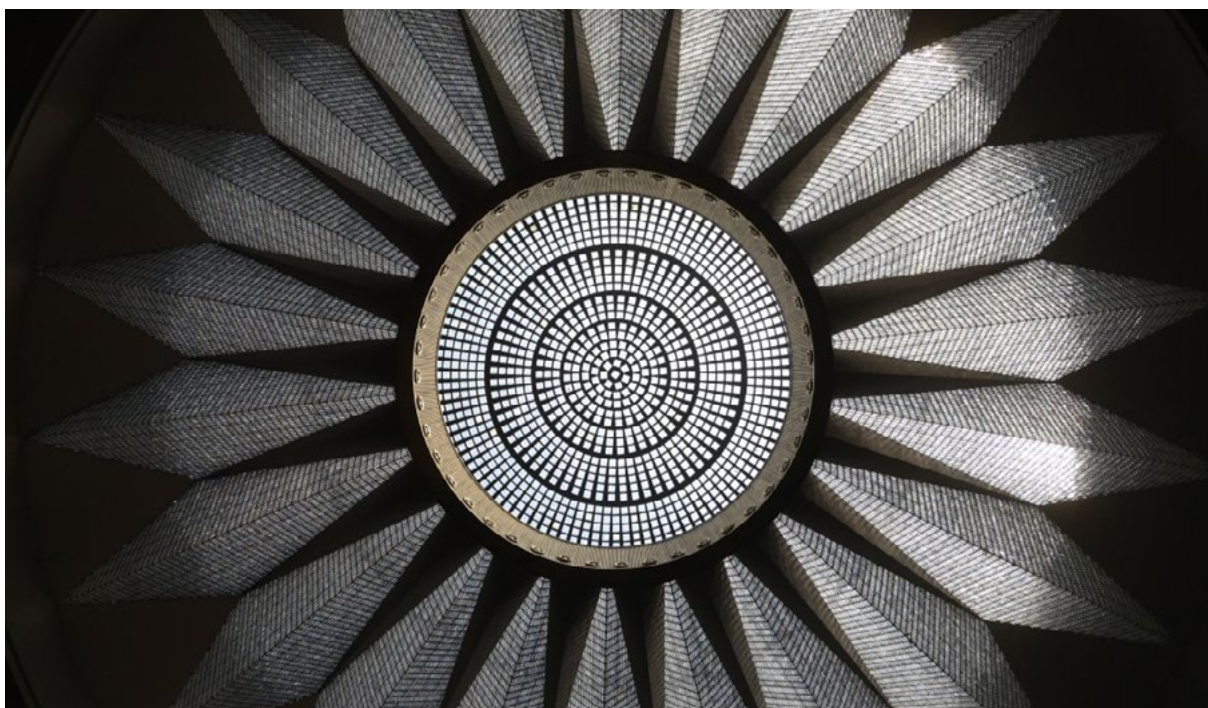




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Ceiling of the Yugoslavia hall in the Federation Palace building, Belgrade

YUGOSLAVIA AS AN EMANCIPATORY PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

In academic and public discourse, a clear distinction is often made between the first and the second Yugoslavia. It is not necessary to use quotation marks here, because the mentioned distinction reflects the essential differences between the two historical creations, which differed radically from each other, at least as much as the radical experience that separated them chronologically (World War II). On the

other hand, various, especially social structures, which strongly acted from within as the characteristics resisting revolutionary changes, have unambiguously remained and expressed as continuity. However, if emancipation, which is referred to here, is understood as a specific project of political elites, this distinction becomes even more relevant.

When it comes to various aspects of emancipation, one should certainly not lose sight of

certain steps taken in the first Yugoslavia. However, emancipation alone did not perceive itself as an emancipatory project, except as an expression of liberation from foreign invaders and social emancipation in certain aspects (the abolition of certain antiquarian social relations involving part of the peasantry). It was unequivocally seen as such by many intellectuals, some of whom were politically active, but was not politically clearly articulated. It can be said that the activities linked to various aspects of the emancipation of the population were at a lower level than one would expect in a totally *laissez faire* state.

Socialist Yugoslavia took an unequivocal turn in this respect: it clearly defined itself as an emancipatory project. The revolutionary essence of its system was not politically exhausted; instead, it penetrated deeply into the social structure. There was no segment of this structure without being significantly or even substantively transformed. This process already started during the National Liberation Struggle (NLS) (the affirmation of national equality, inclusion of women, educational activities, etc.) and continued as a systemic commitment in the subsequent decades, with self-management being one of its most concrete expressions. It introduced into the understanding of man an element of substantive subjectivity which, in conceptual terms, far surpassed the liberal concept of individualism related to the projected freedom of the individual. On the other hand, the constraints – inherent in the ruling political system and those originating from the depths of the inherited social structure – set the firm limits to the development of self-management, just as they now, *mutatis mutandis*, set up obstacles to the development of

the rule of law and democracy, as those aspects which make the liberal-bourgeois system more politically and socially tolerable.

The two Yugoslavias lasted about seventy years. Nevertheless, the internal division of that historical epoch has already made it chronologically necessary that in the “successor states of former Yugoslavia” they speak much more about the socialist period. In terms of the content, it was also richer, more diverse, more dynamic and more striking. It is impossible to fully impose the framework that represents regression with respect to the ideas of national, gender, social, educational and political emancipation on the societies that emerged after the collapse of the Yugoslav framework. Therefore, in the context of the current process of European integration, the approach that has long been taken in the European administrative structures and pushes the socialist legacy into the “totalitarian” paradigm is especially questionable. Everything that makes European integration interesting, at least to a part of the societies in the states created after the collapse of socialism and Yugoslavia, consists precisely in the attitude of that part towards the second Yugoslavia’s emancipatory achievements.

