

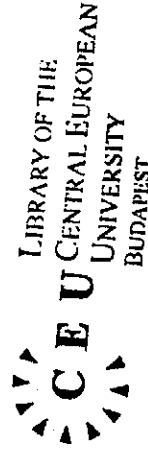
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# Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia



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<sup>32</sup> RK ZSDL, "Nekatera Aktualna Vprašanja Razvoja Telesne Kulture v Sloveniji [Some Current Questions About the Development of Physical Culture in Slovenia]," in *Nekateri Aktualni Problemi Telesne Kulture v Sloveniji* [Some Current Problems of Physical Culture in Slovenia], ed. Rajko Šugman and Krešimir Petrovič (Ljubljana: Univerza "Edvard Kardelj", Višoka šola za telesno kulturo, 1979), 29.

<sup>33</sup> Marcel Štefanič, "I Nebo Pláče [Even the Sky is Crying]," *Mladina* 9 (2009).

<sup>34</sup> Yugoslav television was the only television of the ex-socialist European states that was a member of the European Broadcasting Union.

<sup>35</sup> Lado Pohar, "Televizija Prihaja v Slovenijo [Television is Coming to Slovenia]," in *Televizija Prihaja: Spominski Zbornik o Začetkih Televizije na Slovenskem* [Television is Coming: Memory Reader on the Beginning of Television in Slovenia], ed. Lado Pohar (Ljubljana: RTV Slovenija, 1993), 36.

<sup>36</sup> I gave a more detailed description of this event in Gregor Starc, "Skiing Memories in the Slovenian National Mnemonic Scheme: An Anthropological Perspective," *Anthropological Notebooks* 12, 2 (2006).

<sup>37</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 25.

<sup>38</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 1997), 167.

<sup>39</sup> For a detailed description on the dissemination of knowledge, see Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

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## Adriatic for All Summer Holidays in Croatia

Igor Duda

In the decades after the Second World War socialist Yugoslavia went through a series of rapid economic, social and cultural changes. Processes that normally had lasted up to a century in the most developed parts of Europe were condensed into slightly more than a couple of decades in Yugoslavia. Forced postwar industrialization both attracted and pushed peasants to leave rural areas and move closer to industrial centers. In the late 1950s, the country went through an economic miracle, with the industrial growth rate reaching as much as 17 percent in some years.<sup>1</sup> Between the early 1950s and 1980s the share of the agrarian labor force dropped from two thirds to a quarter, while the number of urban inhabitants grew to nearly 50 percent of the total population. Real personal income doubled during the 1960s and tripled between the early 1950s and the late 1970s. As usual, rural flight, industrialization and urbanization acting together triggered an all-embracing modernization of society. What used to be a predominantly agrarian economy and a country heavily destroyed by war, only two decades later was to be transformed into a consumer society to become a fairly developed country, whose population enjoyed the amenities and troubles of modern life. Being a tourist was one of them.

Seaside tourism, spas and mountaineering have, of course, a pre-socialist history in Yugoslavia. But only after the Second World War did circumstances favor a tourist industry that attracted millions of domestic and foreign guests. The modest pre-war number

of one million registered tourists grew to peak in the late 1980s at more than 20 million guests, including 40 per cent foreigners of mainly West-German, Italian and Austrian origins.<sup>2</sup> Four factors had a leading role in this development. Firstly, during the Golden Age of the European post-war period, mass tourism became a general trend: more and more people started showing an interest in spending their holidays away from home; they had sufficient incomes to be able to afford what used to be a luxury. Secondly, Yugoslavia was not part of the Soviet bloc, which eased border crossings and travel inside the country. Thirdly, following European trends established in the inter-war period, Yugoslav socialist authorities showed their predilection for a tourism-for-all concept, which initially provided a strong impulse for domestic tourism and its dominant social character. Fourthly – and perhaps most importantly – beach holidays were the most popular summer recreation. The Yugoslav Adriatic coast, mostly belonging to Croatia, perfectly fitted the picture of a Europe looking forward to a swim in the sea after hard years of disasters and scarcities. Therefore “Adriatic for all” and “Summer holidays in Croatia” may be perceived as fabricated slogans, which describe well the history of tourism in socialist Yugoslavia.

Based on statistical and narrative sources, this essay traces the development of mass tourism in Croatia from the late 1940s to the late 1970s and the growing popularity of summer holidays at the Croatian seaside. It starts with the legal regulation of holidays with pay and provides an overview of the domestic tourism history in its social and commercial contexts. Since the data clearly show the leading position of the Adriatic seaside in the tourist industry, the following narrative provides answers to the meaning of the Adriatic, its perception, and its place in Croatian and Yugoslav tourist mentalities. Finally, this contribution tackles the importance of tourism as a symbol of well-being.

### Holidays with Pay and Tourism

The history of holidays with pay in socialist Yugoslavia starts soon after the war. The right to at least a two-week holiday with pay had been introduced by July 1946, when the Paid Annual Leave Ordinance was passed by the federal government.<sup>3</sup> In 1953 Yugoslavia

ratified the Holidays with Pay Convention.<sup>4</sup> The document, also known as Convention 52, had been passed by the International Labor Organization already in 1936 and guaranteed at least six days off. It was a product of a new era in the development of the welfare state. After a century of fighting for shorter work hours across industrialized Europe, the political focus shifted in the 1930s towards holidays with pay.<sup>5</sup> The days off needed a content, hence they were an ideal opportunity for tourism, which – already known for its recreational and patriotic benefits – begun counting on the working class as well. However, it was not until after World War Two that vacations became widely accepted. At that time “capitalist and Communist regimes promoted travel as both ideology and social right.”<sup>6</sup> After the initial steps of 1946 and 1953, the Yugoslav legal system continued supporting holidays with pay. According to the federal Labor Act of 1958, Yugoslavs were entitled to 12–30 days of vacation, depending on age and years of service.<sup>7</sup> The Labor Act of 1965 extended the minimal annual leave to fourteen days. These were not the only measures taken by the authorities: the agrarian background of the population, low personal incomes and socialist ideas called for much more.

In this context, the introduction of a 1950 travel guidebook to Dalmatia is a remarkably good source for explaining the emergence of domestic mass tourism.<sup>8</sup> Aiming towards “social and national harmony,” the text is an excellent combination of the ideals of the international holiday-with-pay movement, Yugoslav socialist ideology, and patriotism.<sup>9</sup> It is written for co-nationals, but its ideas are totally in line with the general trends of the time. The author explains that compared to its prewar predecessor, tourism in socialist Yugoslavia was fundamentally different. Seaside resorts and hotels had been “places out of reach of the worker before the liberation, when they were meant only for the bourgeoisie,” but now every worker has the opportunity “to go on holidays wherever he wants in his own country, in order to continue to work after the holidays using his renewed strength.” Much organizational and construction work has been completed “in order to make the stay in Dalmatia useful, comfortable and pleasant, so that in following years a larger number of the holiday-making working masses would visit those beautiful parts of our country.”

