—particularly with the lexicon.

Further, do both alphabets continue to be taught in schools? Anecdotally, those places where Cyrillic has been the predominant alphabet also value knowledge of the Latin alphabet since many languages that dominate the global economic, political, and academic spheres are written with the Latin alphabet. Does the government promote teaching the alphabet in schools?

Similarly, this study could be expanded to other times and other places to see whether this is purely a Yugoslav phenomenon or something governments all over the world take advantage of. I can say anecdotally that during my research, I came across Soviet-era primers of minority languages from across the USSR. They are beautiful and share some elements with the books in this corpus in the way they promote a supra-national (Soviet) identity while valuing the local identity and language and keeping it alive. An example is below from a

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<sup>185</sup> Work has been done on the stark shifts in the approved Croatian lexicon for newspapers. Cf., Grčević, Mario Some remarks on recent lexical changes in the Croatian language // Lexical Norm and National Language / Lexicography and Language Policy in South-Slavic Languages after 1989. / Lučić, Radovan (ur.). München: Verlag Otto Sagner, 2002. pp. 150-163

Soviet-era primer for the Hill Mari language, a minority Uralic language spoken in the Mari El Republic in the present-day Russian Federation, about 700 kilometers east of Moscow.



Fig. 51. Pages from a Soviet-era Hill Mari primer (date unknown)

## 5.2. Final words

These primers have been accompanying me for quite a number of years at this point, and it has been fascinating to see how much can be embedded into what seems at first to be quite a simple book. It is staggering to think about the role these books have played in so many people's lives—and consequently how a government's designs can be so easily injected into them in somewhat furtive ways.

## **Appendix 1: Description of the features used in the analysis**

The features used to evaluate the primers on the worksheet include the following:

### ***Government sponsorship***

Was the primer government-sponsored? If the government is involved in the production of a children's text book, the presumption is that its desires, policies, political platform, etc. will be reflected therein. Moreover, that a government uses its own time and resources to produce such a book necessarily indicates its belief that the subject matter—here language—is of particular, strategic importance. To determine whether a particular book is government-sponsored, information about the publisher will be the primary starting point if that information is not explicitly stated in the prefatory pages or elsewhere in the book itself.

### ***Linguistic/Sociolinguistic***

#### **•Language name**

Does it explicitly name the target language? What the language is called—particularly in this area of the world—is often a telltale sign of how the writer or speaker is oriented with respect to the connection between language and a particular identity. For example, eschewing a language name that corresponds to a national group in favor of something equivalent to “our language”<sup>184</sup> indicates a desire for unity and/or a more inclusive supra-national identity.

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<sup>184</sup> e.g., in the Yugoslav lands, language is often referred to as “*naš jezik*”, ‘our language’, instead of by a specific name.

On the other hand, calling the language a name like “Bosnian”, “Croatian”, “Serbian”, “Montenegrin”, etc. signals a propensity for a more nationalistic differentiation among the region’s groups. In all cases, the fact that this dichotomy exists in the first place shows language’s importance to identity in this region.

#### •Alphabet

What alphabet(s) is/are used? In many ways, the alphabet is key. Alphabets themselves have been politicized.<sup>185</sup> The Croatian, Catholic population use the Latin alphabet while the Serbian, Orthodox population use the Cyrillic alphabet. In Bosnia—ever the melting pot—both alphabets are found, and the use of one over the other likely reveals the particular persuasion of the user. This can be seen more recently in Montenegro, where both alphabets are in use. Some data seem to indicate that those who are in favor of a clear distinction between Montenegrin and Serbian prefer the Latin alphabet; along the same line, those whose views are more closely aligned with Serbia—or who even prefer unity with Serbia—prefer Cyrillic. In Croatia, one can even find use of the old Glagolitic alphabet as an expression of Croatian pride. So to reiterate: alphabets are very important and extremely telling—especially in this region.