In this bulletin, we publish the texts that present some of the topics that their authors discussed with the participants of the school organized by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights from 6 to 12 October 2020, with the topic “Yugoslavia As an Emancipatory Project”. The participants included students and PhD candidates from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia and Serbia.

SRĐAN MILOŠEVIĆ: SELF-MANAGEMENT AS AN EMANCIPATORY IDEA: THE BEGINNINGS

There are two key dimensions that are essential for understanding a historical period, that is, its socio-political system. On the one hand, it is a question as to what that system wanted to be, how it defined itself and to what it aspired and, on the other hand – what the real practices looked like, how much they coincided with the projected picture of reality, what deviations were observed and why they happened. In interpreting historical processes, everyone will inevitably take a certain theoretical, methodological and ideological stand, but it seems absurd to embark on this endeavour without a detailed knowledge of the analyzed, that is, researched paradigm. This is much more demanding when it comes to a system of the ideas that are no longer a reality anywhere and belong to the past (or the projections of a new future).

From a historical viewpoint, self-management is one such past reality; it occupied an epochal sequence (1950–1990) of Yugoslav history and was fully incorporated into it. Thus, from that historical viewpoint, all ideas, all thoughts and all objective reality of self-management socialism were contained in those four decades. It is a relatively short historical period, especially in the context of the establishment of a fundamentally new social system, which had to permeate all aspects of activities within that society, from the steel to the entertainment industry, from the system's highest-level institutions to pre-school institutions. This ambition alone makes it clear that the mentioned period was insufficient to achieve this aim, especially when some important assumptions of the system were changed “on the way”.

Some facts about self-management already eluded its contemporaries, while the dynamics of

internal development made certain forms disappear before they even come to life. In that sense, it is more interesting (though not only this) that peasants' work cooperatives (PWC) were among the first systems into which self-management was introduced, no matter how paradoxically it may seem at first glance. With a shift to the economic account as well as due to the constant transformation of this truly controversial economic organization (PWC,) the elements of self-management were first introduced into the system that simply could not function, with the intention to give it a new chance (however, it turned out to be the last one). In that sense, Tito's statement while explaining the Draft Law on the Management of State-Owned Enterprises in June 1950 is indicative: “Peasants in cooperatives, which they manage by themselves and workers in factories that will be managed by them from now on really have today their destiny in their own hands.”

Contrary to some very ingrained and general critiques of socialism as a statist system in which the state acts as the omnipotent master of people's destiny, the essence of self-management socialism was precisely radical destitution. The most flagrant aspect of this relationship is the concept of social property. It is of such significance that it represents the essential element of the definition of self-management for which it can be said that it is a socio-economic and political system based on social ownership of the means of production (coupled with the limited role of the state, which is not the title holder of these means) and management by the working class and all working people. What is specific for self-management socialism is the idea that a certain action of market laws can be acceptable and even desirable under the conditions of social ownership.

As for the political system of self-management socialism, it defined itself as the “dictatorship of the proletariat”, which eventually led to the

division of the concept of sovereignty into the sovereignty of the people (as demos) and the power of the working class and working people. It was not possible to circumvent the general source of legitimacy of the state (people), but also to ignore the ideological postulate – working-class power. Thus, a compromise solution was found, which was novelty in constitutional law practice. On the other hand, the very concept of dictatorship is almost synonymous with the notion of power and should not include the meanings that imply terror and violence: from the Marxist viewpoint, every power in the class system is a dictatorship of the ruling class. According to the classical Marxist conception, the difference between bourgeois and workers' dictatorships lies in the fact that the latter do not pretend to be the systems that reflect the interests of the working class.

Another important aspect that often remains obscured is the issue of political system. Based on the concept of unity of power, socialism, including Yugoslav self-management one, implied that, given the impossibility of practicing direct democracy, people's representation was the highest body and the locus of election of every government. Thus, in the ideal-type sense, the idea is deeply democratic. On the other hand, defining the system as a single-party one is not quite precise. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) was not a political party in the classical sense. According to the theoretical assumptions of the system of self-management socialism, a single-party system is a variant of bourgeois parliamentarism. On the other hand, the LCY, for example, did not run in or participate in elections. As the successor of the People's Front, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) ran in elections. So, roughly

speaking, the function of a political party was much more performed by the SAWPY than the LCY, but even this would not represent an entirely appropriate analogy.

Thus, only some specifics are presented here. This refers to the specifics that are often overlooked and concern the theoretical assumptions of self-management, its self-definition. It is essential that the way this system functions is seen in that context and not (only) in the context where the functionality benchmark is liberal-bourgeois democracy and the only conceptual apparatus – the apparatus of liberal political thought. It makes much more sense to perceive all the disfunctions of the system (which were numerous and probably even prevailed) within its own paradigm than compare them with an external reference system, which is implicitly or explicitly considered the only legitimate one.

Such an approach makes it possible to fully comprehend the theoretical and ideological tendency towards the subjectivization of the individual in society and gain insight into the actually existing deviations. Consequently, they did not exist in relation to liberal democracy (since it is not a criterion), but in relation to the realization of a higher degree of democratic freedom, as guaranteed by the self-management conception of society. This conception was supposed to bring far greater liberation to the individual, positioning him as the decision maker in the areas where he had been denied that freedom by all existing socio-political systems. Finally, the subjectivity that self-management was supposed to bring is a relational concept, far more complex than the binarity of collectivism-individualism into which self-management socialism often fits.

