

<https://doi.org/10.4467/2543733XSSB.24.021.20045>

DRAGICA POPOVSKA

Institute of National History

Ss. Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje

East and West Influences in Yugoslav Culture in the Period from 1945 to 1952

Abstract

The paper deals with the influences from the East and the West on culture, in the space of post-war Yugoslavia, from 1945 to 1952. Considering the position of Yugoslavia in a divided Europe, the paper examines the developments in culture that were inevitably intertwined with the sphere of politics. This period is marked by two major events: 1945 – the time of the country’s liberation and 1948 – the conflict surrounding the clash with the Information Bureau. These political events determined the direction in which the Yugoslav culture moved, situated within the framework of the Cold War, that is, in the constellations of power in Europe. In the fifties of the last century, in addition to “realism”, pro-Western “modernism” began. In other words, Yugoslav culture was influenced by the East and the West. In this context, culture functioned as a marker of ideological distinctions between the two different ideological systems, which were constituted in opposition. The analysis of the available data makes it possible to trace the internal and external circumstances in which the state existed, which influenced the strategies of canonization and restriction of values in the field of culture in socialist Yugoslavia.

Keywords: Yugoslavia, culture, East, West, influences, diplomacy

Introduction

Cultural resources and cultural capital have a key role not only in the conceptualization of social hierarchies, but also in the structuring of power relations and symbolic boundaries, both between individuals and between different communities¹. Events on the global stage

¹ See more: M. Lamont, A. Lareau, *Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments*, “Sociological Theory” 1988, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 153–168. For culture and its dynamism under the influence of globalization and transformations in society, see: M.B.E. Saaida, *The Role of Culture and Identity in International Relations*, “East African Journal of Education and Social Sciences” 2023, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 49–57.



affect the national/state established hierarchies, which are subject to transformations in which global political games also play a role, where different forms of cultural capital stand for positions in the global field of power. In this context, Yugoslav culture, bearing in mind its situation in the structure of power relations in Europe, came under the influence of both East and West in different periods, and in that sense, also in the period from 1945 to 1952, which is the subject of interest to this paper.

The first post-war period (1945–1952) in the Yugoslav socialist state was characterized by an administrative-centralist cultural policy model. Its chronological boundaries coincided with the existence of the agitation-propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (including the agitprop departments at the republic level). This department determined the cultural policy and decided on all issues of the entire political, cultural, educational, and scientific life, directly through the party centers from the central, provincial, or lower party forums².

To be able to investigate the influences to which any culture is subjected, and in that sense also the culture of the Yugoslav post-war state, it is necessary to take into account two aspects: space and time. Space holds significance as the stage on which the process of global connection takes place, and the global ideological and cultural clash, as well³. It is about its placement within the framework of the Cold War, that is, in the constellations of power in Europe, which was divided into two blocs and where the geopolitical struggle for dominance between the two political blocs (the East and the West) had its reflection in culture. On the other hand, the time dimension is certainly related to the space of the Yugoslav state and Yugoslav society in general, in which those influences played out. This is a period marked by two major political events: the first 1945 – the end of the Second World War, but also the time of the liberation of the country and the establishment of the new state, and the second 1948 – the conflict surrounding the clash with the Information Bureau (Cominform)⁴. These political developments also determined the direction in which Yugoslav culture took.

² Over time, the understanding became established, especially among the agitprop apparatuses of the Central Committee of the Republics and the lower committees, that the task of the apparatus is to carry out censorship and supervision over everything, to have a monopoly in the study of theoretical issues, to make the final judgment on all controversial ideological issues, which according to Dimić, was contrary to the originally set tasks of this apparatus by the Directive of March, 1945 (See more in: Lj. Dimić, *Agitprop kultura: agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji 1945–1952*, Rad, Beograd 1988, p. 36). Dependence on the patronage or funding of the state (although when we talk about art, there is always a certain degree of autonomy), did not allow either artists or art in general to be independent, because they depended on the scope of the social/institutional context in which the work was created, exhibited in front of the audience, interpreted and finally acquired the social status of a cultural asset (See more in: Д. Поповска, *Канон и цензура во културната продукција 1945–1952*, Скопје, 2022). After 1952, the surveillance of culture and the arts continued, with ostensibly more democratic means. Ова наишло на критика и на 7от конгрес на Сојузот на комунистите на Југославија во Љубњана 1958 година, кога е јасно речено дека исклучивиот надзор над економијата и сите делови од општествениот живот од страна на државната администрација води кон централизација на моќта и ја претвара партијата во сила над и надвор од државата (See: Т. Jakovina, *Američki komunistički saveznik? Vanjskopolitički odnosi Sjedinjenih Američkih Država i Jugoslavije (1955.–1963.)*, “RADOVI” – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, vol. 31, Zagreb 1998, p. 86.

³ Г. Милорадовић, *Лепота под надзором. Совјетски културни утицаји у Југославију 1945–1955*, Београд 2012, p. 12.

⁴ The second period lasts until the Ankara Agreement and the secret convention between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia in 1953, by which Yugoslavia was indirectly incorporated into the Western political and security system. Ibidem, p. 15.

Based on archival documentation and journalistic articles⁵ from the studied period, the paper examines influences from the East (symbolized by the USSR) and the West (symbolized by the USA) on culture in the space of Yugoslavia in the period from 1945 to 1952. The analysis of the available data enables us to trace the internal and external circumstances in which the Yugoslav state existed, which influenced the strategies of canonization and limitation of values in the field of culture, as well. In this sense, the text also shows the different perspectives of valorization/revalorization of Eastern and Western culture and art in cultural policy⁶, embodied in the process of global ideological and cultural clashes, in which Yugoslavia had its role. Without intending to exhaust all aspects of this issue, the article seeks to explore the mechanisms of influence from East and West in Yugoslav culture and the strategic changes in the organizational performance of those influences, determined by contextual factors in the given historical period.

East and West Influences in Yugoslav Culture: From 1945 to Information Bureau Resolution

Culture in the broadest sense of the word, includes a whole system of symbols and signs that society has available to express itself. The establishment of the communist model in the new Yugoslav state implied the establishment of a *new* order in culture, in which culture, and in that sense art, were perceived as an *instrument of the class struggle* and the construction of the *new man*. In this context, the selection of desired values in social / cultural frameworks aimed to respond to such tendencies and through the legitimation of selected cultural products to create *symbolic capital* – worthy of self-representation of the state and its politics, internally, in front of the citizens, but also outside, on the international stage⁷.

