

**Gender and Sexuality
in the Classical Yugoslav Cinema,
1947–1962**

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this dissertation contains no materials accepted for any other degree in any other institutions and no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgment is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

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Abstract

This dissertation addresses the gender-and-sexuality-related motifs in the classical narrative Yugoslav cinema in order to examine the gender order in the early Yugoslav socialist modernity. It focuses on the fiction features films from 1947 to 1963, i.e. the period of the most intense developments in Yugoslav cinema, from the very inception of the film industry in the postwar country to the rise of the modernist tendencies, as exemplified by *novi film* in the 1960s.

The thesis strategically (1) uses gender-inflected conceptual and analytical framework, and (2) proposes a new Foucauldian epistemology of Yugoslav cinema, in order to challenge the dominant narratives about the socialist past, as articulated along the lines of the totalitarian paradigm. According to the totalitarian accounts, Yugoslav cinema was primarily the instrument of the Tito's totalitarian regime run by the obedient propagandist drones. The classical Yugoslav cinema was especially besmirched in the accounts: the films made before the *novi film* are usually relegated to socialist-realist vehicles for disseminating communist dogmas and lies. This study demonstrates the opposite: characterized by intense developments that cannot be reduced to the stark ideological imperatives, the classical Yugoslav cinema actually testifies to a polyphony of motifs and meanings – particularly those related to the gender-related aspects of the “Yugoslav cultural revolution”.

Instead of going after an exhaustive scanning of the classical Yugoslav cinema, the study opts to probe in-depth several specific groups of films by applying the gender optics. After the introductory mapping of gender politics and cinema from the late 1940s to early 1960s, and arguing for the new epistemological framework, the thesis showcases gender motifs in the three major groups of classical films: the WWII/partisan films; the films about the post-war reconstruction of the country; and the films about the vicissitudes of peasantry, with other prominent groups of films also tangentially tackled.

Rich and complex, spearheaded by antagonisms and paradoxes, the classical Yugoslav cinema actively participated in its vibrant socio-historical climate. Thus it needs to be vindicated and more closely explored as the unique historical imaginary of the early Yugoslav socialist modernity in general, and of the “apparatuses” of gender and sexuality in socialism in particular.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Screening gender in the classical Yugoslav cinema

1.1. Outlining the hypothesis

This thesis posits Yugoslav cinema as the royal path for gender-inflected examination of the early stages of the socialist modernity. Drawing upon one of the fundamentals of the feminist film scholarship, I assume that cinema – as one of the privileged fields of cultural production and consumption in the 20th century modernity – imbues its own socio-political context with ever new and shifting gender plots and images, both propelling and challenging many ideas, fantasies, values, and norms. Yugoslav cinema was not exception to this. It provided the public imaginary of the Yugoslav socialist modernity with a sprawling plethora of: the celluloid femininities and masculinities, in which gender alloyed with class, location, age, and ethnicity; the plots and images of heterosexual coupling, which posited its normative status both through of the happily-ever-after unions, and through the respective counter-images of fatal, obscene and failed romantic liaisons; the designations of homosexuality and other types of queerness; a never-ending stream of narratives of kinship, family, and marriage, as the historically shifting, yet ever fundamental, social tenets; etc.

The thesis specifically explores some of these motifs in relation to the classical Yugoslav cinema, which I here define, at its most elemental, as the fiction feature films from the post-World War II beginnings of Yugoslav feature film production in the late 1940s, to the rise of the “new (Yugoslav) film [novi (jugoslavenski) film]” in the early 1960s. Generally, I treat these films as the complex social documents that testify in a salient way on how gender was conducted and interwoven in the intense post-war developments in Yugoslavia and its variant of socialism. Relying on the contemporary theories of ideology and social relations, I propose that we should approach the gender order of the early socialist modernity by means of their ambiguities and

contradictions: as the privileged historical imaginary of the Yugoslav socialism, cinema reveals many antagonisms underlying and informing the gender regimes of the socialist Yugoslavia.¹

I shape the gist of my thesis by critically addressing what I label the “anti-Yugoslav backlash”: the vantage that posits the socialist Yugoslavia as the totalitarian state and thus innately malign and anti-modern socio-political project.² I oppose that backlash narrative by siding with the view that sees the Yugoslav socialism as “a typical enlightening, modernization structure that to a great extent continued the democratic cultural processes initiated during the second half of the 19th century, [while at the same time was] not free of accumulating contradictions and ambivalent outcomes” (Duda, 2011, p. 254). More to the point, we should not see these contradictions and inconsistencies as epiphenomenal to the Yugoslav socialist enterprise, but as integral to it.³

Accordingly, the premise of the thesis is that the gender issues in the socialist Yugoslavia cannot be relegated to function or expression of some presupposed totalitarian essence or logic. Instead, we should see them as the fundamental elements of the socialist modernity in all its major and intertwined dimensions: social, political, economic, and cultural. Focusing on the cultural dimension of the Yugoslav socialism, I will rephrase my thesis: the Yugoslav cinema testifies that gender order was subject of constant change and re-articulation, shaped by the social factors many of which cannot be reduced to some supposedly communist features. These gender-related changes, antagonisms, and ambiguities illustrate that Yugoslav socialism, a far cry from being a totalitarian blind alley of the 20th century, fully belonged to the global gender and sexual modernity.

¹ For the concept of “historical imaginary”, see Elsaesser (2000). The concepts of gender regime and gender order we owe to Connell (1987, pp. 119–142).

² In that sense, anti-Yugoslav backlash recycles the gist of the Cold War “modernization theory” that equates modernity with capitalism. For the critical accounts of the modernization theory, see Latham (2000), and Gilman (2003).

³ For example, Sabrina P. Ramet argues that although the Yugoslav socialism – “the Titoist system”, as she would have it – was famous for its contradictions, to “speak of [them] is not to speak of the nature of the system, only to say something of its spirit” (1999, pp. 90–91). I find the dichotomy between “nature” and “spirit”, the two essentialist concepts, highly problematic and inadequate in this context.

1.2. Mapping the 1947–1962 sequence

The period from the late 1940s to the early 1960 was arguably one of the strongest torrents and the most dazzling meanderings in the history of socialist Yugoslavia, and thus offering a plenty of evidence of the complexity of the Yugoslav socialist modernity. As the thesis will tackle those complexities through the gender-focused analyses of the specific classical Yugoslav films, I will first provide a threefold blueprint of the period within which those films were made and to which they contributed. As a synoptic account like this cannot do justice to such a dynamic historical sequence, I will only punctuate its turning points and main tendencies with regard to, first, the general socio-political and economical context, then in relation to gender order, and, last but not least, in relation to developments in cinema.

1.2.1. The rise of the self-governing socialist democracy

The defining tendency of the early post-World War II Yugoslavia was a massive attempt to recover from the devastating war-inflicted losses. The Yugoslav communists, who had tempered the new Yugoslav state during WWII, by combining both antifascist struggle and communist revolution, unambiguously designated the country's future as a socialist one, modeling it after the Soviet template. A member of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) and the Soviet Union's most reliable ally, Yugoslavia was a showcase example of centralized, bureaucracy-suffused state-socialism.

When Stalin excluded Yugoslavia from Cominform in June 1948, threatening the country with economic starvation and political isolation, Tito and the communist party turned to the West for help. In a relatively short time, the Yugoslav Soviet-style socialism had become "socialism on American wheat" (Jakovina, 2002).⁴ And yet, it was socialism none the less. Ousted from Eastern bloc, Yugoslavia's leaders did not give up on the revolutionary principles of Marxism and socialism, but accused Stalin of perverting them. In a remarkable attempt to differentiate themselves from the Stalinist doctrine, the Yugoslav ideologues redesigned both their socialist

⁴ Tvrтко Jakovina argues that the American aid to Yugoslavia (2.2 billion dollars in goods and military from 1950 to mid-1960s) was substantial in preserving Tito's independence from Moscow: "Yugoslavia was like a Trojan horse of the West, incessantly demonstrating to the East that progress was possible. American policy supported the evolution of the Yugoslav system towards decentralisation and humanisation of international affairs, which demanded better connections between Yugoslavia and the West" (2011, p. 21).

theory and practice, coming up with a key concept of the new stage of Yugoslav socialism: the workers' self-management or self-governing.

Since this account cannot but merely scratch the concept and phenomenon as complex, dynamic and intricate as self-management,⁵ let me outline it by borrowing from a source that can hardly be accused for pro-socialist bias. It is a 1975 World Bank report:

The Yugoslavs began to evolve a new economic system in 1950. It represents more than just a reaction to the inefficiencies and weaknesses of the centrally administered Soviet-type economy of the early post-war years. It marks a search for a new kind of socialist society. The system is characterized by social ownership and control of the means of production, with workers' self-management and the decentralization of political and economic decisions. As a corollary of decentralized decision making there is a greater reliance on markets as a guide to the allocation of resources, and gradual reduction of centralized planning and control. The evolution of the system has been characterized by a pragmatic, experimental and relatively nondogmatic approach. [...] The Yugoslavs have been groping to translate their notion of a self-managed socialist democracy into practice, and the evolution of the system is still far from complete. It has been marked by discontinuities – periods of rapid change (e.g. in 1953, 1961, 1965 and 1971) have been followed by periods of consolidation. Increased economic efficiency has been one of the major objectives of the process of institutional change.

(Dubey, 1975, p. 1)

The law on self-management passed in 1950, transferring the management of the previously state-owned factories, hospitals, schools and other “work organizations”, to their respective employees (“workers’ councils”). The history of the Yugoslav self-governing socialism was one of the ongoing reform, experiment, and contestation, but there is a broad consensus on its overall positive effects in the period in question: it substantially contributed to the post-war recovery and enabled the well-being of a significant part of Yugoslav population. Or, to put it in the language of the World Bank statistics: “Real gross domestic product (GDP) growth during 1950–71 averaged about 6 percent per year, and per capita income in constant prices increased by about two and one-half times during the period. Development was characterized by rapid structural change, a fairly high rate of employment growth, and, particularly since 1965, rapid growth of output per worker and rising standards of living” (Dubey, 1975, p. 3).⁶

⁵ For an exemplary collection of scholarship on the self-management from the contemporary era, see Horvat, Marković and Supek (1975). The most comprehensive post-socialist study on the Yugoslav economy and self-management, see Woodward (1995); for the more recent accounts, see Kirn (2010) and Suvin (2014).

⁶ Virtually all major authors who did not succumb to the totalitarian model, support the consensual view that the Yugoslav society generally benefited from the self-management reforms, at least by the mid-1960s, e.g. Duda (2010), Jakovina (2011), Jović (2012), Kirn (2010), and Suvin (2014).

A detail that begs to be emphasized is the fact that the self-management effectively introduced the market economy:

in contrast to the etatist and centralist (Soviet) model, in this model [the social] needs will not be defined “from above” by central directives of the Party and the state, but by the play of the *market* and of the demands that emerge from it. If one remembers that it is socialist enterprises, and not private owners, that are confronting each other on this market, then one cannot consider this market economy a capitalist economy.

(Garaudy, 1975, p. 33, original emphasis)

Dejan Kršić argues that already the 1950s vividly testified that the Yugoslav self-governing system “was in its essence also a market-oriented consumer society” (2011, p. 237), and illustrates it with a telling detail. The year 1953 was the last year of the post-war supply rationing – a paradigmatic remainder of both the post-war scarcity and of the state-planned economy – and at the same time the year of one of the very first large advertising campaigns in Yugoslavia: the promotion of the new, domestically produced soft drink *Cockta* (or the so-called Yugo-cola) was launched at the ski jumping competition at Planica. By the early 1960s, similar campaigns would be the paint-by-numbers affairs. The mass media, popular culture, advertisements, brands, and Edmund Stillman depicted Yugoslavia as “not only history’s first example of an affluent (or at least semi-affluent) Marxist society; it is also the first self-proclaimed socialist state to pursue policies which seek to promote the material and immaterial satisfactions of the individual rather than to achieve a purely collective well-being” (quoted in Dimitrijević, 2012). His image of the Yugoslav success foregrounded the country’s economical and, most importantly, cultural ties with the West:

Tens of thousand of Yugoslav citizens visit abroad – either for pleasure or to work for better wages in Italy, Austria or West Germany. The intellectual young of the country study abroad, and even when they do not, they are fully conversant with the work of avant-garde Western writers, artists and film directors. It is possible to purchase the latest outrage perpetrated by Elvis Presley or the Beatles; the Yugoslavs themselves play assiduous jazz. In the remote mountain villages of Bosnia and Montenegro, peasant children perform the obsessive ritual of the hula-hoop only a few years out of date. The country manufactures Italian Fiat 600s and sells them—on the installment plan—to tired Party bureaucrats whose goading wives talk now of their “little dressmakers”, buy cake mixes in supermarkets and gossip when they meet at the theater.

(Stillman, quoted in Dimitrijević, 2012)

Stillmans account thus offers *in nuce* the image of a society that attempted combining “the world of production” and “the word of consumption” (Jambrešić Kirin & Blagaić, 2013, p. 59), or “the utopia of production” and “the consumerist utopia” (Dimitrijević, 2012).

1.2.2 The gender order of the early Yugoslav socialism

The gender equality was one of the cornerstones of the Yugoslav communists’ socio-political edifice. For them, it held that status already before the war, and as early as 1942 they introduced it in their provisional rules and regulations that were in effect in the regions that they had liberated. Immediately after the war, the first Yugoslav Constitution of 1946 has promulgated: “The women are equal with the men in all areas of the state, economic and social life. For the equal work the women have right to the equal wage as the men, and are enjoy special protection in the workplace. The state specifically protects the interests of the mother and the child. [Žene su ravnopravne sa muškarcima u svim oblastima državnog, privrednog i društvenog života. Za jednak rad žene imaju pravo na jednaku platu kao i muškarci i uživaju posebnu zaštitu u radnom odnosu. Država naročito štiti interese majke i djeteta]” (quoted in Milišić, 1999, p. 231).

In legal terms, the shift from the pre-war gender order to the socialist one was not only revolutionary but epochal. Consider, for example, the status of marriage in the two Yugoslav states. In the monarchy, the marriage was under the jurisdiction of the many churches that differed in their values, rules, and customs – save one point, that is: they all subjugated the wife to the husband as the supreme instance of the marital/familial domain (paternal rule); in some cases divorce was unacceptable, whereas in the cases when it was allowed the divorced women might have been prevented for remarrying; the marriage was usually restricted to the one confession or ethnicity; the children born out of wedlock did not have the same rights as those born in a marital union; the Islam community allowed for polygamy; etc. (Mladenović, 1963, pp. 178–182) In one of the most egregious illustrations of women’s marital subjugation, a legal act promulgated that wives have the same legal status as “minors, scoundrels, profligates, mentally deranged, and over-indebted persons who face bankruptcy [maloljetnici, propalice, raspikuće, osobe lišene uma, i prezaduženici stavljeni pred stečaj]” (quoted in Sklevicky, 1996, p. 90). After the war, however, also in 1946, the socialist legislative redefined the marriage as a mandatory civil affair. Every citizen of age could get merry on her or his own will, with the person of the opposite sex who would voluntarily accept the arrangement, just as they could freely divorce, on

the demand of at least one spouse. The principle of gender equality was fundamental to marriage in socialism: the wife could keep her maiden surname, she had the same rights to the joint property and inheritance, and, in general, “all that [was] allowed to the husband, [was] also allowed to the wife [što je slobodno mužu, slobodno je i ženi]” (quoted in Sklevicky, 1996, p. 90). In the very first post-war year, the socialist politic pulverized the most fundamental institutional condition of the blatantly patriarchal pre-war gender order.

As one of the fundamental communists’ doctrines, gender equality guaranteed the women in socialism the right to vote, to education (mandatory at the elementary level), employment and equal wage; the law ordered removing the veil from the faces of the Muslim women in some parts of the country, just as it allowed abortion. As anthropologists Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Marina Blagaić sum it up: “In addition to health-care, social protection and organized child care, these rights contributed significantly to women’s economic independence and their self-empowerment. They brought most benefits to the educated and employed women but, in the long run, they also changed the social fabric of entire communities and enabled a considerable horizontal and vertical mobility of women” (2103, p. 55).

However, the legal imperative of gender equality and the improvement of women’s status, by rule went hand in hand with its discursive twin: the constant warnings that gender equality is still not fully accomplished, despite all efforts that the state (during the state-socialist stage), or society (during the self-management one) invested in women’s emancipation. Constantly emphasizing that the legal framework itself does not amount to full emancipation, the communists were incessantly changing the strategies and institutional frameworks that were supposed to further the empowerment of women in all areas of life. An exemplary Party resolution from 1958 asserted that the issue of gender equality, resolved at the level of the legislature, remains to be “the problem of economic underdevelopment, primitivism, religious apprehensions, and other conservative prejudices, [such as those of] property relations that still affect family life [problem ekonomske nerazvijenosti, primitivizma, religioznih shvatanja, drugih konzervativnih predrasuda, privatno-svojinskog odnosa koji još djeluje na život u porodici]” (Penava, 1981, p. 282). In a 1959 interview to the magazine *Žena danas* [Woman Today], Josip Broz Tito elaborated:

Today it is often said that the woman returned to the kitchen voluntarily. No, she did not do it voluntarily, but because the conditions forced her to do so. Because she has started a family and

now she is not able to get to places where she would were it not for the family; she is prevented from participating in the social life in the ways she would were it not for the children. That is an absolute certainty. However, men are also responsible for such position of women nowadays. Many of our good men say to their wives: “You gave enough during the war, and now, after the war, you should assume the place that belongs to women”. They forget that our women did not deserve to be in the position that they occupied in the old Yugoslavia. Because [the women] fought against such a position. If we were to deny them this, it would mean that the revolution did not result in what we all fought, communists and other progressive people alike.

Danas se često kaže da se žena dobrovoljno vratila u kuhinju. Ne, ona to nije učinila dobrovoljno, već zato što su je uslovi na to natjerali. Zato što je stvorila porodicu i nije u stanju da stigne svugdje gdje bi mogla kad ne bi imala porodice; ona je spriječena da učestvuje u društvenom životu onako kako bi mogla kad ne bi imala djece. To je potpuno sigurno. Ali, za današnji položaj žena snose odgovornost i muškarci. Mnogi naši dobri ljudi kažu ženama: “Vi ste u ratu dale dosta, i sada, poslije rata, treba da zauzmete mjesto koje pripada ženi”. Oni zaboravljaju da naša žena nije zaslužila da ima ono mjesto koje je zauzimala u staroj Jugoslaviji. Jer, ona se protiv toga borila. Kada bismo joj mi osporavali, značilo bi da revolucija nije dala ono za što smo se borili svi mi, i komunisti i drugi progresivni ljudi.

(1977, p. 111)

As the time passed, however, it was more and more evident that not all of these problems can be relegated to the remnants of the bygone era, but they are produced by the antagonisms and deadlocks of the socialist modernity itself. Illustrative in that regard is an early 1970s sociological study about the women and self-management in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The author Franjo Kožul opens it with a pointed claim: “Numerous facts of life have been warning us for years now that the process of emancipation of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina is slowed down, if not stagnating [Brojne životne činjenice godinama nas upozoravaju da je proces emancipacije žene u Bosni i Hercegovini usporen, ako ne i u zastoju]” (1973, p. 7), as indicated with the problems such as “the double discrimination” (1973, p. 66), “permanent lagging of women in the sphere of education [permanently lagging of women in the sphere of education]” (1973, p. 67), or “permanent decrease of the number of the employed women [permanently decreasing number of employed women]” (1973, p. 101). Although the study acknowledges the law as one of the preconditions for women’s emancipation, Kožul does not privilege it; instead he maintains that “the social practice lags behind the legal-political regulation [praksa zaostaje iza pravno-političke regulative]”, and that “the woman in [Bosnia and Herzegovina] is deeply aware of the divergence between real life and legal norms [žena u BiH duboko svjesna ove divergencije između stvarnog života i pravnih normi]” (1973, p. 62).

1.2.3 The demise of the revolutionary heroine

The complexities of gender emancipation in Yugoslav socialism sparked a significant scholarly interest of feminist authors, upon whom my work substantially draws. As that theoretical lore is by no means homogenous, let me here in shorthand – and with the inevitable simplifications, I am afraid – emphasize some of their major stances and the differences within it.⁷

The most reductive of these views is the one that deems the gender order in the socialist Yugoslavia just another patriarchal plot against women. The work of historian Barbara Jancar–Webster, seminal as it is, remains notably tainted with this logic. For example, starting from a premise that “History has no recent examples of women initiating or organizing the war”, she concludes that “Women who become participants in a war are thus subordinated consciously or unconsciously to the requirements and shape of the outcomes demanded by the leading combatants” (Jancar–Webster, 1999, p. 68); this logic eventually frames the women participants of the antifascist struggle as not much more than puppets controlled by the men. Along the same lines, the Yugoslav socialism becomes an implicitly sexist conceit:

Authoritarian revolutionary regimes can liberate women only insofar as they understand liberation as a tool to serve their purposes. Initially, when women are moving out of the domestic environment of traditional society, the command nature of communist movements can produce changes in their status with relative efficiency because the kinds of change involved are susceptible to rule-making and administrative action. [...] However, the further advance of women toward equal status in society brings into question the whole structure of the male political hierarchy and hence is something that can only be won by women through their own efforts.

(Jancar–Webster, 1999, p. 67–68)

The optics that sees the socialist emancipation in terms of its ambiguous legacy captures the complexity of the vicissitudes of the Yugoslav gender-equality project more felicitously. A substantial part of feminist work on Yugoslav socialism – e.g. Božinović (1996), Jambrešić Kirin (2008), Pejić (2010), Ramet (1999), Sklevicky (1996), Slapšak (2001; 2005) – wrestles with both achievements and shortfalls of the Yugoslav socialism without yielding to the patriarchal or totalitarian-model narratives; instead, these authors treat both patriarchal and emancipating tendencies in socialism as historically conditioned. Interested in the paradoxes and contradictions of the gender order of the Yugoslav modernity, this perspective itself produces contradictory

⁷ Although I refer to some specific authors, I do not want to personalize the particular stances; a more elaborated account would easily demonstrate that many authors combine or oscillate between the several positions, depending on the variety of focal points and lines of argumentation in their works.

theses and conclusions, yet in terms of the production of knowledge these contradictions are far more important and productive than the certainties of the totalitarian-patriarchal plot.

According to the dominant feminist vantage, after the revolutionary change heavily shattered the traditional patriarchal ways in the war and in the late 1940s, the 1950s brought the re-patriarchalization or re-masculinization of the Yugoslav modernity. In their study on the women workers in the Yugoslav plastics industry, Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić elaborated this gender shift in terms of a turn from “the world of production” to “the world of consumption” (2013, p. 59). These two labels do not designate merely concrete economic practices but the systems of values and aspirations. The demise of the world of production does not mean that, for example, the women stopped working in the factories, but that their labour and their status of the workers has lost the aura of dignity and social desirability that they held during the late 1940s. In the same way, the consumption does not mean that all Yugoslavs flooded the first supermarkets and fairs to actually consume a variety of goods: what the still poor nation was primarily consumed was the very idea of consumption as the desirable activity, the notion that shopping is a precondition of the happiness, well-being, and the social status. This veritable shift in values, hence, was the testimony of “the exhaustion of the revolutionary morale” (Jambrešić Kirin & Blagaić 2013, p. 57).

Such a substantial shift entailed a respective change in the system of representations, which is inevitably gendered. Art historian Bojana Pejić traced the gradual, yet irreversible disappearance of women figures from the arts (paintings and sculpture). In the late 1940s, socialism realism boosted female allegorical figures which stood for the revolution, the anti-fascist struggle, and freedom. However, those images that coupled revolution and femininity “slowly departed from the collective remembrance staged in the monuments and films about our Revolution”, being replaced by the masculine figures that started dominating

all major memorials, smaller monuments, films, as well as posters printed for annual celebrations of the Day of the Republic. [...] The disappearance of the body of the (belligerent) comrades from patriotic war memorials and films was just one move indicative of a *de-gendering* of collective memory, of the two-gendered revolutionary endeavour, a shift that had already occurred in the Soviet Union after the October Revolution.

(Pejić, 2010, p. 100, original emphasis).