DR ALEKSANDAR R. MILETIĆ:
**PATHS AND DETOURS OF THE
PROCESS OF EMANCIPATION IN THE
FIRST AND SECOND YUGOSLAVIA**

There arise numerous methodological difficulties in the attempt to speak about Yugoslavia, or one of the two Yugoslavias, as a kind of coherent project in which the coordinates and trajectories of development and modernization were set in advance. Both Yugoslav states were created in times of upheaval, and for the most part of their past their development strategies were forced upon by the current constellations of international relations, or the country's political and financial situation. In that sense, it is difficult to defend the thesis about Yugoslavia as a pre-planned emancipatory project. However, what can be researched and what credible conclusions can be drawn are the concrete outcomes of the development processes as well as modernization and emancipatory achievements during the existence of the Yugoslav state. As for the social and economic context of emancipation and development, and the process of political and national emancipation, it is useful to establish diachronic comparisons between society and state organization in the interwar kingdom and socialist Yugoslavia.

When such a comparison is established in relation to the development strategies and emancipatory achievements of the first and second Yugoslavia, the inevitable conclusions point out that in all aspects of development and emancipation the period of socialist Yugoslavia was much more intense and versatile than the changes made during the period of the monarchy. For example, when we compare the achieved level of coverage of workers' insurance, health care, women's civil rights and liberties and housing conditions, the situation in socialist Yugoslavia was improved so much that it seems as if we are talking not about different countries, but about different centuries and civilizational

development. Even in some domains of emancipation that are of strictly liberal provenance, socialist Yugoslavia was more progressive than the kingdom. For example, the freedom of movement of people and labour in socialist Yugoslavia reached such proportions from the 1960s onwards that the relevant policy of socialist Yugoslavia was more liberal than the nominally liberal kingdom, which maintained extremely rigid control over passport issuance and movement of people.

As for women's civil rights and equality, some progress in improving the inherited system of legal and social discrimination against women was also made in the time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. However, the provisions of the inherited civil codes maintaining substantive women's inequality remained in force. It was only in socialist Yugoslavia that women became both formally and substantively equal to men thanks to the emancipation contents that brought Yugoslav society closer to the women's emancipation ideal in the West. The only issue in the context of gender rights which was not improved in the first and second Yugoslavia concerned sexual minorities; namely, homosexuality was treated as a criminal offence in both Yugoslavias.

In the comparison of different developmental policies, developmental stagnation in the time of the kingdom and accelerated development in the time of socialist Yugoslavia should also be explained by the different context of the development of the international economy, that is, by an expansive monetary policy and neo-Keynesian models of stimulating consumption and investment in the post-World War II period, which created much more favourable conditions for the overall development of the economy and society in the time of socialist Yugoslavia. In this context, one should also look at the economic hardships that the Yugoslav society began to face during the 1980s when, in addition to the

global recession trends, Yugoslavia plunged into a debt crisis. This crisis period greatly compromised the enormous developmental and emancipatory achievements of Yugoslav socialism, contributing to the subsequent violent disintegration of the common state.

Within a range of issues concerning political and national emancipation at the individual and collective levels, in both Yugoslav states special emphasis should be placed on the difference between the nominal, that is, normative and substantive exercise of those rights. Thus, in addition to the proclaimed equality of the three constituent peoples in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the factual majorization already became evident during the process of adopting the Vidovdan (St Vitus Day) Constitution and such a trend continued. Further, although different self-government systems were legally regulated during the entire regime under the Vidovdan Constitution and octroyed parliamentarism later on, only district elections were held (1927); county and banovina elections were not held. Although the Constitution stipulated civil equality, almost every aspect of state policy during monarchic Yugoslavia was based on the ethnic quotas. Thus, the ethnic criterion was applied in determining almost completely the (confidential) administrative procedure in the area of migration policy, or the implementation of land reform measures in the prewar kingdom. The state created without a substantive identity consensus also lacked political consensus, while even greater problems stemmed from the non-implementation of otherwise thin legislation that allowed for self-government or the provision of basic civil rights. Ethnic frictions were so strong that even in the 1925 parliamentary debate on customs tariffs tribal and ethnic clashes precluded any sober debate on the economic outcomes of implementing the proposed customs tariff.

Some advances were made in the area of civic, political and national emancipation, but to a

different extent, depending on the ethnic and political criteria that exerted influence on state policy. In the national sense, significant emancipation was achieved by the Slovene and Serbian ethnic corpus, which was almost completely united within its own nation state. In the political sense, parliamentarism under the Vidovdan Constitution, which nominally proclaimed the emancipatory ideas of equality and universal voting rights, was followed by the regimes that set back and compromised the proclaimed standards to such an extent that one can speak about the annulment of the entire previous project of emancipation. The proclamation of unitary Yugoslavism further jeopardized the legitimacy of the system that thus denied national specificity even to those ethnic groups which very nationally recognized.