In order to achieve these goals wide actions were taken by the federal and republican governments, the tourist associations, the trade unions and other mass organizations. They included a variety of measures from tourist vouchers to tourist exhibitions and fairs, from investments in construction of new accommodations to improvements of the public transportation system, from education and enlightenment to political and economic propaganda and persuasion. Among these actions, the most important, initial trigger for attracting the masses was social tourism, i.e., tourism organized and subsidized by the state or the organizations it controls. For a country with a lacking travel culture and a lack of financial resources – where low family incomes were often an obstacle to enjoying commercial tourism – social tourism was a perfect way out.<sup>10</sup> Its development included two basic measures: financial benefits for workers and the construction of subsidized holiday centers (*odmarališta*). The federal and regional administrations, the party administration at all levels, the army and police, the trade unions, factories, firms, and different associations became founders of such centers.

The trade union, in particular, played an important role in social tourism, and its central organization in Zagreb, where the Association of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia had its main office for Croatia, coordinated the action. Practically everybody was a member. In 1965, for example, its membership included 97 percent of 959,000 employees in Croatia. Already in 1946 the union had provided 1,200 Croatian workers with free summer holidays.<sup>11</sup> The union always maintained a council, department, or office for holiday policy and holiday centers. The participants of a union conference in 1960, for example, concluded that leisure, rest and entertainment were very important, because they effected job productivity and health, and improved personal and general consumption.<sup>12</sup> However, the trade union was only an exponent of state and party policies, thus, steps taken by the federal and republican authorities towards mass tourism were crucially important.

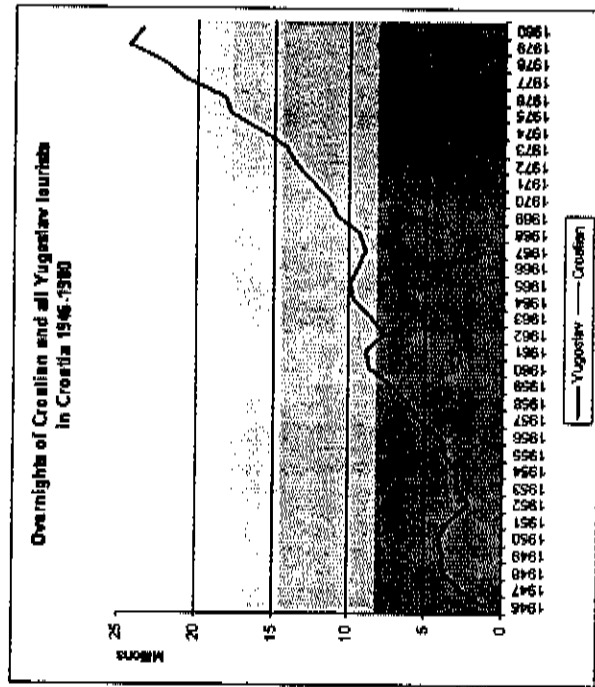
In 1952 the federal government issued an order – similar to a previous one in 1947 – qualifying members of the trade union, army and police forces, students and pensioners, and their families, for a 40 percent discount on the full-board rate during the high

summer season and 60 percent at other times of the year.<sup>13</sup> During holidays they enjoyed a thirty-day discount on railways and a 50 percent discount on plane fares, based on a voucher issued by their union branch.<sup>14</sup> The system differed from the postwar one, because prices for accommodations and catering were now “freely formed according to the market, i.e., supply and demand.”<sup>15</sup> Still, prices had to be registered in advance and were not allowed to change during the year. Workers were able to claim these benefits for accommodation facilities approved by the authorities. Accordingly, a list was published annually in *Narodne novine* (the Croatian Official Gazette), which also included units not exclusively catering to social tourism. In 1952 the document contained about 150 hotels, villas and boarding houses, about 40 holiday centers owned by the trade union and different companies, and four military and five police resorts. However, to obtain more refunds from the state budget, some hotels reported longer stays of their guests, and some workers found a way of using discount vouchers for longer periods and excessive train journeys. Because of these irregularities and a slow growth of worker interest, the system of benefits was abolished in 1954. The new circumstances pushed the union into more intensive promotion, targeting especially smaller and touristically undeveloped places, private accommodations, camping, and shorter excursions. Although the concept of tourist saving accounts – well known in some European countries – was not accepted, it was now possible to apply for a holiday bank credit.

In the meantime, Yugoslav borders were opened widely for foreign commercial tourism. Soon investments were channeled into more expensive accommodations and promotion abroad to attract foreign visitors, especially from Western Europe. A construction boom of new hotels and tourist apartments started in the early 1960s. However, regardless of increasing interest in rising foreign tourism and hard currency, the state could not completely abandon domestic or social tourism. In 1956 the Tourist Association of Croatia founded the Commission for Domestic Tourism, and in 1957–1961 the Development Plan of Croatia characterized the progress of domestic tourism as “the element of social standard.”<sup>16</sup> In 1958 the Holiday Centers Act was accepted by the federal parliament. In 1959 the Croatian parliament issued a recommendation

for the improvement of tourism and called for larger investments.<sup>17</sup> Finally, in 1956–1961, the years of the economic miracle, domestic overnights doubled. Thanks to economic success and rising standards of living, the role of social tourism was expected to diminish. Therefore, social accommodations were to be built with future commercial tourism in mind.

In the sphere of social tourism, ten-year-old acts regarding transportation benefits were replaced in 1961 by new instructions.<sup>18</sup> A holder of the newly introduced K-15 card had the right to a 50 percent discount on airline fares and 75 percent on other means of transportation. The discounts applied to one round-trip ticket. The years of the economic miracle ended with a crisis in the early 1960s. Higher prices and a slow growth of real income effected leisure travel, but the summer of 1963 brought a new, three-year rise of domestic tourism. The social tourism network spread significantly between 1962 and 1965, and some factories even opened travel agencies on site. The union urged companies to pay more attention to holidays and labor force recreation. However, another poor showing of domestic tourism in 1966–1967 resulted in the cancellation of transportation benefits, and the operation of social holiday centers moved much closer to a commercial logic. Furthermore, the 1966–1970 Development Plan of Croatia gave unprecedented priority to foreign tourism. Indeed, 1966 saw more foreign than Yugoslav tourist overnights in Croatia for the first time. After 1968 domestic travel grew again, although not as fast as planned: 11.5 million domestic overnights in 1970 fell 2 million short of expectations. What followed was a large and constant growth until 1980. The 1971–1975 development plan did not pay much attention to domestic tourism, but suggested to raise the general quality of the tourism industry, accommodate a larger number of guests in already existing units, and build new facilities primarily in areas appropriate for summer holidays.<sup>19</sup> The plan for the period between 1976 and 1980 was programmed for a more rational construction of new capacities and better bookings for existing ones.<sup>20</sup> Contrary to the previous plan, much was said about domestic tourism, which was expected to grow more rapidly thanks to organizational improvements. These measures were expected to secure 24.9 million domestic and 33.8 million foreign overnights in 1980. However, at



Overnights of Croatian and all Yugoslav tourists in Croatia 1946–1980.<sup>21</sup>

the end of the decade the real numbers were slightly lower – 23.5 million domestic and 30.1 million foreign overnights – but altogether double compared to 1970 and fivefold compared to 1960.