In another move indicative of the same global shift in representation, as Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić detect, “The Soviet-like tough proletarian woman in a work uniform soon lost its

credibility, and the habit of former female partisans to wear side caps (the so-called *titovka* [the Tito-style cap]) and war medals at the workplace disappeared; elegantly dressed and sexually attractive women took over the women's press and popular culture as early as the mid 1950s" (2013, p. 60, original emphasis). A more detailed study would certainly discover many factors that influenced the shift,⁸ but its main mechanism, after the introduction of the socialist-type of market economy, was a Yugoslav version of "the society of spectacle", to use the Guy Debord's trope. The femininity that was repressed from the sphere of revolution re-emerged in the sphere of consumption: "the allegory of revolution and Muhin's female proletarian became the girl from the ad for *Savica* engines, *Perion* laundry detergent or *Zvijezda* refined edible oil" (Jambrešić Kirin & Blagaić 2013, p. 61). As some of these products illustrate, these images re-domesticated the exemplary socialist woman, linking her to the household milieu that was progressively being filling up with the commodities (furniture, home appliances, etc.) that were at the same time presented as the objects of desire of a modern woman, but at the same time re-directed her from the public sphere to the private one. The revolutionary heroine that was eager to change the world around her with the gun or in the workplace was replaced with a pretty housewife that prefers governing her household and family, and her own appearance. According to Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić, that process amounted to "women's unfinished political subjectivation. It was accompanied by the political passivization of women and their sexualisation in the public sphere" (2013, p. 59).

Stillman's depiction of Yugoslavia in the early 1960s, which I have already tackled upon, offers one of the most striking illustrations of this process:

Dispirited Communist husbands have begun to retaliate in kind – shedding their superannuated *partizankas*, as the dedicated women who fought alongside them [in WWII] are known, in favor of younger, prettier, less ideologically marked wives – as often as not the daughters of the "reactionary" urban classes they had expected to wipe out in 1945–1946. There is a social reconciliation at work within today's Yugoslavia; the two old social enemies, Communists and bourgeoisie, are growing together. Time has begun to heal the wounds.

(Stillman, 1964, p. 92)

⁸ For example, the 1948 rift certainly had its share in this affair. In her speech in the late 1948, Vida Tomšič, one of the most renowned communist ideologues, argued that the Yugoslav socialism "will stand for happiness", in contrast to the Soviet "gray bureaucratic socialism"; in order to more fully emphasize the difference between "our" and Soviet socialism, she turned to the representations of femininity: "The women we see in the Russian newspapers are all drably dressed. This alleged requirement of socialism negates all that we want – beauty, joy, and diversity" (quoted in Pejić, 2010, p. 97).

Although, strictly speaking, it would be wrong to say that bourgeoisie persisted as a proper class in Yugoslav socialism, some of its values most certainly did. Thus, although Stillman most probably has in mind the actual marriages between the male communists and the daughters of the bourgeois pedigree, I am here more interested in the ways in which these “red bourgeoisie” matrimony shaped the public imaginary of the Yugoslav modernity, most prominently with the notion of the apolitical femininity. In other words, what remains symptomatic of the accounts like Stillman’s,⁹ is not simply that one social group of women gets deprivileged, but the way how one ideological-economic universe becomes gendered: in this case, how the communism is reduced to the “dispirited husbands”, whereas the bourgeoisie is incarnated in the “prettier yet ideologically less marked wives”.

Hence, although I do not subscribe to each of Jambrešić Kirin’s and Blagaić’s assumptions and conclusions,¹⁰ I find the gist of their argument salient. Taking it as the guideline in my own research, I will explore the relation between the classical Yugoslav cinema as the specific area of representation and the significant shift in gender representation during the period in question. Before proceeding in that direction, however, let me define the classical Yugoslav cinema and place it in its respective context – alas, again in a rather synoptic way.¹¹

⁹ Far more famous is the controversial Milovan Djilas’ attack on the new snobbery and immorality of the “new class” of the Party parvenues in 1954. The attack zeroed in on the wives – it goes without saying: housewives – of the high-ranking party functionaries, as the envious, idle, and gossiping batch that embodies the worst of the new class. Consequently, Djilas has been ostracized from the Party and became the most famous Yugoslav dissident. Stillman directly refers to Djilas’s attack and takes it as a cue for his own quip about the conciliation of the two ideologies.

¹⁰ For example, the thesis sometimes leans toward the men’s plot: indicative is a quote from the sociologist Vjeran Katunarić: “Like the revolution itself, anti-patriarchal revolution was stopped when it was clear that it was leading to either reified emancipation or women’s liberation unmatched in history, which no one could any longer control” (quoted in Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić, 2013, p. 57, fn. 31). Some theorists ascribe this revolutionary potential to the Anti-Fascist Front of Women [Antifašistički front žena – AFŽ], the communist organization aimed to both involving the women in the communist project and to the improvement of their lives; consequently, they deem the replacement of AFŽ with the Alliance of the Women’s Organizations [Savez ženskih organizacija] in 1953 as the watershed moment of the Yugoslav communists effectively betraying their own project of gender equality.

However, I remain skeptical about the supposed capacity of that project to spin out of control into an unprecedented liberation of women. I am closer to a view that does not overplay the importance of AFŽ (Burcar, 2014, forthcoming), especially given that the organization, faced with a legacy of poverty and patriarchal inequality, for the most part aimed to help the women get some basic rights and skills, not always achieving even that minimum (e.g. the AFŽ campaigns for removing the veil among the Muslim women in Bosnia and Herzegovina ultimately failed, so the law was eventually passed in order to regulate this issue [Penava 1981]).

¹¹ For more extensive, general accounts of the Yugoslav cinema of the period in question, see, e.g., Brenk (1962, pp. 413–427, 439–463), Goulding (2002, pp. 1–61), Kosanović (1966), Munitić (1977, pp. 31–137), Raspor (1988, pp. 11–26, 61–66), Škrabalo (1984, pp. 121–256), and Volk (1975).

1.3. The classical Yugoslav cinema

In pertaining to the concept of the classic Yugoslav cinema, I draw on Hrvoje Turković's analyses of style in Yugoslav cinema (1985a; 1985b; 2005a; 2012), which, at their most elementary, draw on the tripartite scheme of primitive, classical, and modern cinema as the three main mode of film practice, discernible both globally and domestically.¹² Turković's vantage is coterminous with David Bordwell's extensive elaboration of the concept of "mode of film practice", which posits the intricate relation between a film style and the respective mode of production, as Bordwell most meticulously demonstrated with regard to the classical Hollywood (Bordwell, Staiger & Thompson, 2005). Favouring the style analysis, Turković's defines the classical cinema primarily in terms of narration, the most elemental and succinct description of which was provided by the American scholar:

The classical Hollywood film presents psychologically defined individuals who struggle to solve a clear-cut problem or to attain specific goals. In the course of this struggle, the characters enter into conflict with others or with external circumstances. The story ends with a decisive victory or defeat, a resolution of the problem and a clear achievement or non achievement of the goals. The principal causal agency is thus the character, a discriminated individual endowed with a consistent batch of evident traits, qualities, and behaviors.

(Bordwell, 1985, p. 157)

When Yugoslav cinema appeared in the mid-1940, the classical narrative style was at the peak of its hegemony from Hollywood to many Western European cinemas to the Eastern European ones. Yugoslav cinema thus made its baby steps with its eyes on a variety of conventions and solutions of the classical ilk, emulating it in the ways that were, as we shall see, conditioned by a set of specific historical circumstances. Generally speaking, the classical style dominated Yugoslav cinema until the early 1960s, when – again drawing upon the international influences – the *novi film* will emerge.

1.3.1. The early classical period

In accordance with the overall socio-political and economic shift described in the previous subchapter, the classical Yugoslav cinema can be roughly divided in two sequences. The first

¹² For other authors who expounded and utilized the concept, see, e.g., Belan (1977, pp. 48–64), Gilić (2011, pp. 47–68), Kragić (2013), Novaković (1970, pp. 23–29), and Šakić (2004; 2008; 2013).

one overlaps with the period of the Yugoslav allegiance to the Soviet Union. Attempts in emulating the Soviet relation to cinema were discernible (1) in terms of defining the film primarily as the propagandist and educational tool, which resulted in what Turković labels deems the “ideologically-enlightening populism [ideološko–prosvjetiteljski populizam]” (1985a, pp. 16–19); and (2) in terms of its state-controlled organizational structure and economy, which afterwards labeled this period as the administrative period (Kosanović, 1976).¹³ Paradigmatic of the administrative governing were the Committee for Cinema in the Government of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia [Komitet za kinematografiju Vlade FNRJ], founded in 1946, and aiming to “establish a national film structure which would permit Yugoslavia to stand on its own feet and to free itself, in a relatively brief time, from the necessity of depending on foreign assistance and support” (2002, pp. 4–5).

Despite its centralized structure, the Committee paved the way for the first steps in decentralization of Yugoslav cinema. The committees for cinema were soon founded in each Yugoslav republic, together with the respective film enterprises. From 1946 to 1948, Yugoslavia saw an intensive development of the first pool of its major film enterprises: Avala Film in Belgrade (the Socialist Republic of Serbia), Jadran Film in Zagreb (SR Croatia), Triglav Film in Ljubljana (SR Slovenia), Bosna Film in Sarajevo (SR Bosnia and Herzegovina), Vardar Film in Skopje (SR Macedonia), and Lovćen Film in Budva (SR Montenegro). The grid of these film houses will remain the main production infrastructure of the classic Yugoslav cinema.

Another success was an unprecedented cinefication [kinofikacija]. The war-torn film theatres were repaired, and, even more importantly, the film theatres and projection halls were built in the places where they had never existed in the first place; these cinemas were connected into a functional network for coordinated distribution, which was also integral to this project. The *kinofikacija* resulted in a rapid increase of admissions, especially in the underdeveloped regions of the country where film theatres were unimaginable before the war. An official in the Bosnian committee for cinema lauded: “Certainly, no art after the war in our country has more forcefully broke itself a path and conquered the hearts of the people to swiftly and so completely as it was the case with cinema [Sigurno nijedna umjetnost poslije rata u našoj zemlji nije snažnije

¹³ For exemplary periodizations of Yugoslav cinema, see Kosanović (1976), Liehm and Liehm (1977), Munitić (1979), and Goulding (1985). By rule, the differences between them are a matter of nuance and not of some radically different or confronted views; one could say that we are constantly dealing with one and the same periodization, which is slightly modified with each new author, depending on their focus and approach.

probila sebi put i osvojila srca naroda tako brzo i potpuno kao što je to slučaj s filmom]” (Finci, 1948, p. 73). The cinema-going statistics confirm this judgment (e.g. Goulding, 2002, p. 5).

However, the biggest challenge to the cinema-in-becoming was a total lack of filmmaking experience. Cinema in the pre-socialist Yugoslavia had never developed into the steady, continuous film production that would provide the post-war pioneers with some infrastructure to build upon and tradition to draw upon (Kosanović, 2011; Slijepčević, 1982; Škrabalo, 1984; Volk, 1986). Some of them left to study abroad, others enrolled in the expressly founded film schools in the country, and most of them gained the first experiences shooting the news reels and documentaries.¹⁴ This lack of experience was the main reason why Mira Liehm and Antonín Liehm, despite noticing the major flaws of the first Yugoslav films, pleaded that those works should not be harshly judged: “the first Yugoslav films were primarily evidence of good will, enthusiasm, and persistence rather than works that can be measured by artistic criteria” (1977, p. 124). However, the Yugoslav film critics from back in the day were not so forgiving. As testified by a myriad of critical articles and public debates, they harshly criticized what Visko Raspor, the most prominent among them, labeled the “cinematic primitivism [filmski primitivizam]” (1988, p. 34).

The pervasive inaptitude enmeshed with what was considered to be the most proper aesthetics, at least at the start of the administrative period: socialist realism. To what extent and to what effects the Yugoslav cinema engaged with socialist realism is open to discussion. Some critics and scholars underplay its influence (e.g. Liehm & Liehm, 1977; Čolić, 1984; Munitić, 1974), the others are more critical about it (e.g. Goulding, 2002; Šakić, 2004), whereas some of the most recent scholarship blows it out of proportion (e.g. Musabegović, 2008; DeCuir, 2011). However, all of them effectively use a rudimentary and judgmental definition of socialist realism, which posits the style as a priori intertwined with propaganda, by rule in the most pejorative – and inadequate – meaning of the term.¹⁵ While we are still waiting for a comprehensive and

¹⁴ The most famous case of this early education was the Soviet production of *V gorakh Jugoslavii/In the Mountains of Yugoslavia* (1946, Abram Room, Eduard Tisse), the feature film that designated the Yugoslav partisan struggle from the Soviet vantage. The crew included the prospective Yugoslav filmmakers, who were supposed to learn from their Soviet colleagues. Vjekoslav Afrić and Žorž Skrigin, who were to direct and shoot, respectively, the first Yugoslav feature film *Slavica*, were also in the crew. Reportedly, unsatisfied with the Soviet version of the Yugoslav antifascist resistance, they made *Slavica* as a critical response to *In the Mountains of Yugoslavia*.

¹⁵ In her path-breaking study of the communist propaganda in Yugoslavia from 1944 to 1951, Carol S. Lilly warns that “propaganda” and “agitation” cannot be reduced to a mere “lying or a means of distracting public attention from despotic government”; her research revealed that “in most cases CPY propaganda accurately reflected

nuanced study of socialist realism in Yugoslav cinema,¹⁶ I believe that it is safe to say that the socialist realism cinema shaped Yugoslav cinema several years after the Stalin–Tito face-off, gradually falling from grace (at least to some extent and in some circles), i.e. in Raymond Williams’ terms, the status of socialist realism shifted from the hegemonic to the residual. However, to fully acknowledge the presence of socialist realism in Yugoslav cinema is to fully acknowledge its complexity. Believing that we should finally have to stop treating the style with exclusively in dismissive terms, in the following pages I will demonstrate that there is more to socialist realism than the one-note injunctions or the didactic sloganeering.



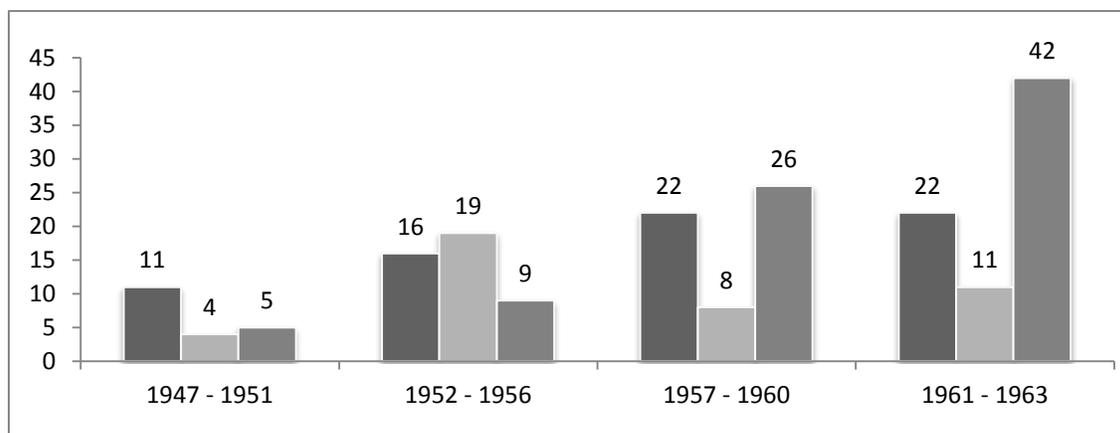
FIGURE 1.1–2 Early classical style: *Slavica* (1947)

The inexperience of the filmmakers and socialist realism gave birth to a style that “was neither maturely classical nor early-primitive; it was [...] some variant of the primitive style, but not the one which originates *ab ovo*, from the very beginning, but is founded upon the technological basis and some individual stylistic patterns that were developed and offered by the classical cinema [nije bila ni zrelo klasična a ni ranoprimitivna; bila je to [...] neka varijanta primitivnog stila, ali ne primitivnog stila koji nastaje *ab ovo*, iz samog početka, već nastaje na tehnološkim temeljima i nekim pojedinačnim stilskim obrascima koje je razvio i nudio klasični film]” (Turković, 2012). Hence, I label this peculiar style the *early* or *immature classical style* of Yugoslav cinema (FIGURE 1.1–2).

the party’s short-term and/or long-term goals and intentions. Although party rhetoric did offer some outright lies, [they] were easily recognized” (2001, p. 9).

¹⁶ For the exemplary studies that challenge the pejorative notion of socialist realism, see Clark (1981), and Lahusen and Dobrenko (1997).

TABLE 1.1 The ratio of the WWII/partisan films (the first column), historical films (the second one), and the socialism-set films (the third column), presented with the actual number of films



Thematically, half of the twenty feature films made from 1947 to 1951 designated the antifascist struggle of the partisans, the communist-led guerrilla in WWII (TABLE 1.1).¹⁷ The thematic supremacy was hardly surprising given the importance that WWII and the partisan movement had in the genesis of the socialist Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav debut feature *Slavica* (1947, directed by Vjekoslav Afrić), alloyed romance, social drama, and some rather ambitious action. A story of the antifascist rebellion in the countryside, *Živjeće ovaj narod/This People Will Live* (1947, Nikola Popović) was designated as an epic story, the main protagonist of which is more the collective of the peasantry and partisans, than any particular individual. Less epic in scope, but also defined by the rustic countryside setting are *Na svoji zemlji/On Their Own Soil* (1948, France Štiglic), *Barba Žvane/Uncle Žvane* (1949, Vjekoslav Afrić), and *Major Bauk* (1951, Nikola Popović); *Zastava/The Flag* (1949, Branko Marjanović) explored shifts from the urban to the bucolic, as its main protagonist leaves the city of Zagreb, which is the deep shadow by the quisling menace, for the pastoral province where she joins the partisans. Set in the big city of Belgrade and deprived of the folklore note, *Besmrtna mladost/Immortal Youth* (1948, Vojislav Nanović) was first of the suspenseful, thriller-like films about the communist resistance in the urban centres, *Crveni cvet/Red Flower* (1950, Gustav Gavrin) was the first Yugoslav war

¹⁷ The table does not include the international co-productions, the most of which are set in the pre-WWII period. If a film is substantially set in several historical periods, I itemized it in the all respective columns.

prison/camp film. With its titular juvenile protagonist, *Dečak Mita/The Boy Mita* (1951) opened the door for many WWII-set children and youth films.¹⁸

Out of five films set in the post-war present, four were celebrating the “renewal and construction [obnova i izgradnja]” of the war-torn country one way or another. *Život je naš/Life is Ours* (1948, Gustav Gavrin), was a clumsy heavy-handed ode to the youth labour brigades and mass construction projects that build the country’s infrastructure in record time. *Priča o fabrici/Story of a Factory* (1949, Vladimir Pogačić) and *Jezero/Lake* (1950, Radivoje Lola Djukić), combined melodrama with sabotage plots, especially addressing the status of woman in the urban and rural milieu, respectively. The first Yugoslav comedy *Plavi 9/Blue 9* (1950, Krešo Golik) introduced the motif of leisure through sports, yet carefully subdued it to the imperative of the work. *Poslednji dan/The Last Day* (1951, Vladimir Pogačić) was the first Yugoslav exercise in crime film.

Four films were set in the earlier historical epochs. *Sofka* (1949, Radoš Novaković), and *Bakonja fra Brne/Monk Brne’s Pupil* (1951, Fedor Hanžeković) – the adaptations of the classical realist novels by Bora Stanković and Simo Matavulj, respectively – both depicted how the old patriarchal and class-biased norms destroy the lives of the vibrant, wide-eyed youngsters in the second half of 19th century. Far merrier were the mythical universes of the films that targeted young audience, drawing on the South Slavic folklore: *Čudotvorni mač/The Miraculous Sword* (1950, Vojislav Nanović) was obviously inspired with the Soviet fantasy *Kashchey bessmertnyy/Koschei the Immortal* (1944, Aleksandr Rou), whereas *Kekec* (1951, Jože Gale) featured the fearless titular shepherd from the eponymous Slovenian children classic.

Itemizing most of the early classical cinema, I want to stress that its generic and thematic variety symptomatically reveals that, as Turković would have it, “Although without tradition, our cinema did not develop in a vacuum. Our film theatres were overflown with varied, complex

¹⁸ Genre-wise, *Majka Katina/Mother Katina* (1949, Nikola Popović) is also a war film, although it is not set in WWII and does not celebrate Yugoslav partisans, but the struggle of the communist guerrilla in the Greek civil war in the late 1940s. Deeming it an atypical example of the genre, I counted it in the statistics on the WWII/partisan films in TABLE 1.1.

Mother Katina is also interesting as the first (unofficially) banned Yugoslav feature film, as it never received a certificate of approval and wound up shelved. The film vilified the role of Americans and the Western diplomacies in the Greek conflict, but was completed in the moment when Yugoslavia, after being kicked out of Cominform, had to turn to the West for political and economic support. One should appreciate the irony of the situation: whereas the censorship in Yugoslav cinema is by rule seen in terms of dogmatism (e.g. the “black wave” campaign in the late 1960s as an example of “re-Stalinisation”), the very first ban in Yugoslav cinema was a pragmatic decision made in attempt to court Americans and other Western democracies, i.e. to show that the country left the Stalinist East for the West.

and developed patterns of filmmaking, from all around the world. Valuation standards were suddenly increasing as the ideological iconography swiftly depleted [Premda bez tradicije, naš se film nije razvijao u vakuumu. Naša su kina bila preplavljena raznovrsnim, složenim i razvijenim uzorcima filmovanja, odasvud iz svijeta. Vrijednosni standardi naglo su rasli a zadana se ideološka ikonografija brzo iscrpila]” (1985, p. 45).

1.3.2. The rise and zenith of the classical style

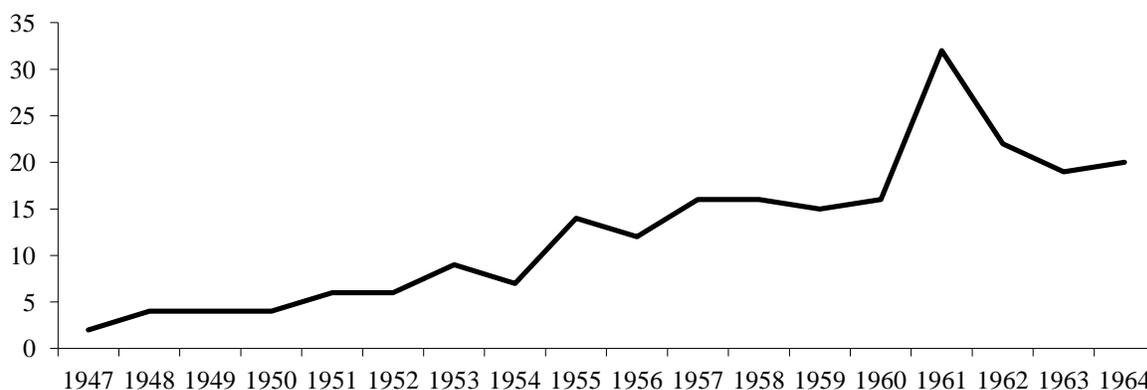
The second major period of Yugoslav cinema coincides with the first decade of the self-governing socialism. The most intense socio-economic development of the country could not but profoundly affect cinema and film culture. Although Kosanović marks the beginning of the period of reorganization with the disbanding of federal government’s Committee for Cinema in 1951 (1976, p. 53), the origins of the changes can be traced back to the self-management law in 1950 that transformed the film enterprises into the working organizations owned and run by their own employees. The passing of the Basic Law on film [Osnovni zakon o filmu] in 1956 was another milestone in the reform of Yugoslav cinema. The government finally realized that cinema is too expensive to be handled in the way as it was during the administrative period. That does not mean that the mechanisms of political control over cinema were utterly suspended in the 1950s, yet their impact was relaxing as the economy was acknowledged as the real game in the (Yugoslav Tinsel) town.

The managers of the film enterprises replaced the ideologues as the prime movers of the Yugoslav cinema; hence the label “the producer’s cinema [producentska kinematografija]” for the organizational infrastructure of Yugoslav cinema from 1956 till 1962 (Škrabalo, 1984, pp. 177–186). The massive film enterprises were radically refashioned in order to become more efficient and economic. The most of the fully employed filmmakers – directors, actors to screenplay writers, cinematographers, composers, art directors, costume designers etc. – were fired from the enterprises, and have been given the status of “the free-lance artists [slobodni umjetnici]”, becoming employed from one production to another. Also, the so-called “technical basis” units of the film enterprises (camera, lighting, sound equipment, laboratories etc.) were decoupled from the production in the narrow sense (planning and budget, contracting the now independent film artists, negotiating with the distribution companies, etc.). In the second half of

1950s it was the market that effectively shaped Yugoslav cinema, although it was still supported by the republic funds for cinema – a testimony of the ever-lasting fact that, no matter how intense economic development, Yugoslav cinema could never survive in the market terms only.