Socialist Yugoslavia proclaimed and achieved a significant measure of national emancipation and affirmation of the hitherto nationally unrecognized national groups of Macedonians and Montenegrins, as well as Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sandžak later on. The status-legal and political context of the national emancipation of Albanians reached high standards within the framework of their autonomy created in the territory of Kosovo and Metohija. In political terms, however, there were no preconditions for even the minimal concept of democracy as formulated by Schumpeter (voting rights and free elections). Instead of representative democracy, socialism inaugurated various forms of participative democracy, which included the mass and constant participation of a large number of people at the level of the work collective, local community and the like. This participative democracy often had the character of mass emancipation in the most direct political sense. The challenges of the system of national equality and the federal-confederal organization of the country came from the formal and informal circles of the Serbian political and intellectual elite, which perceived the realization of

emancipation and equality of the Serbian people in resolving provincial issues and strengthening the powers of the federal state. When in the time of Slobodan Milošević Serbian re-centralists tried to realize their aspirations through unilateral decisions and unsuccessful attempts to practice re-voting at party forums and federal institutions, the Yugoslav state embarked on the path of disintegration.

MILIVOJ BEŠLIN: **YUGOSLAVIA AS EMANCIPATION: IDEAS AND CONTRADICTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST INTEGRATION MODEL**

The period of socialist Yugoslavia (1945–1990) was the longest period of peace and prosperity for the Yugoslav peoples in modern times. That is why this “maverick country”, as it was known in Western diplomatic sources, was the most outstanding emancipatory project experienced by its peoples in modern history. The liberating character of Tito’s Yugoslavia did not refer only to the national emancipation of all its peoples and citizens, but also to their social emancipation. And another precedent: only in that state the Yugoslav peoples lived in a medium-developed society and not in a poor one. In addition to the mentioned coordinates, socialist Yugoslavia maintained the authoritarian political traditions, egalitarian-populist political course, repressive character of the system with a monopolistic party and propensity for collective freedom at the expense of individual one. Due to the mentioned contradictions, its history has often moved between adoration and demonization, depending on the ideological orientation of the dominant social trends.

The Yugoslav antifascist and national liberation uprising of 1941 had first-rate Balkan significance, but it was not until the anti-Stalinist 1948

that it obtained planetary significance and resonance. The conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, personalized in irreconcilable differences between the two concepts of socialism – Stalin’s and Tito’s – will make the Yugoslav state a global geopolitical actor. Brutal Soviet pressure and the wish to submit Yugoslavia to Soviet imperial aspirations caused the most difficult times for the ruling communists and the greatest danger to the Yugoslav state. Stalin’s military, political, economic, media and intelligence pressure on Yugoslavia made Tito realize that the Moscow-Belgrade conflict should be moved out of the party coordinates and be dealt with at the state level. Thus, the central issue became the defence of the independence and freedom of Yugoslavia. After the anti-fascist one, Yugoslavia also got the aura of a fighter against Stalinism. The boundaries of freedom reached by Yugoslavia in the process of de-Stalinization were unknown in the socialist world until then. Despite taking place at the time of imminent war danger, repression against the Stalinist part of the CPY membership will remain a methodologically unacceptable episode in the historically justified defence of Yugoslav society and its state against constant Soviet attacks.

In addition to anti-fascism and anti-Stalinism, the third cornerstone of Tito’s Yugoslavia was the democratization of economic life. The conflict with the Soviet Union and its character accelerated more profound social changes in Yugoslavia, which were in line with its historical, national and economic specifics. In the search for an alternative, which were programmatically defined by Tito at the Federal Assembly as early as 1950, worker’s self-management was legitimized as the Yugoslav road to socialism. In the second half of the 20th century, Yugoslav self-management will be the reference point of the democratic left in the whole world: how to achieve a balance between the world of labour and the world of capital, between freedom and equality. The pivotal and emancipatory year 1948 and the

conflict with the Soviet Union were crucial for the development of a new model of socialism and its democratization within the concept of self-management and socialist democratization.

Yugoslav foreign policy, marked by the syntagma of peaceful coexistence, was characterized by balancing between the two opposite and aggressive imperialisms: Soviet, socialist, and American, capitalist. Between them there was socialist Yugoslavia as the only European country and one of the three founders of the Non-aligned Movement constituted in Belgrade in 1961. After the death of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill, Tito held the unofficial title of the last great wartime leader in the world. He had a crucial role in shaping and directing Yugoslav foreign policy. He developed a foreign policy concept, which was based on cooperation among all countries on an equal footing, through the policy of non-alignment and global emancipatory movement. The Yugoslav diplomacy enjoyed an indisputable reputation in all countries, regardless of their political and ideological differences. Yugoslavia's unique international reputation and global emancipatory significance will bring to it the influence that far exceeded its real proportions and possibilities.

Anti-fascism, anti-Stalinism, self-management and non-alignment were the four emancipatory fulcrums of Yugoslav state identity and the frameworks of excellence that strengthened internal cohesion and the degree of legitimacy. In internal relations, emphasis was laid on the policy

of national equality and social egalitarianism, that is, national and social emancipation. The Yugoslav state concept implied that the national question had also to be developed on the basis of the unity and defence of general Yugoslav and individual national interests. For Tito and the ruling communists, the Yugoslav state based on the principles of AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) was the historical basis for the defence of freedom and equality of all its peoples and nationalities. Frequent constitutional and economic reforms testified about the constant search for a regulatory formula that would improve the Yugoslav socialist community. However, in 1971-72, the concept of more extensive reforms and democratization of Yugoslavia, thus preparing the country for the post-Titoist period and, in the long run, post-socialist period, was rejected.

