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Srđan Radović*
Institute of Ethnography SASA, Belgrade, Serbia

Channeling the Country's Image: Illustrated Magazine *Yugoslavia* (1949–1959)

Abstract: This paper briefly reviews and discusses the contents of the illustrated magazine *Jugoslavija* (*Yugoslavia*), published from 1949 to 1959, and edited by prolific Yugoslav intellectual and artist Oto Bihalji-Merin. This edition is critically examined as a means of creating an image of Yugoslavia in the years of momentous political and social changes in Yugoslav society, and during the height of the Cold War and country's realignment in international relations. Serving also as a cultural window to the outside world, *Jugoslavija* promulgated concepts of a specific Yugoslav modernity, ethnic and national diversity, and a 'third position' on the global political and cultural map of the 1950s.

Keywords: *Jugoslavija/Yugoslavia* (An Illustrated Magazine), 1949 to 1959, Yugoslavia, Yugoslav identity, modernity and diversity

Yugoslavia in its second emanation (1943–45 to 1991–92) was a complex socio-political entity with an even more complex identity.[1] As is the case with most countries, socialist Yugoslavia's imagery and representation both directed inwards (domestic 'self'), and outwards (foreign 'others') naturally varied in the course of almost five decades of its existence. Identity construction of a federal and a socialist country (born out of armed popular resistance in the Second World War) inevitably could not follow in the footsteps of *interbellum* Yugoslav nation-building symbolic practices. On manifest levels, the second Yugoslavia was making a clean break from its centralist and bourgeois predecessor, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and after 1948 also from the Soviet Union, following the Cominform's repudiation of Yugoslavia. It could be argued that "these two 'others' […] became the two landmarks against which the Yugoslav mirror-image was to be created."[2] At the height of the Cold War in the late 1940s and the 1950s, and swift repositioning in the global political arena, Yugoslavia engaged various representational strategies and channels to communicate its novel and different (and also desired) image,

[1] This paper represents a result of research on the project *Cultural Heritage and Identity* (no. 177026).

[2] Dejan Jović, "Yugoslavism and Yugoslav Communism: From Tito to Kardelj," in *Yugoslavism: History of a Failed Idea (1918–1992)*, ed. D. Đokić (London: Hurst and co., 2003), 165.

* Author contact information: srdjan.radovic@ei.sanu.ac.rs

both at home and abroad. Nation is never simply a political entity; it is always also a symbolic formation, a 'system of representation', which produces an 'idea' of a nation as an 'imagined community'.[3] Representation can point to ways in which a certain 'world' is socially constructed (including what images and notions of it are being created, or how it is being represented), and the relation between concepts, things and signs then becomes the center of the production of meanings, hence enabling the 'work' of representation.[4] Nation, and national identity, as a system of representation can be constructed and communicated to the members of the (imagined) community, but also to the outside, towards the 'other', given the inevitability of the identity's relational character and the need for juxtapositioning in the process of the creation of the 'self'. Images and notions about the (supra)national self can be (re)presented to the other through manifold channels, and in the following pages one such channel will be briefly discussed.

The illustrated magazine *Jugoslavija* (Yugoslavia)[5] was founded in 1949 by noted Yugoslav artist and intellectual Oto Bihalji-Merin, who would serve as the magazine's editor until its termination in 1959.[6] It was published biannually, initially in three languages, and later in five (English, French, German, Russian and Serbo-Croatian). The magazine was primarily oriented towards an international readership, presenting for ten successive years the contemporary occurrences in Yugoslavia, most notably from the sphere of arts and culture. This periodical was lavishly designed and featured numerous pictorial and photographic contributions along with articles often written by leading Yugoslav intellectuals, artists, scientists and politicians. *Jugoslavija* primarily targeted foreign readers, and represented a sort of a propaganda magazine, in some ways similar to other related periodicals published in other countries.[7] The publisher

[3] Benedict Anderson, *Nacija: zamišljena zajednica* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1990); Stuart Hall, "Culture, Community, Nation," *Cultural Studies* 7, 3 (1993): 355.

[4] Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," in *Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: SAGE Publications – Open University, 1997), 18–19.

[5] In this paper the magazine will be referred by its name in Serbian/Croatian: *Jugoslavija*.