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<sup>185</sup> Further discussion on this can be found in §1.3.2.

## ***Political/Nationalistic***

### •Face Value

For this first feature, one would, quite literally, judge the book by its cover—and its pages. This is an important first measurement. Does it simply *look* politicized? If so, that is quite remarkable. Some books might not appear to be politicized initially but do turn out to be upon closer examination. Others, however, are very clearly politicized simply when “judged by their cover”. The task then becomes to discern *what* about the book makes it look politicized, and this is where the other features come in.

### •Overt ideology

Does it overtly espouse a particular ideology? Here, the focus is on the directness of the ideological themes presented in the book. For example, the slogan “Death to Fascism — Freedom to the People!” very clearly expresses the ideology behind the book’s publishers.

### •Nationalistic Propaganda

Could the primer be described as containing nationalistic propaganda? If so, is this propaganda negative or positive? We have already discussed the preponderance of propaganda. Some primers are clear vehicles of propaganda while others are not; others yet might be somewhere in-between.

## •Political slogans

Does it contain recognizable political slogans? Perhaps a more specific subset of the feature above, the inclusion of political slogans explicitly shows the political bent of a book's author(s)/publisher. Well designed slogans are also highly effective tools for getting a message across to people—and getting it ingrained into their minds. Casey (1944)<sup>186</sup> says

The skilled propagandist also knows the techniques of 'making ideas stick'. It is because of this knowledge that he resorts to key words and slogans, shibboleths, or other symbolic forms. [...] The [...] slogan packs meaning into short sentences. The purpose is to get them noticed. They will find their ways into the minds of people. [...] Sometimes slogans have fired the imaginations of people in the past and continued their influence down to the present.

It is easily argued that this is something that the authors of the primers desired. Whether political or not, they wanted the users of their books to learn what is in their pages and to make the ideas (the language) in them “stick.” Primers are meant to teach language and reading. If some of the ideas conveyed *through* the language in the primers are political in nature, the authors likely wanted these ideas to “stick”, too. Casey (1944) goes on to say that “[...] if a slogan catches correctly and objectively, [...] it may turn out to be ‘vital and lasting’.

We remember such striking slogans as ‘No taxation without representation’ from the

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<sup>186</sup> Casey, R. D. (1944). *What Is Propaganda?* United States War Department; American Historical Association. [https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gj-roundtable-series/pamphlets/em-2-what-is-propaganda-\(1944\)>\\_.](https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gj-roundtable-series/pamphlets/em-2-what-is-propaganda-(1944)>_.) The pamphlet, *What is propaganda?*, was developed by the American Historical Society for the War Department. While very helpful, is it propaganda itself?

American Revolution. ‘Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity’ from the French Revolution, and ‘Peace, Bread, and Land’ from the Russian Revolution.” In Yugoslavia, we have the polarizing “Death to facism!” with the revolution of Tito’s *Partizani* and also the unifying “Brother and Unity” seen throughout the era of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

#### •Political symbols/images

Does it contain political images or symbols? Casey (1944) also talks about the importance of symbols explaining that “a symbol is a concrete representation of air, idea, action, or thing—a sign that stands for something[...]. A symbol can be a word, a mark, an object, a song, a flag, an image, a picture, a statue, or some collective or grouped representation—anything that conveys a common thought to masses of people. A symbol is a kind of cement that holds together a social group.”<sup>187</sup> Good propaganda, he says, uses symbols effectively. Language-learning books, such as primers, also rely heavily on symbols—especially in the very first stages of language learning before the student can read. At interest here is how political or polarizing these images are. Are there images of apples and flowers or bombs and war planes? It is important to note, of course, that in some cases, an apple or a certain flower can also be a political symbol (think of edelweiss or red and white roses).

All images will be counted and a score will be tallied based on the percentage of political or politicized images to total images.

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<sup>187</sup> Casey, R. D. (1944). *What Is Propaganda?* United States War Department; American Historical Association.