In the first post-war years, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia proclaimed *socialist realism*⁸ as the official cultural model of the Yugoslav state, which was accepted as a party platform in the mid-thirties under the influence of the USSR. Presented as a concept of a classless society, where art and life converge, socialist realism internally aimed to indicate a break with the civil, bourgeois cultural ideology of the previous time, and externally, it appeared in clear opposition to Western, capitalist countries. With its establishment as an official state doctrine in the field of culture, the political determination of the new government was practically expressed; that is, Yugoslavia positioned itself towards the Eastern Bloc in the Cold War through culture⁹.

⁵ The digital database of the University Library “Svetozar Marković” in Belgrade was used to research journalistic texts from “Borba”. Available at: <https://pretraziva.rs/pregled/borba>.

⁶ For the principles of Yugoslav policy in culture in the period 1945–1952, see: Д. Поповска, *Начела на југословенската културна политика (1945–1952)*, “Philological Studies” 2021, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 25–38.

⁷ Д. Поповска, *Канон и цензура...*, p. 10.

⁸ Socialist realism consisted in the demand that artists draw the contents of their work from the reality of life in a socialist society. The themes of the revolution and the construction of socialism were especially desired. See: И. Хофман, *Под стегом Партије. Музика социјалистичког реализма – примери СССР и Југославије*, “Годишњак за друштвену историју” 2005, vol. 1–3, p. 42.

⁹ Г. Милорадовић, *Лепота под надзором...*, p. 15. The organization of the state took place according to the Soviet model, starting with the economy through the hierarchy in culture. This can be seen through various phenomena: the introduction of a planned economy, the creation of an agitation-propaganda apparatus in culture, then the Constitution of 1946, which is a copy of the Soviet Constitution of 1936, and so on. On the foreign

Yugoslav socialism in general, but also from the aspect of culture, following the Soviet model, built its identity on the opposition: revolutionary-reactionary, proletarian-bourgeois, socialist-capitalist, etc. In this sense, Soviet culture, as well as the culture of the countries of people's democracy, was recognized as "fraternal" due to the socially narrativized closeness to the "nations connected by fate", especially the Slavic ones¹⁰. Western culture, on the other hand, was characterized as a modernist, decadent culture that distorts socialist-realist canons, producing morally deviant works¹¹.

The Soviet presence in culture, not only in the context of following the Soviet model of cultural policies, but also in the import, i.e., the placement of cultural products from the USSR and other "brotherly" countries on the Yugoslav market, dominated. Soviet culture, and in that sense art, was perceived at the social level as extremely advanced and progressive for humanity.

In the circumstances described above, the influence of the Soviet Union in Yugoslav culture was strong and visible. The "communication channel" of the USSR's influence on Yugoslavia was opened on several levels, and the Yugoslav public space experienced implications in this context through the presence of numerous monuments, street names, etc., dedicated to the Red Army, Soviet intellectuals, etc. Even in the celebrations on the national holidays, in the scenography, the Yugoslavs included slogans that glorified the Soviet order¹², and together with the picture of Josip Broz Tito, the picture of Stalin was regularly highlighted within the celebrations¹³.

policy level, Yugoslavia was also the closest ally of the USSR. See: A. Jovanović, *Jugoslovenski stav prema spornim pitanjima jugoslovenske saradnje sa Sovjetskim Savezom u period normalizacije diplomatskih odnosa*, "HISTORIA MODERNA" 2021, no. 2, pp. 11–38.

¹⁰ The closeness to the "nations connected by fate", especially the Slavic ones, is widely narrativized in the social and media discourse. It is especially emphasized in the educational system and culture. Thus, in the main directions of the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, from 1945, it is said: "The fateful connection of the nations, which led a common struggle against fascism, will continue to remain, so our educational policy will be closely connected with the education of those nations. This applies to the fraternal Slavic peoples, and above all to the peoples of our great Soviet Union. We are connected with the Slavic peoples by traditional ties" (Document 8., *Министарство Просвете ДФЈ, Београд, "Основне смернице наше просветне политике"*, Београд, 1945., in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*. Зборник документа, book 1. Б. Докњић, М.Ф. Петровић, И. Хофман (ed.), Архив Југославије, Београд, 2009, p. 143). On the other hand, in culture, the Commission for Agitation and Propaganda sought direction towards the creativity work of the Slavic peoples. (Document 349., *Zaključci Komiteta povodom Konferencije pozorišnih stručnjaka održane pri Komitetu za kulturu i umetnost, Комитет за културу и уметност при Влади ФНРЈ, Београд, 17.6.1946*. in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*. Зборник документа, book 2. Б. Докњић, М.Ф. Петровић, И. Хофман (ed.), Архив Југославије, Београд, 2009, p. 170).

¹¹ So, for example, the films that came from Western production were considered decadent, bourgeois, highly propagandistic and harmful. In the Report of the First Congress of the Union of Educational Workers of Yugoslavia is specified: "From the point of view of the cultural upliftment of the people, some types of films, such as gangster, sweet love and the like, are directly harmful, so they should not be shown". See: Државен архив на Република С. Македонија, 1.894.2.19/66. Комисија за кинематографија при Владата на НРМ, Скопје, 1947. *Zaključci na osnovu referata i diskusije o prosvetno-političkim zadacima na sektoru filma, Filmska sekcija I Kongresa Saveza prosvetnih radnika i nameštenika Jugoslavije*.

¹² Among the numerous slogans were: "Long live to the Soviet Union, protector of peace and friendly cooperation between nations!"; "Long live to the great leader and teacher of advanced humanity, Comrade Stalin!" and others. More about the slogans, for example for the celebration of May 1, see: Document 105., *ЦК КПЈ Комисија за агитацију и пропаганду – свим републичким и покраинским ЦК, Пароли за 1 Мај, Београд, 1948.*, in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*. Зборник документа, book 1 ..., p. 255.