Socialist Yugoslavia, anti-fascist, anti-Stalinist, self-management and non-aligned, was strongly marked by Tito's statesmanship qualities and personal authority, as well as the political monopoly of CPY/LCY, was not ready for a democratic and institutional evolution due to which it was difficult for it to cope with all challenges after the death of its historical leader. Post-Yugoslav societies based on provincial and extreme nationalist ideologies, as well as historiographies based on such foundations, have not yet reached the level of maturity that would enable an impartial and scientifically verifiable view of the historical complexity and emancipatory achievements of socialist Yugoslavia.

STANISLAVA BARAĆ: (ANTI)EMANCIPATORY DISCOURSES IN YUGOSLAV CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES

Emancipatory ideas and emancipatory social practices represent one of the basic (conceptual) threads stretching through the history (study) of the two Yugoslavias. To be more precise, socialist Yugoslavia arose from such ideas and practices in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia. Some of them were communist ones and officially banned, thus shifting to the sphere of illegal activities already at the beginning of the Yugoslav state. Immediately after the proclamation of the *Obznana* (Decree) in 1920, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia began implementing the strategy of mimical discursive action. It was best implemented through the press, especially the one not being officially political, and became especially intensive from 1935 onwards. One of the privileged sources for the study of communist and emancipatory discourses in general included women's, children's and guild periodicals. They are one of the sources that show convincingly how the proletarian counter-public was formed within the hegemonic public thanks to which it is possible to better understand why and how a new hegemony was created in socialist Yugoslavia. In other words, they point to the productivity of the theories of the public and history of reading in historiographical research (on Yugoslavia).

As can be seen from a recent joint research project (a collection of papers titled "*Časopisi za decu: jugoslovensko nasleđe (1918–1991)*" (Children's Magazines: Yugoslav Legacy /1918–1991/), edited by Tijana Tropin and S. Barać, Institute for Literature and Art, Belgrade), the history of the youngest Yugoslavs' reading began with an emancipatory magazine.

Namely, apart from children's magazines that were continuously published from the 19th

century onwards (such as Zagreb's *Smilje*) and new children's magazines locked in the tradition of Jovan Jovanović Zmaj (Novi Sad's *Dečje novine*), a completely different magazine was founded in Belgrade in 1920. It was *Budućnost*, "an entertainment and educational magazine for the children of organized workers" (1920; 1923–1928). This magazine and the literary texts printed on its pages stemmed from a new progressive education and were tied to the idea of a new school. They, in turn, relied on trust in children's critical ability and independent reasoning. In the case of this particular magazine, they also relied on the belief that children readers would understand class inequalities and injustices on which the modern capitalist world was based. This is why children's leftist writers did not hesitate to thematize them in their works at that time. This was partly due to the fact that the mentioned literature and press also addressed to proletarian and peasant children experiencing class injustice. Thus, new educators saw no reason why they could not understand the social mechanisms that produced it. During the 1930s, Mate Lovrak also wrote such literature. His stories, published in *Smilje*, *Jugoslovenče* and other magazines, and novels, in particular, which encountered the most massive reception in socialist Yugoslavia thanks to the revised editions and film adaptations ("*Vlak u snijegu*" /A Train in the Snow/, "*Družba Pere Kvržice*" /Pero Kvržica's Gang/), were mostly written during the time of the Great Depression and immediately thereafter, often thematizing and depicting its consequences for the lives of peasant and urban children ("*Divlji dečak*" /A Wild Boy/, "*Neprijatelj br. 1*" /Enemy No. 1/, "*Anka Brazilijanka*" /Anka the Brazilian/, "*Srećna zemlja*" /A Happy Country/, "*Prijatelji*" /Friends/).

Lovrak's novels, Jelena Bilbija's stories, magazines such as *Budućnost* and Aleksandar Vučo's surrealistic literary exploits published in the children's supplement of the daily newspaper *Politika* during the 1930s show how leftist

writers, having full confidence in children's aesthetic and intellectual abilities, were building their readership that should become part of a new, more emancipated world in the future. As such literary endeavours called for revolutionary change and thus provoked state censorship, they were softened by pseudonyms (Vučo as Askerland and Čika Aca /Uncle Aca/) banned (*Budućnost*), or switched to private publishing.

On the other hand, in official state magazines, having a privilege to be distributed to schools as compulsory or recommended reading, such as *Jugoslovenče* (1931–1941), children were treated as passive readers who should only accept the moral lesson conveyed to them through the teacher figure. Such a readership was shaped so as to become an uncritical public later on or, in other words, the subjects of the state and the ruling dynasty. The status of girls and women, who are not particularly dealt with in the articles from *Jugoslovenče*, fits into such a framework as well.

Consequently, women's emancipation was also encouraged or discouraged in women's magazines. In some of them, girls were both active protagonists and authorial/readership figures (Little Zora /Mala Zora/ in *Budućnost*), while in the time of the two Yugoslavias, especially in the socialist one, women were often the editors of children's magazines (Zorka Lazić, Jelena Bilbija, Mira Alečković) and certainly their prominent and regular contributors.

During the Second World War, on the territory of devastated Yugoslavia the new authorities tried to create an illusion of normal life through cultural "life". In occupied Yugoslavia, all children's magazines ceased publication. The quisling authorities failed to launch a special children's magazine; instead, a few literary articles were published in the newspaper *Novo vreme* in which the war and occupation were not mentioned. The Independent State of Croatia

allowed *Smilje* to continue publication, but also founded a new, official children's magazine, *Ustaška uzdanica*. The children for whom this magazine was allegedly intended, including children from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only lived a hard life, but were also victims of mass killings and taken to concentration camps. Many children became war orphans and joined partisan units. On the basis of their destinies, courier boys and girls, and little bombers were largely depicted by children's press which, during the first post-war years, mostly belonged to the pioneer organization evolved during the war.