The films remain the best indicators of the sea change. First, in terms of quantity, Yugoslav cinema was constantly on a rise, with some oscillations and the two significant leaps, in 1956 and 1961 (TABLE 1.2).¹⁹ Also, the hegemony of socialist realism expired by the mid-1950s, as the WWII/partisan film loses its dominance over the historical and the contemporary-set films. The former gained upper hand over the two other groups in the first half of the 1950s, whereas the latter were on a constant increase from the second half of the decade, plummeting in the early 1960s into the largest batch (TABLE 1.1); they will keep that supremacy until the very end of Yugoslav cinema in 1991.

TABLE 1.2 The number of feature films during the era of the classical Yugoslav cinema



Underneath these general shifts in style and setting, a sparkling differentiation of the genres continued. If we are to rely on Turković’s classification again, the didactic enlightening populism of the socialist-realist ilk withdrew in front of the classical “urban and folklore populism”, just as in front of the first attempts in “art cinema”; these categories are anything but clear-cut separated (1985, pp. 19–27). As I cannot itemize here all the films of this period, I will sketch the plurality of genres and styles by glossing the work of two prominent directors of the classical Yugoslav cinema, Vladimir Pogačić and František Čap.

¹⁹ As the increase in film output coincided with the passing of the Basic Law in 1956, some periodizations emphasize this year: Liehm and Liehm (1977) deem it the genuine end of the first stage of Yugoslav film, whereas Ranko Munitić (1978) splits the 1950s into two periods, with 1956 as the turning point. According to Raspor, this quantitative increase significantly coincided with the qualitative one: his general appraisal of the 1956 films is his first positive judgement of the Yugoslav annual production (1988, pp. 115–120).

Pogačić's work combines the art-elitist tendencies with the loose generic frames. After a socialist-realist drama with a hint of suspense (*Story of a Factory*), and the first full-blown exercise in the crime genre in Yugoslav cinema (*The Last Day*), Pogačić directed two adaptations of the classical Yugoslav literature: an Oedipal melodrama that mixes class conflict and the gender inequality in Dalmatia, the late 19th century, *Nevjera/Shame* (1953) is based on the play "Ekvinocij [Equinox]" by Ivo Vojnović, whereas *Anikina vremena/Anika's Times* (1954), made after the eponymous novella by Ivo Andrić, designates the Ottoman Bosnia – or rather Oriental milieu – in the noir-ish optics; *Veliki i mali/The Big and the Small* (1956), delivers a mixture of family drama and chamber thriller set in WWII; the omnibus *Subotom uveče/Saturday Evening* (1957) offered three slices of the socialist urban life in mid-1950s; *Sam/Alone* (1959) is a WWII-set film about a encircled partisan unit; *Pukotina raja/Heaven without Love* (1959) returns to the socialist present, to tell a story about a marital misery that ends with the suicide of the main female protagonist; *Karolina Riječka/Karolina of Rijeka* (1961) is another costumed melodrama adapted from an acclaimed literary source (the eponymous story by Drago Gervais); his last feature film *Čovjek sa fotografije/The Man in the Photograph* (1963) is another WWII-set thriller-like crime story.

When Czech émigré director František Čap entered Yugoslav cinema, he had more than twenty films and several film prizes under his belt. His Yugoslav debut *Vesna* (1953) was a game-changer in the Yugoslav cinema in more ways than one. Not only was it the first feature that boasted the mature classical style, but apparently it had nothing with the themes and imperatives that had dominated the cinema (the antifascist tradition, the reconstruction, or the pre-war history of social inequalities). With its hearty and attractive adolescent cast of non-professionals engaged in a light-hearted high-school romantic comedy about mistaken identities and first love, *Vesna* was recognized as the first "hollywoodized" Yugoslav film. It became a smashing hit and won Čap a prize for directing, at the first Yugoslav film festival – still labeled as a revue at that point – in Pula in 1954. After the partisan drama *Trenutki odločitve/The Moments of Decision* (1955), Čap made the sequel to *Vesna*. *Ne čakaj na maj/Don't Whisper* (1957) flamboyantly surpassed the original with more good-looking and trendy youth, glamour, leisure, sports, and music numbers. *Vrata ostaju otvorena/The Doors Remain Open* (1959) is a melodrama about the juvenile delinquent who intrudes a hapless family, pretending to be their son long lost in the war (FIGURE 1.3), whereas *X 25 javlja/X 25 Reports* (1960) is a spy thriller

about a young communist who infiltrates the Nazi secret service. A musical comedy *Srešćemo se večeras/We Will Meet Tonight* (1962) catered to a national obsession with the music festivals in the early 1960s, whereas *Naš avto/Our Car* (1962), a small town-set comedy of mentality, ridiculed consumerism. As we shall see in the following pages, these are by no means the only films that Čap made during this period.²⁰



FIGURE 1.3 Mature classical style: *The Doors Remain Open* (1959)

The versatility of the two directors was not exceptional.²¹ The ripening and zenith of the classical Yugoslav cinema was a wonderfully mercurial mess: Hollywood-style melodramas were mingling with neorealism, the western fused with the partisan film, the remnants of the socialist-realist didactics rubbed with musicals. Just as the styles and genres circulated and enmeshed, so did the filmmakers. As the free workers, they could have applied with their projects to all film enterprises, just as any enterprise could have offered a contract to any artist. That caused a

²⁰ For more details about Čap, see Vrdlovec and Dolmark (1981), and Štefančič (2005).

²¹ I could easily replace them here with, for example, Branko Bauer and Žika Mitrović and I would get equally rich variety of styles and genres. Indeed, the main reason for not detailing here Bauer's and Mitrović's oeuvre is that I will later extensively analyze their films more than those of Pogačić and Čap.

notable migration of directors between the film centers.²² The actresses and actors travelled even more intensively, as their popularity was not limited to the specific ethnic or cultural enclaves. Severin Bijelić, Marija Crnbori, Milena Dravić, Boris Dvornik, Ilija Džuvalekovski, Irena Kolesar, Marijan Lovrić, Olivera Marković, Rade Marković, Tamara Miletić, Antun Nalis, Stane Sever, Bert Sotlar, Mira Stupica, Ljuba Tadić, Antun Vrdoljak, Pavle Vuisić, or Stevo Žigon – to name just a few popular thespians – were gracing the films regardless of the film enterprise, i.e. of the republic they were produced in. To be a film star in Yugoslav cinema meant to be an all-Yugoslav star.

The final illustration of the economic turn comes from the chronically under-researched “international adventures”²³ of the classical Yugoslav cinema. When the government started cutting its subsidies, the film enterprises expressly turned to the foreign production partners. The joint ventures were targeting not only Yugoslav audience, and were supposed to provide the Yugoslav filmmakers with opportunity to learn tricks of the trade from the more experienced and knowledgeable colleagues from abroad. The first Yugoslav co-production was *Poslednji most/Die Letzte Brücke/The Last Bridge* (1954, Helmut Käutner). The joined venture of Austrian Cosmopol Film and Belgrade-based UFUS boasted the German and Austrian film stars such as Maria Schell and Bernhard Wicki, and picturesque Yugoslav landscapes. In the next ten years, *The Last Bridge* was followed by another sixteen that were marked as co-productions in the Yugoslav register of films; the fact that only two of these were made with the partners from Eastern bloc, illustrates the prevailing orientation in international matters. And yet, those co-productions are merely a tip of the iceberg of the international adventures of the classical Yugoslav cinema, as the film enterprises were not always registered as the co-producers proper, but as providers of technical services. Already in 1953 – one year before *The Last Bridge* – Triglav Film joined the Austrian film company Helios Filmproduktion in the production of *Irene in Nöten/Irene's Dilemma*, directed by E.W. Emo; by 1965 the Ljubljana enterprise took part in ten more international co-productions that I did not itemize in the previous paragraph (Furlan et al. 1994: 337). Or consider the case of Dubrava Film: formed from what used to be the

²² Consider the cinema of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina: out of twenty-three feature films produced by the Sarajevo film enterprises from 1951 to 1963, only seven were directed by the filmmakers who were Bosnians in terms of their place of birth or residence.

²³ I borrow the term from Tim Bergfelder (2005), who used it to label the international co-productions that, although part and parcel of the popular West German cinema in the 1960s, were too long despised by the mainstream film criticism and scholarship.

“technical basis” of Jadran Film, the enterprise provided the technical services for thirty-nine non-Yugoslav films, mainly Italian peplums, but also a few pearls like Abel Gance’s *Austerlitz/The Battle of Austerlitz* (1960), and Orson Welles’ *Trial* (1962). Equally illustrative are the Yugoslav films that were directed by the foreign directors, such as Claude Autant-Lara, Leonardo Bercovici, Giuseppe De Santis, and Andrzej Wajda, but do not officially stand for co-productions. And yet, if there was a single filmmaker who most fully embodied the international adventures of the classical Yugoslav cinema, it was František Čap. Beside his seven aforementioned Yugoslav features, he made three films for the non-Yugoslav producers: *Hilfe – Sie libt mich/Help – She Loves Me* (1956), *Die Geierwally/The Vulture Wally* (1956), and *La ragazza della salina/Sand, Love and Salt* (1957); and a Yugoslav international co-production *Am Anfang war es Sünde/In the Beginning was the Sin* (1954).²⁴

1.3.3. The rise of the modern Yugoslav cinema

In the early 1960s, the ever-developing Yugoslav cinema was about to undergo another major reform, which was again based in the more general socio-political shift. The new Constitution, which was passed in 1962, furthered the decentralization of the state, and the new Law on protection of domestic cinema [Zakon o zaštiti domaćeg filma] followed suit. The film enterprises lose monopoly as the new smaller production units like “film working association [filmska radna zajednica]”, and independent production companies gain immediate access to the film funding. The reshuffling of the institutional infrastructure buttressed the launching of “the watershed decade” (Turković, 1985a, p. 43): supported with the more flexible production arrangements, the modern cinema started occupying center stage under the sign of “the politics of auteur” and the *novi film* label.

Although the steep incline from the sixteen films produced in 1960 to the thirty two films in 1961 marked the quantitative peak of “the producer cinema”, it also revealed the main flaw of “the producer cinema”: catering to the supposed audience demands did not result in the increase of the films’ quality. Nothing quite illustrated that deadlock like a small deluge of films that were labeled as the “easy” or “commercial entertainment” genre: the musical comedies, the main

²⁴ In his 1955 article, Raspor chastised the “epidemy of the co-productions [koprodukciona epidemija]”, pointing out their minor artistic values and the submissive relation of the Yugoslav producers and filmmakers toward their Western partners (1988, pp. 39–41).

element of which was *estrada* – the Yugoslav pop music and its celebrity culture.²⁵ In the films like *Ljubav i moda/Love and Fashion* (1960, Ljubomir Radičević), *Nema malih bogova/There are No Lesser Gods* (1961, Radivoje Lola Djukić), *Velika turneja/The Grand Tour* (1961, Žorž Skrigin), and *Zvižduk u osam/Whistle at 8 p.m.* (1962, Sava Mrmak), the actors were mingling with the pop-music stars (Gabi Novak, Ivo Robić, and Djordje Marjanović, to name a few), as the plots conveniently revolved around musical festivals, dancing halls, and fashion shows (FIGURE 1.4).



FIGURE 1.4 The celluloid estrada: *Velika turneja/The Grand Tour* (1961)

Nowadays these films stand, at their most general, as the social documents about the rise of Yugoslav popular culture as integral to the general increase of the socio-economic standard in the late 1950s and early 1960s; more specifically, they are indicative of the synergy between film and record industry, as the most propulsive segment of the culture industry back then. However, back then, the critics lambasted them as the double failure of the “producer’s cinema” formula: they were bad and did not pay off (Boglič, 1962).²⁶ As Petra Hanáková would have it, these

²⁵ During the 1960s, the meaning of *estrada* will broaden as to include the folk music as well (Hofman, 2010).

²⁶ The “easy” comedies controversy culminated in the affair around the film *Šeki snima, pazi se!/Šeki is Shooting, Beware!* (1962, Marijan Vajda): the comedy about the (actual) football star Dragoslav Šekularac and his (fictive) attempts to make a film, was deemed as so abysmal, that its director was excluded from the Serbian guild of filmmakers (Polimac, 2009).

“easy” comedies were the exemplary “films that we are ashamed of”: a number of movies that are not only considered worthless from the perspective of the global history of cinema, but are also treated “with embarrassment and quickly discounted within the domestic context” for being “perceived as an intellectual, moral and aesthetic wasteland” (2008, p. 111).

The critical attack on the blatant commercialism of the “producer’s cinema” was a continuation of the criticism that had its origins earlier in the 1950s, as one of the first expressions of the modernist tendencies in Yugoslav cinema. Some of the most lauded *novi film* authors in the 1960s (e.g. Dušan Makavejev and Živojin Pavlović), started their careers in the 1950s as film critics and making their first short and experimental films in the “cine-clubs [kino klub]” (Babac, 2001; Benčić, Nenadić & Perojević, 2012; Benčić & Sekulić, 2012). In the name of the modernist developments and often with the zeal of the Young Turks, this new generation persistently criticized their predecessors, in the film press and other public forums, as the Yugoslav version of *cinéma de papa*, as it were.²⁷

The proponents of *novi film* rightly claim that the modern cinema of the 1960s was anticipated already in the 1950s, with the documentaries, experimental and short films of the future *novi film* authors. However, they are often silent about the extent to which classical feature conveyed or expressed the proto-modernist tendencies that boiled in the primordial ooze of the classic Yugoslav cinema. As early as 1953, Šime Šimatović’s *Kameni horizonti/Stone Horizons* short-circuited socialist realism with neorealist influences in an awkward mixture in which the former’s overt enthusiasm confronted the dispassionate non-dramatic moments. With its frame-story set in the first days after Liberation, *Koncert/Concert* (1954, Branko Belan) is a string of flashbacks that ambitiously designate the film’s main protagonist as an episodic character in her own life, as it were. Not all proto-modernist influences came from art cinema. A film driven by a couple of star-crossed anti-heroes, Pogačić’s *Anika’s Times* opens as a version of *The Postman Rings Twice* set in the Oriental milieu, and decidedly designates the fierce female sexuality through a set of metaphors. A crime story set in the railroad milieu, *Poslednji kolosek/The Last Track* (1956, Žika Mitrović) offered the first protagonist who turned out to be a murderous, remorseless villain. Disrespectful for the heroic tradition and the socialist values (embodied in his own father), the restless and doomed criminal, for the first time conveyed much of the

²⁷ See, for example, the recollections by Dušan Makavejev, Živojin Pavlović and Slobodan Selenić about the odium against Vojislav Nanović (Pajkić, 1993); also, see Pajkić (2001, p. 247).

attitude which will be the trademark of many *novi film* protagonists. A story about a bus and a truck that are about to collide, *H-8...* (1958, Nikola Tanhofer) casts the two narrators, who in an emphatic voice-over, in a manner of the news reel commentators, anticipate the impending bloodbath right from the start, informing us about the back stories about the specific passengers and carefully disclosing selected details about the crash, thus enticing suspense. In 1959, several films dared to quit with the happy-endings, unambiguously positive characters, and heroic narratives. I have already mentioned the suicidal heroine of Pogačić's bleak marital drama *Heaven without Love*; in his other, partisan film *Alone*, not even the final act of heroism utterly recuperates the deeply disturbed nature of its protagonist, a hyper-nervous coward who schemes his way to leave his squad and surrenders to the Nazis. Branko Bauer's *Tri Ane/Three Anas*, a neorealist-influenced story about a poor working man who tries to find a daughter lost in the war, for the first time shows us the gritty underworld of the suburban slum, which will become the standard setting of many *novi films*. Even Čap's *The Doors Remain Open*, a melodrama which was univocally roasted by the critics, hides under the Čapian trademark, sugar-coating a protagonist far more troubled, and a denouement far more ambiguous than the contemporaneous critics were willing to admit.²⁸ Although these films did not bring the modernist turn in Yugoslav cinema, they are indicative of the way in which the Yugoslav classic corresponded with the proto-modernist tendencies in the contemporary European cinema. In other words, not modern films per se, the titles like these did buttress and anticipate the modern Yugoslav cinema proper.

The filmmakers of the classic period reacted differently to the rise of the modernist auteur-centered notion of cinema and the exhaustion of "producer cinema". Some simply sank (František Čap, Vojislav Nanović, Vladimir Pogačić), others tried to adapt to the imperatives of the modernist style to an extent (Branko Bauer, Nikola Tanhofer), whereas some transformed into the *novi film* authors (Puriša Djordjević, Vatroslav Mimica). However, many continued to make films in accordance with the classical narrative model (Krešo Golik, Žika Mitrović, Jovan Živanović, and Bauer eventually returned to the classical narrative mode). Finally, what often remains unsaid in the recent appraisals of *novi film*/"black wave", the classical narrative model also percolated some exemplary *novi film* works (Krstó Papić, Živojin Pavlović, Aleksandar Petrović, Mića Popović).

²⁸ For the proto-modernist readings of those and other classical films, see, for example, Jovanović (2012), Novaković (2010), Polimac (1976), Šakić (2004; 2012), and Turković (2005b).

1.3.4 The celluloid gender: The myth, the degradation, the subject

Before elaborating extensively upon the ways in which Yugoslav cinema participated in the shifts in imaginary that was integral to the gender order from the late 1940s to early 1960s, let me sum up some of the first accounts of those matters, already penned by the critics in socialism. We owe one of the first interventions of that kind to Mira Boglić, an influential film critic from Zagreb, who embodied what we could call, with regard to her ideological allegiance, the mainstream or hegemonic film criticism. In 1969, she published an article under the telling title “Putovanje u neizvjesnost: Od mita do subjekta [A journey into uncertainty: From myth to subject]”, which in the broad strokes discusses the vicissitudes of the female protagonists in the Yugoslav cinema, during its first two decades. Not surprisingly, Boglić’s gambit zeroes in on *Slavica*, the first Yugoslav feature, connoting the simultaneous – even synchronic – novelty of the socialist order, gender emancipation and cinema: “Maybe it is not a coincidence that the new era of cinema in Yugoslavia, that is the era of the continuous film-making, began with the film titled *Slavica*. [...] Despite a number of male heroes, which continue to live in legend through song and tale, one little girl had the honour to be the very first heroine of the new Yugoslav cinema [Možda i nije slučajno što je nova era filma u Jugoslaviji, odnosno era filmskog stvaralaštva u kontinuitetu započela filmom kojeg je naslov bio Slavica. ... Unatoč brojnim muškim likovima, kojih je legenda snažno živjela i u pjesmi i usmenoj predaji, jedna je mala djevojka doživjela tu čast da bude prva juankinja novog jugoslavenskog filma]” (1980, p. 121). The classical cinema followed suite with many a WWII-set films that put the woman on the pedestal, such as:

a combatant, a nurturer, a consoler, a hero. She accomplishes dangerous tasks and dies heroically on her battlefields of revolution. She is a shelter of warmth and lyric in the harsh temptations of the war, on the weary marches and next to the hungry camp fires. She is a mother who loses children and saves children, a widow, a sister, faithful “beloved”, who carries the gun as an equal. The equality is not only recognized, but the woman character stands as some sort of symbol of tenderness and poeticism in the wartime brutality, set very high, almost like a monument, certainly as a myth.

i borac, i njegovateljica, i tješiteljica, i heroj. Ona izvršava opasne zadatke i herojski pogiba na svojim bojištima revolucije. Ona je i utočište topline i lirike u teškim ratnim kušnjama, na umornim marševima i kraj gladnih logorskih vatri. Ona je majka koja gubi djecu i spasava djecu, udovica, sestra, vjerna “ljuba”, koja ravnopravno nosi pušku. Ravnopravnost ne samo da je

priznata već je ženski lik neki simbol nježnosti i poetike u ratnoj grubosti, postavljen vrlo visoko, gotovo kao spomenik, svakako kao mit.

(Boglić, 1980, pp. 122–123)

However, even if one recognizes its affirmative character to an extent, the mythic wartime femininity cannot remain the only type of the celluloid women. For Boglić, the myth is but a one of the two extreme types of representations, which are the results of the male prejudices about women: as the positive prejudices begets the myth, the negative ones wind up in the cinematic degradation of a woman. The reference to degradation is anything but accidental. By 1969, when Boglić writes her article, *novi film* flaunted the drastic images of femininity, either positing the women as embodiment of the social sins, or as subjected to extreme physical and sexual violence, and sometimes as both.²⁹ Hence, with the *novi film* works in mind, Boglić concluded that the Yugoslav cinema stands in the middle between the mythic and degrading images of women, but “with the obvious tendency for the latter [s očitom tendencijom prema drugoj]” (1980, p. 122). And yet, the critic did not simply dismiss all modern representations of women, but questions the authenticity of their status:

The same thing that happened to the male hero starts happening to the female as well. After all, from Slavica the partisan to Izabela the switchboard operator, Višnja from Tašmajdan, poor peasant Marija, the little house maid and one divorced Mom, twenty years have passed and during that time one myth gave way to the very realistic portraits. The contemporary woman has stepped into our cinema, and with her came some of her problems. However, the question is whether the woman – even in those films where the scribes wanted – became the main protagonist, the leading figure, whether she became a subject.

Ono što se dogodilo s muškim herojem u nas, počinje se događati i sa ženskim. Od Slavice partizanke do Izabele poštarice, Višnje s Tašmajdana, sirote seljanke Marije, male kućne pomoćnice i jedne rastavljene Mame, prošlo je ipak dvadeset godina i za to vrijeme jedan mit ustupio je mjesto veoma realističnim portretima. Suvremena žena kročila je u naš film, a s njom je došlo i ponešto njezinih problema. Pa ipak se postavlja pitanje je li žena zaista i u onim filmovima gdje su to scenaristi željeli postala glavna junakinja, vodeći lik, da li je postala subjekt. (Boglić, 1980, p. 122)³⁰

²⁹ In 1967, Petar Krelja wrote “Opake žene [The fatal women]”, to the best of my knowledge the first article that tackled the unflattering – to say the least – images of women in the Yugoslav *novi film*. More on this in the next chapter.

³⁰ Beside Slavica from the eponymous film, Boglić also refers to the female protagonists of the films *Ljubavni slučaj ili tragedija službenice PTT/Love Affair, or the Tragedy of a Switchboard Operator* (1967, Dušan Makavejev), *Višnja na Tašmajdanu/Višnja at Tašmajdan* (1968, Stole Janković), *Sirota Marija/Poor Marija* (1968, Dragoslav Lazić), *Tri sata za ljubav/Three Hours for Love* (1968, Fadil Hadžić), and *Imam 2 mame i 2 tate/I've Got 2 Moms and 2 Dads* (1968, Krešo Golik).

Acknowledging that the classical Yugoslav film had its share of female protagonists, Boglić nevertheless argues that all of their attempts to become the proper subjects failed: “the woman-object fails to emerge from her fish tank [žena objekt ne uspijeva isplivati iz svog akvarija]” (1980, p. 124). The first genuine female subject in Yugoslav cinema, according to Boglić, will appear in *Ples v dežju/A Dance in the Rain* (1961, Boštjan Hladnik): “She is Maruša, who pays for her liberation with her life, but wins it nevertheless. [At] the threshold of a mature age, aware that she has failed in every segment of her life, including her last romance, she finds strength to commit a conscious suicide. That is a contemporary Joan of Arc, who dies to set free the heroin of the Yugoslav cinema of all of her addictions. [To je Maruša, koja doduše svoje oslobodjenje plaća životom, ali ga osvaja. [Na] pragu zrelih godina, svjesna da je promašila sve u životu, pa i svoju posljednju ljubav, nalazi snage za svjesno samoubojstvo. To je suvremena Jeanne d’Arc, koja umire da bi junakinju jugoslavenskog filma oslobodila svih zavisnosti]” (1980, p. 124). Hladnik’s heroine has thus broken the ice, and a variety of female subjects in Yugoslav cinema did appear: Boglić recognizes them in the protagonists of *Prekobrojna/The Superfluous One* (1962, Branko Bauer), *Rana jesen/Early Autumn* (1962, Toma Janić), *Čudna devojka/Strange Girl* (1962, Jovan Živanović), *Tople godine/Warm Years* (1966, Dragoslav Lazić) etc. And yet, reducing the balance of the modern Yugoslav cinema at the end of the 1960s, Boglić concluded that the filmmakers, even when foregrounding the women and apparently empathizing with her, actually more pertained to their fetishist visions of women, than to the truth of the many Yugoslav women who are not the erotic dolls, patriarchal petty-bourgeoisie, or the poor girls cheated by the macho types: “the reality of the Yugoslav working woman does not exist in our films. [That] ordinary, normal and everyday woman remains unknown to our cinema; it has no interest in her in this moment of exultation and grand effects [stvarnost jugoslavenske radne žene ne postoji u našim filmovima. (Tu) običnu, normalnu i svakodnevnu ženu naš film ne poznaje, ona mu u ovom trenutku egzaltacije i velikih efekata nije interesantna]” (1980, p. 125).