¹³ This is clearly visible in the instructions sent by the federal agitprop to the republican agitprop for the organization of the May 1 celebration in 1948, where it is stated: "Each group should carry a picture of

The power of the Soviet Union in the domain of culture and education is particularly notable in the context of its involvement in building the quality and development of human resources in Yugoslavia, through the education of teachers, professors, people who work in culture. Namely, there were numerous referrals of students and cultural workers for training in the USSR, use of professional Russian literature in various segments of culture, visits of Russian politicians, writers, poets, directors, etc. All of this created an atmosphere in which Yugoslav cultural workers, as well as citizens in general, learned to perceive their opinions, convictions, and values in the context of Soviet culture and the Soviet social order as valuable and desirable.

A major role in this direction was played by the Association for Cultural Cooperation of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union which, working with the support of the Yugoslav authorities and all social organizations, created a framework in which a positive image of the Soviet socialist society and the success of the Soviet state was spread. The association was established in January 1945, and among the founders were several well-known intellectuals, communists, and Russophiles¹⁴. Such associations for cultural cooperation with the USSR were also established within the republics. It is interesting to mention that the presidents of these associations, among others, were the president of the Committee for Culture and Art under the government of the FNRJ at that time, then the president of the Control Commission of the People's Republic of Croatia, the president of the Supreme Court of Montenegro, the Minister of Justice of Macedonia¹⁵. These associations had the most organized and effective influence on Yugoslav culture at the given time.

The associations organized various cultural events, academies, lectures, cinema screenings, artistic visits, etc. All these events were aimed at, among other things:

the closest connection with the masses of people who, after a quarter of a century of spreading lies about the Soviet Union by the regimes of the old Yugoslavia which were against the people, want to find out as soon as possible and as much as possible about the life and progress of that powerful brotherly State¹⁶.

In this direction, many events were held, which included lectures by domestic and Soviet intellectuals covering topics related to the way of organizing the Federation of the Soviet Union, then the way of Soviet education, musical life, lectures on Soviet strength and power, for their science, etc. Celebrations were organized on the occasion of Stalin's birth, on the occasion of the October Revolution, academies in honor of the anniversaries

Tito. Approximately every sixth group should have pictures of: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin (either all four, or Lenin and Stalin, or just Stalin). Last year it was noted that there were too many pictures of Stalin and other Soviet leaders, so that the celebration looked like a celebration in a Soviet republic". See: Document 104., *Велько Влаховић, начелник Управе за агитацију и пропаганду ЦК СКЈ – Управама за агитацију и пропаганду Републичким ЦК КПЈ, Београд, 8.03.1948.*, in: *ibidem*, p. 253.

¹⁴ Г. Милорадовић, *Руски/совјетски културни утицај у Србији/Југославији у XX и XXI веку*, <https://www.isac-fund.org/download/VII-Goran-Miloradovic-CIR.pdf> (date accessed: 8.01.2024).

¹⁵ See: Види: Document 428., *Владо Мађарић, секретар Комитета за културу при Влади ФНРЈ-Републичким Министарствима просвете, 15 јула 1946 godine Београд*, in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952. Зборник документа, book 2...*, p. 277.

¹⁶ Document 429., *Prilog: Izveštaj Sekretara podnesen 7.IV.1946. na redovnoj glavnoj godišnjoj skupštini Društva za kulturnu saradnju Hrvatske sa SSSR u Zagrebu za prvih 9 mjeseci rada [...] predanania*, in: *ibidem*, p. 278.

of Stalin's constitution, folk performances, exhibitions, theater and cinema performances on various occasions, etc.¹⁷ Reading rooms and libraries also functioned within the Associations, where Soviet books and magazines were published and sold. It is interesting to mention that, for propaganda activity, the offices were art decorated, once a week, and they were specially decorated on the occasion of anniversaries related to Soviet society, such as, for example, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of *Художественный* Theater, etc.¹⁸

Such activities of the associations were also reflected in the printed media: newspapers, books, brochures, etc., whose goal was the popularization of Soviet culture and friendship in the public sphere¹⁹.

Within the framework of the publishing activity, the Federal Association also published the magazine "Yugoslavia-USSR". In the realization of its activities, the association was connected with its Soviet counterpart – the Soviet Association for Cultural Relations with Abroad (Всесоюзное общество культурной связи с заграницей – ВОКС), through which it was supplied with materials from the Soviet Union²⁰.

Soviet placement of propaganda messages was also spread through the distribution of film as "the most important of all arts" in Yugoslav cinemas, but also through the Russian language, which was taught within the Yugoslav school system, as well as through bookstores. For example, according to the data in the Soviet bookstore in the center of Belgrade, in addition to the shelves that were brought from the Soviet Union, the walls were decorated with quotes from Stalin's thoughts written in Russian. It was obvious the effort of the representative office of the *Международная книга* enterprise was to make the visitor feel as if he were in a Moscow bookstore²¹.

In the context of the above, the emergence of domestic post-war production (in literature, music, film, theater art, etc.), under Soviet influence, should be mentioned, which, along with everything else, participated in building a *legitimate* expression in Yugoslav culture, close to cultural perceptions specific to Soviet culture.

Building an order, designed to protect everything that the political ideology, at the given time, established as a social/cultural value, the state/party, sought to structure the perception in society, by establishing dichotomies: desired-undesired, good-bad, advanced-backward, and so on. In the previously described habitus, Western culture was perceived as decadent, backward, and undesirable. But despite the formal suspension of Western culture, it remained valid in the *unregulated* areas, where it could be expressed.

As for the influence from the West, immediately after the war, in 1945, an American reading room²² was opened in Belgrade, and others were opened in Novi Sad in 1948 and

¹⁷ Ibidem, pp. 282–283.

¹⁸ Document 430., *Др. Федор Киселички, Секретар Друштва за културну сарадњу Југославије са СССР-Дирекцији за информације, Београд, Београд 19.Хи.1948 год.*, in: ibidem, p. 283.

¹⁹ The titles of the published books by the Association for Cultural Cooperation of Yugoslavia with the Soviet Union for 1949, you can see: ibidem, p. 283.

²⁰ М. Пејовић, *Совјетски филмови приказани у Југославији у организацији Друштва за културну сарадњу Југославије са СССР-ом 1945–1948. године*, "Годишњак за друштвену историју" 2010, vol. 1, pp. 89–90.