In the late 1960s the share of worker holiday centers in total domestic overnights in Croatia fell under 50 percent and reached less than 30 percent by 1980. However, the capacity of the centers continued to grow and was of vital importance for a constantly rising number of workers and their families. In 1980 social tourism was able to offer 93,970 beds in Croatia, but still not enough to accommodate all interested tourists. Others were able to choose among 700,000 beds in other types of accommodation and indulge in commercial tourism. They lodged in hotels and private accommodations, like rooms and apartments in private family houses. In addition, there was an increasing number of private summer cottages (*vikendica*).

A more expensive form of holiday-making marked the shift from collective to individual tourism. It seemed that the early encouragement by the authorities, the union and the tourist

association, and the later promotion by tourist companies, succeeded in creating a domestic tourist, who felt the need to get away, preferably to the Adriatic beaches.

#### Destination: The Adriatic Seaside

Why was the Adriatic seaside an ideal holiday destination for all? Firstly, the popularity of the Mediterranean kept rising from the late nineteenth century, and by the 1960s southern European beaches were confirmed as the most attractive areas for summer holidays. Yugoslavia was a Mediterranean country, and as such an inviting destination for foreign and domestic tourists. Secondly, the image of the Adriatic Sea had a distinct place in the national identity and self-perception of Croatia and, in broader sense, Yugoslavia. Hence, the sea was a matter of national pride and swimming in it a must for domestic holiday makers. Thirdly, building tourism facilities and seaside holidays was cheaper than elsewhere, e.g., in the mountains. It was possible to sleep under the open sky or in tents, to lodge in different and inexpensive accommodations, and the only equipment a tourist really needed were a bathing suit and a towel – and sometimes not even that. Summer holidays at the seaside were, therefore, a financially most acceptable option, especially when a large portion of the population already lived there, had no reason to abandon its local beach during the summer season, and could host friends and relatives from the interior. It took a while for the seaside to gain popularity in Europe.

The coastal populations often feared and respected the sea because of its dangers. The sea was traditionally a sphere of work and meant for wars, trade, and fishing. But many fishermen never learned to swim and did not enjoy contemplating a maritime panorama.<sup>22</sup> Children and young people were the only ones to use the sea for play. In the mid-eighteenth century physicians started to believe in the health benefits of breathing sea air, drinking sea water, and taking short dips in the sea.<sup>23</sup> The aristocracy and royal families were pioneers of this new fashion, and the cures were believed to improve physical and mental conditions, while the scenery was expected to calm the troubled nature of a fragile individual. Earlier, "river or sea bathing was considered to be an

immoral pastime better left to the ill-mannered lower classes."<sup>24</sup> It was not until the very late nineteenth century when swimming became part of adult leisure and recreation. The first seaside resorts were constructed, and the coast soon became the most desirable destination for spending the hot summer months. For tourists it was the favorite picture of paradise.<sup>25</sup>

The Croatian Adriatic coast also had its Mediterranean charm. During the Habsburg monarchy the existence of a swimming school in Rijeka was documented as early as 1826.<sup>26</sup> From the mid-nineteenth century on there were steamship lines and excursions, hotels and restaurants, bathing establishments and travel guidebooks, tourist and sport societies. In 1939 nearly one million tourists were registered in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; foreigners spent 1.5 million and Yugoslavs 4 million overnights. The tourism value of the Adriatic coast rose incredibly in the second half of the century with the expansion of mass tourism. Although the straight coastline (northwest to southeast) of Yugoslavia was not longer than 750 km, its real length was 6,616 km. As much as 95 percent of this coastline, together with more than thousand islands, was part of Croatia, a fact which made its seaside, in particular, the leader of the Yugoslav tourist industry. As early as 1950 there were 8.6 million domestic (all Yugoslav) overnights in the socialist federation, with 4.1 million reported in Croatia. Through the decades, Croatia's share continued to be near 50 percent. By 1980 the domestic overnights in Yugoslavia increased to 50.1 million, with 23.5 million in Croatia (see graph 1). Statistically it meant that every Yugoslav citizen spent at least one night in the republic most oriented to tourism. Croatia's most attractive place for holiday makers was the seaside: it accounted for nearly 90 percent of domestic overnights and held a share of 80 percent domestic and about 90 percent foreign overnights for the Yugoslav coastline. Both, geography and the general democratization of travel caused an increase of foreign overnights in Croatia from 2.5 million in 1960 to 30.1 million in 1980, meaning that as much as 75 percent of foreign overnights in Yugoslavia occurred in Croatia. The data also show the massive scale of the tourist industry at the Croatian Adriatic coast – in the regions of Istria, Kvarner, Hrvatsko primorje, Dalmatia, and Dubrovnik. It was a rare occasion to come to Yugoslavia and not



visit Croatia, and it was even more unusual to stay in Croatia and not being accommodated at the sea. Hence, holidays at the Croatian Adriatic seaside may be termed the conspicuous tourist practice in Yugoslavia.

The Croatian coastal areas were presented to foreigners as "a fragment from the Garden of Eden, where islands and ancient cities were linked together by a golden thread of history."<sup>27</sup> Croatia was a "happy blend," a "Mitteleuropa-in-the-Balkans." Two words sufficiently described Istria: "suntan and history," while Dalmatia was described more poetically as "the golden coast and its tiara of islands." In the mid-twentieth century travel guidebooks expressed great expectations from Croatian tourism. "Croatia is a land of many and infinitely varied attractions, and promises to become one of international tourists' favourite playgrounds. The explanation lies perhaps in the fact that this region somehow achieves a happy blend of the beauties of most of the countries that surround it. The supreme attraction of Croatia is obviously the Adriatic Sea which borders it on the southwest."<sup>28</sup>