It is not without irony that from our vantage – which includes the criticism of the objectification of women along the ideals of the consumer society – even Boglić’s exemplary celluloid female subject – Maruša in *A Dance in the Rain* – turns to be a woman-object. She decides to commit suicide in an attempt to save her own image of her younger, prettier, and more desirable self. In a crass eruption of scorn, her reluctant lover Peter lambasts her in public as the old and ugly woman: “You have such ugly hands! I hate them! And your face – I never liked it!

It is too wide, your eyes too large... And your skin is not soft, you do not nurture it! What an ugly, neglected skin!” Maruša leaves the restaurant where this humiliating act takes place – Peter, as if entranced with his own rant, does not even notice that she is gone! – and goes back home where she repeats the lover’s accusations: “What did he say? Ugly, plain [hands] – are these a woman’s hands at all? [...] Old, repulsive, even as a mistress! What if all this is true?” Eventually, she concludes: “Reality is my enemy. I want another reality, my own reality! Yes, forever! I will not let them steal my world!” – and drinks the poison that she had in stash. These over-the-top theatrics were hardly part of the everyday reality of the ordinary working woman that Boglić argued for in the very same article, yet they do tell something about the women’s anxiety caused by maturing and getting, under the pressure of the standards of beautiful, youthful femininity in the early Yugoslav consumerist age. But, most of all, the film is about the men’s power to superimpose their own fantasies of women over the real women. In what is arguably the film’s most grotesque scene, a young man, who idealizes Maruša to a point of paroxysm, comes to her apartment, gently talks to her, kisses her feet, and finally leaves, absolutely blind to the fact that his diva who silently sits in the armchair is not flabbergasted by his adoration but simply dead.

Boglić was by no means the first who criticized the gender/sexual politics of modernist cinema already back in the 1960s and early 1970s. Exemplary in that regards was Petar Krelja’s article “Kobne žene jugoslavenskog filma [The Fatal Women of Yugoslav film]” (1970), and its main point that derogatory representations of women were nothing short of the defining trait of *novi film*:

the common of the new Yugoslav film is – a woman! From the outset we have to explain that the more significant works of domestic cinema uphold the thought of women bearing a great deal of guilt because the world in which we live is not better, more beautiful or more noble [...]. Our domestic authors charge them severely and put them on bench for the accused not only because these women – allegedly – unambiguously accepted the morality that is characteristic of the problematic milieus, but also because they, by means of their profoundly vice-ridden behavior, themselves imprinted their fire-heated branding iron of the amorality on the denuded body of life. [A]s the works of Yugoslav cinema persuade us, women are debauched to the extent that is fantastical, terrifying and fatal for the future of this milieu.

zajedničko novijeg jugoslavenskog filma sadržano je – u ženi! Odmah moramo objasniti da značajnija djela domaće igrane kinematografije zagovaraju misao da dobar dio krivnje što svijet u kojem živimo nije bolji, ljepši i plemenitiji snosi ženska čeljad [...]. Domaći autori teško ih terete i bacaju na optuženičku klupu [...] ne samo zato što su – navodno – bez dvoumljenja prihvatile moral svojstven problematičnim sredinama, već i zbog toga što su svojim duboko poročnim

ponašanjem i same utisnule svoj originalni usijani žig amoralnog na razgolićenom tijelu života. [K]ako nas uvjeravaju djela jugoslavenske kinematografije, žene su se pokvarile do fantastičnih, zastrašujućih i po sudbinu ove sredine fatalnih razmjera.

(p. 26)

Elaborating his point with virtually all of the *novi film* canon, Krelja invokes *Panic in the Streets* (1950, Elia Kazan), noir thriller in which police chases a gangster who accidentally contracted a deadly virus and thus could spread the plague. In a similar way, says Krelja, the *novi film* filmmakers consider that the woman “in her fragile organism and feeble spirit may unconsciously carry the vice of our society” (1970, p. 36).

Krelja’s article fascinates in more ways than one. Historically, it precedes the classics of the Western feminist film theory, itself only in a larval stage back then.³¹ Unfortunately, it did not incite any substantial lineage of gender-related film criticism in Yugoslavia, a testimony that the machoist attitude did not only dominate filmmaking but also significantly influenced film criticism as well. In terms of strategy, Krelja cuts to the chase at the expense of more elaborated analysis that might have revealed important differences in the gender politics from one director to another. However, I find the gist of the thesis salient: for all its hailed novelty and courage, a significant portion of *novi film* relied on the outworn misogynist mantra on the instinctual sexuality as the alpha and omega of femininity.

To be sure, Krelja stopping short of directly accusing *novi film* as such of misogyny. In another of his strategic claims, he warns that the Yugoslav filmmakers “do not charge and prosecute the woman [...] because of some of her alleged innate – feminine – weaknesses and proclivity towards treachery, as some unknowledgable people might believe [ne terete i ne proganjaju ženu (...) zbog nekih njezinih urođenih – ženskih – slabosti i sklonosti k izdajstvu, kako bi neupućeni pojedinci mogli povjerovati]” (1970, p. 36). The filmmakers’ focus on the woman as the main embodiment of the societal symptom reveals above all their laziness: instead of looking for other, more complex examples and expressions of social problems, they use the woman as their most visible manifestations. Their unforgiving depiction of women, *in ultima linea*, reveal them not as misogynist, but lazy and univertive authors.

Critically drawing on the insights of Boglić and Krelja, this thesis is not so much after establishing the standards of the proper female subjectivity, or detecting the failed versions of it.

³¹ Krelja penned the first version of the article under the title “Opake žene [The fatal women]”, and published it in 1967.

Instead, I will be more interested in the ways how the specific gender-related film narratives, motifs, and images shifted historically, without being guided by some teleology of “subject”, being it masculine or feminine. In other words, this thesis is a far cry from attempting to establish the formula of the “new socialist woman”, the “new socialist man”, or some other type of the socialist subjectivity, but more about the antagonism that thwart the possibility of those formulas from the start. In the following subchapter, I will outline the theoretical and conceptual preliminaries underlying this project.

1.4. Toward the Yugoslav cultural revolution

At its most theoretical level, this thesis relies on those strands of critical theory that deem the notion of ideology, in the words of Fredric Jameson, “surely the key link or mediatory concept in any attempt to link cultural objects with social phenomena” (1977, p. 543). Jameson famously conceptualized that link as “the political unconscious” (2002), mixing Marxism and psychoanalysis, the main theoretical tools of the feminist film theory. In a homology with the fundamental psychoanalytical notion of unconscious as the psychic domain that comprises incoherent and often contradictory impulses, the political unconscious embraces similar dynamics in the social field. Whereas the unconscious can be traced in dreams and other compromise formations from which the analysts then reconstruct the conflicted impulses, one can grasp the political unconscious through the works of culture, by means of which the critical theory should unravel and address the respective social contradictions.

Appropriating and varying this model, the feminist theory maintains that ideology, and does not merely act upon gender, but is integral to its very re-formation from one historical socio-political context to another. Explicating the link between gender and concept of *the ideological work*, Mary Poovey pointed out its twofold emphasis: first, as “the work of ideology”, representations of gender were “part of the system of interdependent images in which various ideologies became accessible to individual men and women”; second, “the work of making ideology” asserts that “representations of gender constituted one of the sites on which ideological systems were simultaneously constructed and contested [and] at which struggles for authority occurred, as well as the locus of assumptions used to underwrite the very authority that authorized these struggles” (1988, p. 2).

One can tackle the relentless work of ideology by means of the “dominant fiction”, another concept integral to the theoretical premises of the thesis. Jacques Rancière defined it as “the privileged mode of representation by which the image of social consensus is offered to the members of a social formation and within they are asked to identify themselves” (quoted in Silverman 1992: 30), whereas Kaja Silverman appropriated it and re-elaborates the substantial role of gender and sexuality in the social consensus: “The dominant fiction neutralizes the contradictions which organize the social formation by fostering collective identifications and desires, identifications and desires which have a range of effects, but which are first and foremost constitutive of sexual difference” (1994, p. 54). Conceived this way, the dominant fiction chimes in with another key concept articulated in the dialogue between psychoanalysis and Marxism: the conceptualization of *fantasy as a social affair*. Defying the notion of fantasy as a figment of imagination which resists reality, psychoanalytical theory emphasizes that our experience of reality is always framed by or filtered through some fantasy framework: “Social reality is always traversed by some fundamental impossibility, by an ‘antagonism’ which prevents reality from being fully symbolized. It is fantasy that attempts to symbolize or otherwise fill out this empty place of social reality. Fantasy thus functions as a scenario that conceals the ultimate inconsistency of society” (Salecl, 1994, p. 15).³²

Psychoanalytical theory additionally furthers this line of conceptualization with the notion of the “big Other”: the symbolic network of a given socio-ideological order, which encompasses a variety of the symbolic codes and rules – languages, laws, norms, values, and habits – many of them unwritten or vaguely assumed. By means of the big Other, we develop the very own experience of reality, i.e. the big Other provides us with the basic framework for grasping the “world” around us, and also endows us with different symbolic mandates and statuses, thus shaping our identity. At its purest, the symbolic structure of the big Other is fictitious and quasi-transcendental: it does not stand for a positive social fact, but appears to be more than a sum of concrete, existing institutions in a socio-ideological field (Salecl, 1994, p. 149, fn. 18). Consequently, then, the big Other cannot be but ridden by many ambiguities, contradictions and impasses; hence the Lacanian quip that “the big Other does not exist”, that is, “the big Other exists only to the extent that the subject presupposes the Other as an ideal order –

³² This insight is substantial in the re-conceptualization of ideology along the lines of Lacanian psychoanalysis, as most famously exemplified in the work of Slavoj Žižek (1989; 1997).

a system, logic or discourse which assures the meaning and consistency of the subject's action" (Salecl, 1994, p. 104). As this ideal order does not exist (i.e. the concrete social institutions that embody it cannot live up to it), the subject can be perplexed or traumatized by the symbolic mandate that the big Other bestowed upon her or him:

So, loaded with this mandate, the subject is automatically confronted with a certain "*Che vuoi?*", with a question of the Other. [...] the question is, of course, unanswerable. The subject does not know why he is occupying this place in the symbolic network. His own answer to this "*che vuoi?*" of the Other can only be the hysterical question: "Why am I what I'm supposed to be, why have I this mandate? Why am I [a teacher, a master, a king . . . or George Kaplan]?" Briefly: "Why am I what you [the big Other] are saying that I am?"

(Žižek, 1989, p. 113, original emphasis)³³

In that regard, Lacan's big Other overlaps with Rancier's concept of "dominant fiction": Although they might be grounded in some concrete social facts and institutions, they first and foremost operate at the level of the fantasy as the social binder.

An important stream of film studies kept on challenging the notions of social consensus and harmony, by designating the ideology as dispersed, dynamic, and ever oscillating between affirmation and contestation. Exemplary is the concept of Barbara Klinger's "cinematic *histoire totale*" as "a totalized view [that] provides a sense, not of *the* ideology the [film] text had in historical context, but its *many* ideologies. By placing a film within multifarious intertextual and historical frames—the elements that define its situation in a complex discursive and social milieu—the film's variable, even contradictory, ideological meanings come into focus" (1997, p. 110, original emphasis).

Accordingly, my thesis analyzes the Yugoslav films – that is, the film representations of gender – as indicative of many socio-ideological contradictions and struggles that were concealed by dominant fictions of early socialism, i.e. fantasies of a consistent big Other of the budding socialist modernity. Jameson's revamping of Lenin's concept of "cultural revolution" can help us to additionally elaborate on those inconsistencies. Criticizing the old Marxist assumption that each socio-economic formation is tied to a single respective mode of production,

³³ Slavoj Žižek incessantly re-elaborates the notion of big Other as one of the key Lacan's notions. This paragraph is exemplary: "The 'big Other' is simultaneously the presupposed Reason which confers meaning upon the meaningless contingency, *and* the pure appearance of Meaning to be maintained at any price. It is simultaneously another human being in its unfathomable singularity, beyond the 'wall of language' – the 'person' in its elusive abyss – *and* the 'anonymous' symbolic mechanism which regulates intersubjective exchanges" (2008, p. 226, fn. 22).

Jameson argues that in every historical society there is “the overlay and structural coexistence of *several* modes of production all at once [...], including vestiges and survivals of older modes of production, now relegated to structurally dependent positions within the new, as well as anticipatory tendencies which are potentially inconsistent with the existing system but have not yet generated an autonomous space of their own” (2002, p. 80, original emphasis). Consequently, he asserts that the cultural artifacts “emerge in a space in which we may expect them to be crisscrossed and intersected by a variety of impulses from contradictory modes of cultural production all at once”, and defines cultural revolution as “that moment in which the coexistence of various modes of production becomes visibly antagonistic, their contradictions moving to the very center of political, social, and historical life” (Jameson, 2002, p. 81). Jameson also insists that by cultural revolution one should not designate a punctual or short yet intense event or “transitional” period which we usually label revolution, for they are only momentary manifestations of what effectively is “a permanent process in human societies, of a permanent struggle between the various coexisting modes of production”; hence, the cultural analysis should rewrite “its materials in such a way that this perpetual cultural revolution can be apprehended and read as the deeper and more permanent constitutive structure in which the empirical textual objects know intelligibility” (2002, p. 83).

By appropriating the concept of cultural revolution, I explore gender motifs in Yugoslav films in terms of the perpetual struggle of different conceptions, which can be all too easily obfuscated if – along the totalitarian-model rostrum – one assumes that the gender order was just another mechanism of totalitarian terror. I argue that the gender order of Yugoslav socialism should be treated as a heterogeneous mixture of values, ideas, habits, norms, and practices, which we should not reduce to an ideology in the sense of the monolithic doctrine. Many of the notions of gender that circulated the socialist Yugoslavia were inherited or taken from the pre-socialist epoch, while some others were imported from non-socialist societies. The simple fact that they originated from non-socialist political context, did not necessarily mean that they were at odds with the socialist principles and that they could not play significant role in Yugoslav cultural revolution. This may seem more important if we take into consideration that the history of the Yugoslav socialism coincides with the one of the Cold War, to which Yugoslavia responded with its own strategies (e.g. the self-management at home, the concept of non-alignment in the international relations).

1.5. The structure of the thesis

In exploring and describing the gender-related issues of the Yugoslav socialist modernity as captured by and shaped by its respective classical cinema, I propose to contribute to at least three interrelated sets of literature in film/cinema studies, feminist scholarship, and history of the socialist period. First, I hope to contribute to the scholarship on the socialist-era cinema/film in Eastern Europe in general. By the mid-2000s this scholarship was dominated by the elemental chronological histories of the specific national cinemas,³⁴ whereas the second half of the decade witnessed the increase in theoretically informed academic work, which by now has established itself into a steady flux.³⁵ However, despite some major works (Mazierska, 2008; Mazierska, 2010; Mazierska and Ostrowska 2006), the gender as the analytical category and theoretical framework still did not firmly established itself in the field. Hence, I find gender integral in creating a left-field perspective of the study, which also includes a decided disregard for two still hegemonic features of the Eastern European cinema: the auteur-centered approach and the focus on the proverbial “Golden Age” of modern cinema in the late 1950s and 1960s. However, just as I firmly believe that the Eastern European “new waves” justly deserve to be explored from here to eternity, I will argue that that should not be done at the expense of the cinema that preceded them.

All these remarks apply in regard to the Yugoslav cinema scholarship as well. First, the lack of gender-related film analysis continues to plague the research of Yugoslav cinema. An article now and then (e.g. Dimitrijević, 2008; Jovanović, 2012; Kovačević, 2000; Kronja, 2012; Mozetič, 2009; Slapšak, 2000; Radić, 2011), and only one book-length study – Maja Bogojević’s *Cinematic gaze, Gender and Nation in Yugoslav Film: 1945–1991* (2013) – are hardly an enviable state of the gender-aware film theory. Second, as testified by the recent string of books

³⁴ See, e.g., Haltof (2002), Cunningham (2003), and Goulding (2003). For more theory-based approaches, see Feinstein (2002), Iordanova (2003), and Oleksy, Ostrowska, and Stevenson (2000).

³⁵ To a different degree, theory informs Berghahn (2005), Hanáková and Johnson (2010), Imre (2012), Iordanova (2006), Levi (2007), Mortimer (2009), Närepea and Trossek (2008), Owen (2011), Piwowska and Ronduda (2008), and Skrodzka (2012), among others. Launched in 2010, *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, as the first academic journal that showcases the cinemas of the region offers the supreme symbol of the new scholarship on Eastern European cinema.

on Yugoslav cinema, the researchers of Yugoslav cinema are still dominantly focusing on the *novi film* canon and its authors (DeCuir, 2011; Erent and Rhoads 2014, forthcoming; Kirn, Sekulić & Testen, 2012; Mortimer, 2009; Sudar, 2013). However, the context of the Yugoslav cinema scholarship begs an additional yet substantial remark. Unlike the cinema histories of the rest of the socialist European East, the history of the Yugoslav cinema has virtually disappeared as the object of research among the post-Yugoslav critics and scholars. In the moment when I started work on the thesis, dismantlement into the distinct ethno-national cinema entities was still dominant approach to the past of Yugoslav cinema. Strongly opposing such a treatment, I argue that the new epistemological and theoretical frameworks – most notably, the feminist and gender-related ones – are *sine qua non* of the vindication of Yugoslav cinema as a field of the scholarly interest.

Last but not least, I believe that the findings and arguments displayed in this study should not be seen as limited to the fields of Eastern European and Yugoslav cinema studies, as they might also contribute to the changing vision of the socialist cinema during the Cold war in European and global terms. The notion of the Yugoslav cultural revolution paves the way for an understanding of both Yugoslav cinema and gender order as not merely socialist affairs, in the sense of conveying only the presupposed communist doctrines. More than being a socialist gender order and a socialist cinema, they were a gender order and a cinema in socialism which encompassed not only the communist party dogmas but also a number of influences from the Western side of the Iron Curtain. Although this study does not directly explore those influences in a more direct way (say, by researching the dominance of Hollywood and Western European films in the Yugoslav film theatres), it nevertheless paves the way for the further exploration in that direction.

The most important part of my research was finding out and watching the feature films of the classical period: out of 185 films released from 1947 until the end of 1962, I have found and watched a little bit more than half of them. The elemental fact that some films were more accessible than others inevitably influenced the focus of the study. My final selection of the films analyzed in the thesis draws upon the thematic similarities of the works that turned out to be the most accessible: the WWII/partisan films, the films set in the context of the post-WWII reconstruction of the country, and the films about the peasantry. In other words, the thesis

explores the celluloid images of the three major protagonists of the Yugoslav socialist revolution: the partisan, the worker, and the peasant – not necessarily distinct in many cases.

The first chapter tackles the epistemological issues that gave rise to this thesis in the first place. In its first part, I dispute the use of the term “totalitarian cinema” as appropriate with regard to the Eastern European cinemas of the socialist era in general. I find that term illustrative of the totalitarian model that still substantially shapes many scholarly vantages of those cinemas. Then I turn to Michel Foucault for the epistemological and methodological tools for challenging the historical accounts that maintain the totalitarian model. I find especially useful the concepts of the “ascending type” of the historical analysis and of “apparatus [*dispositif*]”, both of which Foucault developed most fully while researching gender and sexuality. To explore the Yugoslav cinema in the Foucauldian optics amounts to their re-articulation from a heinous area of the heinous totalitarian control and repression, as defined by the totalitarian-cinema model, into a complex spheres of the sex-and-gender apparatus in socialism.

Tackling gender-related motifs in the classical WWII-set/partisan films, the second chapter wrestles with the major prejudices that describe this category of films almost exclusively in terms of the regime propaganda, i.e. relegating them to the set of the non-truths about WWII in the Yugoslav territories. That misconception of the genre lies in the assumption of a clear-cut Good versus the Evil dichotomy – embodied in the celluloid partisans and the occupiers respectively – as its dogmatic kernel. Analyzed through the gender optics, however, the allegedly black-and-white world of the WWII/partisan films turns out to be full of many shades of gray. I illustrate some of these by showcasing figures and plots such as the “collaborationist” woman (i.e. the love affair between “our” women and occupying soldiers), the differentiation of the family along the ideological lines, and the reluctant occupiers.

The third chapter explores the relation between gender and work as designated by the classical Yugoslav films. My particular focus is the “construction cycle”: a string of films produced from 1948 to 1958, and set in the context of the “renewal and construction [*obnova i izgradnja*]” of the war-ravaged country and the socialist society. Relying on the thesis about the exhaustion of revolutionary morale in the 1950s (the devaluation of work in the name of consumption, the re-domestication and objectification of women), the chapter will explore the ways in which tendencies correlate with the designation of work and its participants in the “construction” films. The chapter particularly explores how the genre of melodrama and the

notion of romance turned out to be integral in shaping the male privilege as the dominant gender constellation in these films.

After the chapters dealing with the celluloid partisans and workers, the last chapter tackles the film representation of peasantry as the third important protagonist of the revolutionary change. The intense socialist modernization primarily by means of industrialization affected the Yugoslav countryside in an unprecedented way, precipitating a number of economic and cultural processes, which the Yugoslav filmmakers always deemed as rather inspiring. The peasant films analyzed in this chapter, first, screen more intricate accounts of the rural patriarchal legacy starting from the pre-socialist period, and second, render how some of its most malignant ramifications have found their way into the socialist modernity.

The approach that treats the films as social documents of their respective gender order excludes not only the author-centered approach, but also the dominant focus on the critically lauded films, i.e. the films that stand for the canon of the classical Yugoslav film in terms of their artistic merits. Gender and sexuality feature in all films, not only the critics' sweethearts: a film that the critics deemed mediocre or outright bad might be revelatory in terms of some specific gender issue.

Chapter 2

Towards a new epistemology of Yugoslav cinema

The chapter wrestles with a set of epistemological and methodological aspects of exploration of Eastern European cinemas in socialism in general and Yugoslav cinema in particular. The starting point of the chapter is the notion, apparently effective in the Anglo-American film studies mainstream, that the Eastern European cinemas of the socialist era belong under the rubric of “totalitarian cinemas”. I problematize that assumption, deeming it an effect of the so-called totalitarian model or paradigm that still shapes many a scholarly account of the historical period. In the second part of the chapter I argue that Michel Foucault provides with the salient epistemological and methodological tools for dismantling the historical accounts forged by means of the totalitarian model, not only with regard to Yugoslav cinema but also to Yugoslav socialist modernity at large. The most prominent among these tools are the “ascending type” of the historical analysis, and the interrelated concept of “apparatus [*dispositif*]”. It is not coincidence that Foucault developed those epistemological strategies and methodological tools while researching gender and sexuality; hence, the vindication of Yugoslav cinema along the Foucauldian lines would reaffirm the pivotal role of gender and sexuality not only in cinema itself but also in socialist modernity at large. This epistemological move would transform Yugoslav cinema from a nefarious totalitarian mechanism, as posited by the totalitarian-cinema model, into one of the privileged spheres of the sex-and-gender apparatus in socialism.

2.1. Questioning the totalitarian model

2.1.1. Totalitarian cinema and the Cold War epistemology

In “Reconceptualizing National Cinema/s”, one of the seminal articles on the category of the “national cinema”, Stephen Crofts developed an interesting typology of national cinemas: (a) European-model art cinemas, (b) Third Cinema, (c) Third World and European commercial

cinemas, (d) the national cinemas that ignore Hollywood, (e) the national cinemas that imitate Hollywood, (f) totalitarian cinemas, and (g) regional/ethnic cinemas (1993). Since the concept of “totalitarian cinema” is of my primary interest, let me somewhat extensively quote what Crofts makes of it:

Sixth, there is the national cinema of the totalitarian state: Fascist Germany and Italy, Chinese cinema between 1949 and the mid-1980s, and, of course, the Stalinist regimes of the Soviet bloc. By far the predominant mode of the Communist brand of such national cinemas has been socialist realism, which sought to convince viewers of the virtues of the existing political order [...]. Peripheral to this core production has been the often political art cinema of Tarkovsky, Jancsó, Makaveyev (sic!), Wajda, various proponents of the Cuban and Czech New Waves, and Chinese Fifth Generation cinema.