[6] The deputy editor was Jara Ribnikar, another public intellectual, and like Bihalji-Merin also a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (in most issues, magazine's technical editor was Panta Stojićević). Before *Jugoslavija*, Bihalji-Merin acted as editor (together with Milan Bogdanović) of the magazine *Jugoslavija-SSSR* (*Yugoslavia-USSR*) which substantially differed in concept and editorial policy. *Jugoslavija* had an eponymous predecessor from 1947 to 1948, the monthly *Veliki ilustrovani list Jugoslavija* (*Grand Illustrated Magazine Yugoslavia*). Its 17 issues were edited by Dojčilo Mitrović. The magazine was published by the Yugoslav association of journalists in 1947, and in 1948 by the publishing house *Jugoslovenska knjiga*, a publisher that until 1952 also issued the Bihalji-Merin's *Jugoslavija*. Besides the publications' names, there were other similarities (both were propaganda publications), but they basically represented different magazines, and not only because of the clear differentiation through separate enumerations. The 'first' *Jugoslavija* was a monthly while the second *Jugoslavija* was published biannually, and Bihalji-Merin's magazine espoused a completely different concept from the one present in the 1947–1948 *Jugoslavija,* which was an overt political propaganda magazine almost entirely dedicated to political and economic topics, with a strong emphasis on pictoral and photographic contributions (mostly accompanied by texts by undisclosed authors). In many respects, the 1949–1959 *Jugoslavija* represented the opposite to such a concept.

[7] The 1940s and the 1950s saw global proliferation of various propaganda magazines serving the public diplomacy of many countries, primarily the victors of the Second World War. Especially prolific was the United States Information Agency (USIA/USIS) and the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (VOKS), but state supported propaganda magazines were also often autonomously published by

of the magazine was the publishing house of the same name (*Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija*) in Belgrade which was established as a subsidiary of the federal Secretariat for information. In 1950s this publishing house was mostly producing and translating books and brochures in foreign languages, often based on suggestions coming from Yugoslav diplomatic missions, and most of these publications were sent to Yugoslav embassies which would distribute them further in their host countries.[8] Thus, *Jugoslavija* also constituted a part of this diplomatic and cultural effort to enhance the country's 'soft power' through dissemination of Yugoslav cultural production abroad, effectively becoming a branch of cultural diplomacy. During the period in which the magazine was published (1949-59), Yugoslavia faced extraordinarily complex issues in international relations following the Tito-Stalin split and the country's subsequent maneuvering in the intensifying Cold War, which would by the beginning of the 1960s result in the definite formulation of an independent and non-aligned foreign policy. During this time Yugoslavia was additionally constructing its own image and representation towards other countries, trying to assert also its symbolic and cultural independence in the midst of an equally tense cultural Cold War raging between competing superpowers and their allies heavily armed with an ideological, cultural and artistic arsenal. One of the channels through which Yugoslavia tried to (re)present itself was *Jugoslavija*, officially supported by the state and circulated both home and abroad in many countries. The magazine portrayed its eponymous homeland in a desirable manner with almost no critical overtones, projecting a 'homemade' image of Yugoslavia to 'others', basically as a part of Yugoslav public diplomacy, but this image was also communicated at home. In the following pages I will sketch a preliminary review of that changing image of the country in *Jugoslavija*, and discuss strategies and elements of national self-representation featured during the magazine's ten-year publication run. Critical readings of *Jugoslavija* have been conducted before: namely, in studies by Tanja Zimmermann,[9] Branislav Jakovljević[10] and Nikolina Kurtović,[11] who used the magazine as a valuable source for their research. I was especially drawn to this topic by art historian and theoretician Branislav Dimitrijević, and the lecture he gave this

particular diplomatic missions. Partially analogous to *Jugoslavija* was the magazine *Soviet Union*, successor of the magazine *USSR in Construction* (founded by Maxim Gorky); however, unlike *Jugoslavija*, *Soviet Union* represented a long-term official project (ceasing publication in 1990), a monthly published in 19 languages at one point, with a different editorial concept. Besides the Mitrović's *Jugoslavija* (1947–1948), Bihalji-Merin's *Jugoslavija* did not have significant Yugoslav counterparts with similar concepts or aims (beside some propaganda magazines issued by several Yugoslav diplomatic missions).

[8] Bato Tomašević, *Orlov krš* (Beograd: Interprint, 2000), 548.

[9] Tanja Zimmermann, "The Visualization of the Third Way in Tito's Yugoslavia," in *Art beyond Borders: Artistic Exchange in Communist Europe (1945–1989)*, ed. Jerome Bazin, Pascal Dubourg Glatigny, and Piotr Piotrowski, (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2016); Tanja Zimmerman, "Titoistische Ketzerei: Die Bogomilen als Antizipation des 'Dritten Wegens' Jugoslawiens," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 55, 4 (Dec 2010).