²¹ Г. Милорадовић, *Лепота под надзором...*, pp. 191–192.

²² The reading room was closed in September 1946, during a period of very strained relations, especially after the flight of American planes over Yugoslav territory. Then, in the party newspaper "Borba" it was characterized as a "central office for enemy propaganda", an institution from which the USSR is slandered and tries to

in Zagreb in 1951, as part of the American cultural and educational policy abroad, as a branch of the United States Information Service, with the aim of “political export of American culture, American way of life and American values”²³. Publications by American authors were offered on the shelves, then newspapers, magazines, etc. In its propaganda activity, the American reading room, in the opinion of the Yugoslav Commission for Agitation and Propaganda, did not adapt to Yugoslav circumstances as the British reading room did, but was “very crude and openly hostile”; it served as a rallying point for the greatest reaction in the country²⁴. Within the reading room “a Bulletin (USIS) was illegally reproduced”, which was spread among the citizens through those who visited the reading room²⁵. The reading room organized concerts, lectures, exhibitions, cinema performances, as well as English language classes.

Through the *Voice of America* radio channel, thousands of Yugoslavs heard about the American way of life, about the American foreign policy, and they also listened to jazz and rock and roll. According to some data, the American diplomatic missions, at that time, through the reading rooms and the radio, established over fifty programs of cultural exchange, which affirmed American power, wealth, and new technologies²⁶.

The influences from the West acted through private, public-private, and public channels, and had a strong influence on the Yugoslav cultural and political intelligentsia, students, professors, youth, etc.²⁷ Youth from the cities, those who did not agree with the existing social order, gathered in the American reading room, especially for jazz music concerts, and borrowed records from there²⁸. This, together with radio and film propaganda, influenced the conception of the parties organized by young people, where they started to listen to “jazz-rumba”, “boogie-woogie”, “new things”, etc., which, according to the Yugoslav authorities, was evaluated as “harmful, backward and unknown to our revolutionary morality”²⁹.

The creation of (American/Western) spaces and such a cultural milieu in Yugoslavia was intended to provide a public space in which American influence and activism would spread. On the other hand, they were places where the political and social disagreement with *Yugoslavism* was articulated. During the Cold War, the reading room, the radio, and other spaces acted first as a space of alternative culture and a source of otherwise unavailable knowledge, then as a catalyst of socialization, but also as a place of compromised

disrupt the peace... (*Незаконити и противјугословенски рад Америчке читаонице у Београду*, “Борба”, 4 септембар 1946). However, by the end of the same year, the reading room was reopened.

²³ Р. Вучетић, *Америчка “јавна дипломатија” у социјалистичкој југославији 50-тих и 60тих година XX века*, “Токови историје” 2014, vol. 1, p. 77.

²⁴ Document 398., ЦК КПЈ, Комисија за агитацију и пропаганду, Београд [Англоамеричка пропаганда у Југославији], Београд, 1946, in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*. Зборник документа, book 2. Б. Докнић, М.Ф. Петровић, И. Хофман (ed.), Архив Југославије, Београд 2009, pp. 242–243.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ С. Konta, *Američka čitaonica u Zagrebu i kulturni Hladni rat u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji: intervju s dugogodišnjom direktoricom Nadom Apsen*, “Časopis za povijest Zapadne Hrvatske”, Monografski broj, O okruglim obljetnicama, ed. A. Roknić Božanić, Rijeka, XII, 2017, pp. 92–93.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 93.

²⁸ Z. Janjetović, *Od »Internacionale« do komercijale, Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945–1991*, Beograd 2011, pp. 116–117.

²⁹ И. Лучић-Тодосић, *Од трокинга до твиста: игранке у Београду 1945–1963*, “Етнолошка библиотека”, књига 6, Београд 2002, p. 77.

political effect³⁰. According to the opinion of the Yugoslav state/party, the goal of American propaganda was:

“On the one hand to group and strengthen our reaction, to give “munitions” to reaction in the country, and on the other hand, through the foreign press and the radio, to creating the most unfavorable “public opinion” for us in the world and thus strengthening the diplomatic pressure of our government”³¹.

East and West Influences in Culture after the Tito – Stalin Conflict

The repositioning of Yugoslavia in the global political scene, which occurred after the conflict with the USSR³², led the Party to employ various representational strategies to convey its *new* self-image. In this period, the State/Party tried to present itself to the international public not only as a country that generates creative work, which are the result of autochthonous Yugoslav traditions, but also as a country characterized by liberality.

In the context of the latter, from 1950, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia began to allow other influences, now, mainly as a result of the need for ideological differentiation with the Soviet Union, which included a redefinition of the relationship to culture and art. We are highlighting the year 1950, because the processes in culture and society in general were not synchronous with the political developments but occurred subsequently. Thus, the turning point in culture occurred towards the end of 1949 and the beginning of 1950. This is a period in which, in addition to “realism”, pro-Western “modernism” began in Yugoslav cultural policy. They are an expression of the double influences that Yugoslavia experienced from both the East and the West³³.

In the new context, the influence from the East declined, and attention began to be directed towards the products of the West. According to some authors, the imposition of

³⁰ C. Konta, *Američka čitaonica u Zagrebu i kulturalni Hladni rat u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji: intervju s dugogodišnjom direktoricom Nadom Apsen*, “Časopis za povijest Zapadne Hrvatske”, Monografski broj, O okruglim obljetnicama, ed. A. Roknić Božanić, Rijeka, XII, 2017, pp. 95–96.

³¹ Document 398., *ЦК КПЈ, Комисија за агитацију и пропаганду, Београд [Англоамеричка пропаганда у Југославији]*, Београд, 1946, in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*. Зборник документа, book 2..., pp. 242–243.