The domestic market was also not immune to tourist propaganda regarding the seaside. The Adriatic beaches became the major playground of Yugoslavia, but they were more than just a stage for pastime activities. The meaning of the magic sea ran much deeper with its roots in national, social, cultural, historical, natural, or geographic contexts. The sea was a national pride and important for the identity of the coastal republics – Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro – although not everywhere with the same intensity. In Croatia the sea was incorporated into the republic's socialist coat of arms with the historical red-and-white checkerboard rising from the sea, surrounded by two sheaves of golden wheat topped by a red star. The landlocked republics of Serbia and Macedonia also developed a strong attachment to the Adriatic Sea, cultivated as a common element in the supranational identity of Yugoslavia. It became "our sea" and as such a strong argument in nation-building. School children were taught about its natural beauty, its colors and sounds, its islands, peninsulas and bays. History lessons always emphasized the importance of defending the sea against invaders, like the Venetians and later the Italians, most dangerous because of their proximity. The coastal towns were

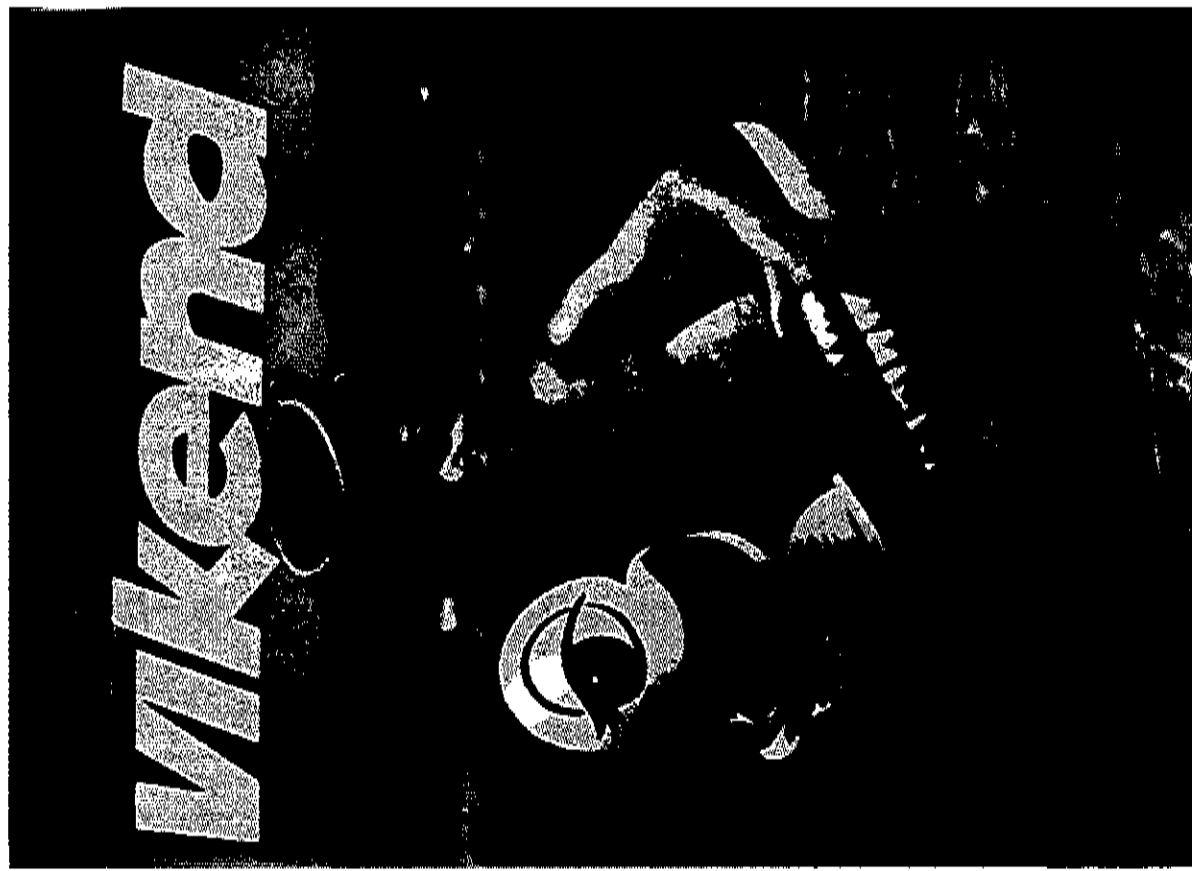
praised for their cultural heritage, architecture and literature. The Adriatic was a precious jewel also for Tito. "I said that our coast was the most beautiful in Europe. It really is very beautiful. I traveled a lot and have not yet seen a coast so beautiful as ours."<sup>29</sup> He liked the sea, sailed around the world, and established his residence and Yugoslavia's "second capital" on the Brijuni Islands of Istria, where he used to spend much time, regardless of the season.

On the other hand, the masses of tourists usually came to the seaside mostly during the summer. According to a 1974 survey of the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 41.1 percent of the interviewed respondents went on vacation, 74.9 percent took vacations in July and August (usually their total vacation time), and 61.4 percent stayed at the seaside.<sup>30</sup> Since vacationers needed to be informed about tourist prospects, the press paid special attention to the Adriatic during the summer months. Its blue waters often appeared on the front pages of daily newspapers, or on the covers of weekly and monthly magazines (see figures 1 and 2), while the inside pages contained many photographs, articles and special sections on living by the sea, holidays at the seaside, the cuisine of the Adriatic regions, the biology of the sea, sailing, shipbuilding, or fishing. The weekly magazine, *Vikend*, the first specialized leisure magazine, published in Zagreb by Vjesnik since 1968, encouraged its readers to submit short comments on different topics, including how they were spending their leisure time, or what they liked most. In their reactions to the first topics (*How do you relax, how do you have fun, 1969, The prettiest, the dearest, 1970–1972, How do you get ready for holidays* and *What does it mean to come back from holidays, 1973*) readers showed a great interest in commenting on their seaside holidays. A dozen comments, mainly from Croatia, were published every week. In line with statistical surveys, readers were enthusiastically describing their summer holidays. For instance, Marijana Novosel from Zagreb had a plan for the summer of 1969: "I'm going to spend this summer at the beaches of Cres, one of the most beautiful islands."<sup>31</sup> Mile Jelača, a student in Opatija, was getting somewhat impatient and looked forward to his leisure time: "After I'm done with exams, there are the sea and the sun waiting for me."<sup>32</sup> Ivica Cerić from Lipovljani in Slavonia wrote: "I like it best when I ride on my motorcycle to our Adriatic, and spend my holidays there."<sup>33</sup>