[10] Branislav Jakovljević, *Alienation Effects: Performance and Self-Management in Yugoslavia (1945–1991)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

[11] Nikolina Kurtović, "Communist Stardom in the Cold War: Josip Broz Tito in Western and Yugoslav Photography (1943–1980)" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010).

year at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade.[12] His insights on several, mostly visual arts aspects of this periodical have reaffirmed my belief that *Jugoslavija* might prove to be not only a valid source for research on Yugoslav imagery and identity of that time, but also a worthy research subject *per se*.

In the magazine's first issue, published in 1949, the first sentence of the opening text gave a brief definition of how Yugoslavia was perceived by the hegemonic (cultural) elites of that period: "Yugoslavia is, from the national point of view, a mosaic country. In its territory of only 256.589 kilometers live five free nations, closely linked, but each with its own past, culture and traditions."[13] The first issue of *Jugoslavija* included a number of contributions covering an array of themes ranging from a brief sports section to reminders of recent deaths of prominent Yugoslav public figures. However, three topics were given special emphasis: folk culture, arts, and the emerging socialist economy. In line with the editors' remark on the 'national mosaic', the first issue of *Jugoslavija* featured an ethnographic map of Yugoslavia – the territory dotted with figures in national folk costumes, visually displaying nationality/nationalities of the aforementioned mosaic, and clearly attesting what would in time become one of the key representational tropes of the country – the Yugoslav variant of 'multiethnicity' ('brotherhood and unity') and regular symbolic representation of ethno-national diversity, very often through folk culture and folklore.[14] Arts would also feature prominently in all the coming issues of the magazine, and in the inceptive issue that (high) culture was very classical and indeed 'cultured': in addition to short stories and poems by leading Yugoslav writers (Branko Ćopić, Ivo Andrić et al.), this issue presented stories on a Zagreb fine arts gallery, a drama theater in Belgrade, Marin Držić (a Renaissance Croat writer), the staging of Shakespeare's Hamlet in Yugoslavia, and general pieces on Yugoslav ballet, sculpture, film, literary journals and classical music. The entire issue was richly illustrated by black and white and color photographs and reproductions of paintings (which would become one of magazine's trademarks), including the oil painting by Boža Ilić, *Sondage of the Terrain in Novi Beograd*, a work considered among the peaks of socialist realism in Yugoslav painting.[15] Ilić's painting accompanied an article regarding soil amelioration, which was joined by pieces on the first Five-Year (economic) Plan, voluntary labor and railway construction, the mining industry, the erection of a gigantic metal-works plantation, socialist transformation of villages and the establishment of agricultural cooperatives, plus several other texts elaborating issues of the socialist economy. Among them was an almost celebrity styled article on Yugoslav *udarnici* (*shock/strike workers*, highly

[12] Branislav Dimitrijević, "Socialist Modernism and Cultural Politics in SFRY" (lecture presented at the course "Culture of Socialism and Postsocialism" at the Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade, April 19th 2017).

[13] "Jugoslavija," *Jugoslavija* (fall 1949): 3. This unofficial editorial outline on the nature of the country was followed by a text on the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia by one of the leading politicians of that period, Moša Pijade, thus presenting also the official definition of the state and its genesis.

[14] Hence, in this issue an elaborated text on folk arts was also published, accompanied by, again, pictures of folk costumes as markers of differing ethno-national communities, and an article titled "Macedonia – Birth of a Nation," *Jugoslavija* (fall 1949): 52–54.

[15] Miško Šuvaković, "Politika i umetnost," *Republika* 454–455 (2009).

enthusiastic and record breaking workers), five of whom were individually presented and praised not only to the domestic public, but primarily to foreign readers of *Jugoslavija*. Yugoslavia produced its own socialist 'stars', and also advertised them through magazine pages abroad. However, this 'stardom' would fade in time, together with economic policies drafted along the Soviet model of a planned economy.[16]