(2002, p. 37)

Crofts’ account captures in the nutshell the so-called totalitarian model or paradigm. Originally used for descriptions of Fascism and Nazism from the 1920s to the 1940, the concept of “totalitarianism” was revamped after World War II. In accordance with the ideological agenda of the Western democracies in the Cold War era, “totalitarianism” posited the homology between the Soviet Union and The Third Reich. With the Nazi project effectively dead and gone, the major thrust of the totalitarian thesis effectively targeted the USSR and other socialist countries.³⁶

According to the paradigm, totalitarian was a state in which a dogmatic and corrupt regime, incarnated in one-party rule and strong, charismatic leader, terrorized its subjects by repression, brutality and propaganda. This diagnosis was made with focus on the Soviet Union: “Soviet system under Stalin consisted of a nonpluralist, hierarchical dictatorship in which command authority existed only at the top of the pyramid of political power. Ideology and violence were monopolies of the ruling elite, which passed its orders down a pseudo-military chain of command” (Getty and Manning, 1993, p. 1). In the 1970s, however, a new generation of historians of Soviet history—often called “revisionists”—substantially challenged the totalitarian model. The important aspect of the dethroning of the totalitarian model were the epistemological and methodological turns in the humanities: the rise of social and cultural history diminished the preponderance of political history, whereas the interdisciplinary influences from anthropology

³⁶ For arguably the most extensive critical genealogy of the term “totalitarianism” and the debates around it, see Geyer and Fitzpatrick (2009, pp. 3–40); see also Buck-Morss (2000), Fitzpatrick (1986), Getty (1987), Komelj (2011), Landsman (2005), Losurdo (2004), Madarász (2003), Pence and Betts (2011), and Traverso (2007).

and cultural studies also significantly contributed to the more complex accounts of the socialist modernity.

Crofts' account, unfortunately, illustrates that the cinema studies are ignorant of the new approaches in the history of "the Stalinist regimes of the Soviet bloc". Slavoj Žižek asserted that "the notion of 'totalitarianism', far from being an effective theoretical concept, is a kind of *stopgap* [which] relieves us of the duty to think, or even actively *prevents* us from thinking" (2001, p. 3, original emphasis); along the same lines, we could say that Crofts' account excludes the shifts, nuances, and complexities of the Eastern European socialist modernity, by obfuscating it with the notion of Stalinism. The inclusion of Yugoslavia into the Soviet bloc, from which it was expelled as early as 1948, is symptomatic of his strategy. True, beginning his taxonomy, Crofts asserted that its categories are "highly permeable" and that "individual films cross-breed from between different groups [and even] a given national cinema [...] often straddle these groupings" (2002, p. 27). However, in the case of the Eastern European totalitarian cinemas, it transpires that only the exemplary dissident auteurs – Tarkovski *at al.* – could "cross-breed" between the Stalinist milieu and, apparently, "European-model art cinemas". However, even these political *provocateurs* are but a "peripheral" for Crofts. Whereas Yugoslav cinema, as other Eastern European cinemas of the socialist period, combined art and commercial cinema, the category of the totalitarianism erases that fact with the historically false argument about the predominance of socialist realism, and shoe-horns these cinemas in the box that subsumes Stalinism and Nazism.

To the best of my knowledge, Anikó Imre was the first to astutely elaborate the effects of the totalitarian model in Eastern European cinema scholarship. In "East European cinemas in new perspective", she expounds that the scarcity of theoretical and historical accounts of Eastern European cinema is caused by the persistence of "the epistemological parameters of the Cold War world order: films of the region were evaluated by the West, in the West, and for the West on a selective basis [...] privileging films and directors who took an oppositional stand in relation to communist totalitarianism in their filmic commentaries on national events of great historical importance" (Imre, 2005, p. xii).

Drawing from Imre's criticism, let me outline what I see as the basic template of the totalitarian paradigm in the sphere of arts and culture: it is the juxtaposition between Artist and Regime, Art and Propaganda, Dissidence and Dogma. According to these set of binaries, the

Regime, vicious and tyrannical in its core, is first and foremost the agency of the totalitarian terror. Founded on absurd and amoral dogmatic premises, the Regime must rely on massive propaganda and all-pervasive censorship to counter any criticism and keep its founding dogmas alive. Opposed to the Regime's ideological manipulations, stands the Artist who is guided by an innate sense of freedom, humanism, and democracy. Although he – for the Artist is, by rule, a male auteur – might have some personal idiosyncrasies (as the additional proof of his genius), the Artist is untainted by any ideological misgivings. Since he bespeaks the truth, the Regime cannot but oppress him. The Artist is a suffering victim, yet he triumphs morally and intellectually.

This Manichean juxtaposition encompasses many dichotomies – good vs. bad, liberation vs. oppression etc. – that “continued to guide and simplify [...] the interpretation of East European films” (Imre, 2005, p. xiii), maintaining the narratives of the “binary socialism”, critically elaborated by Alexei Yurchak (2006). Caricatural as it might sound after the criticism of the totalitarian paradigm, this dichotomous scheme still roams around. Consider how John Patterson, film critic in *The Guardian*, recently sketched the East European cinemas of the socialist era: “For every 10 party hacks [among the filmmakers in socialism] there were one or two sublime dissidents or innovators – Polanski and Wajda in Poland, Jancsó in Hungary, Dušan Makavejev in Yugoslavia – and we shouldn't throw out all these beautiful babies with the stale red bath water” (2012).

Imre also emphasizes the detrimental effects that this critical fetish of auteur had on for scholarship on Eastern European cinema scholarship. Once the western critics recognized him as the imbricable hero who subverts the regime, the more exhaustive inquiry of the socialist cinemas has become unnecessary and superfluous:

the single-minded attention to oppressive state politics versus dissident intellectual politics imagined film cultures as if they were in a temporal and theoretical vacuum: the auteur, larger than life and frozen in a romantic modernist gesture, functioned as a gatekeeper to guard against theoretical currents that were concurrently transforming the study of film elsewhere [i.e. outside Eastern Europe], from semiotics to psychoanalysis, feminism to cultural studies, studies of identity and representation to theories of spectatorships.

(Imre, 2005, p. xiv)

Hailed as revolutionary by many anticommunists, the year of 1989 did not precipitated any revolutionary theoretical turn in scholarship on Eastern European cinema in socialism. Instead, “The end of the Cold War, which has opened up exciting new avenues of study and the potential

to reformulate reigning theories, is proving to be the very impediment to launching such studies” (Imre, 2005, p. xvi). Hence, “far from being completed, the reevaluation of the film cultures of the socialist era has not even begun” (Imre, 2005, p. xvii).

Imre’s conclusion was rather timely. Whilst the elemental national-cinema chronology dominated the scholarship of Eastern European cinema up to 2005, the second half of the decade witnessed the increase of theory-informed scholarship, which by 2013 has established itself into a steady flux. However, it is too early to make the definitive statements about the reach and impact of this theoretical reevaluation, especially in terms of the scholarship on European cinema in general. For all its flourishing, the Eastern European cinema scholarship still might be perceived as an insular affair, and its subject as substantially decoupled from the “proper” European politico-cultural context. Consider the example from Mark Betz’s book on European art cinema:

a conception of a divided, Cold War Europe [...] produces constitutively different forms of historical analysis. The history of numerous Eastern Central European new waves is thus grounded in the historical and political context of the Soviet bloc: the ideological thaw following the death of Stalin provides a space for freer filmic practices that critique the totalitarianism of the Communist Party. Western European new waves, on the other hand, are considered according to a different set of criteria. Here, “new” refers to philosophical question and aesthetic innovations that have less to do with politics or ideology than with the aesthetics of filmic style and meaning. The jump cut, the long take, intertextual referencing, and other narrative destructions are thus characteristic of the broader intellectual and philosophical (as opposed to political) concerns of Western culture, ranging from moral decadence (Buñuel, Visconti) to metaphysical doubt (Bresson, Bergman) to existential questioning (Resnais, Antonioni) to technological dehumanization (Tati, Godard) to humanist understanding.

(2008, p. 34)

Although already in the next paragraph Betz questions “these retrograde modernist sensibilities” and proposes that we should explore them “through a postmodern interpretative framework”, that apparently applies only for the Western new waves. Since he has nothing else to say about Eastern European cinemas, it seems that the Cold War divide ultimately remains at its place, sealing them off the new readings and realignments – not a minor thing in a book with the subtitle “Remapping European Art Cinema”, and in the chapter titled “Recovering European Art Cinema”. If one is to judge on the basis of this particular example, it will require more stamina and work to stop deeming the cinemas of Eastern Europe merely “totalitarian”, i.e. to integrate them into accounts of European cinema.

2.1.2. The totalitarian model in the Yugoslav context

The end of socialism in Yugoslavia intertwined with the exceptionally complex and violent end of the country itself. The nationalist political elites that seized power in Yugoslav republics in the late 1980, described the end of socialism and the arrival of party pluralism as the crucial moment for achieving, as the phrase went, the centuries-old dreams of nations for sovereignty in the form of the distinct nation-states. Consequently, they orchestrated and conducted the dismantlement of Yugoslavia, which had its genocidal climax in the wars in Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991–1995) – indisputably the most brutal political event that marked the end of the socialist epoch in East Europe.

The totalitarian-model logic was one of the key ingredients of the chauvinist, anti-Yugoslav politics. The nationalist ideologues rendered the socialist Yugoslavia as an artificial, imposed totalitarian abomination that impeded the Yugoslav nations from accomplishing their “natural” aim – having a nation-state on their own. The backlash against the “totalitarian” Yugoslavia generally resembles the totalitarian-model depictions of Soviet Union under Stalin, but with an additional twist that can be illustrated with an anecdote about the promotion of the Bosnian translation of the controversial *Black Book of Communism* (Courtois et al., 1999). The local publishers and editors of the translation attacked their guest, the Czech historian Karel Bartošek, for not including Yugoslavia and Titoism in his chapter on the Eastern Europe. Bartošek explained that Yugoslavia did not meet the *Black Book* criteria of a totalitarian state, and even admitted that back in the 1960s, when he could not enter Czechoslovakia to meet his family, they would use Yugoslavia as the meeting point. That detail ignited his hosts, who warned him that the very fact that he did not experience Yugoslavia as a totalitarian state was the indisputable evidence of how cunningly totalitarian Titoism actually was. A local presenter exulted: “Tito was such a master that he surpassed Stalin in hiding the traces of his crime” (Hećimović, 1999, p. 37). Yugoslav totalitarianism thus acted like the proverbial Satan who spreads word that he actually does not exist only to additionally cement his power: the very absence of totalitarian traits is the main trick by which the Yugoslav regime concealed its truly totalitarian core, i.e. the fact that it was actually far worse than the overtly totalitarian regimes. The premise that Stalin pales as an amateur in comparison to Tito turns Yugoslav socialism into presumably the most perverse type of totalitarianism in the European East.

We should not overlook, however, that some of the more theoretically sophisticated accounts of the socialist Yugoslavia as the totalitarian state were elaborated not by the right-wing nationalist intelligentsia, as those who published *Black Book of Communism* in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but by the intellectuals who are often recognized and praised as the sharp critics of the nationalist ideology and its devastating effect in post-Yugoslav successor states (e.g. Banac, 2003; Džaja, 2004; Kasapović, 2005; Mahmutćehajić, 2000). According to them, both the Yugoslav socialism and post-Yugoslav nationalism are, fundamentally, the two faces of the same totalitarian and anti-modern coin. They allegedly share the one and the same “deep grammar” which determines them as social, political and economic aberrations with regard to the “proper” road-to-modernity, which is recognized in the capitalist patterns of economic and social development (Vlaisavljević, 1998). That argument kills two birds with one stone. Not only that the totalitarian model explains socio-political vicissitudes of Yugoslavia in terms of the Titoist repression, but also argues that the violent and bloody breakup of the country was *the* price that had to be paid for existence of such an abnormal totalitarian system.

All these accounts, however, share a fundamental trait which is criticized by Miklavž Komelj to whom we owe the most concise criticism of the totalitarian-model stance with regard to both Eastern Europe in general and Yugoslavia in particular. According to him, a designation of Yugoslavia as a totalitarian state covers up a simple fact: the wars in the 1990s happened *only after* the democratic system had replaced the allegedly totalitarian one, i.e. few years after the first multi-party elections and parliamentary democracy: “thus if we talk about ‘totalitarianism’, we do it in order to forget how the process of ‘democratization’ in the 1980s in Yugoslavia also unleashed the most reactionary forces of nationalism, chauvinism, militant zealotism etc. [Ako govorimo o ‘totalitarizmu’, dakle, to činimo zato da bismo zaboravili kako je proces ‘demokratizacije’ osamdesetih godina u Jugoslaviji bio i prava eskapada najreakcionarnijih sila, nacionalizama, šovinizma, vojnog huškaštva itd.]” (Komelj, 2011, pp. 191–192). In that sense, the war in the 1990s was not an expression of some alleged totalitarian legacy, but of the shortcomings of the newly introduced multi-party democracy.

2.1.3. The “de-Yugoslavization” of Yugoslav cinema and the totalitarian model

In the process of dismantlement of Yugoslavia in the name of ethno-national imperative, a number of the filmmakers, film critics and historians acted as the proponents and guardians of

the ethnic Thing. If “[n]owhere was the idea and reality of ‘Yugoslavia’ more fruitful than in its cinema” (Johnson, 2009), the zeal with which the nation-centered historians and critics retroactively partitioned of history of Yugoslav cinema along the lines of the political division of the country in the 1990s should not be surprising. Nataša Đurovičová and Dina Iordanova aptly described this process as “a ‘proliferation of new film-historiographical entities to match the various continuously redrawn state boundaries,’ aiming to establish a new, principally Serbian (Croat, Bosnian, etc.) canon as well as a set of distinct ‘national’ aesthetic criteria” (Iordanova, 2005, p. 235). Some critics graced the obliteration of Yugoslav cinematic heritage with some quite inventive terminology: Croatian filmmaker, critic and historian Ivo Škrabalo argued for the “de-Yugoslavization [dejugoslavizacija]” (1999, p. 76), whereas his Serbian colleague Bogdan Tirnanić preferred “the cinematic demarcation [filmsko razgraničenje]” (2008, p. 9). Whatever was the term used here, this aspect of the anti-Yugoslav backlash encompassed various strategies of defaming, falsifying, and erasing of the four decades of Yugoslav cinema, as testified by a string of books and articles (e.g. Munitić, 1999; Ognjanović and Velisavljević, 2008; Pajkić, 2010; Volk, 2001), which overpowered the rare voices who criticized the nationalist imperative (Radić, 1999; Štefančič, 2006; Buden and Žilnik, 2013).

The logic of the totalitarian paradigm was a key to the cinematic de-Yugoslavization or delimitation. The nationally-aware film critics and scholars fully relied on the totalitarian model, describing Yugoslav cinema in socialism with two homilies. They chided Yugoslav cinema, first, as one of the principal propaganda tools of Tito’s totalitarian regime, and, second, as an arena in which the regime brutally exercised absolute repressive power in order to protect its dogmas.

If we stick with Škrabalo and Tirnanić as the exemplary proponents of the anti-Yugoslav backlash in cinema history and criticism, we shall see that the national imperative in their work is inseparable from the anti-communist or anti-socialist totalitarian model. Already in the first lines of his magnum opus on Croatian national cinema, Škrabalo zeroes in on Lenin himself and chides the Soviet revolution for “trigger[ing] the avalanche of violence and repression in our century [pokrenula lavinu nasilja i represije u našem stoljeću]” (1998, p. 7), as if World War I had never happened. Such a head-on strategy is hardly surprising, since from the perspective of the Croatian national ideology, which participated in the dismantlement of Yugoslavia, the socialism with its multinationality and interethnic solidarity was the ultimate threat to the purity and unity of Croat nation.

Tirnanić offers even bleaker picture of rapport between socialism and cinema. His 2008 book, tellingly titled *Black Wave*, is illustrative of the backlash tendency to relegate the history of Yugoslav cinema to synecdoche of the “bunker”, the dark and deep dungeon where forbidden films were incarcerated (e.g. Miloradović, 2004; Nikodijević, 1995).³⁷ Of course, that vantage is not endemic for the post-Yugoslav accounts of the cinema of the socialist era. One cannot but recall the lucid verdict by Thomas Elsaesser and Michael Wedel of the ways in which some public voices in the unified Germany account for the GDR *Verbotsfilme*: “A more exemplary case of Walter Benjamin’s assertion that history is always written by the winners is difficult to imagine: it is as if the forbidden films, had they not existed, would have had to be invented, so perfectly did they fit into the re-writing strategies of West German cultural institutions” (2001, pp. 6–7).

Tirnanić’s book is titled after the “black wave” label that the nomenklatura used as the derogatory banner under which it attacked some of the *novi film* works from 1969 to 1972. Although Tirnanić describes the most exemplary of those cases, he uses the “black wave” as the synecdoche for any state-institutional intervention in Yugoslav cinema. As if the concrete cases of the “black wave” campaign were not enough, *Black Wave* glosses over many non-“black wave” affairs, the oldest one being from the early 1950s. Tirnanić concludes with what could be called the karmic trope of the totalitarian model: “All that comprised Yugoslav cinema was politically disputed in all sorts of ways, but a heavy price was paid for this: the society which defended itself by repressing its best films was sentenced to live the fate foretold by those very films [Sve ono što je činilo jednu kinematografiju politički je osporavano na ovaj ili onaj način, ali je to skupo plaćeno: društvo koje se represijama branilo od svojih najboljih filmova beše osudjeno da prodje onako kako su ti filmovi predviđali]” (2008, p. 198). To be sure, this type of mystification had its critics (e.g. Buden, 2008), yet it still can be traced in some attempts of elevating the filmmakers into the national prophets or the clairvoyants of the Yugoslav breakdown (e.g. Smiljanić, 2008; Pajkić, 2010; DeCuir, 2012).

However, the most damaging expression the totalitarian model in the recent Yugoslav cinema scholarship is an overarching division of Yugoslav cinema into the two groups of films and filmmakers along the aforementioned “Artist versus Regime” or “Art versus Propaganda” binary. I deem this divide the most detrimental for it is at play not only in the backlash accounts

³⁷ See also documentary *Zabranjeni bez zabrane* (2007, Milan Nikodijević and Dinko Tucaković).

concocted along the lines of the totalitarian model, but even in the works of the scholars who cannot be accused for pursuit of the chauvinist or anti-socialist agenda. The fact that the totalitarian paradigm so successfully spilled over the confines of the anti-Yugoslav backlash is the testimony to its triumph. Thus in the following pages I will mostly tackle the ways in which the totalitarian model informs – or, rather, *misinforms* – the works of the scholars whom I see as my co-travellers in the project of vindication of Yugoslav cinema as a field of historical and theoretical analysis. To do otherwise, i.e. to criticize the backlash authors only, would be something like shooting the easy mark and, in my opinion, not very productive. Before proceeding in that direction, however, let me first introduce the theoretical and epistemological framework which I deem salient and precious for the purpose of challenging the totalitarian model in the context of Yugoslav socialist modernity.

2.2. A Foucauldian dismantling of the totalitarianism

2.2.1. The totalitarian model as a “repression hypothesis”

In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1978), Michel Foucault famously attacked the “repression hypothesis”, which posited that the prudish Western bourgeoisie prohibited and tabooed sexuality from early capitalist modernity onwards. The criticism was the continuation of Foucault’s epistemological move that eventually resulted in the conceptualization of power as not necessarily negative and repressive mechanism. This theoretical development was instigated and guided by his dismissal of the “global theories” that argue that one supreme, dominant agency determines the social field totally. Foucault illustrated it with the privileged role of class and economy in Marxist theory: “I believe that anything [i.e. any phenomenon in capitalist society] can be deduced from the general phenomenon of the domination of the bourgeois class” (1980, p. 100), he quipped, calling this type of deduction the descending type of analysis.

Theories and analyses of the descending type define “power [as] essentially that which represses. Power represses nature, the instincts, a class, individuals. [It] has become almost automatic in parlance of the times to define power as organ of repression” (Foucault, 1980, pp. 89–90). While he does not claim that the institutional repression and domination do not exist at all, Foucault nevertheless maintains that it is a misguiding to privilege them as the fundamental principles of the modern socio-political field. Historians of modernity, hence, should not limit

the analysis of power to the research of the mechanisms of the top bottom repression. Instead, they should engage in the ascending type of analysis, which should replace the notion of the domineering, monolith power with more refined structures that should not be lumped together under some generalized, supreme agency (e.g. “the bourgeois class”).

Already this sketch of Foucault’s account shows why I find his reconceptualization of power crucial for the dismantling the totalitarian model. Structurally, the totalitarian model is a variant of the repression theory, which argues that the the socialist rule, as the determining agency in respective societies, exercised the repression that capillary reached practically every cell of the society. The totalitarian model thus amounts to the descending type of analysis, which can deduce anything from the single fact of the existence of the socialist rule, as embodied in the Regime, the Dictator, or the Party. In a socialist society everything seems to be fully determined by its relation to that domination, as I illustrate in the following subchapter with the examples from Yugoslav cinema.

Dismissing the binary logic that permeates the accounts of the repression of sexuality, Foucault asserted: “it is time to put an end to this kind of dualism, of Manichaeism, which puts discourse, freedom, truth, broad daylight on one side, and on the other silence, repression, ignorance, night” (1996, p. 162). I could easily paraphrase him to describe the epistemological shift that this study aims to achieve. The historians of Yugoslav cinema (and of Yugoslav socialist modernity in general), should finally stop inspecting the objects of their research with Manichean optics. In other words, they should quit relegating the filmmakers in the socialist era to only two positions: the auteur who resists the regime, and the party hack who supports it. Instead, it is time to challenge the “artist vs. regime” dichotomy by means of ascending type of analysis, which would inquiry variety of the concrete social agents instead of shoehorning them into the generalized and indiscriminate categories such as “regime” or “the Party”. I will now turn to the most pervasive examples of the dichotomous outline of Yugoslav cinema in socialism, first by describing them and then by proposing the critical counter-perspectives.

2.2.2. The Art pole of Yugoslav cinema

The historians and critics who pursue the totalitarian-model binaries such as “Art versus Ideology” or “Artist versus Regime” effectively picture Yugoslav cinema as divided by the deep and irreparable schism that is by rule illustrated by two allegedly incommensurable blocs of

films and filmmakers. In this subchapter I will tackle only one of these two poles: the Art/Auteur/Dissident pole that is by rule reserved for some of the most acclaimed works of *novi film*. The reason for not tackling its opposite – the allegedly dogmatic, brainwashing filmmaking done by the totalitarian drones – is very simple: the rest of my thesis engages with the films and filmmakers that are usually deemed “the stale red bath water” of the Yugoslav cinema, as the critic from *The Guardian* would have it.

In accordance to the descending logic of analysis, the critics define and homogenize the Art pole of the dichotomy first and foremost in terms of their criticism (oppositonality, subversion, dissidence) toward the regime. This tendency appears as particularly anachronous in the light of Pavle Levi’s *Disintegration in Frames* (2007), which theoretically elaborated what the *novi film* authors and their fellow critics were actually repeating all along: first, the filmmakers who are more often than not indiscriminately lumped under the label of “dissidence” substantially differ in terms of both aesthetics and ideology; second, their filmmaking cannot be dominantly defined in terms of the “social criticism” or in the opposition toward the socialist regime. And yet, after Levi’s step forward, a number of scholars made a step back or two: his historically and theoretically founded differentiation of *novi film* was followed by the crass and inaccurate homogenization and disregard for the historical facts.

Consider the following example: writing about the films “that uncompromisingly criticized various practices of the socialist society” in Yugoslavia from 1963 to 1972, Aida Vidan illustrates them with the group of nine exemplary features that “were far from being trumpeted as model achievements of the socialist film industry” (2011, p. 176). Unfortunately, that claim contradicts the elemental facts. Out seven directors whom she enlists, only one was never awarded at the festival in Pula, the key Yugoslav cinematic event, whereas three of them were awarded more than once. Out of the nine allegedly disfavored films, four won the main prize, two won the second prize for directing, one won the special award for the “courageous directing”, while two films did not enter the festival.