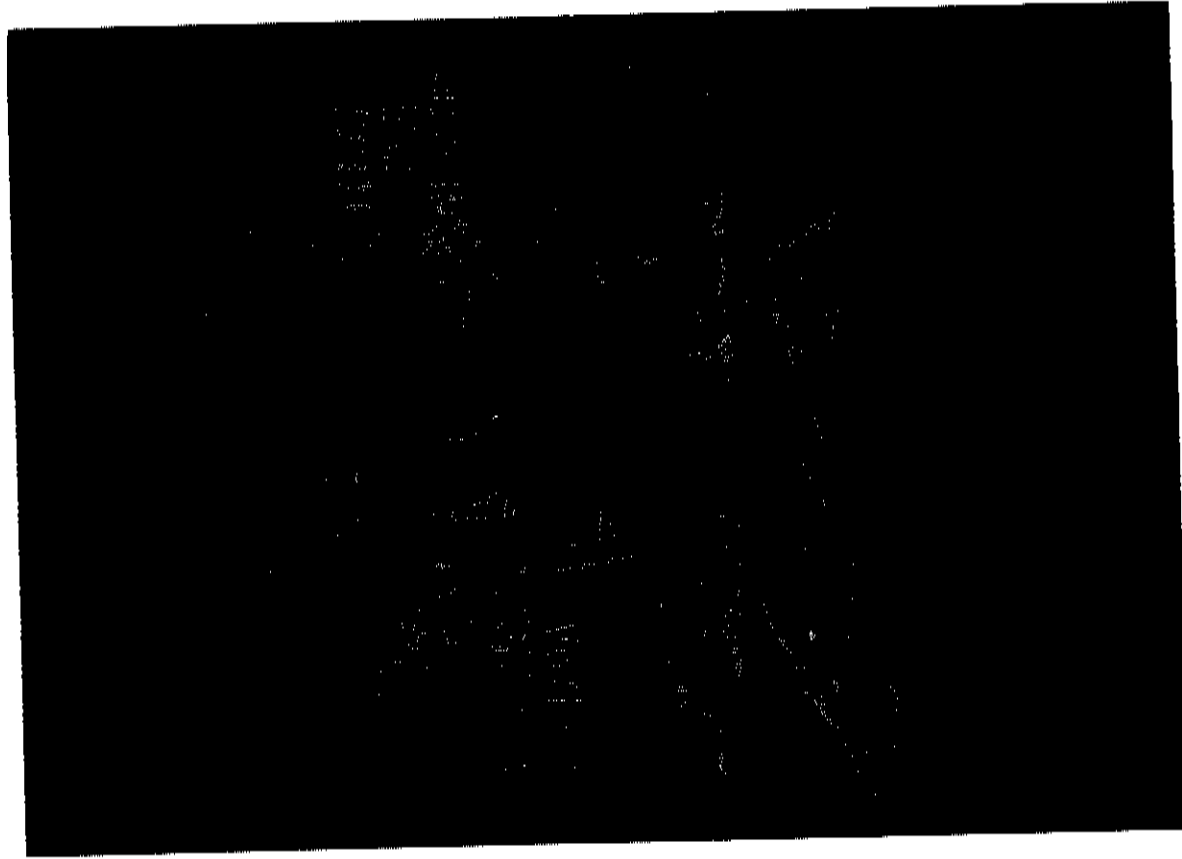
Motorcycles were popular and, in fact, cars outnumbered them in Croatia for the first time only in 1964.<sup>34</sup> However, according to a 1974 survey, it was not so common for holiday makers to travel on two wheels: one half reached their destinations by car, while the other half depended on public transport and time tables; one quarter traveled by train, a fifth by bus and only 6 percent by air. Despite rapid motorization, only three years earlier there still had been 20 persons per car in Croatia, while 24 was the Yugoslav average.<sup>35</sup> Regardless of their means of transportation, the 1974 survey confirmed that as much as 41 percent of the interviewees stayed with relatives and friends. Likewise, the comments by *Vikend* readers prove the importance of family ties for tourism. Thus, it was common for grandchildren to spend the holidays at their grandparents' home or for locals to have their inland friends and relatives for summer visits. For instance, Zdravko Stjepanović from Sisak enjoyed visiting his grandfather in southern Dalmatia. "I like it best to spend my holidays in Makarska. I stroll down the old olive-groves and vineyards, and I often go fishing with my grandfather."<sup>36</sup> Nina Satas from Osijek shared the same experience. "I like it best at the seaside, at my grandparents' in Kaštela."<sup>37</sup>

In all accounts the leitmotif was an admiration of the sea. Marina Rupe from Čazma in Slavonia wrote, "I liked it best when I saw the Adriatic Sea for the first time."<sup>38</sup> Barbara Kirin from Zagreb was not less excited, "summer is what I like the most. The dearest thing is when I'm at our beautiful Adriatic."<sup>39</sup> Hrvojkica Kružić from Kaštel Stari in Dalmatia shared the same opinion. "The blue Adriatic is the most beautiful sea. A summer spent there is the best."<sup>40</sup> She lived at the coast and enjoyed the sea throughout the year like Milena Rupčić from Rijeka. "I work morning and afternoons, so have almost no free time. Therefore I spend every free moment at the beach, where I usually take all kinds of newspapers. In the evenings, of course, I watch TV."<sup>41</sup> Ljubomir Mulan, a local from Dubrovnik wrote, "Since we live on the coast, we go to the beach early in the morning. We enjoy swimming and sunbathing. We come back home late in the evening. We take the maximum of our days off, and we accumulate the energy for the coming week."<sup>42</sup>

Swimming – often mentioned by *Vikend* readers – was probably practiced by all holiday makers. Josip Risek from Varaždin in north



*Vikend* magazine, cover 1974.



*Vikend* magazine, cover 1977.

Croatia swam while on holidays. "The dearest thing is when I see our blue Adriatic seaside, and what I like the most is swimming there."<sup>43</sup> Jelena Palijan from Zagreb was also a swimmer. "I'm having holidays in Poreč. I swim, sun-bathe and read a lot."<sup>44</sup> A 1979 poll shows that 61 percent of the interviewed Yugoslavs over 18 were able to swim.<sup>45</sup> Men (73 percent) were more likely to be able to swim than women (51 percent). The younger an individual the more likely he or she was a swimmer: 71 percent among those aged 18 to 24 were swimmers. Nationality was important, because republics with access to the sea or with a more active leisure culture had more swimmers: Montenegro, 85 percent, Slovenia, 76 percent, Croatia, 75 percent, and Bosnia and Herzegovina, 63 percent. The other republics and autonomous provinces fell below the federal average. Many non-swimmers were turned into swimmers during holidays at the seaside. Hence, swimming may be added to the magic formula of twentieth-century mass tourism, which includes the sea, sun, sand and sex, and for some perhaps also spirits.<sup>46</sup> Maybe there could be another s-word: vacationing at the seaside as a symbol of well-being.