In the second issue (1950) of *Jugoslavija*, three extensive articles addressed the topics of the new socialist economy, including electrification and the building of power plants, agriculture and, again, *udarnici*. However the prevailing themes were centered on medieval culture and arts in the Yugoslav lands, on the occasion of the display of the exhibition of medieval art of the Yugoslav peoples in Paris in 1950 (*L'Art Medieval Yougoslave*, at Palais de Chaillot), a state sponsored project of grand scale, which opened a cultural window for Yugoslavia towards the West during a period of delicacy and difficulties in the country's international relations (by 1950 Yugoslavia was definitely repudiated and vilified by the socialist countries of the merging Eastern Bloc, but still lacked established partnerships with Western countries). The centerpiece of this issue was an essay by the leading Croatian and Yugoslav writer Miroslav Krleža, exclusively published in *Jugoslavija* in several major languages (that same year also in journal *Republika* in Croatian).[17] This essay envisioned as a *plaidoyer pro domo* ("Before Whom? Before Western Europe…")[18] referenced the Paris exhibition, but discussed much broader issues, and sketched a narrative of an autonomous, and often rebellious, cultural development in the South Slavic lands, situated between, and against major imperial influences from the 9th century onwards: "Our medieval civilization grew on the antithesis of Byzantium and Franks, Papacy and autocratic Patriarchate, and it represented a so-called *third component* (cursive S. R.), i.e. a sort of coordination of its own South Slavic dynamics, which by itself and through its inner laws of motion was strong enough not to stop, and resilient enough not to passively subdue to stronger civilized forces surrounding it."[19] With nonconformity being one of the key words, Krleža puts out several medieval phenomena to support his argument, amongst them the widespread Balkan, and especially Bosnian Catharism/Bogomilism (*bogumilstvo*), and sepulchral stone plastic of *stećci* (sing. *stećak*), which would be featured in the following issues of *Jugoslavija* with more articles. The topic of Bogomilism and *stećci* was close to magazine editor's heart as well, and Bihalji-Merin would go on to (co)author and edit some of the seminal works on the subject, also conveying this Yugoslav variant of exceptionalism, and as Zimmermann points out,

[16] More on *udarnici* and their social role and image see Andrea Matošević, *Socijalizam s udarničkim licem. Etnografija radnog pregalaštva* (Zagreb-Pula: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku–Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile, 2015).

[17] Miroslav Krleža, "Povodom izložbe jugoslovenskog srednjevjekovnog slikarstva i plastike u Parizu 1950. godine," *Jugoslavija* (winter 1950): 2–42.

[18] Ibid, 2.

[19] Ibid, 38–42. Krleža also states: "[...] Non-conformist avenue of our medieval history enduring, in spite of Byzantium, Rome, Venice and Frankish-German empire, until the Turkish surge in the 15th century, and which falls, but does not want to live in proskynesis." Ibid, 10.

anticipating the Yugoslav *Third Way*.[20] This transgression beyond the East-West divide was slowly gaining ground in cultural and academic discourses, and not only on the pages of *Jugoslavija*,[21] and followed the evolution of the political stance of Yugoslavia in the enveloping Cold War, a specific *third* position which would be subtly heralded in this magazine.

The third issue of *Jugoslavija* (fall 1950),[22] opened with an article on the introduction of self-management in the economy, a momentous event in the development of Yugoslav society. However, that was also to be basically the last elaborate article covering economic issues in the series.[23] From then onwards, the content of successive issues would overwhelmingly be dedicated to arts and culture, effectively turning it into a multilingual cultural periodical. This Yugoslav window to the world opted for culture as the main means of representation.[24] In this issue, a majority of articles were dedicated to Slovenia and the Slovenians, discussing this Republic's people, nature, arts, literature etc. This collection of nationally-themed articles and pictorial contributions was to be the first in a succession of magazine's themed issues such as that dedicated to the Yugoslav People's Army (no. 9, 1954), the Yugoslav exhibition at the Brussels World Fair/Expo (no. 15, 1958) among others, and from this third issue onward all the numbers of *Jugoslavija* would be exclusively thematic. Three themed issues of the magazine might highlight the country's emerging openness to the outside world: editions on the Yugoslav Adriatic (no. 4, 1951), the Adriatic islands (no. 16, 1958), and especially the issue titled *Travel* (no. 12, 1956) target what was increasingly developing into an 'open door' policy towards international visitors/tourists (with predominant marketing of the Adriatic coast) already from the late 1940s.[25] However, the two dominant streaks of topics that would be featured until 1959 were the arts and Yugoslav peoples (nations).

Both visual and literary arts were the backbone of the magazine's concept in nearly all of its issues, and *Jugoslavija* also regularly featured numerous pictorial reproductions of artworks and specially commissioned photographs.[26] In addition to

[20] Zimmermann, "Titoistische Ketzerei." This discourse of Yugoslav exceptionalism (historical and cultural) would also be transmitted by Bihalji-Merin and his wife Lisa in their 1954 book conveniently titled *A Small Country Between the Worlds* (Serbo-Croatian: *Mala zemlja između svetova*).

[21] Thus Marko Ristić, one of the leading Serbian and Yugoslav intellectuals and artists (importantly, also chair of the Yugoslav Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries during the 1950s), took part in *Recontre Est-Ouest*, a first conference gathering prominent intellectuals from both sides of the Iron Curtain (held in 1956 in Venice), espousing a position that there is more to than simplistic East-West divide, and that there is also something other/else (*third* – S. R.), a stance he had held in interwar period as well – Marko Ristić, "Duh Rusije, duh sadašnjice," *Svedočanstva* 2 (1924).