³² The Information Bureau Resolution (June 8, 1948) directed a political condemnation of Yugoslavia and its leadership. At the 5th Congress of the CPY, which was held in July 1948, an effort was made to defend the independence of the CPY and by proving the revolutionary nature and consistency of the Party in the application of Marxism and Leninism, to refute the accusations of the Information Bureau. The research shows that the KPJ itself initially believed that it was possible to reconcile the two sides. But when it became clear that reconciliation with Stalin was not possible, the Party began to look for new ways out of the situation in which society found itself. This included, на внатрешен план among other things, the clearing up with the “enemy within the party”. Those who defended Stalin’s policies (the Stalinists) and who were for the Information Bureau (called *ibeovci*) became victims of political persecution by the Yugoslav security services. (see more: Д. Поповска, *Канон и цензура...*, 36). Externally, Yugoslav propaganda portrayed not only the Soviet Union but also the countries dependent on Moscow (the countries of the so-called people’s democracy) as unorthodoxy to the original ideas of communism. For Yugoslavia’s views on Polish culture in that period, see: M. Sokulski, *Poljska kultura 1948–1956. Perspektiva jugoslavenskog veleposlanstva u Poljskoj kao izraz legitimizacije vlastitog režima*, “Historijski zbornik” 2014, vol. LXVII, no. 2, pp. 345–360.

³³ Г. Милорадовић, *Лепота под надзором...*, p. 58.

the Soviet model was usually done “explicitly”, while on the other hand, the new model, as a counter wave to the previous one, was usually imposed “implicitly”³⁴.

This is a period in which the schemes of qualification, i.e., valuation of culture, received a different narrative³⁵. Previously marked contents acquired a new cultural/social meaning following the time and context in which they existed. The Soviet model was strongly criticized at different social levels, and in that context, also in culture and art. What is interesting is how the change in social discourse was structured, related to Western culture. Namely, in addition to the “backward” tendency, for example in American cinema, “which under the guise of cheap liberalism... wants to cover up hot problems”, in the public discourse, the presence of a second “progressive” tendency in Western culture, “which serves to reflect real life”, began to be emphasized³⁶. Thus, on the one hand, Soviet films were “excluded” from the cultural canon of values, and on the other hand, a “new” tendency was inserted into the previously undesired American art, which was marked as progressive and as such became an acceptable value in social canonization. In this way, the Yugoslav state created “profit”, precisely through the differentiation made, because it provided a space in which values from the West could spread freely.

In the new circumstances, the most obvious traces of Soviet cultural influence in Yugoslavia, characteristic of the early post-war period, although very numerous, became less visible. Why were they less visible? Because, after the breakup with the Soviet Union, and especially from the beginning of 1950, the examples of taking over the socialist realist model in Yugoslavia, as well as everything that affirmed the Soviet state, were removed from the public sphere or were left to be forgotten. In this context, the public space also underwent revision, where the symbolic representations of the USSR were removed (monuments of the Red Army, street names, etc.). In the celebrations of national holidays, the absence of Stalin’s picture is noted, and the slogans that glorified the power and importance of the Soviet Union also “disappeared”³⁷. Stalin’s image was sanctioned in film and other cultural productions, from which content symbolizing the power of the Soviet Union had begun to be removed³⁸.

The Soviet influence on Yugoslav culture did not stop there; it mainly took place through the network of personal contacts. In 1950, the Association was formally dissolved. The

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ For the changing representations of East and West in the Yugoslav newspapers “Политика” and “Борба” during the conflict between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Cominform, see: О. Драгишић, *Перцепција Истока и Запада и самоперцепција у југословенској штампи 1948–1949. године*, “Токови историје” 2015, vol. 2, pp. 156–174.

³⁶ Државен архив на Република С. Македонија, 1.894.5.17/119–123. Комисија за кинематографија при Влада на НРМ, *Filmski pregled*, br.7, 21.02.1950 godina, 7.15 časot.

³⁷ Document 102., Министарство народне одбране ДФЈ – организаторима прославе Дана победе, Београд, S.A. [Parole za proslave Dana pobjede], in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*. Зборник документа, book 1..., pp. 250–251.

³⁸ This is the period when Soviet films are “watched”. It was demanded to cut parts of the films, where Stalin, his image / character, as well as everything that symbolized Soviet power was shown. Censors removed Stalin not only from Soviet, but also from Western films, which were imported into Yugoslavia. Thus, the film “The grand design”, which was made on the occasion of the sixth year since the founding of the United Nations, was banned, because according to the censors: “...it is not necessary to show Stalin on the screen in Yugoslavia because Stalin (in the film) is only shown in a role of a peacemaker”. ВидиSee: Д. Стипић, *Антисовјетска филмска пропаганда у Југославији 1948–1952*, “Токови историје” 2018, vol. 1, p. 97; More examples see in: Д. Поповска, *Канон и цензура во културната продукција*, Скопје 2022.

reasons for the termination of the cultural cooperation and the termination of the association's work were, above all, due to the opinion of the Yugoslav side that its activities, in addition to culture and propaganda, also had a political intelligence dimension. The association was an organizational form for influencing the pro-Soviet citizens of Yugoslavia, which would grow into a massive political force under the influence of the Soviet Union³⁹.

In the new circumstances, the influence from the West intensified. From the early 50s, in accordance with the official US foreign policy towards Yugoslavia, the Americans began to gradually change the strategy of influence. Step by step, they removed all the materials, books, and magazines with "hostile" content towards Yugoslavia, which they had during the time of the Information Bureau, and turned more and more towards the official circles of the country⁴⁰. The efforts were to increase Yugoslav orientation towards the foreign policy goals of the United States. The study of the English language, after the loss of the previous primacy of the Russian language, became one of the important aspects of cultural influence in Yugoslavia and of American public diplomacy⁴¹.

The cultural mission of the United States in Yugoslavia, through the programs and the reading room, but now also through other forms, aimed to develop an awareness of the points of contact with Yugoslavia, the advantages of cooperation, and the advantages of the American model. In terms of the cultural strategy, the goals were to influence political and social institutions in Yugoslavia for greater connection with the West and to maintain and expand communication channels with the people, all with the aim of adapting society to American values and standards⁴².

In this direction, various illustrative materials (photographs, posters, etc.) on various topics from the cultural, economic, political, and military life of the USA were constantly exhibited in the windows of the reading room in Belgrade, and the reading room published various publications and screened free movies⁴³. It was visited daily by about 500 people, who, according to the UDBA's⁴⁴ estimates, were mainly "Western-oriented and hostile to the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia"⁴⁵.

In the spread of Americanization in the Yugoslav space, the role of American film and American music was also great. The film was a powerful propaganda weapon through which the American administration sent the desired image of America, which influenced the audience, especially the young generations, who accepted the codes of Western culture and adopted the values of American society (fashion, hairstyles, etc.)⁴⁶.