During those years, the pioneer media were part of the cultural policy of the CPY agitprop, including educational policy as well. These media activated the social responsibility of the children's readership and called on it to participate in the reconstruction and construction of the country. As the society was recovering from war trauma, the party leaders and children's press editors were regaining awareness that children should first and foremost be children. Children's magazines were freeing themselves from direct party politics at about the same time as the party distanced itself from Stalinism, but remained true to the ideas on which the new state was based. The ideas and values of social justice and solidarity, brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, antifascism and national liberation struggle were consistently and continuously presented in literary and other magazine contributions, thus being inscribed in the figure of the immanent reader. As time went on, this reader figure that embodied the socialist ideal of the child, included a carefree child on an increasing scale, in addition to a hardworking, diligent and honest one.

In a certain sense, the literal emancipatory role was played by magazines which, at least during the first years, were literally children's, that is, published exclusively children's articles: Zagreb's

Djeca za djecu (1954–55) which will grow into a cult magazine for upper elementary school students, *Modra lasta*, and *Dečje novine* from Gornji Milanovac, which became a magazine edited by adults after being a magazine made by students of higher elementary school grades (1957) with the assistance of teachers during literary-journalism club activities. The effect of the earlier phase of these magazines was that they automatically promoted children's readers into authors, which was partly fur to the broader social emancipation trends in Yugoslavia during the 1950s.

The continuity of the promoted values and related developmental phases (the breakthrough of popular culture and commercial contents, parallel with the decline of the topics about the National Liberation War) can be followed using all long-running Yugoslav journals as an example (e.g. Sarajevo's *Male novine* and *Vesela sveska*, Novi Sad's *Jó Pajtás*, Belgrade's *Poletarac*). The depoliticization of children's magazines probably had an ambivalent effect on emancipatory processes in Yugoslavia. It is the (research) point that connects children's culture with that of young people and requires an organized research of youth periodicals in socialist Yugoslavia, considered precisely within the category of (co-
unter)public.

VERA GUDAC DODIĆ: ACHIEVEMENTS AND LIMITATIONS OF WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA

The emancipatory gender policies of socialist Yugoslavia, based on egalitarian socialist legislation, as well as public discourse and state proclamations about equality between women and men in all life segments, brought about numerous, sometimes dubious changes in the lives of women. Advances in equality and the affirmation of diverse women's rights in other periods and political systems cannot be measured by the progress made in the period of socialism, despite its multi-layered and contradictory reality. However, the practice of socialism points to a discrepancy between the proclaimed social values and the normative, on the one side, and Yugoslav reality, on the other side. Formal changes often obscured the substantive continuities of patriarchal value systems and their firm entrenchment in everyday life. Women's experiences reveal various manifestations of women's subordination in that period. They can be observed and followed in numerous segments of social life, including those thought to be successfully shaped by emancipatory values and egalitarian ideals.

Laws and by-laws were the pillars of the process of women's emancipation under socialism. The legal foundations of women's emancipation, as a precondition for their general emancipation, were laid in the time of the early socialist state. Social progress, measured by women's vested rights, was reflected in their political rights (the right to vote and be voted for), right to work and equal pay for equal work, law of succession and family law, rights in the field of social protection, reproductive rights and the like. The contribution of socialism to women's emancipation was pronounced just in this sphere.

Socialist society defined and understood women's emancipation primarily through their

legal equality and economic independence. Schooling, mass employment and women's work outside home were in line with the societal expectations and encouraged behaviours. In these fields, the step towards gender equality was the strongest, while changes in the social status of women were most pronounced. During that period, thanks to the strength of the welfare state, namely the provision of social rights and security, significant progress was made and women's subordinate position was changed in many life segments.

The meeting of socialist gender policy and traditional values used to limit women's emancipation which, in some aspects of everyday life, was more evident than in other ones. A number of social contradictions and cracks in the conquered emancipatory space of women were rediscovered, which obscured the image created since the time of revolutionary women, war heroines and female shock workers. The emancipatory policies of the socialist state did not undermine the strongly entrenched patriarchal family relations. Due to the constraints on the patriarchal family and preservation of its traditional roles and norms, inequalities continued to shape its everyday life. The overburdening of working married women and mothers brought the conflict of roles and the problem of their reconciliation to the fore. Women's multiple workload remained a characteristic feature of women's status under socialism. In addition to all other women's roles, their unpaid housework created inequalities once again. Despite their vested rights and acquired freedoms, the extreme reduction of their leisure time pointed once again to the unequal treatment of men and women.

In addition to women's traditional roles in the family, other constraints on their emancipation included inheritance practices, especially in rural areas, and male dominance in politics, women's experiences of employment inequality (assignment to lower paid jobs, predominant

employment in the sectors with a lower average pay, insufficient participation in management, etc.).

The official ideology of egalitarianism and women's emancipation was defied by the everyday life of women in rural areas, which was even more pronounced by the differences in certain parts of Yugoslavia. Peasant women were socially marginalized, while the manifestations of patriarchy in gender relations were especially evident in rural areas. During the second part of the 20th century, the simultaneous existence of traditional and emancipatory values, norms and behavioural patterns had even more distinct boundaries between urban and rural, for example. The experiences of peasant women, regardless of occasional moves forward, ranged within the limits of patriarchal culture and inherited life patterns.