[22] And the last one to be separately examined in this paper.

[23] Sporadic short texts on the economy would pop up in some issues of the magazine, mostly in those dedicated to particular Yugoslav Republics, concisely briefing the readers on the state of their economies.

[24] Until it ceased publication, some issues of the magazine featured very brief contributions on sport, transport, political issues etc.. Yet the bulk of both textual and pictorial contributions related to arts and culture.

[25] See Igor Tchoukarine, "Yugoslavia's Open Door Policy and Global Tourism in the 1950s and 1960s," *East European Politics and Societies* 29, 1 (2015): 168–88.

[26] A few photographs from *Jugoslavija* will be featured at the end of this paper.

the previously-mentioned issue centering on the exposition of Yugoslav medieval art, themed issues of the magazine dedicated to arts and culture included "Life and Art" (1952, no. 6);[27] "Yugoslav Sculpture of the Twentieth Century" (1955, no. 10); "Contemporary Yugoslav Painting" (1957, no. 14); "Naïve Art" (1959, no. 17); and the final issue "From the Art of Four Epochs" (1959, no. 18).[28] Some of these special issues would later be developed into books. Beside the issues dedicated to 20th century contemporary arts (numbers 10, 14 and 17), other issues also espoused what could be read as a path to modernity: modernist art was prominently featured, but was also regularly juxtaposed with historical art and literary works, indirectly communicating how modernity found its home in Yugoslavia. Such trends, which in some part resulted as a modernist reaction to earlier socialist realism, were by the late 1950s clearly stated in *Jugoslavija* as well: the issue dedicated to contemporary painting (1957) displayed hundreds of pictorial reproductions, and among them was only one that could be designated as socialist realist, the previously mentioned Ilić's "Sondage of the Terrain in Novi Beograd". Modern art promulgated in the pages of *Jugoslavija* to both domestic and foreign audiences had also showcased a trajectory to the formation and diversification of artistic and cultural styles in the Yugoslavia of that period, which would later be defined as socialist aestheticism and socialist modernism.[29] As Dean Duda states, socialism, in its Yugoslav variant at least, represented a typical enlightenment and modernizing structure which continued the democratic processes in culture incepted in the second half of the 19th century, which by itself had not prevented that structure from possible deviations in different aspects of social life.[30]

The image of modernization going before the eyes of *Jugoslavija*'s readers was probably best epitomized in the issue related to the Brussels World's Fair of 1958, also known as "Expo 58". This event provided Yugoslavia another window of opportunity to present its image to the outside world, and *Jugoslavija*, as an already established channel of such communication, joined in the coordinated effort (also through person of Oto Bihalji-Merin who was also a member of the Commissariat of the Yugoslav Pavilion at the Expo). The centerpiece of the Yugoslav display was an acclaimed, ultra-modern pavilion by the architect Vjenceslav Rihter, and the presentation situated within it consisted of four sections, among them prominently the exhibition of modern art. The entire display exhibited an image of high modernity *à la Yougoslave*, rooted in domestic circumstances and differing from other modernities – Western/capitalist, but especially Eastern/socialist – an avant-garde socialism and modernity.[31] Likewise, the corresponding issue of the

[27] Featuring several extensive articles, among them on Yugoslav folk dances, classical and contemporary ballet, medieval and modern architecture, history of Serbian painting, young poets from Belgrade etc.

[28] Segments in this issue were dedicated to mosaics from the Poreč cathedral, renaissance artist from Yugoslav lands at display in foreign museums, famed 20th century Croat painter Krsto Hegedušič, and, again, *stećci*.

[29] M. Šuvaković, "Politika i umetnost."

[30] Dean Duda, "Socijalistička popularna kultura kao (ambivalentna) modernost," in *Socijalizam i modernost: umjetnost, kultura, politika (1950–1974)*, ed. Ljiljana Kolešnik (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti–Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2012), 293.