#### Tourism as a Symbol of Well-Being

The 1950s and 1960s – the years of the Golden Age, economic miracles and high hopes – were watershed years and provided the final impulse for a democratization of tourism and holiday-making in Europe. "By the late 1960s, then, paid vacations had become an object of mass consumption, a subject of mass culture, and a right of citizenship linked to notions of entitlement and a just standard of living within an emergent social welfare state."<sup>47</sup> Tourism was understood as symbol and motor of consumerism,<sup>48</sup> not unlike in Yugoslavia, where it happened in three different ways: the investments in tourism accelerated the modernization of infrastructures, the development of domestic tourism created the need to escape, and western tourists with their lifestyles and hard currencies boosted Yugoslav consumerism. Tito was well aware of the double role of tourism and its significance for both, the economy and national well-being: "Both tourism and catering are extremely important fields of our economy. Not only because they bring high foreign income, but also because they need to provide our own

citizens with tourist and catering services. Both of these fields are also very important for raising the level of living standards."<sup>49</sup>

For the first time in 1966 there were more foreign (non-Yugoslav) than domestic tourists in Croatia. The following year was proclaimed the year of international tourism, thanks to an initiative by Mexico and Yugoslavia at the United Nations. The domestic tourist market was growing, but not as fast as the interest of foreigners, who were outnumbered again shortly in the late 1970s. In Croatia the top 10 originating tourist nations in 1970 were: West Germany (6.5 million overnights), Croatia (4.4 million), Serbia (3.4 million), Austria (2.8 million), Slovenia (2.0 million), Italy (1.6 million), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1.5 million), United Kingdom (1.0 million), Czechoslovakia (0.9 million), and France (0.8 million). Westerners came with colorful beach equipment and Easterners came to meet the West in a country with a suspicious form of socialism. On the other hand, Yugoslavs, according to popular belief, lived better than their counterparts in the Soviet bloc, and they did not need all of the attributes of the West, because they had found a balance between these two extremes. The beaches were crowded, and during the 1960s and 1970s the shops remained well-stocked. "Yugoslavia, especially the more well-to-do Slovenia and Croatia, reflected a sort of 'Western oasis' of supply."<sup>50</sup> The cornerstones of the oasis were tourism and a consumer culture.

As tanned bodies were conquering the seaside, the official statistics, the trade unions and the press started inquiring about the participation of different income groups in the new summer culture. Yugoslav society was considerably leveled, but definitely not immune to class differences. In 1957 the share of blue-collar workers in total overnights realized in Croatia was 17.4 percent, the share of white-collar workers reached 34.1 percent, and the share of children 36.9 percent.<sup>51</sup> The underrepresentation of the working class was noticed at the time, together with the slow impact of social measures supposed to motivate travel. Surveys by the Federal Bureau of Statistics in 1960 and 1961 show that slightly more than one half of four-member working-class Yugoslav families took holidays, only a quarter went to the coast and more than a third to the countryside.<sup>52</sup> Among those who headed for the seaside, as many as 55.8 percent stayed with relatives, only 2 percent took hotels,

while about 16 percent stayed in holiday centers and in private accommodations, respectively.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, 69.5 percent of white-collar families decided to travel, and a third of them went to the seaside.

Among working-class families, who stayed at home, only 10 percent stated that they did not wish to travel, while two thirds did not travel for a lack of finances. In 1960 the average monthly Croatian working-class pay was 16,950 dinars. Full board in a workers holiday center cost 500-860 dinars, although a worker paid only 350-500 dinars. If the mid-range rate of a week-long stay was 2,975 dinars, it was less than the weekly pay (4,238 dinars). This meant that social tourism had reached Butlin's British ideal from the late 1930s: a week's holiday for a week's wage.<sup>54</sup> A more detailed analysis of a 1974 survey by the Croatian Bureau of Statistics shows that better educated persons were more likely to travel, as well as those who lived in towns with populations of over 15,000, far away from the seaside, and in small families.<sup>55</sup> The permanent place of residence had a clear impact on mobility; thus, while almost two thirds of the inhabitants of Zagreb left on vacation, only one third of the coastal population did so. Living in a tourist area at the seaside, or very near to it, clearly diminished the chances for traveling during hot summer months. Everything one needed was already there!

According to the same survey, the seaside sojourn was very long: while 41.6 percent stayed for one or two weeks, 32.2 stayed for two or three weeks. Yet only 0.5 percent of the holiday-makers had to take out a bank loan! On average Yugoslavs were spending 688.10 dinars per week, which was only slightly more than the average weekly pay (655.75 dinars). One explanation may be that 41 percent still stayed with relatives and friends, others rented private rooms (19 percent), stayed in workers holiday centers (16 percent), hotels (11 percent), their own houses (7 percent), camps (4 percent), or other places. The most educated strata were less likely to stay with relatives or friends, but even for them it was still the most common solution (not less than 30 percent); their interest in private rooms and hotels was slightly higher than the average, while their turnover in workers holiday centers was somewhat lower (13 percent). Nearly one half of the participants in the poll had medium salaries (20 percent more or less than the national average), and

there were no significant differences in holiday practices among the more or less similar income groups. However, generally a higher income meant fewer summer troubles for one's friends or relatives. The most distinctive group (about 3 percent) of people earned at least twice as much as the average income; they usually lodged in private rooms (42 percent), hotels (16 percent) or their own houses (15 percent), and showed less interest in other accommodations.

Different types of accommodation offered totally different vacation experiences. In 1969 the lifestyle magazine, *Start*, sent a small family (father, mother and daughter) to Opatija on a three-day holiday in a five-star hotel, followed by reporters, wanting to check the quality of the service during the low season, without knowledge of the staff.<sup>56</sup> Upon arrival at the Hotel Ambassador, the family's Volkswagen 1600 was parked in the hotel garage. The guests had a room with a view of the sea, but without television. They were able to use the swimming pool, visit the hotel's hairdresser, dance in the bar, and use the hotel's taxi service. The chambermaid was very kind; she sewed a button on father's shirt and provided headache pills. The husband ordered flowers for 30 dinars from the reception for his wife's birthday and a bottle of whiskey, for which he paid 240 dinars. *Start* covered these expenses, because in 1969 the average monthly pay equaled four bottles of whiskey. Although the magazine often covered luxury and posh lifestyles, and targeted better educated or wealthier readers, at the end of their stay neither the family nor the reporters complained much, since they had "agreed to be modest, as it suits a Yugoslav tourist family."