Vidan’s account thus pivots on the totalitarian-model premise that the “uncomprisingly” critical films were by definition “far from being trumpeted as model achievements”. In reality, however, these films garnered the highest critical acclaim throughout the 1960s, setting the standards of great filmmaking. In other words, Vidan’s version simply does not correspond to the historical dynamics of the critical and political reception of the *novi film* works: e.g., one and the

same critic would hail *Kad budem mrtav i beo/When I Am Dead and Pale* in 1968 as Živojin Pavlović's master piece, and the following year he would lambast the next film of the same director as shamefully inferior to its precursor (Čolić, 1970). It appears that Vidan sees only the latter type of criticism, and projects it back in the past, erasing the generally venerable status of the *novi film* authors altogether.

However, the most symptomatic of the Art-pole homogenization of the Yugoslav modern cinema is the recent focus on the so-called Yugoslav "black wave" (e.g. DeCuir, 2011; DeCuir, 2012; Kirn, Sekulić and Testen 2012). For a long time the key term in designation of Yugoslav modern cinema in the 1960s was *novi film*, which was used principally to mark a period of innovation and openness, and celebrate the variety of the auteurist styles. The "black wave", however, is a narrower and more problematic term that aims to delimit a set of specific aesthetic characteristics shared by some *novi film* authors with allegedly a common ideological platform. The most problematic about the "black wave" label is its history. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, it operated as the derogatory etiquette under which the mainstream critics and the party nomenklatura heavily criticized several films and harangued their authors; some of the films under attack were banned and shelved, whereas one filmmaker was imprisoned. Since the label had been imposed on them in such an appalling way, the filmmakers never accepted it as a valid aesthetical category and identified with it. Thus, although fairly used as the colloquial expression for the politically sanctioned films, the "black wave" label was not elevated into a proper aesthetical category in the most of the scholarship on Yugoslav cinema (Jovanović, 2011).

In the last five years, however, the *novi film* designation took the second seat, as the scholars started to privilege the label "black film". Attempting to define its aesthetical and ideological *differentia specifica*, they prefer to neglected that "The term 'Black Wave' has less to do with what these films have in common than with how they have been received" (Ravetto-Biagioli, 2012, p. 91). One thesis became particularly popular: in a society dominated by corrupted version of socialist ideology, the "black film" was expression of the authentic, antidogmatic socialism. According to Greg DeCuir, the "black wave" cinema was supposed to "play its part in realizing the 'socialist paradise' that Tito was intent to creating – though perhaps their vision of that paradise and how to realize it differed from the official opinion" (2011, p. 27); hence, "Black Wave filmmakers sought to set up the conditions in which reality could be

grasped so it can be criticized, criticized so it can be changed and changed so it can aspire to improve” (2011, p. 37). In the same vein, Gal Kirn argues that the “black film” “attempted to strengthen socialism, to criticize it from within and at the same time to rethink what socialist art should be” (2012, p. 20). Boris Buden is even more specific: “The Black films in fact are an artistic response to the introduction of a market economy in the former socialist Yugoslavia during the late 1950s and early 60s [...] They constitute a reaction to the first symptoms of the emergence of post-industrial modes of production, an early cultural announcement of the coming neo-liberal turn in the global economy” (2008). As we can see, in these accounts the Yugoslav regime shifts from being too dogmatic to effectively pro-capitalist, and yet the “black wave” is always defined strictly in terms of its opposition to it. In other words, although there is no clear consensus as of what makes the regime the villainous, there is a clear consensus that the “black wave” filmmakers are the good guys due their leftist ideological attachments.

These rhetorics superbly illustrate how the homogenizing, totalitarian-model logic suffuses even the work of scholars who are otherwise a far cry from being the advocates of the totalitarian paradigm. For example, Buden and Kirn, the formidable left academics in a Marxist tradition, are never tired to criticize the notion of totalitarianism. However, it appears that they do not realize that at the same time they stick to its main principle: they homogenize the “black wave” by first and foremost defining it as oppositional to the supreme ideological agency. A leftist critic myself, I understand their strategic decision to read the “black wave” films as “a radical critique, not of communism, but of post-communism” (Buden, 2008). However, an apt critique of ideology does not necessarily make good cinema history: their accounts are often insufficient, incongruent and misleading, to say the least.

For example, Kirn, Sekulić and Testen (2012) argue that the filmmakers who were harangued under the “black wave” label eventually appropriated that name. But when exactly did that appropriation happen and who are the artists in question? The filmmakers certainly did use the term in everyday parlance, as a colloquial label, but there is no a major evidence that they adopted the term for designating their own aesthetics. For example, in the very same volume Žilnik explicitly states that he did not appropriate the term but ridiculed it: “The fact that I could mock the label [...] shows that the black movement never existed as a genuine movement. The differences between the authors who were eventually expelled under the same label were

substantial” (Kirn, Sekulić and Testen, 2012, p. 96).³⁸ Also, the recently proposed selections of the “black wave” films and authors seem utterly arbitrary and unsystematic: the works and filmmakers who had never been marked as the “black” all of a sudden are turned into the exemplary “black” auteurs, whereas those who actually had been attacked under the “black wave” banner are marginalized (Šijan, 2011).

2.2.3. Differentiating the “black wave”

If we are to, as Foucault would have it, put an end to the great divide of Yugoslav cinema, the dissolution of its “black” Art pole seems as a significant, indeed inescapable move. Its first step should include giving up on the notion that the “black wave” was substantially defined by the genuine socialist, Marxist commitment of the filmmakers who were disappointed “with the fading away of revolutionary ideals” (Kirn and Madžar, 2013, pp. 67–68). Slobodan Šijan’s criticism of DeCuir is the most pertinent in that regard:

Although it is not impossible to imagine some of the Black Wave filmmakers (for instance the self-declared leftist Želimir Žilnik or the always-curious Dušan Makavejev) reading or least leafing through *Praxis*, it is a bit more difficult to imagine any of the directors whom DeCuir easily lines among the “committed socialists” inspired by ideas from *Praxis* and rushing to shoot a film meant to “play its part in realizing the “socialist paradise” that Tito was intent on creating”, as he concludes.

(2011, p. 12)

Šijan’s reference to Žilnik cuts to the heart of the problem. It is as if the recent scholarly accounts define the “black wave” by deducing its main traits from ideology and aesthetics of Žilnik, as the key leftist figure of “black wave”. Indicative in that regard is DeCuir’s utterly arbitrary claim that Žilnik’s “*Early Works* has a central position within Yugoslav Black Wave” (2011:191). For all Žilnik’s credentials, however, to treat his ideological choice as *differentia specifica* of the “black film” at large, is to fall prey to a crass generalization. Hence the thesis that “black wave” films were “not critique for the sake of critique [...] or ‘cheap’ anti-totalitarianism suggesting that Socialism would ultimately lead to the absence of freedom” (Kirn and Madžar, 2013, p. 68), should finally be replaced with the acknowledgment of the fact that some of the “black films” could be seen as self-indulgent criticism, and – why not? – as anti-socialist and dissident along the lines of the totalitarian-thesis. Or, to quote Šijan again, the many

³⁸ See also Pavlović (1996, pp. 300–301).

“black films” “were not only ‘critical’ of the system but were also honest condemnations of the essence of socialist revolution in Yugoslavia and the state it had created” (Šijan, 2011, p. 13).

Such a desacralization of the ideological motivation behind the “black wave” would also enable us to stop using the “black wave” canon for diminishing the critical capacity of the other segments of Yugoslav cinema. A recent article by Benjamin Halligan (2011) on the films of the “Sarajevo documentary school” (SDS) offers the most extreme case of that strategy. The works of Vlatko Filipović, Vefik Hadžismajlović, Suad Mrkonjić, Petar Ljubojev, and other filmmakers who made documentaries in the 1960s and 1970s for Sutjeska Film were, according to Halligan, nothing short of Stalinist. Although Halligan’s misleading account begs for an extensive counter-argument, let me here address only what I see as its main faultline.

Reacting to the fact that some people did not deem the SDS films Stalinist propaganda, but actually anti-authoritarian, critical, and ironic (e.g. Stevens, 2009), Halligan argues that ascribing such dissent and subversion into different films made in socialism is untenable:

Did Mrkonjić and Hadžismajlović, then, smuggle in dissent, while Filipović engaged in ciné-ma-vérité? Such an auteurist approach to cold war Eastern European and Russian cinema tends to eek out dissenting elements to prove the presence of a guiding and individual – and individual’s – intelligence. [According to that approach] the connection between the auteur as an individual, freethinking intellectual and his or her therefore automatic condemnation of the realities of existing socialism is automatic.

(2011, pp. 212–213)

The implication that “a guiding and individual – individual’s – intelligence” is absent from the SDS films I find appallingly condescending. Although the rest of the argument suggests that Halligan criticizes the use of an auteurist approach in Eastern Europe as such, the rest of the article shows otherwise. Not only does Halligan express an absolute praise for the Yugoslav *auteurs* like Makavejev and Žilnik, but he also actually derogates the SDS films precisely by contrasting them with the most venerable *novi film* “black wave” works. Hence, in comparison with the SDS films, “[t]he sophistication of the Novi Film and the subsequent Black Wave [...] seems from another time and country together;” the SDS peasants and the rapist peasants in *Early Works* “could not be more different”; even when the SDS films and Pavlović’s films show virtually the same social conditions, “the very tenor is entirely different”; the sexologist from Makavejev’s *Love Affair* “seems to satirize the heavy-handed didacticism of films such as those of the SDS, and the satire of Tito’s personality cult in *Innocence Unprotected* skewers exactly

the kind of communal adoration of Tito seen in [Mrkonjić's] *Facades*" (Halligan, 2011, pp. 211–212).

All these comparisons testify that one can still comfortably ascribe criticism, subversiveness and satire (and a bit of the individual and the individual's intelligence, I guess), but only to those directors whose auteur status had been established as incontestable before the demise of socialism. Apparently, the gates of the pantheon of Eastern European auteurs now should be closed: the rules applied to those already inside must not be applied to any new candidates. A more shocking display of the persistence of "the epistemological parameters of the Cold War world order," as Imre would have it, I can hardly imagine.

Halligan's strategy thus boils down to upholding the Artist vs. Regime dichotomy, as embodied in the "black wave" vs. the SDS opposition. However, that juxtaposition comes with a price: one important author is tellingly absent from Halligan's account. It is Bato Čengić, the most lauded *novi film* author from Sarajevo, whose work was also affected by the "black wave" harangue. Famous for his feature films *Mali vojnici/Playing Soldiers* (1967), *Uloga moje porodice u svjetskoj revoluciji/The Role of My Family in the World Revolution* (1971), and *Slike iz života udarnika/Scenes from the Life of Shock-Workers* (1972), Čengić also made some of the exemplary SDS documentaries: *Čovjek bez lica/Man Without a Face* (1961), *Ljudi sa rijeke/The River People* (1961), *Krilati karavani/The Winged Caravans* (1961), and *Život je lijep/Life is Beautiful* (1976). As the lynchpin between *novi film* and SDS, Čengić testifies that the two are hardly clear-cut opposites, i.e. that they cannot incarnate the "Art vs. Propaganda" dichotomy. If Halligan had introduced Čengić in his article, he would have sabotaged its underlying totalitarian-model logic. Hence, instead of explaining what a dissenting figure like Čengić does in the company of the Stalinist didacts, Halligan has conveniently erased any trace of Čengić from the SDS brethren.

When Halligan warns that the SDS films should not be read straightforwardly along dissenting lines, I cannot agree more. However, I believe that a crucial addition must be made: just as they are not to be easily read as Stalinist ilk. In other words, we should finally try to grasp these films beyond the totalitarian-model logic, by developing a penchant for nuances that would dissolve many preconceived notions about seemingly monadic and irreconcilable elements that are paired in these dichotomies. Then it would be easier to grasp that Čengić is by no means the only link between the SDS and the "black wave." With the three documentaries

produced by Sutjeska Film in the early 1960s, Makavejev is also a SDS fellow traveler; Žilnik appreciated the work of Vlatko Filipović; the films of Petar Ljubojev look like the pastiches of something that Branko Vučićević might have written. The opposition between the tenors of the SDS and of the “black wave” should be replaced with more refined analyses that would question the homogeneity of each of these two “tenors”.

Finally, by giving up on the fetish of the “black wave”, the post-Yugoslav leftist film scholars would challenge the notorious divide between high art and popular culture. Although the criticism of that divide has been developed some time ago within the broad field of leftist theory, it remains curiously unnoticed by the recent accounts of Yugoslav cinema, which, inadvertently for the most part, remain focused on the *auteurist* master pieces.³⁹ That way, the scholars neglect many film that tackled the burning social issues of the Yugoslav socialism (unemployment, migration, etc.), but were not part of *novi film* or “black wave”; in that way, they remain relegated to the party-hack underworld. However, one could argue that some of those films even more directly tackled the socio-political problems of Yugoslav socialism than some “black wave” masterpieces: for example, *Po isti poti se ne vračaj/Don't Come Back by the Same Road*, (1965, Jože Babič) addressed the antagonisms between the Yugoslav developed North (Slovenia) and underdeveloped South (Bosnia and Herzegovina) in a direct way that was unprecedented in Yugoslav cinema, including *novi film*. The similar could be said for the unemployment of women in *Three Hours for Love*, the economic emigration in *Sunce tujjeg neba/Sun of the Strangers' Sky* (1968, Milutin Kosovac), and the illegal nomadic farming in *Ovčar/Shepherd* (1971, Bakir Tanović). Although these features do not meet the aesthetic standards of the most praised *novi film* works, their conventional privilege of narrative over visual experiments certainly helped them to convey the sense of urgency in relation to many social problems to the wide audience nevertheless.

2.3. Gender apparatus in Yugoslav socialism

2.3.1. The totalitarian gender trouble

³⁹ For the most elaborated account on the epistemological challenges of research of the popular culture in the Yugoslav socialism, see Senjković (2008).

Now we can return to Foucault by stressing the crucial role that gender and sexuality played in his epistemological developments. Although he had started articulating his concept of power in *Discipline and Punish* (1991), it seems that only with his inquiry into knowledge of sexuality he reached the most concise and astute articulation. The topic of “discipline and punish” is firmly embedded in the field of jurisprudence and the monarch/state sovereignty, inviting the notion of the Law as not more than the expression of the supreme Agency (Monarch, State). However, the topic of sexuality enabled Foucault to move away from the field of official legislative as the exemplary top–down vector of power, and to display a much more complex field of power vectors, in which the official legislative does not have such an overwhelming, dominating effect as it has in imprisonment. In other words, whereas the inquiry into the prison system structurally fitted the descending type of analysis, the vicissitudes of gender and sexuality provided Foucault with a convenient field in which the descending analysis does not suffice, for they are so complex that they cannot be reduced to manifestation of the supreme Agency.

That being said, it is telling that some of the post-Yugoslav advocates of the totalitarian paradigm pursue the descending optics of gender and sexuality in socialism, arguing that they were substantially shaped by the Yugoslav totalitarian regime.⁴⁰ Let me illustrate this with regard to a specific issue to which I will return in the thesis’ final chapter: the status of male homosexuality in the socialist Yugoslavia and its cinema. Again, I draw on an account that is articulated in concert with the totalitarian paradigm. This one comes from Belgrade film critic Zoran Janković, who claims that the representations of the “sexual minorities”/homosexuals in Yugoslav cinema reveal the nefarious character of the socialist regime:

since the sexual acts between people of same sex were officially decriminalized only in the beginning of the 1990s, sexual minorities in Serbian/Yugoslav film were reduced to mere inconspicuous details, to a caricature-style contribution to the vividness of the film story.

The all-around, general conspiratorial silence on that issue would be shattered only in a rare, usually discriminatory episode, which would insinuate that out there cruise different freaks, of suspicious and degenerate sexual orientation. [...] Here and there in rare films would be a hint at those who are sexually different [...], however, following the pressure of the strong paw of the state under which they created, the film directors persistently refused to make sexual minorities visible in Serbian film [in socialism]. The situation was no better within the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia or within Eastern Europe. [That] throws a huge shadow on what has now become a staple position [...] which postulates the late “great” Yugoslavia as the socialist

⁴⁰ Truth to be told, to the best of my knowledge, no major gender-inflected analysis of Yugoslav socialism has been produced within the totalitarian framework. One of the reasons for this is the fact that the feminist and gender theories are hardly favored by the post-Yugoslav advocates of the totalitarian paradigm.

paradise on Earth, the eternal spring of progress, and somehow safely nested on the very edge of the Iron Curtain, albeit on the better, right, side of it.

pošto je istospolni seksualni čin zvanično dekriminalizovan tek početkom devedesetih, seksualne manjine su u srpskom/jugoslovenskom filmu bile svedene tek na neupadljiv detalj, na karikaturalni doprinos živopisnosti filmske priče.

Sveopštu zavereničku tišinu o tom pitanju poremetila bi tek poneka, mahom diskriminatorna epizoda, koja bi šapatom nagovestila da tamo negde vršljaju drugačije spodobе, upitne i nakaradne seksualne orijentacije. [...] Tu i tamo bi se kroz neki film provukla kakva naznaka o postojanju seksualno drugačijih [...], ali filmski autori su, prateći mustru države pod čijom šapom su stvarali, istrajno odbijali da seksualne manjine učine vidljivom stavkom u srpskom filmu. Stvari ništa bolje nisu stajale ni u okvirima SFRJ ili na nivou istočnoevropskog regiona [...]. [To] baca ogromnu senku na sada već uvreženo mišljenje, [...] po kojem je pokojna “velika” Jugoslavija bila socijalistički raj na zemlji, nepresušni izvor naprednjaštva i nekako bezbedno ugneždena na samoj ivici gvozdene zavese, ali ipak s bolje, one ispravne strane.

(2008, p. 188)

Unfortunately, already the elemental historical data contradict Janković. First, his reference to criminalization is conveniently vague. To begin with, the Yugoslav law did not criminalize homosexuality as such, but only male-to-male sex relations. According to the very first legal act that treated same-sex acts in socialist Yugoslavia, Paragraph 186 of the Criminal Code from 1951, the man who would engage in the “unnatural acts” would be sentenced up to two years in prison. The maximum sentence was reduced to one year of prison in 1959, and in 1970s the paragraph was put out of force in half of the federal units (republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, and the autonomous province Vojvodina). Second, one should not forget that in the early post-WWII period before the passage of Paragraph 186, the Yugoslav courts prosecuted the male-to-male “unnatural acts” by applying the penal code of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which stipulated five years of incarceration under maximum security. The proper historical perspective, thus, transforms Paragraph 186 from the unambiguous proof of the inherent homophobia of the Yugoslav totalitarianism into the first step towards the gradual loosening of the legal status of homosexuality in socialism.

However, the Foucauldian point here would be that it is not enough to challenge Janković by revealing the true facts about Yugoslav jurisprudence; far more important than that would be deprivileging the jurisprudence altogether. Indeed, one of Foucault’s most significant epistemological dicta was the dethroning of the law-as-prohibition in historical analysis. He argued that jurisprudence should be treated as one mechanism of power among many others: “The form of law with its effects of prohibition needs to be resituated among a number of other, non-juridical mechanisms. [T]he penal system should not be analysed purely and simply as an

apparatus of prohibition and repression of one class by another, nor as an alibi for the lawless violence of the ruling class” (Foucault, 1980, p. 141). In order to deprivilege the law, Foucault introduced the concept of “apparatus [*dispositif*]”, as “a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions – in short, the said as much as the unsaid [...] The apparatus itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements” (1980, p. 194). To analyze the apparatus, then, is to identify and explore this constellation which is necessarily dynamic: the elements are in constant ferment, shifting in positions, establishing among themselves ever new and complex relations, and accordingly modifying their own functions.

This thesis argues that we should use the same apparatus-oriented type of inquiry in relation to the issues of gender and sexuality in Yugoslav socialism. More specifically, as I asserted in the introduction, I propose that the relation between cinema/popular culture and gender/sexuality should be analyzed by means of the apparatus framework. Since I have already tackled the status of homosexuality in socialist Yugoslavia in the previous subchapter, let me further that issue in order to along the Foucauldian lines. At its most elementary, it means that instead of foregrounding Paragraph 186, as paradigmatic example of law-as-prohibition, we should bring in some more elements that contributed to, generally speaking, the apparatus of sexuality – and, more specifically, of homosexuality – in socialist Yugoslavia. In the following subchapter I will tackle what I see as one of the most important of these elements.

2.3.2. Everything you always wanted to know about sex(ology) in Yugoslavia

You are surely interested in sexuality. And it is good that you are interested. It would be a pity if you were not interested! I am also interested in sexuality, quite strongly. Of course, as the object of research. Sexuality is, maybe, far more whispered about than it is talked about. But we don't know enough about the things about which we whisper or talk and write secretly. If we found that out, we would see out how immensely is the humanity interested in sexuality.

Vi se sigurno interesujete za seksualnost. I dobro je što se interesujete. Žalosno bi bilo da se ne interesujete! I ja se interesujem za seksualnost, vrlo živo. Razume se, kao za objekat proučavanja. O seksualnosti se možda mnogo više šapuće nego što se govori. Ali o onome što se šapuće i što se krišom priča i piše, mi dovoljno ne znamo. Tek kad bismo to saznali, videli bismo koliko je interesovanje čovečanstva za seksualnost veliko.

This is the address that opens Makavejev's *Love Affair* (1967): an older man in a suit and bow tie speaks directly to us, breaking the fourth wall, as he stands in his cabinet (FIGURE 2.1). The subtitles introduce him as “Dr Aleksandar Dj. Kostić, author of *Medicinske seksologije* [Medical Sexology] and trilogy *Polno saznanje* [The Sexual Knowledge]”, the gray eminence of the Yugoslav sexology. Following the title with the question “Will a man be reformed? Will that new man keep some old organs? [Hoće li biti reforme čoveka? Hoće li novi čovek zadržati neke stare organe?]”, Kostić's address does not leave room for doubt that the “organs” in case are actually genitalia. The scientific research of sexuality, as something that remains insufficiently known, thus should be integral to the socialist reform of the man.



FIGURE 2.1 Yugoslav sexologist Aleksandar Kostić in *Love Affair* (1967)

However, that does not mean that sexology in Yugoslavia can be simply reduced to the imperative of construction of the socialist New Man, i.e. to a doctrine that was exclusively or dominantly rooted in the most pragmatic intentions of the nomenklatura. Authors who assume that *Love Affair* merely mocks with Kostić's speech as with didactic pseudo-scientific expertise characteristic of socialism (Goulding, 1994, p. 224; Halligan, 2010, pp. 211–212), miss that Makavejev is intrigued by the contemporary science as such, and not only its socialist variant. Makavejev's irony is a symptom of his ambivalence with regard to the efforts of the scientific modernity to penetrate into the soul of the man, as confirmed by the filmmaker's constant returning to sexology in *W.R.: Misterije organizma*/*WR: Mysteries of the Organism* (1971), and *Sweet Movie* (1974). That way Makavejev's films show that the sexology in socialist Yugoslavia

functioned as the synecdoche of the global sexual modernity, and not as an endemic phenomenon strictly determined by some presupposed ideological *differentia specifica* of the Yugoslav socialism.

Sexology in Yugoslavia encompassed a plethora of heterogeneous discourses that, circulating in a range of publications, elaborated on the issues of sexual development, types of sexuality, marriage, pregnancy, contraception, abortion, sexual education, history of sexual habits, “the psychology of the sexes”, etc. *Love Affair* illustrates this interdisciplinary plurality with three of Kostić’s speeches, each of them framed in different discourse: in the first address, he talks about history (the worship of phallus in Babylon and the ancient Egypt), in the second about the biological base of sexuality (after he takes out an egg out of chicken coop), and, finally, about the sexual motifs in the arts (especially in paintings). In his afterword to the Yugoslav translation of *A History of Sexual Customs* by Richard Lewinshon a.k.a. Morus, Lavoslav Glasinger praised the modern sexology for encompassing “not only physicians, such as physiologists, embryologists, endocrinologists, gynecologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts, but also zoologists, philosophers, psychologists, pedagogues, jurists, ethnologists, sociologists, cultural historians, statisticians, and even theologians [ne samo liječnike, i to samo fiziologe, embriologe, endokrinologe, venerologe, ginekologe, psihijatre, psihoanalitičare i higijeničare, nego i zoologe, filozofe, psihologe, pedagoge, pravnike, etnologe, sociologe, kulturne historičare, statističare, pa čak i teologe]” (1959, p. 420).