[31] For more details regarding Yugoslavia at the World's Fair see Vladimir Kulić, "An Avant-Garde Architecture

magazine both textually and visually pictured the modernizing path of Yugoslavia. The articles elaborated specificities of the country's social, political and economic contemporaneity, including self-management, decentralization, independence in the Cold War etc., all under the umbrella of an overreaching concept of 'humane' socialism (in line with the Exhibition's theme of progress and humankind), and were extensively covered by pictorial contributions usually pairing the images of the past, including depictions of persons from historic Yugoslav art, with those from the present, such as contemporary photographs of individual personalities, or modernist artistic representations of individuals. Thus, *Jugoslavija* presented an imagined, *third* modernity, partially leaning on Krleža's cultural *third component*. How such images of a specific modernity, gradually being created throughout different issues of *Jugoslavija*, resonated with the [primarily foreign] readership is difficult to assess, given that in the cultural Cold War of the 1950s major powers' strategies relied upon various tropes, such as 'communism', high culture and space program by the Soviet Union, 'democracy', popular and consumer culture and lifestyles and modern art by the USA.[32] The Yugoslav concept of alternative modernity didn't fare too splendidly at the Expo though, given the relatively low attendance at the pavilion, and in the final weeks of the exhibition a last-minute display of forty-five dolls wearing national folk costumes was presented, so as to attract more visitors and media coverage, which it did.[33]

This folkloric 'colorization' pulled off at the end of the Brussels World Fair contradicted the dominant representational strategy of focusing on Yugoslav modernity, which was also increasingly employed in *Jugoslavija* magazine since the beginning of the 1950s. Folk culture was less present in the magazine with every successive issue, with 'high' culture prevailing instead. The country's image presented in *Jugoslavija* was increasingly more modern, usually through the display of contemporary art and culture. But besides the Yugoslav variant of modernity, the magazine also promulgated the Yugoslav variant of diversity, namely national (ethnic) diversity. This was achieved by publication of themed issues presenting each Yugoslav Republic: Slovenia (1950, no. 3), Macedonia (1952, no. 5), Bosnia and Herzegovina (1953, no. 7), Montenegro (1954, no. 8), Croatia (1955, no. 11), and Serbia (1957, no. 13). These issues reviewed general topics such as the economy, history, arts and aspects of life in different constituent Republics. The diversity of Yugoslavia as a 'mosaic country' was constructed in various ways, and differed among issues, but with an evident trend of the gradual downgrading of folk culture as a major marker of national distinctiveness and ethno-national representation. Thus, a 1952 issue presenting Macedonia featured five articles (out of ten) presenting various aspects of folk life and culture,[34] while the vast majority of pictures displayed

for an Avant-Garde Socialism: Yugoslavia at Expo 58," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47, 1 (2012): 161–84.

[32] See Branislav Dimitrijević, *Potrošeni socijalizam: Kultura, konzumerizam i društvena imaginacija u Jugoslaviji (1950–1974)* (Beograd: Fabrika knjiga–Peščanik, 2016), 38–50.

[33] Kuljić, "An Avant-Garde Architecture for an Avant-Garde Socialism," 161–62.

[34] Texts "Country and Folklore", "Pictures from the Ohrid Lake", "Macedonian Folk Song", "Vernacular Architecture of Macedonia", and "Folk Embroidery".

images of rural dwellers, pastoral life and folk art. On the other hand, the 1957 issue on Serbia had only one article (out of 28) directly addressing folk or traditional culture,[35] and only a few pictures depicting folk or rural culture. Conversely, the bulk of contributions dealt with education, science, economy and high culture and arts, ancient to contemporary. This partial departure from representation of nationality through folk culture could have been influenced by the modernist impetus, but also by the awareness of the gaze of the 'other', the 'foreigner'. Given that *Jugoslavija* was primarily conceptualized for the international public, potential revival of old ('Balkanist') imagery of backwardness and traditionalism which could have been encouraged by overt representation of folk and traditional culture perhaps played a part. Such a fear had been formulated also by Marko Ristić, one of the leading Yugoslav intellectuals and the head of the federal body for cultural cooperation in the 1950s: "Since the 18th century, when European intellectuals […] started to show interest in us exclusively as some exotic Balkan tribes through our primitive folklore, folk music was portraying an un-modern image of Yugoslav peoples, […] and we should correct that old fashioned and one sided image that the world often has of us (which is also a bit offensive for us), as a picturesque and primitive country in which folklore is the highest goal of art."[36]

This representational strategy of accentuated modernity, along with subdued folk culture, could have been mostly determined by the magazine's orientation to foreign audiences, since folk culture (and folklore) for the most part constituted an integral segment of identity creation for domestic, internal use, both in the construction of distinct ethno-national identities, and of the supranational, overreaching Yugoslav one. Similar was the case with representation of the most recent history, the People's Liberation War (1941–45), which was one of the pillars of socialist Yugoslav identity building. While it featured prominently in the first few issues of the magazine, it slowly lost its foreground visibility in the ensuing issues, both as a topic of articles and featured literary works, or as a theme of pictorial segments of the magazine. In short, it was present, but clearly on the sidetracks. The heroic partisan cult being constructed in the 1940s and 1950s probably wasn't seen as an optimal trope for representation to foreigners. This, however, would not mean that the concept or themes in *Jugoslavija* were alternative (or oppositional) to the hegemonic ideological discourse: top ranking state and Party officials contributed a number of articles, including several introductions, to the magazine,[37] demonstrating that many of them at least took an interest in the magazine's 'production of Yugoslavia' to foreign audiences. That image production was enacted by an impressive list of contributing authors. While the pictures, both color and black and white, in *Jugoslavija* were for the most part produced by top Yugoslav photographers (Tošo Dabac, Mladen Grčević, Hristofor Nastasić, and others),

[35] "Rural Sepulchral Architecture".