### •Political Figures

Does it contain, in particular, images of political figures? An important and more specific subgroup of images are those of political figures. The inclusion of political figures in language-learning books can point to the level of nationalistic ideals espoused on the pages of the book itself—in the language or otherwise.

### •Polarization

Does it include evidence of political or ethnic polarization? Do any of the language examples, images, or other components presented in the book have any polarizing effects such that there is an apparent “us” versus “them”? The alternative is that the book offers suggestions of unity and working together. One might argue, however, that the alternative, too, is in a way “polarizing” if the two extremes of a scale are unity and division. Nevertheless...

### •Heimatliebe

This feature will be described using the German word, *Heimatliebe*, or “love of the homeland”. The homeland can bring up very strong emotions and feelings of connection. Kostanski (2016)<sup>188</sup> describes this connection as “in a sense, a symbiotic relationship.” She mentions the work of Robert Riley (1992), who says that “attachments to place are not to the

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<sup>188</sup>Kostanski, L. (2016). *Toponymic Attachment* (C. Hough, Ed.). Oxford University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199656431.013.42>

landscape itself but to the memories associated with the place.”<sup>189</sup> These “feelings of connection” are one of the strongest components of a nation, cf. §1.2.2., and depictions or descriptions of the homeland in primers—whether through images or words—are a strong indication of nationalistic promotion.

- Mores

Does it strive to teach cultural values, norms, or mores—implicitly or explicitly? Does the book teach mores that are idealized by the regime? Most primers include these kinds of “lessons” to a certain extent; nevertheless, their inclusion, the extent to which they are explicit, and the nature of the subject matter can give very important insight to what is behind the book itself. This element, which can be quite subtle, is one that fits well within our framework of hard and soft boundaries when thinking about nations and national identity as Duara laid out.

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<sup>189</sup> Riley, R. B. (1992). Attachment to the Ordinary Landscape. In I. Altman & S. M. Low (Eds.), *Place Attachment* (pp. 13–35). Springer US. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4684-8753-4\\_2](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4684-8753-4_2)

## Appendix 2: Primer Analysis Worksheet

| Category                   | FEATURE                                       | Value | Notes |
|----------------------------|---|-------|-------|
| Bibliographic              | Title   |       |       |
| Bibliographic              | Ref ID #                                      |       |       |
| Bibliographic              | Authorship                                    |       |       |
| Bibliographic              | Year(s) of publication                        |       |       |
| Bibliographic              | Place of publication                          |       |       |
| Bibliographic              | # of exemplars in library holdings (Worldcat) |       |       |
| Bibliographic              | # of impressions                              |       |       |
| Bibliographic              | Publisher information                         |       |       |
| Gov't Sponsorship          | Gov't Sponsorship                             |       |       |
| Linguistic/Sociolinguistic | Alphabet                                      |       |       |
| Linguistic/Sociolinguistic | infinitive usage notes                        |       |       |
| Linguistic/Sociolinguistic | jat' reflex notes                             |       |       |
| Linguistic/Sociolinguistic | Language name                                 |       |       |
| Linguistic/Sociolinguistic | Level   |       |       |
| Linguistic/Sociolinguistic | lexical notes                                 |       |       |
| Linguistic/Sociolinguistic | Linguistic notes                              |       |       |
| Political/Nationalist      | Face Value                                    |       |       |
| Political/Nationalist      | GOVT score                                    |       |       |

|                       |                                    |  |  |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|--|--|
| Political/Nationalist | Heimatliebe                        |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Mores                              |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | NATL score                         |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Overt ideology                     |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Polarization                       |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | POLI Quotient                      |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Political Figures                  |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Political Slogans                  |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Political Symbols/images           |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Propaganda: Neg or Pos?            |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Propaganda?                        |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | total number of pages              |  |  |
| Political/Nationalist | Total number of pol images/slogans |  |  |
|                       | MISC NOTES                         |  |  |

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