³⁹ Г. Милорадовић, *Лепота под надзором...*, p. 217.

⁴⁰ С. Конта, *Američka čitaonica u Zagrebu i kulturalni Hladni rat...*, p. 94.

⁴¹ N. Erdeljac, *Engleski jezik i američka hladnoratovska kulturna diplomacija u Jugoslaviji (1951–1961)*, "RADOVI – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest" 2020, vol. 52, pp. 273–305.

⁴² Ibidem.

⁴³ Ш.А. Лице и наличје 'Седам уметности' и 'Света', "Борба", 2 јуни, 1953.

⁴⁴ Управа за државна безбедност – УДБА (an abbreviation for State Security Administration).

⁴⁵ Р. Вучетић, *Трубом кроз гвоздену завесу – продор цеза у социјалистичкој Југославији*, "Музикологија" 2012, vol. 13, p. 63.

⁴⁶ Р. Вучетић, *Американизација југословенске филмске свакодневице шездесетих година 20. века*, "Годишњак за друштвену историју" 2010, vol. 1, p. 43. Controversies were held in the public because of the increasing juvenile delinquency throughout Yugoslavia. One side in the discussions believed that it was the result of the negative influence of Hollywood movies, and the other defended the disputed films, looking for deeper reasons, beyond the cinematography. See: И. Хофман, *Филм и малолетничка деликвенција – полемика*

During the Cold War period, when the propaganda role of music was strengthened, the American administration used jazz and rock and roll in efforts to break the “Iron Curtain” and promote the United States on the international stage⁴⁷. The Tito-Stalin clash made it possible for the previously unwanted jazz to gain more publicity in the Yugoslav society, through its promotion on the Yugoslav radio, in the Yugoslav printed media, etc. It was institutionalized in 1953, with the establishment of the Association of Jazz Musicians. This is also reflected in the daily life of young people, who not only listened to jazz music at home but also visited or organized dance parties. The increasing penetration of jazz music into the lives of young people was condemned in the newspapers and presented as a “poisonous form of entertainment”, that is, “an epidemic that threatens to poison us”⁴⁸. The “poisoned youth” was accused of avoiding military obligations, of inappropriate appearance, which emphasized eroticism and waste, of idleness: unproductive spending time on entertainment and of setting a bad example and having a negative influence on others⁴⁹. The fight against “provincial influence” was also directed against the wearing of tight pants, “*kokot*⁵⁰ – hairstyles”, and make-up⁵¹. In addition to this, other measures were implemented, such as closing school performances, forbidding party programs, inviting jazz musicians to talks in the Central Committee of the Communist Party, etc.⁵² The fact that through jazz music, the USA had a strong influence on the masses, led Tito himself, in 1953, to declare: “jazz music does not correspond to our character and our reality... Jazz trumpets everywhere, and you often can’t even hear our music anymore”⁵³.

American propaganda continued to spread through the *Voice of America* radio program, as well, although after 1950, according to the remarks of the security services, the broadcasts completely lost their anti-Yugoslav character, so that “almost all news about Yugoslavia” was “mainly positive and objective”⁵⁴.

The Western influence wave that engulfed Yugoslavia in the fifties also caught the interest of an article published in “The Economist”. The anonymous author emphasized in the text that previously forbidden, cultural trends in the field of literature, film, music, contemporary art, etc. which came from the West, were then received with the uncritical admiration with which forbidden fruit is usually greeted: “everything Western from comic strip to existentialism has become very popular”. According to the writing of “Borba”, the text emphasized that even the members of the Party were not spared from this⁵⁵.

у југословенској јавности 1951–1952, “Архив”, vol. 1–2, Београд, 2018, pp. 102–126. The polemics was about the films *The Oklahoma Kid* and *The Asphalt Jungle*.

⁴⁷ P. Вучетић, *Трубом кроз гвоздену завесу...*, p. 54.

⁴⁸ И. Лучић-Тодосић, *Од трокинга до...*, p. 45.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

⁵⁰ Slang for a 1950s youth hairstyle; etymology: hen. See: *Kokotica značenje, definicija i primjeri*, “Jezikoslovac”, Riječnik, <https://jezikoslovac.com/word/gey9>.

⁵¹ T. Šarić, *Život mladih u poratnom Zagrebu 1945. – 1953*, “ČSP” 2015, vol. 2, p. 269. See also: D. Popovska, *The presentation of popular music in Yugoslav socialist discourses (1945–1952)*, “Narodna umjetnost” 2014, vol. 61, no.1, pp. 153–171.

⁵² Z. Radelić, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945.–1991. od zajedništva do razlaza*, Zagreb 2006, p. 164.

⁵³ P. Вучетић, *Цез је слобода (Цез као америчко пропагандно оружје у Југославији)*, “Годишњак за друштвену историју” 2009, vol. 3, p. 90.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

⁵⁵ М. Ристић, *Једно мишљење о западном утицају*, Писма уредништву, “Борба”, недеља, 8 јун, 1952.

However, part of the membership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia did not agree with society turning towards the previously *hostile* West. With the “great swing of American propaganda”; in addition to the press, the UDBA also dealt with it, which it perceived as “hostile and calculated of creating new base in the broad masses of the people”; therefore, it concluded that “it is not in harmony with our policy of socialist upbringing of the people”⁵⁶.

Despite the disagreements visible in the media discourse, in the period that followed, *modernism* as a Western concept in culture took an increasingly important place within domestic production, and its protagonists – the intellectuals – occupied more important social positions. In connection with the growing *modernism* in Yugoslav literature and among writers, in a discussion of the federal Commission for Agitation and Propaganda from 1951, it was stated that in literature, there is a line of avoiding socialist problems and that modernist writers have exclusivity due to the social positions they had in radio and publishing companies, which allowed them to “set the tone” in society. Among the proposals for overcoming this situation, one suggested organizing greater support for the group that is “more connected to our reality”, that is, for “people who stand in more correct positions”⁵⁷.

Parallelism appeared in Yugoslav creativity due to the circumstances of dual cultural influences, and in that context, the division of authors/artists into “realists” and “modernists”. The creation of absurd situations in culture was caused by the arbitrariness of the state-party structures, as demonstrated by the previous example. On the one hand, there were directions for turning to the West, and on the other, demands and suggestions that continued the Soviet model in culture.