The processes of women's emancipation in socialist Yugoslavia were inextricably linked to the activities of the largest women's organization ever to exist in this area – the Women's Antifascist Front (AFŽ). Hundreds of thousands of women were involved in various activities of this organization. Its involvement in various spheres of social life in the first post-war years, and its efforts to rally as many women as possible to take part in public activities and influence changes in their overall position, were invaluable in combatting various forms of women's discrimination and non-egalitarian practices.

In the period of socialism, the continuity or discontinuity and withdrawal, that is, elimination of discrimination against women were not the same in all spheres of life. When this complex issue is put in historical context, the view of the preceding times and the times that followed is one of the factors defining and recognizing the ultimate achievements of Yugoslavia's gender-related emancipation policies in the socialist era.

NENAD MAKULJEVIĆ: YUGOSLAVIA: THE SPACE OF CULTURAL AND ARTISTIC EMANCIPATION

The formation of the Yugoslav state contributed to artistic and cultural emancipation in the entire state space. After the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, where there were restrictions for artists who did not belong to the ruling political community, the new state provided the space for the activities of all Yugoslav artists. The best example of artists' emancipation during the first Yugoslav state is Ivan Meštrović, who created numerous public monuments. Some of his most significant works such as the Monument to the Unknown Hero on Mount Avala, Monument of Gratitude to France and Monument to Gregory of Nin were closely connected to the needs and ideas of the new state. In the time of the first Yugoslav state, Yugoslav cultural heritage was also emancipated, which was underestimated and unrecognized.

The new stage of cultural and artistic emancipation in Yugoslavia took place after 1945. The ideology of the new socialist state also included the need to create a new art. After the break with Stalinist politics in 1948, art in Yugoslavia was liberated from both market politics, characteristic

of capitalist systems, and the programmed ideological art of social realism, characteristic of the Soviet Union and other communist countries. The ideological framework of a new socialist art and respect for artistic freedom were best defined by Miroslav Krleža in his speech delivered in Ljubljana in 1952.

Artistic freedom in Yugoslavia resulted in the intensive development of modern art. The artists such as Petar Lubarda, Edo Murtić, Oton Gliha and Julije Knifer gained a place not only on the domestic but also on the international art scene. The acceptance of modernism was also reflected in the representative state buildings. The Palace of the Federal Executive Council in Belgrade is completely decorated with modernist artworks, while its most representative hall has the monumental abstract fresco painting "Journey to the Universe" by Petar Lubarda. Artistic freedom came to the fore in monument culture. Public monuments were erected at the sites of civilian casualties and significant partisan battles. They were designed according to humanistic ideals and aimed at symbolically depicting the events they memorialized. Their authors such as Miodrag Živković, Bogdan Bogdanović and Vojin Bakić created unique spatial and monument entities, as well as the visual identity of the SFRY.

OLGA MANOJLOVIĆ PINTAR: EMANCIPATORY ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

Two Case Studies: Museum of African Art in Belgrade as a Paradigm of the Policy of Non-Alignment and Bogdan Bogdanović's Little Big School of Architecture

The Yugoslav emancipatory project, articulated in the establishment of a unique solution concerning (social) property relations, management of the economy based on the system of (workers') self-management and implementation of a unique foreign policy concept (non-alignment), was shaped and affirmed in the public space, including among other things various forms of cultural practices. As a specific space for constituting a social entity, those cultural practices were understood exclusively as a reflection of reality only in vulgar, simplified Marxist interpretations. For Yugoslav communists, they represented important benchmarks for the social superstructure that had a decisive influence on the realization of a unique ideological discourse.

There are numerous paradigmatic examples that reflect this complex process. Nevertheless, two discourses dominated the public space, defined cultural policy and represented strong cohesive elements of the community throughout the 20th century: the invention of the "other" in relation to which the Yugoslav community was created (either by distancing from it or identifying itself with it) and the designation and naming of the "past" or, in other words, the interpretation of the past that made historical narratives a constituent part of the present. On this basis, different narratives were shaped and merged into a unique, not always homogeneous yet consistent social system. These two strongly intertwined discourses can be explained using two specific case studies and the example of socialist Yugoslavia and Belgrade as its representative centre. The first study examines the discourse of

"otherness" by analyzing the method of musealization of Africa at the Museum of African Art in Belgrade, while the second study deals with the horrid World War II legacy by analyzing Bogdan Bogdanović's work – both his design of memorial monuments and his educational activity.

The concept of the Yugoslav policy of non-alignment as an important element of the specificity of socialist self-management Yugoslavia can be perceived among other things through an analysis of the way in which Africa was presented to Yugoslav citizens and the way in which this presentation participated in the creation of the social identity of the socialist community. As a substantive shift from the existing international relations, the policy of non-alignment represented an alternative political and social concept that transcended the divisions imposed by the Cold War blocs reality. Connecting Yugoslavia with a new group of states that came into existence after the anti-colonial liberation struggle was a key element of its foreign policy and an important pillar of the domestic one. The basic principles of such an understanding of foreign policy were materialized in the public space through the Museum of African Art (MAA), opened in Belgrade in 1977. Unlike most museums that created the image of Africa as a dark and mysterious geographical area inhabited by exotic tribes at a "pre-civilizational stage" of development, the Yugoslav image of Africa was based on the affirmation of the idea about political and ideological pluralism of the international scene, while at the same time insisting on the implicit equality of all actors who fought (or are still fighting) for their positions. Such an understanding provided a basis on which Belgrade's museum was created as the first museum to move African artifacts out of ethnographic collections and bring them into the world of art. Otherwise, the MAA grew out of the Veda and Dr Zdravko Pečar collection and although in some respects it followed the dominant stereotypes concerning artifact presentation (such as the

atemporality of the exhibition and anonymity of authors, as noted by Ana Sladojević, it substantially contributed to the deconstruction of colonial discourse during the Cold War period. It affirmed the ideas of international solidarity and brotherhood and provided strong support to all national anti-colonial movements, as well as the post-colonial and neo-colonial bounds.