[36] Marko Ristić, *Politička književnost (za ovu Jugoslaviju). 1944–1958* (Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1977), 261.

[37] Thus, written contributions to the magazine were authored also by Edvard Kardelj, the leading ideologue of Yugoslav socialism; Milovan Đilas, head of the official propaganda before his political demise; Rodoljub Čolaković, the Yugoslav vice-premier; Petar Stambolić, speaker of the Federal parliament, and others.

the articles were written by the leading artists, literates and scientists of the decade, among them the magazine editor Oto Bihalji-Merin, Miroslav Krleža, Marko Ristić, Ivo Andrić, Jure Kaštelan, Josip Vidmar, Boris Ziherl, Isidora Sekulić, Blaže Koneski, Vladimir Dedijer, Vladislav Ribnikar, Žorž Skrigin, Oskar Danon, Milutin Garašanin, Dejan Medaković, Alojz Benac, Branko Pavićević, among many others. At the same time, *Jugoslavija* also represented a herald for contemporary, usually modernist, cultural production of Yugoslavia, mostly in visual arts, but partly also in literature.[38]

The contributing authors were members of the cultural, and in good part also of the political, establishment of the post-war period. What they had to say, paint or edit was of much relevance, and not only with regards to the creation of Yugoslavia's image for the world, but also regarding the domestic politics of Yugoslav identity in the 1950s. For most of its post-war existence, common supranational Yugoslav identity was not abundant in symbolic content aside from the revered remembrance of the most recent past (with the People's Liberation Struggle headed by Tito being the backbone of such memory culture), a fluctuating sense of Yugoslav socialist patriotism, sometimes emphasizing the socialist not the ethnic or national dimension of Yugoslav community, and the Yugoslav concept of 'multiethnicity' with its unity in (national) diversity.[39] Filling (supra)national Yugoslavism with additional cultural or ethnic symbolism, and calling for a shared national/cultural identity had only randomly emerged after 1945, and for the most part that was occurring until the 1960s.[40] Some of the elements of attempted artistic, cultural and historical definitions of the common Yugoslav identity could be read from the synthesis produced in *Jugoslavija*.[41] On the other hand, the modern(ist) imagination of Yugoslavia on the pages of the magazine, which did not necessarily exhibit cultural or ethnic character, could be associated with the aspect of second/socialist Yugoslavia as a "purely emancipatory, and not an identitarian community", with its legitimacy based on the antifascist struggle and socialist system, rather than

[38] The magazine also regularly featured selected short works by literary classics of the Yugoslav peoples, and, as has already been mentioned, was illustrated with reproductions of prominent visual art pieces from previous times. Hence, *Jugoslavija* also indirectly created a small cultural cannon of Yugoslav culture(s) compiled for the international public.

[39] For academic accounts of post-war Yugoslavism see: Aleš Gabrič, "Nacionalno pitanje v Jugoslaviji v prvem povojnem odobju," in *Jugoslavija v hladni vojni*, ed. J. Fischer et al. (Ljubljana: Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino, 2010); Olivera Milosavljević, "Titov Jugosloven – nacionalni ili državni identitet?," in *Dijalog povjesničara-istoričara VII*, ed. Hans Georg Fleck and Ivan Graovac (Zagreb: Friedrich Neuman Stiftung, 2003); Dejan Jović, "Yugoslavism and Yugoslav Communism".

[40] The complexity of the definition and discussions about the common Yugoslav identity by the political establishment and cultural circles around the Communist Party of Yugoslavia during World War II and in its aftermath cannot be overstated, and they were also rooted in debates and changing stances of Yugoslav communists on the "national question" in the interwar period.