Conclusion

Culture did not exist as a neutral, *value-free* concept in the constellations of power in Europe, which was divided into two blocs. It was strongly influenced by the context of the Cold War, during this specific period. East and West on the international stage were characterized by cultural differences that reflected their interests, values, ideas, and customs. Existing power relations, where two (or more) cultural influences exist and symbolically interact, lead to competition and rivalry. In this sense, the geopolitical struggle for dominance took on the character of a cultural war as well. This is because culture functioned as a marker of the ideological distinctions between the two different ideological systems that were constituted in opposition to each other.

⁵⁶ Р. Вучетић, *Америчка “јавна дипломатија” у социјалистичкој југославији 50-тих и 60тих година XX века*, “Токови историје” 2014, vol. 1, p. 80. In this context, there were also numerous articles in the newspapers that noted the unwanted phenomena and sought solutions to overcome them. See: Н. Херцигоња, *Како спречити анархично развијање забавне музике*, “Борба”, 27 март 1952, Београд; *Некултурне триредбе (уз саопштење Градског комитета народне омладине)*, “Борба”, 24 фебруар, 1952, Београд; Н. Полак, *Приредбе ‘изненађења’ у Карловцу*, “Борба”, 15 април 1952, Београд.

⁵⁷ Document 474. ЦК КПЈ, *Управа за агитацију и пропаганду, Београд, 22.12.1951*, in: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*. Зборник документа, book 2. Б. Докнић, М.Ф. Петровић, И. Хофман (ed.), Архив Југославије, Београд 2009, p. 372.

Research has shown that diplomacy in both the East and the West has relied heavily on the power of culture⁵⁸, as a potential of what theorist Joseph Nye first called “soft power”⁵⁹. Soft power uses culture, political values, and foreign policies to bring change. The goal is to create a positive perception of the country in the eyes of “others”, which would result in an advantage in the struggle to achieve political, economic, and other foreign policy objectives⁶⁰.

In terms of the above, Yugoslavia was influenced by both the East and the West. The research showed that during the entire period, there was an interest of the East and West state and political structures for influencing the Yugoslav culture and thus establishing/or maintaining their power within the Yugoslav space. These influences came directly through the official institutions and indirectly through the ideological action of the citizens’ consciousness, by infiltrating conceptions, understandings, and values in the Yugoslav media and cultural products (literature, film, theater, music, etc.). The strategies of placing the values varied depending on the developments in the global arena, but also on the internal circumstances in which the Yugoslav state existed, which shows that “soft power” is not a static, but rather a very dynamic concept.

The strength and comprehensiveness of the Soviet influence on Yugoslav culture, characteristic of the early post-war period, is largely due to the connotation and presentation given to Soviet culture in Yugoslavia. In other words, its influence with such intensity was the result of how the political argumentation about the Soviet culture was framed in Yugoslav society, at the specific time, which affected the motivation, generation, and maintenance of a positive image of the USSR among the Yugoslavs. On the other hand, Western cultural influences appeared as different from those that were culturally mediated by the official political, media, and academic discourses, that is, they appeared as a kind of alternative to the existing social and cultural norms.

The specific aspects that defined the conflict with the Information Bureau (Cominform) would be transferred to the political and later to the cultural terrain in Yugoslav society. The anti-Yugoslavian propaganda from the East would lead Yugoslavia to project a national distinction from its former “brother” – the Soviet Union – and from the countries of the so-called people’s democracy, and, at the same time, to turn towards the West. Yugoslavia endeavored to validate the authenticity of its culture, which did not experience change in the context of ideological content and portrayed itself as a democratic society in the eyes of the international public. At a time when influence from the East was losing its “official”

⁵⁸ Culture plays a key role in the power that a state wants to project abroad, to build an authority which will be recognized and respected. See more: T.L. Moga, N. Bureiko, A. Gheorghiu, B.C. Ibănescu, *Testing a Six-Factor Model on Perceived State Power and Influence: The Case of Romania, Europe-Asia Studies*, 2023, DOI: 10.1080/09668136.2023.2275524; B. Skoko, V. Kovačić, *Koncept meke moci drzava i njegova primena na Republiku Hrvatsku*, “Polemos” 2009, vol. 12, pp. 1–30.

⁵⁹ The author uses the term “soft power” to define a country’s ability to get the results it wants in world politics and shape the preferences of others by appealing to its values, prosperity, and openness. See: J.S. Nye Jr, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 1-st edition, New York 2004, pp. 11–16, https://www.academia.edu/28699788/Soft_Power_the_Means_to_Success_in_World_Politics_Joseph_S_Nye_Jr (date accessed: 29.01.2024).

⁶⁰ Ibidem. Also see: J.S. Nye, *Soft Power and Great-Power Competition Shifting Sands in the Balance of Power Between the United States and China*, Springer, 2023, <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/id/323d1f23-7395-4abd-83d7-5c8ce6be0e7a/978-981-99-0714-4.pdf> (date accessed: 29.01.2024).

stamp, the United States was strengthening its “soft power”. Abandoning the anti-Yugoslav rhetoric, American propaganda, in addition to the official circles, directed its influence towards schools and young people, who, in good part, as the research shows, began to act as a subculture in Yugoslav culture. Strategic changes in the organizational performance of American diplomacy, as can be seen, were determined by contextual factors at a given time, but the success depended not only on the quality of management (on thoughtfulness, etc.) but also on the attractiveness of the cultural content that was offered.

Cultural influences, regardless of whether they came from the East or the West, often penetrated deep into the Yugoslav society and state, reaching through party and state institutions and uniting people with different ideological and cultural origins. But such influences, whether formal or informal, were always directed and reshaped by domestic, Yugoslav circumstances.

References

Sources

Arhiv na Republika S. Makedonija, podračna edinica Skopje, *Fond na Komisija za kinematografija pri Vlada na NRM*.

Published Sources

Kulturna politika Jugoslavije 1945–1952, Zbornik dokumenta, book 1 & book 2, B. Doknić, M.F. Petrović, I. Hofman (ed.), Arhiv Jugoslavije, Beograd 2009.