Five years later a different story was published by *Radničke novine*, the trade union weekly, whose reporter visited the workers holiday center in Vodice, Dalmatia, owned by Tempo, a Zagreb construction company. "The center is very nice. Every room looking at the sea has a balcony. The rooms are clean, bright, with three or four beds. In the corridor there is a shared bathroom, while every room has a sink."<sup>57</sup> Surrounded by oleander, rosemary and pine trees, 150 workers and their families stayed in the facility for two weeks in August. The children were happily playing, while some workers were resting on deck-chairs on a spacious terrace. The dining hall was clean, had a tv-set and a record player, and was a fun place in the evenings. There was also a bar offering inexpensive

drinks and cigarettes. For Franjo Pijanec, an automobile electrician, his wife and two sons the center provided the only chance for a summer vacation. The family income was 3,500 dinars, and the family's two-week holiday cost 2,400 dinars. He had received additional 600 dinars from his company to supplement some savings. Back home the family was building a small house, and the husband was hoping for a loan from his company. They had been returning to Vodice for years showing that holidays can be great in their simplicity. Such a family would never lodge at the Hotel Ambassador in Opatija. Even if sent there as a reward, the family would probably feel uncomfortable.

At the same time, a two-week holiday in the luxurious Hotel Croatia in Cavtat, south of Dubrovnik, cost 2,520 dinars per person, or 180 dinars per day, while full board in a workers holiday centre, like the one in Vodice, cost only 43 dinars.<sup>58</sup> Hence, the average monthly pay (2,623 dinars) sufficiently covered 61 days in *odmaralište* and 15 days in a "de luxe" hotel. Moreover, the main advertising slogan for Hotel Croatia was: "You take summer holidays once a year" (*Uživate jednom godišnje*). Following the logic that a vacation is a luxury that happens only once a year, some domestic guests used to spend more money than foreigners. They never cared if they had ordered one or three glasses a day; when they wanted two cups of coffee, they would simply indulge themselves.<sup>59</sup> While a foreign hotel guest often used to buy wine in a supermarket, the domestic guest - who was able to afford a hotel - always ordered wine from the hotel bar, and was ready to shorten the stay by a couple of days to completely enjoy being a tourist.<sup>60</sup>

The workers holiday centers and luxury hotels were two extremes on each side of cheaper hotels and private accommodations. In any case, the press qualified summer holidays as "the most important unimportant thing in the world."<sup>61</sup> According to first-hand accounts by *Vikend* readers, some were able to travel around the country or even visit fashionable European destinations, like Ruža Helbert from Zagreb. "The best thing to do on holidays is to travel. I've seen the most beautiful places, lakes and our wonderful coast. I visited Italy and Switzerland. I'll have nice memories in the future."<sup>62</sup> Others, like Ljubica Supančić from Zagreb, thought more about finances than nice memories: "I'm paying my debts until the

next holidays."<sup>63</sup> Not everybody was equal, but large numbers of workers were turned into tourists and consumers. Not everybody was happy, although one's personal happiness was "the highest goal of socialism."<sup>64</sup> Not everybody was able to be a holiday-maker, although care was to be taken of one's "needs and supplies, leisure and fun."<sup>65</sup> However, the increasing prosperity was not an illusion. Yugoslavia went through extensive social and cultural changes. Thanks to the Adriatic Sea, tourism was both officially and unofficially recognized as a shortcut to social and personal well-being. New needs and habits were created, and a tanned body acquired the importance of a status symbol. Unlike foreign travel guidebooks, the socialist secular discourse did not openly claim that the Adriatic littoral was like the Garden of Eden, but some paradise-like features had to be acknowledged. Perhaps Croatian seaside resorts symbolized at least a preview of Marx's Kingdom of Freedom.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> See Dušan Bilandžić, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije. Glavni procesi 1918–1985 [History of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The main processes 1918–1985]* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1985), 232; Fred Singleton and Bernard Cartet, *The Economy of Yugoslavia* (London and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 129.
- <sup>2</sup> *Statistički Godišnjak Jugoslavije [SGJ, Statistical Yearbook of Yugoslavia]* (Beograd: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1990), 343. If not pointed out differently, all other statistical data on tourism are also taken from the official series *Statistički Godišnjak Hrvatske [SGH, Statistical Yearbook of Croatia]*, yearly published by Republički zavod za statistiku [Republican Bureau of Statistics], Zagreb, or from SGJ.
- <sup>3</sup> "Uredba o Plaćenom Godišnjem Odmoru Radnika, Namještenika i Službenika," *Službeni list* (SL) 56 (1946).
- <sup>4</sup> "Odluka o Ratifikaciji Konvencije o Plaćenom Godišnjem Odmoru," SL 2 (1953), Dodatak: Međunarodni Ugovori i Drugi Sporazumi.
- <sup>5</sup> On the working time issues see Gary Cross, ed., *Worktime and Industrialization: An International History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Gary Cross, *A Quest for Time: The Reduction of Work in Britain and France, 1840–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
- <sup>6</sup> Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 4.
- <sup>7</sup> "Zakon o Radnim Odnosima," SL 53 (1957).
- <sup>8</sup> Jerko Čulić, *Dalmacija: Pregled Turističkih i Kupališnih Mjesta* (Split:

Povjereništvo za turizam i ugostiteljstvo Narodnog odbora oblasti Dalmacije, 1950).

<sup>9</sup> On social and national harmony see Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, "Introduction," in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and Northern America*, ed. Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 16.

<sup>10</sup> On the postwar social tourism, leisure and consumer culture see Igor Duda, *U Potrazi za Blagostanjem. O Povijesti Dekolice i Potrošačkog Društva u Hrvatskoj 1950-ih i 1960-ih [In Pursuit of Well-Being: On History of Leisure and Consumer Society in Croatia in the 1950s and 1960s]* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> See Zdenko Radelić, *Savez Sindikata Jugoslavije i Hrvatske: Kronologija (1945–1985) [Trade Unions of Yugoslavia and Croatia: A Chronology (1945–1985)]* (Zagreb: Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Hrvatske, Vijeće Saveza sindikata Hrvatske and Radničke novine, 1986), 23.

<sup>12</sup> See Zdenko Radelić, *ibid.*, 1986, 72.

<sup>13</sup> "Naredba o Povlasticama u Ugostiteljstvu za Vrijeme Korištenja Godišnjeg Odmora," SL 28 (1952).

<sup>14</sup> "Naredba o Povlasticama na Zrakoplovima za Osobe Koje su na Godišnjem Odmoru," SL 48 (1950).

<sup>15</sup> "Uputstvo o Naknadi (Regresu) Popusta od Prodajnih Cijena Pensionskih Ugostiteljskih Usluga i o Postupku pri Korištenju Povlastica za Vrijeme Godišnjeg Odmora," SL 28 (1952).

<sup>16</sup> "Društveni Plan Privrednog Razvoja Narodne Republike Hrvatske za Razdoblje od 1957. do 1961. Godine," *Narodne novine* (NN) 1 (1958).

<sup>17</sup> "Rasprava o Turizmu i Ugostiteljstvu u Saboru NRH; Preporuka Sabora o Unapređenju Turizma, Ugostiteljstva i Društvene Prehrane," *Turizam* 3 (1959): 1–2.