[41] Shared Yugoslav identity based on common popular culture, lifestyles and consumer cultures emerging from the developed common market, would start to develop from the 1960s onwards – see Branislav Dimitrijević, *Potrošeni socijalizam*; Ljiljana Gavrilović, "Nepostojeće nasleđe zemlje koje nema," in *Ogledi o jugoslovenskom kulturnom nasleđu*, ed. I. Kovačević (Belgrade: Srpski genealoški centar–Filozofski fakultet u Beogradu, 2012); Miroslava Malešević, "Iskušenja socijalističkog raja – refleksija konzumerističkog društva u jugoslovenskom filmu 60-ih godina XX veka," *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta SANU* 60, 2 (2012): 107–23.

ethnic proximity of its people(s).[42] Such reasoning could possibly relate (Yugoslav) modernity with (the Yugoslav variant of) socialism, and corresponding political concepts, sometimes dubbed as the Kardelj's principle, that promoted the "socialist character of Yugoslavia, and not the ethnic similarity as the main unifying force in the country"[43].

What could be designated as a "Yugoslav compressed or compensatory modernization",[44] can be understood as a Yugoslav variation of the global tide of modernization in the 20th century. It could be argued that modernism, as the cultural logic of the times of industrial modernization, represented the central cultural form of Yugoslav socialist society.[45] That cultural modernism (or cultural modernity), also represented the centerpiece of the Yugoslav public self-imagination in the 1950s, which is also evident from its particular synthesis in the magazine *Jugoslavija*. Although primarily constructed for the international public(s) of the 1950s, *Jugoslavija*'s modern, or gradually modernizing image of Yugoslavia was not merely a self-representation countering the prolific imagery coming from either West or East (with their own propangandist promulgation of concepts and products of their modernities), but show-cased what was envisaged as a genuine, autochthonous cultural and social modernity (an exceptional *third path*). This particular 'production of Yugoslavia' channeled the image of not only a modernizing and socialist country, but also of an essentially complex multi-national and multiethnic community. Presenting Yugoslavia to the world also meant primarily presenting its nations/peoples. *Jugoslavija* broadcast an image of the country defined by its (ethno) national diversity, and in the 1950s the nationality was increasingly being 'imagined' in modern frames.[46] The magazine communicated this image, or more precisely images which were dynamically updated year after year, primarily to the foreign public, thus attempting to define and construct Yugoslavia in relation to international 'others', but symbolic elements and strategies implemented in this can also point to avenues of identity building and imagining of Yugoslavia within the country itself.

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[42] Boris Buden, "Zašto smo se ono rastali?," *Prelom* 5 (2003): 51–59.

[43] Dejan Jović, "Yugoslavism and Yugoslav Communism," 168–71; Marco Abram, "Building the Capital City of the Peoples of Yugoslavia. Representation of Socialist Yugoslavism in Belgrade's Public Space," *Croatian Political Science Review* 51, 5 (2014): 53.

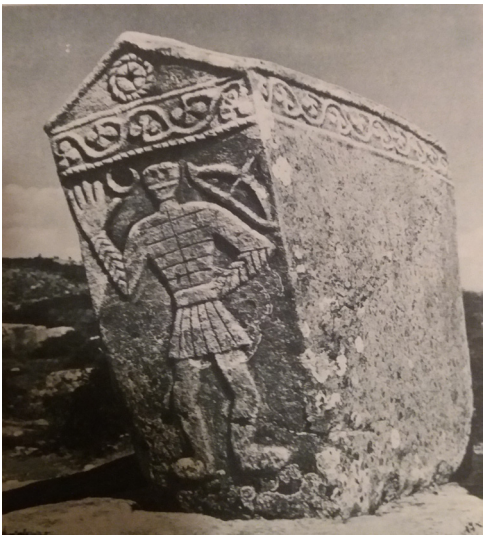
[44] Croatian: "komprimirana ili nadoknadna modernizacija" – Duda, "Socijalistička popularna kultura kao (ambivalentna) modernost," 298.

[45] Dejan Kršić, "Grafički dizajn i vizualne komunikacije, 1950–1975," in *Socijalizam i modernost: umjetnost, kultura, politika (1950–1974)*, ed. Ljiljana Kolešnik (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti–Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2012), 211.

[46] Defining and presenting nationality in a modern(izing) manner would turn out not to be a steady constant in the decades to come, with instances of frequent and striking use of traditional and folk culture (and folklore in general) as manifest national markers, sometimes leading to voluntary and opportunist exotization of the outside image (very commonly appropriated in the tourist marketing strategies).

Picture 1:
A Montenegrin from Cetinje,
photo by Tošo Dabac (*Jugoslavija* 6, 1952)

Picture 2:
City beach in Dubrovnik,
photo by Tošo Dabac (*Jugoslavija* 12, 1956)



Picture 3:
A Bogomil stećak in Radimlja (Herzegovina),
photo by Mladen Grčević (*Jugoslavija* 2, 1950)

Picture 4:
Vojin Bakić, "Bull",
photo by Tošo Dabac (*Jugoslavija* 15, 1958)

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