The existence of an unchanged, permanent exhibition for more than four decades makes the Museum of African Art a specific time capsule, which has the potential to articulate a new, alternative political and ideological concept in the years to come.

Bogdan Bogdanović's works have almost the same potential. Three decades after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, they are still its most recognizable symbols, and every new problematization of his works provides scope for the affirmation of historical culture that nullifies totalizing ideological discourses. The attitude towards the past in the public space – overcoming the legacy of violence, genocide and the Holocaust in the Second World War, was an important part of the Yugoslav ideology of "brotherhood and unity". The basis of social togetherness understood in this way provided a clear picture of the Second World War, which was based on the division of the war participants in the war: fascist collaborators, fighters against fascism, its victims and silent observers. By naming the war as the National Liberation Struggle and socialist revolution, historical interpretations have strengthened the fundamental ideological postulates. With the advent of the economic crisis of the 1980s, the principles of the Yugoslav self-management model were abandoned, while social contradictions intensified political tensions. For decades, the dominant interpretations of the past have been increasingly re-examined and rejected, while the public space has been filled with nationalist proclamations and programmes.

During the pre-crisis period, Bogdan Bogdanović's monuments had the role and power to transcend the legacy of the Second World War and produce a platform on which the unity of the Yugoslav "peoples and nationalities" was achieved. And the same goes for his books. Although at first glance an unrestrained creative spirit at first glance, Bogdanović and his work were a fulcrum and a precondition for the functioning of a complex Yugoslav mechanism, while his achievements materialized the Yugoslav ideology of socialist self-management. He was the author of more than twenty monuments throughout Yugoslavia, the author of as many books, professor at the Faculty of Architecture in Belgrade, mayor of Belgrade from 1983 to 1986, member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts from which he came out in 1981, artist and fierce opponent of the policy (of Slobodan Milošević) that led to the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia. He had no rigid ideological views, but was uncompromising vis-à-vis any attempt to close and dogmatize society, and negate the other – regardless of the identity group to which he belonged. He contributed to the authenticity of the Yugoslav ideological content by affirming the archetypal symbols – not the implied, direct ones – with which he created a vision of the uniqueness of Yugoslav self-management.

His entire work was based on the idea of including the local community in the life of monuments and thus creating the image of the past, not only in the organization of a number of commemorative and ceremonial events, but also by participating in the processes of their design and erection. It was in this way that Bogdanović's monuments formed a community identity based on the vision of the continuity of authentic revolutionary contents and autonomous anti-fascist struggle, thus giving legitimacy to the Yugoslav leadership and distancing himself clearly from Soviet Stalinist practices.

Bogdanović channelled his creative energy into educational work. As a professor at the Faculty of Architecture, he tried to introduce changes in his work with students, but did not succeed. After being forced to give up teaching reform at the Faculty of Architecture in 1971, Bogdanović (after receiving the Seventh of July Award in 1979), invested all funds in space improvement in the small village of Popović near Belgrade where he found space for his studio and multi-year school of philosophy and architecture, colloquially called “Mystery Under the Walnut Tree”. From generation to generation, Bogdanović gathered students interested in discussing about symbolic representation, the meaning of the text, and architecture as a text and context of political and social changes. Throughout the decade, he managed to keep the forum open within which he encouraged dialogue and debate. Like his monuments and school in Popović near Sopot, on the slopes of Mount Kosmaj, it erased the boundaries between the artist and his work, united the participants in the creative process and made dialogue a basis for his creative work. The product of this work is his probably most important text “Mrtvouzice, mentalne zamke staljinizma” (Dead Ends: Mental Traps of Stalinism) with which he threw the glove in the face of the new speech and new political practice that prevailed in Serbia at the end of the 1980s. The mentioned text marked the beginning of Bogdanović’s complete isolation, which ended in

brutal expulsion, that is, going into exile. Socrates’ accusation of corrupting the youth was the basis of his excommunication and the reason for the brutal closure and plundering of the house where the school was located.

What was the need of contemporary society in Serbia (based on the same principles of exclusivity and dangerous obsession with the idea of expanding the state borders on which Milošević’s policy was also based) to erase every trace of Bogdanović’s activities, and annul and suppress his legacy and that of socialist Yugoslavia, is best evidenced by the current appearance of the school in Popović. It is devastated, while the house in which his studio was located has been preserved only because the Hunting Lodge has moved into it.

Bogdanović’s revolt was one of the few voices in the sea of orchestrated slogans and therefore his defence remains an important segment of any critical approach and analysis of the time in which the deconstruction of the socialist Yugoslav narrative was carried out. Even after architect Branko Stanojević raised this issue in his work “Slobodna škola je Slobodan prostor” (Free School Is Free Space), which represented Serbia at the Venice Biennale in 2018 (sic!), the essence of that idea is still strongly considered meaningless in Serbian society.

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