However, there is more to this phenomenon than the disciplinary plurality. The Yugoslav sexological collage did not include only different scientific discourses, but also combined – as Foucault would have it – *scientia sexualis* and *ars erotica*, atlases of anatomy and *Figurae veneris*, the edition “Brak i porodica [The marriage and the family]” published by The Workers University and *Kama Sutra*, the traditional folk songs with the erotic motifs and *Eroticism* by Georges Bataille. It was hardly a coincidence, then, that Branko Vučićević, one of the most important screenwriters of *novi film*, translated in Serbo-Croatian David Reuben’s bestseller *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex* in the early 1970s.⁴¹

Sex, however, was not only subject of science and arts, but also the news, spectacle, gossip, scandal. Beside the book volumes, the Yugoslav montage of the sexological attractions

⁴¹ In *Rani radovi/Early Works* (1969, Želimir Žilnik), for which Vučićević also wrote screenplay, we see a “sexological” scene in which Jugoslava, the main female protagonist, teaches non-educated, illiterate peasant women about the sexual life.

includes also the press, from the daily papers to weeklies and women magazines to the proto-pornographic outlets. In one and the same magazine one can find articles on unwanted pregnancy or the rape as the social problems, the reportages about the love life of Italians or Swedes, the sensationalist bits about sex-bomb, the medical advice about menopause and fimosis, translations of the bestsellers about the marriage and sex life, and the photos of nude beauties. The imperative of the sexual education went hand in hand with the market laws. The sex was the topic about which one had a lot to find out but at the same time the topic on which one could make a lot of money.

Already this sketch shows that sexology in Yugoslav socialism offers a vivid illustration of the cultural revolution in Jamesonian sense. We cannot simply equate it with the works written in socialist Yugoslavia only, for it also included those from the Western Europe and the US, and those from the pre-revolutionary epoch. *Love Affair* visually codes Kostić as someone coming from pre-socialist epoch: that he is more of a stereotypical “gentleman” than a stereotypical “comrade”, should not come as surprise for he got his education and gained most of his symbolic capital as a sexologist already in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (e.g. Kostić, 1936). In any case, the canonical authors from the late nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century—“those avatars of sexual enlightenment [who] worked to build a science of desire, a new continent of knowledge that would reveal the hidden keys to our nature” (Weeks, 1985, p. 63)—functioned as the hard core upon which the Yugoslav sexologists were building. A telltale detail: if one is to judge popularity of a book by the number of editions, the most popular book in Yugoslavia about marriage and marital sexual life was by no mean some socialist handbook, but *Savršeni brak* [Ideal Marriage], the bestseller from the 1920s penned by Dutch physician Theodor Hendrik van de Velde (1955). The book had captivated the Yugoslav audience already before WWII, and not even the drastic socio-political change shattered its domination in the Yugoslav bookshops and libraries.

The sexological discourse in Yugoslavia disregarded not only the historical barrier toward the pre-socialist epoch, but also the Cold War divide. Publishers were up-to-date with publications from the West, and their instant translations outnumbered the domestic sexological publications by the late 1950s. Some voices argued that the socialist Yugoslavia was more of a natural milieu for the progressive sexual knowledge of the liberal sexologist like Alfred Kinsey than the puritan capitalist America itself. The foreword to the 1955 translation of G. Lombard

Kelly's *Sexual Feeling in Married Men and Women* (1951) boasted that the Yugoslav edition included even those chapters that were omitted from the original edition "due to the legislature and religious prejudices of the publishing houses in America [zbog zakonskih propisa i religioznih predrasuda izdavačkih kuća u Americi]" (Vukadinović, 1955, p. 2).

In any way, the Yugoslav sexology and its publishing infrastructure saw themselves as a part and parcel of the global sexual modernity, assuming that the knowledge about gender and sexuality should pay no heed for the West–East rift, or for the narrow ideological constraints. Due to this heterogeneity in terms of ideological and historical background of the sexual knowledge, the sexology in Yugoslavia remains the ultimate proof that the sexual education in the socialism had the structure of cultural revolution in Jamesonian sense: the sexual life of one person could have been simultaneously, or in different stages of her life, been shaped by, say, the traditional, rural customs and beliefs, the socialist doctrine about gender equality, the notions of female sexuality from the early 20th century psychoanalysis, and the prescriptions about fulfilling sexual life in marriage, coming from the post-WWII America.

Thus, in response to the opening question from *Love Affair*, we could say that not only that the reformed, New Woman and Man of socialism have kept their old organs, but they also kept the old, pre-revolutionary ways and discourses about sexuality, while simultaneously adopting the new yet non-socialist ones (e.g., the liberal US sexology). The Yugoslav socialist modernity thus does not deliver any substantial proof of some supposedly autochthonous, distinct socialist discourse on gender and sexuality. The sexual knowledge that circulated the socialist Yugoslavia was assembled from a way too many and variegated sexual discourses to assert any notion of originality in terms of its content.

However, although the Yugoslav apparatus of sexuality did not produce any revolutionary new particular knowledge, something about it definitely was revolutionary and new: a sheer scope of the dissemination of the sexual knowledge. The mandatory elementary education, the rise of literacy, the development of the universal health care, the proliferation of media that conveyed the sex- and gender-related knowledges and values – all of these were simply unprecedented in the history of the Yugoslav peoples. Arguably the biggest achievement of the socialist sexual modernity was, then, not simply the novelty or originality of some particular sexual knowledge, but an unheard-of accessibility of that knowledge for virtually everyone.

2.3.3. The apparatus at work: Male homosexuality in Yugoslav sexology...

Going back to the issue of homosexuality, one notices that the numerous sexological publications discussed it, by offering to the public heterogenous, sometimes mutually contradicting and exclusive information and views, which usually framed homosexuality in terms of social (un)acceptability. Of course, it goes without saying that the dominant streams in sexology were heteronormative to the extent that they never questioned the status of heterosexual family with children as both most fundamental and most supreme social achievement. And yet, that heterosexual privilege does not mean that all Yugoslav sexologists condemned homosexuality as something that warrants punishment, prevention or therapy. Moreover, some very influential authors directly opposed to judicial discrimination of “unnatural acts” among men, and thus, one can suppose, contributed to the relaxation and the abolition of Paragraph 186.

Consider, for example, Nikola Palić’s *Polni život* [The Sex Life], the first sexological bestseller in socialist Yugoslavia.⁴² At first sight, there is nothing surprising: homosexuality is addressed in the fifth part of the book on “Deviations of sexual life”, in the chapter “The inverted sexual drive (homosexuality)” (sic!), being preceded by those about “Historical overview”, “Algolagnia” (on sadism and masochism), “Sexual symbolism” (on exhibitionism and fetishism), and “Masturbation” (symptomatically, the longest one). Consider, however, the very opening paragraph:

Science has reached its verdict and today we can say that we have ended the part of the discussion pertaining to the basic problem of inverted sexual drive that surrounded the question whether this is a disease, degeneration, perversion or an innate drive, a “mistake” of the very nature. The verdict is in favour of this latter view. The terminological confusion about the state that is characteristic of two or three percent of the humanity, however, still goes on.

Nauka je izrekla svoju presudu i danas možemo reći da je priveden kraju onaj deo diskusije o osnovnom problemu naopakog polnog nagona koji se vodio oko pitanja da li se radi o bolesti, degeneraciji, perverziji ili o urođenom nagonu, o “omašci” same prirode. Presuda glasi u korist ovog potonjeg gledišta. Zbrka pojmova o stanju kojim se odlikuje otprilike dva–tri otsto čovečanstva ipak traje i dalje.

(Palić, 1960, p. 170)

That a doctor in a socialist country in the 1950s considered the dispute about homosexuality resolved in its key point – that homosexuality is a *non-pathological* category – may at first surprise us, for even today we are witnessing that the dispute is still as never-ending as it is

⁴² From 1953 to 1960, the volume had five editions with 52,000 copies total, setting an absolute record when it comes to sexological literature in the 1950s.

harsh, with stigma of social and individual pathology still being tagged on homosexuality one way or another.

To support his claim, Palić sums up the arguments of Magnus Hirschfeld, Iwan Bloch and Richard von Krafft–Ebing (more precisely, from Krafft–Ebing’s late work, criticizing his earlier view that homosexuality is illness). He also warns that the mental disorders like excessive anxiety or neurasthenics are not intrinsic to homosexuality, but are reaction to “abject, disgusted sentiment of the environment [odbijajuće, gadljivo držanje sredine]” towards homosexuals (Palić, 1960, p. 174). To top it all, in the second part of the book, the chapters turn into a polemical *tour de force* the addressee of which is explicitly singled out: it is the Yugoslav judiciary and its Paragraph 186.

[O]ne cannot deem it correct or scientifically justified when judiciary labels a biological phenomenon as a vice or a crime, as our Criminal Code does. In no way can we accept that paragraph as necessary, notwithstanding that such regulation is illogical and unclear in the first place. First, it punishes “unnatural acts” only among men, without mentioning at all homosexual acts among women. If we have taken such an unjust and not completely scientifically proven position towards men, it is not understandable why it is deemed a sin only in men and not in women. On the other hand, the very term “unnatural act” is unclear. For, this is understood to be not only when a man inserts his member in anus of another man, that is pedication, but also any act between the men that resembles an intercourse (that is, fellatio, inserting the member in-between the thighs etc.), while mutual masturbation, anilingus and other perversions are not punishable.

Neither this can be about defending some legal goods and public morality, because a relation among adults cannot be a threat to personal freedom if mutually consensual, without presence of the third person. However, if such an act is publically indecent, there is another paragraph dealing with this.

Zato se ne može smatrati da je sasvim na svom mestu i da je naučno obrazloženo, kada zakonodavstvo jednu biološku pojavu proglašuje za porok i zločin, kao što čini i naš krivični zakonik. Ne možemo uopšte prihvatiti da je taj paragraf potreban, čak i bez obzira što je taj zakonski propis već sam po sebi dosta nelogičan i nejasan. Prvo, on kažnjava “protuprirodnu blud” samo među muškarcima, dok se homoseksualna aktivnost među ženama uopšte ne pominje. Ako smo u pogledu muškaraca već zauzeli ovako nepravedno i ne sasvim naučno stanovište, onda nije dovoljno razumljivo zašto je to kod muškaraca greh, a kod žene ne. S druge strane nije jasan ni sam pojam “protuprirodnog bluda”. Naime, pod tim se podrazumeva ne samo to, kada muškarac unosi svoj ud u čmar muškarca, dakle pedikacija, nego uopšte svaki čin među muškarcima koji potseća na snošaj (dakle felacija, unošenje uda među butine itd.), dok uzajamo vršeno zadovoljavanje, anilingus i druge perverzije nisu kažnjive.

Ne može biti reči ni o odbrani nekih pravnih dobara i javnog morala, jer veza odraslih ljudi ne može da ugrožava ličnu slobodu kada se vrši na osnovu međusobnog sporazuma, bez prisustva trećeg lica. Ako pak takav čin izaziva javnu sablazan, za to postoji drugi paragraf.

(Palić, 1960, p. 175)

Warning that public indecency, rape and seduction of minors are already covered with separate regulations, Palić argues that the murky concept of “unnatural act” blurs the line between these crimes and homosexuality. He also reminds that criminal codes of many countries both in the West and the East does not contain the “paragraph for homosexuals [paragraf za homoseksualce]”, and concludes: “What causes homosexual urge has not been answered reliably by science. Hence it is on us to understand *naturally given* essence of that phenomenon, without deeming it an illness. For illness should be treated – and here no treatment could help [Šta izaziva pojavu homoseksualnog polnog nagona, na to još nauka nije dala pouzdan odgovor. Naše je da shvatimo od prirode datu suštinu te pojave, i da ne gledamo u njoj bolest. Bolest bi trebalo lečiti – a ovde ne pomaže nikakvo lečenje]” (Palić 1960: 175, original emphasis). In the light of these arguments, the chapter reads as the message to judiciary that it can and should change the discriminating paragraph. At the very beginning of the chapter, Palić invokes the juristic discourse: “Science has reached its verdict...” Apparently, the scientific verdict makes a sort of precedent in favor of the criminalized group; the legal system thus should consider the scientific verdict as a guideline before making new verdicts on its own. Although the scientific acquittal might not be complete in all of its aspects (for we still do not know what generates homosexuality), it should nevertheless be sufficient for abolishing the prosecution and stigmatization of the homosexuals.

It should be noted that the fierce advocating of non-pathological nature of homosexuality and abolition of legal discrimination of male homosexuals does not mean that Palić dismisses the heteronormativity as such. On the contrary, he eventually describes homosexuality as “the phenomenon with no natural sense and purpose [pojava bez prirodnog smisla i svrhe]”, while arguing that the “[n]atural role and vocation of the human [is] procreation [Prirodna uloga i poziv čoveka [je] razmnožavanje]” (Palić, 1960, p. 175); he also asserts: “We acknowledge to a homosexual as a human the right to survival and we have to understand him also as a sexual individual, although the culture, the progress of humanity moves along the line of heterosexuality [Mi priznajemo homoseksualcu kao čoveku pravo na opstanak i moramo ga shvatiti i kao seksualnu jedinku, mada se kultura, napredak čovečanstva kreće po koloseku heteroseksualnosti]” (Palić, 1960, p. 176). And yet, whether we interpret these claims as strategic retreat after the explicit confrontation with the current legislation, or as Palić’s deeply personal

conviction – or, why not, as both – that by no means diminishes the significance of the aforementioned polemical refutation of Paragraph 186.

Not all Yugoslav sexologists shared the non-pathological view on homosexuality. Exemplary in that regard are the views of Muradif Kulenović, the renowned psychiatrist from Zagreb. In his 1986 study *Metapsihologija, nastranosti, osobitosti* [Metapsychology, Sexual Deviances, Idiosyncracies], in chapter “Homoseksualne neurotske osobine [Homosexual neurotic features]”, Kulenović ruminates on the rise of the subculture of homosexuals in Yugoslav big cities, and forecasts that the homosexuals will organize themselves more efficiently and have increasing social demands: “We can be sure this will not end only in the erotic expressions [Možemo biti sigurni da se neće zaustaviti samo na erotskim izživljavanjima]” (1986, p. 219). He zeroes in on the rich and powerful homosexual elites: while these elites “do nothing to help that these sexual inclinations to be treated [ništa ne čine da bi pomogli da se ovakve spolne nakolnosti liječe]”, they endeavor to “change and improve the image of homosexuals, whilst putting themselves in the role of protectors of endangered or prosecuted homosexuals [izmijene i poboljšaju sliku o homoseksualcima i stavljaju se u zaštitu ugroženih ili protjerivanih homoseksualaca]” and “[t]hey fiercely strive that each of them achieves the feeling of personal pride without any fear of punishment and discrimination [Vatreno se bore da svaki od njih postigne osjećaj osobnog ponosa bez strahovanja od kazni i diskriminacije]” (Kulenović, 1986, p. 220). He opposes the demands for equality of homosexuals and heterosexuals: “We do not know how advisable it is to support, and even less do we know how smart is to help and encourage homosexuals to create exclusively erotic friendships and familial ties among themselves or to associate in any capacity – from ‘marriage’ to the political parties [Ne znamo koliko je to uputno podržavati, a najmanje koliko je pametno pomagati i osnaživati da homoseksualci međusobno stvaraju isključiva erotska prijateljstva i rodbinske veze i da se u svim pravcima udružuju – od ‘braka’ do političkih stranki]” (Kulenović, 1986, p. 220). He also holds that only heterosexuals can actually achieve such genuine romance, while the notion of real love in homosexuals is a mere neurotic delusion, something that is untenable in reality.

And yet, more interesting than these negative views is the way *how* Kulenović developed them. At one point he unexpectedly goes down the memory lane, revealing that in his youth he held a rather different position on homosexuality. He recalls the episode back from his high school days: after watching film *The Trials of Oscar Wilde* (1960, Ken Hughes), Kulenović was

“profoundly shaken” by the poet’s incarceration as depicted onscreen. He could not fathom how the society could so gravely besmirch Wilde’s relationship with the young boys:

I understood these as true friendships (what was in line with my age) and as Wilde’s need to see and to love in his young friend his own bygone youthful days [...]. I considered writing an essay “Oscar Wilde, or, in defence of homosexuality”. I was encouraged by later encounters with the works of Lillian Hellman, Tennessee Williams and others; the essay would probably be dominated by the feeling of dissatisfaction caused by misunderstanding, prejudices and the vulgar notions of people about everything that does not follow the script of ordinary, harsh and tried-and-tested reality.

Shvaćao sam to kao prava prijateljstva (što je odgovaralo mojoj dobi) i potrebu Wildea da u svojem mladom prijatelju vidi i voli svoju prošlu mladost [...]. Razmišljao sam da napišem esej “Oscar Wilde ili obrana homoseksualnosti”. Na to su me naveli i kasniji susreti s literaturom Lillian Hellman, Tennesseeja Williama i drugih; u eseju bi vjerojatno prevladavao osjećaj nezadovoljstva zbog nerazumijevanja, predrasuda i vulgarnih shvaćanja ljudi o svemu onome što se ne odvija po scenariju standardne, grube u utabane stvarnosti.

(Kulenović, 1986, p. 257)

And yet, Kulenović’s subsequent education and professional development extinguished the flames of youth: “In peace and solemnity of the medical offices, things start looking completely different [U miru i ozbiljnosti liječničkih ordinacija stvari izgledaju sasvim drugačije]” (1986, p. 258). Consequently, his stance on homosexuality underwent an u-turn: “After all, that is a deviation and the outcome of pathological processes in the family environment, and one should do everything to prevent such a development as much as possible, whereas in fully developed cases [one should] enable understanding instead of punishing and prosecution of those ultimately misfortunate people [To je ipak devijacija i proizvod patoloških odnosa obiteljske sredine i treba sve učiniti da se u što većoj mjeri spriječi takav razvoj, a u razvijenim slučajevima [...] da se omogući i razumijevanje a ne kažnjavanje i progoni u krajnjem ishodu ipak nesretnih ljudi]” (Kulenović, 1986, p. 258).

The rest of Kulenović’s treatise, however, does not leave much room for doubts as for what catalyzed his change of heart. Already in the first paragraph, as his very first reference, he evokes the name that will dominate the rest of the chapter as the indisputable authority: it is Irving Bieber, American psychiatrist whose extremely influential 1962 volume *Homosexuality: A Psychoanalytic Study* lambasted Kinsey’s thesis that homosexuality and infantile bisexuality

are natural and normal, and layed a cornerstone for the defamation of homosexuality as psychopathological condition that psychiatry should cured.⁴³

Kulenović's example thus vividly illustrates that a far cry from being a hermetically sealed retort filled with the distilled socialist doctrine, the Yugoslav sexology was substantially shaped by the influences from the Western sexology (medicine, psychology). In opposition to the totalitarian paradigm that equals the Eastern side of the Great divide with the backwardness and gloom, and the Western one with progress and light, Kulenović demonstrates that the Western influences could be detrimental as well. Coming after Palić, Bieber's dogma on homosexuality as pathology was certainly a major step back. Kulenović's account conveniently illustrates how the clash between "homophilic" and "homophobic" attitudes has travelled from the Western to the Eastern side of the Cold War divide: Tennessee Williams and Lillian Helman on one hand, and Bieber and the anti-Kinsey backlash on the other, did not clash only in the USA, but also in socialist Yugoslavia.

Let me wrap up this subchapter with a reference to the first book by a Yugoslav author focusing exclusively on homosexuality, *U okviru vlastitog spola* [Within the frame of one's own sex] by Marijan Košiček, which was published the same year as Kulenović's treatise.⁴⁴ This paragraph cannot do the justice to Košiček as the best known and most fruitful Yugoslav sexologist, but here will suffice suffice to say that his stances on homosexuality is opposed to Kulenović. Claiming that prostitution, sexual violence, sexually transmitted diseases, and incestuous abuse of the children are more frequently tied to heterosexuality, he concludes that "it is not just that homosexuality is not a social evil, but is less harmful for society than heterosexuality [homoseksualnost ne samo da nije neko društveno zlo, nego je po društvo čak manje štetna od heteroseksualnosti]" (Košiček, 1986, p. 303). His insight that "society can only benefit from accepting and treating the sexual ties among people of same sex as the natural way of sex life, equal to those of people of different sexes [društvo može imati samo koristi od toga ako prihvati spolne veze među ljudima istoga spola kao prirodan oblik spolnoga života, ravnopravan onome među osobama raznoga spola]" (Košiček, 1986, p. 305), results in a proposal that the homosexual partners should be given right to marriage and having the children,

⁴³ On Bieber's study and its effects in the American public sphere, see Calhoun (2000, pp. 146–147), and Part II in D'Emilio (1983).

⁴⁴ The only prior book on homosexuality published in Yugoslavia was the translation of the Italian sexologist Viglianedi-Rocca (1968).

through adoption or birth. In the book's coda, Košiček insists that all persons regardless of their choice of sex partner can and should aim at achieving the utter interpersonal connection in the ultimate erotic harmony: "That great life goal for all of us is the real sexual love [Taj veliki životni cilj za svakoga od nas je prava spolna ljubav]" (1986, p. 307).

2.3.4 ... and in cinema

The cases of Palić, Kulenović, and Košiček thus tellingly show that the Yugoslav sexology was an arena of a constant struggle among a plethora of concepts, norms, and values with regard to homosexuality – the struggle that would most probably remain hidden and unknown if we believe that the very existence of Paragraph 186 is but an indisputable evidence of homophobia that is, supposedly, innate to the Yugoslav totalitarian regime. In order additionally to complicate the picture of that struggle and defuse the notion of the Yugoslav totalitarian homophobia, let me turn to Yugoslav cinema and its representations of homosexuality. Since I have already outlined many of those in my article about "queering" of Yugoslav cinema (Jovanović, 2012), let me offer here some new findings that I have come across while exploring the early classical Yugoslav cinema, or, in other words, the socialist-realist films.

According to the totalitarian-model logic, in the socialist-realist films there could be no place for homosexual and queer characters. The gist of the socialist gender order was the heterosexual bond between the new man and the new woman, and the revolutionary change aimed to expunge everything that would endanger that fundamental relation. Hence, just like in Janković's account, we could assume that the totalitarian Yugoslav regime (still in its Soviet-style phase) and its marionette filmmakers (still soaked in socialist realism), surely did not screen any type of queer sexuality, or, if they did, then it must have been some pejorative, discriminatory episode.

But how are we, then, to explain the case of the very first homosexual character – or, should we say, the first character who is unambiguously coded as the homosexual – in Yugoslav cinema? It was Tetka, one of the monks from the cloister, the principal setting of *Bakonja fra Brne/Monk Brne's Pupil* (1951, Fedor Hanžeković). The socialist-realist credentials of the film are indisputable: the director himself boasted with them (Škrabalo, 1984, pp. 143–144). The film intended to depict the social and class antagonisms in the late 19th century, with an emphasis on the immorality and crookedness of the Church (the Catholic one in this particular case). Adapted

from the eponymous anticlerical satire written in 1892, by the canon realist author Simo Matavulj, the film follows Ivo, the young titular protagonist, as he arrives in a cloister to become a monk, only to be slowly yet irreversibly corrupted by his mentor Brne and the rest of clergy, which embody different mortal sins.⁴⁵

At first, it seems that Tetka is just one clerical caricature among the others. His very nickname – *tetka* means “aunt” – stereotypically suggests not only his sexual orientation, but a certain feminized posture associated with it. When Tetka sees Ivo for the first time, his own face glows, betraying his fascination with the boy. “And who is that new boy? [A tko je taj novi dječak?]”, he asks the monastery cook, in a significantly soft voice that signalizes that he is smitten by the newcomer; “Bravo! Bravo!”, he exclaims theatrically while gazing down at the novice. The next time Tetka meets Ivo, the boy gets hit by another, capricious monk for no reason. After seeing the injustice, Tetka approaches Ivo and, waving the flower in his hand, tells him in a mild voice: “You should not be afraid of me, you know... [Mene se ne tribaš bojati, znaš...]”, and gently “hits” him with a flower in a teasing way. As Tetka proceeds down the hall, the camera shoots him from the back, capturing his feminized posture: he waves with his flower and sways his hips. Another pupil mockingly imitates Tetka’s walk, while following him from a safe distance.