<sup>18</sup> "Uputstvo o Povlasticama u Vožnji Prilikom Korištenja Godišnjeg Odmora," SL 18 (1961).

<sup>19</sup> "Društveni Plan Razvoja Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske za Razdoblje od 1971. do 1975. Godine," NN 1 (1958).

<sup>20</sup> "Društveni Plan Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske za Razdoblje od 1976. do 1980. Godine," NN 35 (1976).

<sup>21</sup> See *Statistički Godišnjak Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Republički zavod za statistiku).

<sup>22</sup> See Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 123.

<sup>23</sup> See Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750–1840* (London: Penguin, 1995), 65.

<sup>24</sup> Alain Corbin, *ibid.*, 1995, 59.

- <sup>25</sup> See Fred Inglis, *The Delicious History of the Holiday* (London: Routledge, 2000), 113.
- <sup>26</sup> See Boris Vukonić, *Povijest Hrvatskog Turizma [History of Croatian Tourism]* (Zagreb: Prometej and HAZU, 2005), 211.
- <sup>27</sup> *Fodor's Modern Guides: Yugoslavia* (London: Newman Neame, 1958). On the guidebooks see Igor Duda, "Dokono Mnoštvo Otkriva Hrvatsku. Engleski Turistički Vodiči kao Izvor za Povijest Putovanja na Istočnu Jadransku Obalu od 1958. do 1969. [The Leisured Masses Discover Croatia: English Travel Guidebooks as a Source for the History of Travelling to the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the 1950s and 1960s]," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest [Journal of Contemporary History]* 3 (2003): 803-22.
- <sup>28</sup> *Fodor's Modern Guides: Yugoslavia* (London: Newman Neame, 1958), 129.
- <sup>29</sup> Tito's words to the tourist managers in 1969 quoted in Ante Živković, "Pri Vrhu Svjetskog Turizma," *Turizam* 11-12 (1978): 7.
- <sup>30</sup> See "Korištenje Godišnjeg Odmora Zaposlenih u 1974. Godini," *Dokumentacija* 313 (1977).
- <sup>31</sup> "Kako Se Odmarate, Kako Se Zabavljate," *Vikend* 61, 1969.
- <sup>32</sup> "Kako Se Odmarate, Kako Se Zabavljate," *Vikend* 58, 1969.
- <sup>33</sup> "Najljepše... Najdraže..." *Vikend* 93, 1970.
- <sup>34</sup> SGH-71, 142.
- <sup>35</sup> Calculations based on SGJ-72, 438.
- <sup>36</sup> "Kako Se Odmarate, Kako Se Zabavljate," *Vikend* 62, 1969.
- <sup>37</sup> "Najljepše... Najdraže..." *Vikend* 179, 1971.
- <sup>38</sup> "Najljepše... Najdraže..." *Vikend* 193, 1972.
- <sup>39</sup> "Najljepše... Najdraže..." *Vikend* 198, 1972.
- <sup>40</sup> "Najljepše... Najdraže..." *Vikend* 207, 1972.
- <sup>41</sup> "Kako Se Odmarate, Kako Se Zabavljate," *Vikend* 64, 1969.
- <sup>42</sup> "Kako Se Odmarate, Kako Se Zabavljate," *Vikend* 59, 1969.
- <sup>43</sup> "Najljepše... Najdraže..." *Vikend* 175, 1971.
- <sup>44</sup> "Kako Se Odmarate, Kako Se Zabavljate," *Vikend* 68, 1969.
- <sup>45</sup> See "Vještine Stanovništva Starijeg od 18 Godina," *Tržišne informacije* 1-2 (1979): 54.
- <sup>46</sup> See Sue Wright, "Sun, Sea, Sand and Self-Expression: Mass Tourism as and Individual Experience," in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, ed. Hartmut Berghoff et al. (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 181; Orvar Löfgren, *ibid.*, 2002, 173.
- <sup>47</sup> Ellen Furlough, "Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (1998): 265.
- <sup>48</sup> See Hartmut Berghoff, "From Privilege to Commodity? Modern Tourism and the Rise of the Consumer Society," in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, ed. Hartmut

Berghoff et al. (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 168.

<sup>49</sup> Tito's words at the 5th Congress of the Socialist League of Working People of Yugoslavia (Socijalistički savez radnog naroda Jugoslavije), held in 1960, quoted in Ante Živković, *ibid.*, 1978, 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ivan T. Berend, *Central and Eastern Europe 1944-1993: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 216.

<sup>51</sup> See "Turistički Promet Hrvatske u Godini 1957.," *Turizam* 6-7 (1958): 3-5.

<sup>52</sup> See Melko Erak, "Korištenje Odmora Radničkih i Službeničkih Obitelji," *Turizam* 6 (1963): 6-9.

<sup>53</sup> At the time in Britain one in three families spent the holidays at their friends' or relatives'. See Julian Demetriadi, "The Golden Years: English Seaside Resorts 1950-1974," in *The Rise and Fall of British Coastal Resorts: Cultural and Economic Perspectives*, ed. Gareth Shaw and Allan Williams (London: Mansell, 1997), 64.

<sup>54</sup> See Alan Tomlinson and Helen Walker, "Holidays for All: Popular Movements, Collective Leisure, and the Pleasure Industry," in *Consumption, Identity and Style: Marketing, Meanings, and the Packaging of Pleasure*, ed. Alan Tomlinson (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 221.

<sup>55</sup> See "Korištenje Godišnjeg Odmora Zaposlenih u 1974. Godini," *Dokumentacija* 313 (1977).

<sup>56</sup> See Aleksa Vojinović, "Ambasador pod Povećalom," *Start*, February 12, 1969, 4, 5, 13.

<sup>57</sup> See Željka Valentinčić, "Tempo u Vodicama," *Radničke novine*, August 23, 1974, 19.

<sup>58</sup> Hotel Croatia Cavtat, advertisement, *VJUS*, July 24, 1974, 22.

<sup>59</sup> See Zdenka Marok, "Ljetovanje: Najvažnija Sporedna Stvar na Svijetu," *VJUS*, July 18, 1973, 36-7.

<sup>60</sup> See Mirko Galić, "Jednima Hoteli, Drugima Lavori," *VJUS*, August 27, 1977, 10-2.

<sup>61</sup> See Zdenka Marok, *ibid.*, 1973, 36-7.

<sup>62</sup> "Kako Se Odmarate, Kako Se Zabavljate," *Vikend* 59, 1969.

<sup>63</sup> "Što za Vas Znači Povratak s Godišnjeg Odmora?," *Vikend* 276, 1973.

<sup>64</sup> *Program Saveza Komunističke Jugoslavije. Prikvačen na Sedmom Kongresu Saveza Komunističke Jugoslavije (22-26. travnja 1958. u Ljubljani) [Programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia]* (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1965), 132.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 202.