Monographs

Janjetović Z., *Od »Internacionale« do komercijale, Popularna kultura u Jugoslaviji 1945–1991*, Beograd 2011.

Nye Jr., J.S., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, 1st edition, New York 2004, https://www.academia.edu/28699788/Soft_Power_the_Means_to_Success_in_World_Politics_Joseph_S_Nye_Jr (date accessed: 29.01.2024).

Nye J.S., *Soft Power and Great-Power Competition Shifting Sands in the Balance of Power Between the United States and China*, Springer, 2023, <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/id/323d1f23-7395-4abd-83d7-5c8ce6be0e7a/978-981-99-0714-4.pdf> (date accessed: 29.01.2024).

Lučić-Todosić I., *Od trokinga do tvista: igranke u Beogradu 1945–1963*, Beograd 2002.

Miloradović G., *Lepota pod nadzorom. Sovjetski kulturni uticaji u Jugoslaviji 1945–1955*, Beograd 2012.

Popovska D., *Kanon i cenzura vo kulturnata produkcija 1945–1952*, Skopje 2022.

Radelić Z., *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945.–1991. od zajedništva do razlaza*, Zagreb 2006.

Scientific papers

Vučetić R., *Džez je sloboda (Džez kao američko propagandno oružje u Jugoslaviji)*, “Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju” 2009, vol. 3.

Vučetić R., *Amerikanizacija jugoslovenske filmse svakodnevice šezdesetih godina 20. veka*, “Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju” 2010, vol. 1.

Vučetić R., *Trubom kroz gvozdeni zavesu – prodor džeza u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji*, “Muzikologija” 2012, vol. 13.

- Vučetić R., *Američka 'javna diplomatija' u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji 50-ih u 60-ih godina XX veka*, "Tokovi istorije" 2014, vol. 1.
- Kokotica značenje, definicija i primjeri, "Jezikoslovac", Riječnik, <https://jezikoslovac.com/word/-gcy9>.
- Dragišić O., *Percepcija Istoka i Zapada i samopercepcija u jugoslovenskoj štampi 1948–1949. godine*, "Tokovi istorije" 2015, vol. 2.
- Erdeljac N., *Engleski jezik i američka hladnoratovska kulturna diplomacija u Jugoslaviji (1951–1961)*, "RADOVI" 2020, vol. 52.
- Hofman I., *Pod stegom Partije. Muzika socijalističkog realizma – primeri SSSR i Jugoslavije*, "Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju" 2005, vol. 1–3.
- Hofman I., *Film i maloletnička delikvencija – polemika u jugoslovenskoj javnosti 1951–1952*, "Arhiv", vol. 1–2, Beograd 2018.
- Jovanović A., *Jugoslovenski stav prema spornim pitanjima jugoslovenske saradnje sa Sovjetskim Savezom u period normalizacije diplomatskih odnosa*, "HISTORIA MODERNA" 2021, vol. 2, no. 2.
- Konta C., *Američka čitaonica u Zagrebu i kulturalni Hladni rat u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji: intervju s dugogodišnjom direktoricom Nadom Apsen*, "Časopis za povijest Zapadne Hrvatske", Monografski broj, O okruglim obljetnicama, ed. A. Roknić Bozanić, Rijeka, XII, 2017.
- Lamont M., Lareau A., *Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps, and glissandos in recent theoretical developments*, "Sociological Theory" 1988, vol. 6, no. 2.
- Miloradović G., *Ruski/sovjetski kulturni uticaj u Srbiji/Jugoslaviji u XX i XXI veku*, <https://www.isac-fund.org/download/VII-Goran-Miloradovic-CIR.pdf> (date accessed: 8.01.2024).
- Moga T.L., Bureiko N., Gheorghiu A., Ibănescu B.C., *Testing a Six-Factor Model on Perceived State Power and Influence: The Case of Romania*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, 2023, DOI: 10.1080/09668136.2023.2275524.
- Pejović M., *Sovjetski filmovi prikazani u Jugoslaviji u organizaciji Društva za kulturnu saradnju Jugoslavije sa SSSR-om 1945–1948. godine*, "Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju" 2010, vol. 1.
- Popovska D., *Načela na jugoslovenskata kulturna politika (1945–1952)*, "Philological Studies" 2021, vol. 19, no. 2.
- Popovska D., *The presentation of popular music in Yugoslav socialist discourses (1945–1952)*, "Narodna umjetnost" 2014, vol. 61, no.1.
- Saaida M.B.E., *The Role of Culture and Identity in International Relations*, "East African Journal of Education and Social Sciences" 2023, vol. 4, no. 1.
- Skoko B., Kovačić V., *Koncept meke moci država i njegova primena na Republiku Hrvatsku*, "Polemos" 2009, vol. 12, no. 1.
- Stipić D., *Antisovjetska filmska propaganda u Jugoslaviji 1948–1952*, "Tokovi istorije" 2018, vol. 1.
- Šarić T., *Život mladih u poratnom Zagrebu 1945. – 1953*, "ČSP" 2015, vol. 2.
- Press
- Nezakoniti i protivustavni rad Američke čitaonice u Beogradu*, "Borba", 4 September 1946, Beograd.
- Hercigonja N., *Kako sprečiti anarhično razvijanje zabavne muzike*, "Borba", 27 March 1952, Beograd.
- Nekulturne priredbe (uz saopštenje Gradskog komiteta narodne omladine)*, "Borba", 24 February 1952, Beograd.
- Polak N., *Priredbe 'iznenađenja' u Karlovcu*, "Borba", 15 April 1952, Beograd.
- Ristić M., *Jedno mišljenje o zapadnom uticaju*, Pisma uredništvu, "Borba", 8 June 1952, Beograd.
- Š.A., *Lice i naličje 'Sedam umetnosti' u 'Sveta'*, "Borba", 2 June 1953, Beograd.

Dragica Popovska, Ph.D., is a full professor in the Department of Cultural History at the Institute of National History, University of “St. Cyril and Methodius”, Skopje. Her research is in the fields of social and cultural anthropology and cultural history. Her academic interest has been devoted to Balkan cultural history, focusing on how cultural and social realities were shaped in socialist Yugoslavia. Dr. Dragica Popovska is the author of eight monographs and many scientific works published in domestic and international scientific journals. Email: d_popovska@yahoo.com.