And yet, the rest of the film warns us that this mocking representation of Tetka does not amount to his vilification. The world surrounding Ivo is dominantly vile and corrupt, and the ultimate proof of its wickedness is the lecherous life of the monks. Although they officially live in celibacy, they indulge in the clandestine affairs with the local women. When Ivo himself commits to such an affair, following the example of his mentor, the film suggests that he reached his moral nadir. Fra-Tetka, however, does not fit the profile of the licentious monk. Unlike the heterosexual monk desire of the monks, which results in the secret romances which destroys the life of the lovers, Tetka’s sexual desire is ultimately rendered benign.⁴⁶

The key scene in the designation of Tetka’s queerness as a positive feature follows those that established him as the laughing stock. After some drinking with his peers and napping in the

⁴⁵ Although Daniel J. Goulding praised the film as “an effectively realized drama”, his summary is curiously inaccurate. Not only that he unfathomably sets the film in Renaissance, but also argues that Ivo “learns to combine spiritual progress with a discerning and lusty appreciation for worldly pleasures” (Goulding, 2002, p. 44) – a misguiding remark given that the film insists that the clergy’s “lusty appreciations for worldly pleasures” is nothing but a hypocrisy that excludes any true spirituality.

⁴⁶ This is important to stress, as the monk’s sexual desire could also be deemed the paedophilic.

monastery kitchen, Ivo – still an innocent, true believer – sneakily returns to his room late at night. In the hallway in front of his room, he spots Tetka: under the cloak of darkness and silence, the monk decorates the sculpture of the patron saint with flowers and lights the candle. Hidden in the shadow, Ivo observes as Tetka leaves, while another monk shows up, and, carefully, not to be noticed by Tetka, puts out the candle. Finally, when the other monk leaves, Ivo brings the burning candle from his own room, lights Tetka’s candle again and piously looks at the figure of the saint. The scene, thus, establishes Tetka as a genuinely devout believer: surrounded and despised by the other monks who are blasphemy incarnated, he literally keeps the flame of faith alive. In the eyes of the boy who is still a believer himself, Tetka appears as an authentic role model, although the boy’s identification with corrupt monks will eventually triumph. In other words, the candle scene unambiguously couples Tetka’s queerness with the virtue, just as the rest of the film couples heterosexuality of the other monks with the vice. In the film’s universe, where the corruption wins the day, Tetka thus appears as a quixotic figure that guards the habits and values that are despised and betrayed by his rotten environment.

As we shall see in the following pages, *Monk Brne’s Pupil* is by no means the only early classical Yugoslav film susceptible to the queer analysis, but I use it here as the most impressive illustration that even a strong political control over filmmaking in the late 1940s and early 1950s did not utterly erase queers motifs. Hence, we should analyze these celluloid images of non-normative sexualities – just like the images of gender and sexuality in general – as a part and parcel of the gender apparatus in socialist modernity, which encompassed many other discourses and imaginaries (jurisprudence, sexology). Only that way can we get a better grasp of the gender order of Yugoslav socialism, and stop the production of ignorance along the lines of the totalitarian model.

2.4. Conclusion

As the totalitarian model continues to influence the historical accounts of the socialist Yugoslavia, reducing numerous layers of socialist modernity to mechanisms and outcomes of the ideological state repression, many accounts of Yugoslav cinema still follow the backlash suite. They maintain the unbridgeable divide between cinema-as-propaganda and cinema-as-art, the dichotomy which makes the core premise of the totalitarian model in the sphere of arts and

culture. According to the advocates of the totalitarian model, the predominant purpose of Yugoslav cinema was to brainwash the population, filling it with ideological dogmas and lies that justified the rule of Tito and the communist party. Accordingly, the rare exceptions to this reign of propaganda in cinema were the auteurs whose films fiercely challenged the rule and the values of the party, but at a high price: they were marginalized at best, terrorized and imprisoned in the worst case scenario.

At its most paradoxical and malevolent, the dichotomous logic of the totalitarian model has found its way even in the works of the leftist scholars who are otherwise very critical of it and its influence in history-writing. These scholars do not assert that the filmmakers criticize the socialist politics as innately totalitarian, yet still continue to define their filmmaking first and foremost in opposition to the regime. In that way, these scholarly accounts involuntarily continue to buttress the totalitarian model of Yugoslav cinema.

In order to challenge the fallacies stemming from the notion of Yugoslav cinema as a totalitarian cinema, I argue for a “Foucauldian turn” in Yugoslav cinema studies. Historians and theorists of Yugoslav cinema/film would do good to turn to Foucault’s criticism of descending type of historical analysis that privileges only one “supreme” social agency and “explains” everything by referring to it. By doing so, we would challenge the Manichean narrative that divides Yugoslav cinema into the two groups of filmmakers who are defined via rapport to the Tito’s “totalitarian regime” as such a supreme social agency: the auteurs who are defined by their opposition toward the Regime, and the party drones and sycophants who are supporting it.

Fundamental as it is, the replacement of the dichotomous picture of Yugoslav cinema with the most differentiated one is only a first step toward more thorough re-articulation of research of relation between Yugoslav cinema and other spheres and aspects of the socialist modernity. Foucault’s notion of apparatus enables us, first, to reconceptualize Yugoslav cinema as a heterogeneous ensemble of discourses, institutions, and practices, which are not strictly defined with regard to the supreme agency of political power (Tito, the regime, the party). Second, it also designates Yugoslav cinema itself as one of many elements in other apparatuses of Yugoslav socialism.

Due to the main focus of my research, I am especially interested in the beneficial effects of the Foucauldian epistemological turn in relation to the links between Yugoslav cinema and the broader apparatus of sexuality in socialism. First, the other elements of this apparatus (e.g.

sexology) provide us with important contextual layers for analyzing gender motifs in Yugoslav films. However, we should not forget that also goes vice versa. The following chapters demonstrate how the specific films representations of gender and sexuality can throw more light on – and sometimes even challenge – the other discourses, institutions, values and norms that make the apparatus of gender in Yugoslav socialism.

Chapter 3

Challenging the “great divide”: The gendered shades of the World War II/Partisan films

In the socialist Yugoslavia, World War II was universally deemed the most important sequence in the national history. It caused devastating losses, both human and material: the estimated number of the dead was somewhat above 1 million, the total demographic loss was almost twice as many (Žerjavić, 1989), and seventy percent of economical infrastructure was ravished in the country that had been economically and industrially underdeveloped already before the war (Bilandžić, 1985, pp. 79–80). WWII also brought the full political eclipse to the Yugoslav state in 1941, as the King Petar Karadjordjevic and Royal Yugoslav government left for an exile in London, and the Axis powers divided the country. And yet, the period of unprecedented suffering and disintegration was also a period of the country’s radical political redesign and re-emergence under the guidance of the Yugoslav communists. From 1941 to 1945, the Party tempered the new Yugoslav state in an astounding effort that combined both antifascist struggle and socialist revolution. The partisans fought the occupation forces of Axis powers and the quisling regimes (like the *ustaša* regime of the Independent State of Croatia), just as the forces that stood for the pre-war regime (the royalist *četnik* movement). In 1943, the Allies acknowledged the partisans as the only genuine antifascist movement in the Yugoslav territories, providing the communists with the much needed military support, and paving the way for the eventual recognition of the new socialist Yugoslavia.

Such a turbulent and ambiguous historical legacy made the films set in WWII and often labelled the “partisan films” one of the most persistent staples of Yugoslav cinema.⁴⁷ They made

⁴⁷ The terminological tension between “the WWII film” (hereafter also: the war film) and “the partisan film” points to the instability of this group of films as genre. First, not all WWII films have the partisans as their main protagonists, i.e. do not fit the partisan genre in a more narrow sense, and yet are conveniently or habitually labeled that way. For example, in his analysis of *Ne okreći se sine/Don’t Turn Round, Son* (1956, Branko Bauer), Nikica Gilić remarks that although the partisans are virtually invisible in the film, it, nevertheless, remains customary branded simply as “the partisan film” and not as a war thriller or melodrama, which, strictly speaking, would be more accurate (2010, p. 81). Second, we should also acknowledge the volatility of the line between WWII films and non-WWII films, which makes it impossible to firmly establish their definite number. For example, in *Koncert/Concert* (1954, Branko Belan), the frame story is set in the post-war days, but most of the film consists of

between one quarter and one third of the total number of feature films made from 1947 to 1992. Scattered across a variety of sub-genres and ranging from the utterly schlock to the master pieces, they are illustrative of virtually every aesthetical and ideological development in Yugoslav cinema. Consequently, they remain a significant repository of gender and sex-related motifs, some of which will be explored in this chapter.

The starting point of the analysis is the dismissal of the WWII/partisan films along the lines of the totalitarian model. Some recent scholarship deems these films the main cinematic pillars of the regime propaganda, and reduces them to myth-making in the most pejorative sense of the term: the creating and maintaining of the non-truths about WWII in the Yugoslav territories. The authors dismissive of the partisan film argue that its *differentia specifica* – the ultimate proof of their alleged dogmatic content and propagandistic purpose – resides in the clear cut divide between the Good and the Evil, as embodied in the partisans and the occupiers, respectively. However, I argue that the theoretical gender optics reveal that the allegedly black-and-white world of the WWII/partisan films is actually quite colourful. In order to illustrate that, I showcase several motifs, plots and character types. These examples testify not only to the fact that the claims about the Manichean world of the WWII films are rather exaggerated and have no substantial footing in the films themselves, but also that gender was integral to challenging such a crass black-and-white outlook.

3.1 Partisan films and the anti-leftist odium

Their original socio-political context might be dead and gone for more than two decades now, yet the WWII/partisan films continue to cast an ambiguous spell on post-Yugoslavia. It is not just that they roam the Yugoslav daughter states by means of DVDs, television, and Internet; as the major cultural signpost of the socialist heritage, but that the partisan film is popping up every now and then in the post-socialist cultural production, from the high culture to the popular and mass culture.⁴⁸ This resilient fascination, however, has its conjoined twin, the opprobrium that

four flashback episodes set in 1914, 1922, 1929, and 1941; in the last segment, the quislings hunt down of a member of resistance – an elemental plot of many WWII thrillers.

⁴⁸ Illustrative in this regard is *Valter brani Sarajevo/Walter Defends Sarajevo* (1972, Hajrudin Krvavac), arguably the most popular partisan film ever (Šešić, 2006). The post-Yugoslav references to the film abound from Dubravka Ugrešić's novel *The Ministry of Pain* (2006), and Aleksandar Hemon's story "Imitation of Life" (2000), to Lazar Stojanović's *Škorpioni: Spomenar/The Scorpions: A Home Movie* (2009), the chilling documentary about

designates partisan films as the celluloid repository of the totalitarian dogmas: “Within Yugoslav communism, cinema and (especially) the partisan war epics played a role similar to the role of cathedrals in medieval Christianity”, conveying “the absolute essence of the Titoist spirit” (Pavičić, 2012, p. 49).

What underlies that odium is the totalitarian paradigm as the major expression of the anti-Yugoslav and anti-socialist backlash. Integral to this backlash is the all-pervasive revision of the historical narratives about WWII that were operative in the socialist Yugoslavia. In the post-Yugoslavia, the partisan antifascist struggle is systematically minimized if not maligned, while the quislings, who were in socialism repudiated as the “domestic traitors [domaći izdajnici]”, are patently absolved and elevated into the real heroes and martyrs.⁴⁹ Serbian historian Olivera Milosavljević aptly summarizes the issue: “the key question today is not why, back in the period from 1941 to 1945, some people decided to become quislings, and others to fight fascism. The key question is: why, in 2005/2006, the former have become the victims, whereas the latter became the criminals [danas nije ključno pitanje zašto su se 1941–1945. jedni opredelili da budu kvislinzi a drugi borci protiv fašizma. Ključno pitanje je: zašto su 2005/06. prvi postali žrtve, a drugi zločinci]” (2006, p. 12).

The most obvious answer lies in the ethnic–national gist of the post-Yugoslav totalitarian paradigm. Ever fervent guardians of the ethnic imperative, the backlashers loath interethnic solidarity, the core value of the Yugoslav socialist project, and vilify partisans for betraying the purity of the national thing. The very same optics pardons the quislings as the defenders of the national cause: they have sided with the Axis powers in order to protect their – “our own” – nation in the stormy times. The cut-throat racism and anti-Semitism that were integral to their politics are explained away as pragmatic coping with the historical circumstances.

Of course, far from being endemic to post-Yugoslavia, this besmirching of interethnic and international solidarity is conterminous with the general rise of political right in Europe

the notorious Serbian death squad in the wars of the 1990s, to the hit song “Valter” by Dubioza Kolektiv, one of the most popular post-Yugoslav bands. The film is also in the focus of *Valter/Walter* (2012, Andrej Aćin), a documentary biopic on actor Velimir Bata Živojinović, whose status of the greatest Yugoslav male star was cemented by the film’s titular role. Even as I finish the thesis, the news pours in about the internationally co-produced remake of the film. The participation of a Chinese film company as the major producer should not be surprising if we know that the original film was reportedly seen by an audience of 1.3 million in China back in the 1970s (Cult war movie, 2014).

⁴⁹ For the detailed overviews of the wide range of the revisionist practices throughout post-Yugoslavia, see Karačić, Banjeglav, and Govedarica (2012), and Markovina (2014).

nowadays. Symptomatic of this trend, among other things, are the pleas for the equidistance between Nazism and communism as the two totalitarian systems, which, in the current right-wing dominance, effectively boil down to the demonization of the political left and the snubbing of the socialist resistance to Nazism and fascism.⁵⁰ In such an ideological constellation, Yugoslav partisan films are among the celluloid reminders of the antifascist struggle as the most important political struggle that constituted modern Europe. Slovenian film critic Marcel Štefančič (2004) said that partisan films are the major Yugoslav contribution to the European pop culture; today, more than ever, we have to spell out that this is the case not only due to its generic features, but also because it celebrates the values and principles that made WWII, to use the famous American phrase, the Good War. One should not be surprised, then, that partisan film today is stigmatized by those who identify with the forces defeated in that war.

3.2 Homogenizing the WWII/partisan film

Needless to say, most of the scholars who dismiss the partisan films as such most certainly do not subscribe to the right-wing revisionism that spearheads the anti-partisan odium. And yet their accounts chime with it, in a resonance that is both uncanny and, presumably, unwilling. If we return to the “Art vs. Propaganda” dichotomy as the most convenient device for the totalitarian-model mapping of Yugoslav cinema, the partisan films stand for the ultimate embodiment of its latter pole: they are vehicles of “the absolute essence of the Titoist spirit”, which are directed by a legion of the “party hacks”, whose main, if not sole, intention was to delude the spectators into the official, dogmatic “truths” about WWII.

This tunnel-vision perspective involves a strategy that is analogous to the designation of “the black wave” as the Art pole of the “Artist vs. Regime” dichotomy: a remarkably heterogeneous set of films gets homogenized along some presupposed ideological trait. We

⁵⁰ The European Parliament provides one of the paramount examples of such revisionism by designating August 23 as the European day of remembrance of the victims of all totalitarian and authoritarian regimes. In this case, the date of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact in 1939 does not only serve as the reminder of supposedly innate affinity between Nazism and Stalinism, but stands as the key trigger of WWII, as if the war had not effectively started earlier, when Hitler occupied Czechoslovakia, with the approval of France and United Kingdom. In other words, although the victims of Stalinism most certainly deserve an appropriate commemoration, it is highly problematic to use the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact for that purpose, as that move conceals the historical importance of the Munich Agreement, i.e. of the fact that the leaders of the exemplary European democracies had approved Hitler’s conquest even before Stalin. Apparently, “Quod licet Iovi...” applies here: what is allowed to Neville Chamberlain apparently is not allowed to Vyacheslav Molotov.

could argue that the homogenization of the WWII/partisan fodder is even more encompassing than the blending of the *novi film* variety into “the black wave” monochrome, for the former includes a significantly larger number of films produced over a much longer historical period. From the totalitarian-model vantage, however, the remarkable differences among the WWII/partisan films pale in comparison to their allegedly uniform and monolithic ideological outlook. In what can be seen as an exemplary case of “the descendant type of analysis”, the proponents of the totalitarian paradigm describe these films only by deducing their specificities from their (alleged) manipulative, propagandist function.

Greg DeCuir offers a text-book example of this approach. In the very same study in which he homogenized the “black wave” at the expense of the many nuances of *novi film*, he defines the partisan genre as “One of the most effective means in which the League of Yugoslav Communists perpetuated their collective myths and ideologies”, and reduces it to “a national dream, utilized so that Yugoslav citizens would sleep peacefully knowing that the heritage of heroes past was protecting them” (2011, p. 28). DeCuir supports these general claims with these five films only: *Na svoji zemlji/On Our Own Land* (1948, France Štiglic), *Daleko je sunce/Distant is the Sun* (1953, Radoš Novaković), *Bitka na Neretvi/The Battle of Neretva* (1969, Veljko Bulajić), *Valter brani Sarajevo/Walter Defends Sarajevo* (1972, Hajrudin Krvavac), and, strangely, *Život je naš/Life is Ours* (1948, Gustav Gavrin), which is not a WWII-set film to begin with. He does not bother to explain why he cherry-picked these films specifically, but sketches each of them with a synoptic paragraph at best, and smoothly relegates them to “what can be called a ‘romantic’ socialist realism; [...] they adhered to the dogma of socialist realism with regards to content and form” (DeCuir, 2011, p. 28). According to DeCuir, the socialist-realist slant of the WWII/partisan films is transhistorical or ahistorical.

Bosnian scholar Senadin Musabegović subscribes to the same vantage in his book-length study *Rat: Konstitucija totalitarnog tijela* [War: Constitution of the Totalitarian Body] (2008). Arguing that a specific image of the “totalitarian body” is one of the fundamental tenets of each totalitarian regime, Musabegović explores ways in which these imaginary bodies are constituted in Bolshevik Russia, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and socialist Yugoslavia. In “Totalitarizam i jugoslavensko socijalističko iskustvo [Totalitarianism and the Yugoslav socialist experience]”, the second part of the study, he foregrounds the partisan films as the principal instrument for the creation and dissemination of the Yugoslav totalitarian body. First, he asserts that the partisan–

totalitarian body was decisively moulded by the aesthetics of socialist realism, and then, in a glaring non sequitur, equates the WWII/partisan film as such with socialist realism.

The thesis about the everlasting socialist-realist kernel of the partisan films defies the elementary facts about the Yugoslav cinema history, which I mentioned in the Introduction: not only did the socialist realism vanish from Yugoslav cinema by the mid-1950s, only to be traced residually since then, but the partisan films simultaneously lost the status of the most numerous group of films in Yugoslav cinema. Each of the authors conceals these facts for their own reasons. DeCuir does it in order to extol the “black wave”: “The Partisan war film solidified and forwarded a dogmatic national ideology and a collective myth, in doing so becoming the basis for an oppositional cinema to depart from” (2011, p. 35). For Musabegović, silence on the relatively short expiry date of socialist realism in Yugoslav cinema is the very bedrock of his study. If he had admitted that socialist realism did not last long in Yugoslav cinema, his central premise on the longevity of the Titoist “totalitarian body”, as moulded by socialist realism, would disappear in thin air.

Arguably the most bizarre illustration of this strategy is the way in which the totalitarian-model vantage deals with the WWII-set action films and epics characteristic of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Although these films, often mockingly labelled as the “red wave”, were made some twenty years after socialist realism lost its hegemonic position in Yugoslav cinema, authors like DeCuir and Musabegović – or, for that matter, Jurica Pavičić (2003) and Aida Vidan (2011) – deem them as nothing more than socialist-realist spawn. Musabegović’s central showcase is *Sutjeska/The Battle of Sutjeska* (1973, Stipe Delić), a war epic that starred Richard Burton and Irene Papas, made in the time when one could not find socialist realism even in Kremlin.

DeCuir sees *The Battle of Neretva* and *Walter Defends Sarajevo* as “fine examples of the dominant output of the Yugoslav film industry from the post-war period through the 50s until the 60s and the advent of Yugoslav New Film” (2011, p. 35) – a puzzling statement given that they were made as late as 1968 and 1972, respectively. He also asserts that *The Battle of Neretva* “transformed the Partisan war film, *ironically enough*, into a commodity spectacle” (DeCuir, 2011, p. 33, emphasis mine). And yet, this irony exists only in the eye of the beholder who seems unable to realize that the commodity-spectacle effect was anything but a side effect. The film’s lavish budget and the stellar cast – Sergei Bondarchuk, Yul Brynner, Franco Nero, and Orson Welles, to name a few – were a means to glamorize WWII, testifying that the commodity

spectacle is exactly what many a partisan films in the late 1960s and early 1970s was primarily about. With claims like these, totalitarian-model narratives obfuscates even relatively well-known facts about the “red wave”; most notably, that these films emulated the war films from Hollywood and British cinema, just as westerns and action films. For example, whereas DeCuir and Musabegović relegate the partisan action films directed by Hajrudin Krvavac to socialist realism, Yugoslav film critics were deemed them as the Yugoslav westerns, a genre fashioned by Žika Mitrović in the mid-1950s. According to Štefančič, “Krvavac’s Partisan films of the 1960s have to be granted their legacy of the Western, remaining, alongside the spaghetti Western and Packinpah school, the last shield protecting the vitality of the Western in general [Krvavčevim partizanaricam moramo priznati, da so v šestdesetih vzele nase dediščino vesterna ter da so ob špageti vesternih in Packinpahovi šoli ostali zadnji oklop vitalnega vesterna sploh]” (2004, p. 298). Although this appraisal might seem a bit overenthusiastic, I find Štefančič’s thesis irrefutable. To silently ignore the fact that ‘Red Wave’ films owe more to *The Guns of Navarone* (1961, J. Lee Thompson), and *Battle of Britain* (1969, Guy Hamilton) than to *The Fall of Berlin* (1950, Mikhail Chiaureli) is a patent misrepresentation of the history of Yugoslav cinema.⁵¹

3.3 The “great divide” fallacy

On what grounds, then, do these authors claim that the WWII/partisan films are an apparently everlasting socialist-realist affair? What piece of evidence about the propagandist and dogmatic nature and the socialist-realist slant of these films do they hold? Here is Musabegović’s answer:

It is a typical characteristic of the partisan socialist realist films to represent a black and white differentiation of the characters into “our” combatants and those coming from the outside, the occupiers. Their socialist realist poetics neither explains the motifs, nor enters the psychology of the characters, especially those of the occupier, nor does it create a deeper analysis of the situations and the times in which fascism emerges. The vantage point from which the spectator is supposed to observe an event is strictly the partisan’s perspective, as the spectator is supposed to identify with his heroic gestures that exclude, quite radically, the enemy.

Stoga je tipska karakteristika partizanskih socrealističkih filmova da predstave crno–bijelu diferencijaciju likova na “naše” borce i na one što dolaze izvana, koji su okupatori. Njihova

⁵¹ Musabegović’s censorship of the basic historical facts is of a broad sweep, to say the least. In a manoeuvre scandalous by any academic standard, he does not offer a single bibliographic reference on Yugoslav cinema. DeCuir’s account of the partisan films also suffers from the lack of references. He quotes only Daniel J. Goulding on the socialist-realist slant of the early Yugoslav cinema, and even conveniently ignores the fact that Goulding also described the vanishing of the socialist realism as integral to “breaking the mould” in the 1950s.

socrealistička poetika ne objašnjava motive, niti ulazi u psihologiju likova, pogotovu onih koji pripadaju okupatoru, niti stvara dublju analizu situacija i vremena u kojima se pojavljuje fašizam. Tačka gledišta iz koje gledalac treba da posmatra događaj je isključivo perspektiva partizana, prije svega zato što se gledalac treba identificirati sa njihovim junačkim gestama koji isključuju, na radikalni način, neprijatelja.

(Musabegović, 2008, p. 222)

This is hardly an exceptional stance. DeCuir shares the gist of this argument: he also mentions “simplified good/evil dichotomies and conflicts” as the only proper socialist-realist traits (2011, p. 28), and, for example, criticizes a 1953 partisan film as “not a wholly-subversive of classical Yugoslav cinematographic values: the basic conflict of the film is still one of good versus evil, represented by Partisans versus Germans” (2011, p. 33).

The first reproach to this argument about the good versus evil dichotomy draws upon the history of philosophy and literature. As Fredric Jameson summed it up, “the ethical binary opposition of good and evil [is] one of the fundamental forms of ideological thought in Western culture” (2002, p. 73); consequently, it is dispersed in a myriad of genres, and hardly qualifies to be deemed *differentia specifica* of any particular. More specifically, the history of WWII informs the second reproach: representation of WWII as the clash of Good versus Evil was anything but specific of Yugoslav or socialist-realist cinema, but fell squarely in the history written by the Allies. Consider Hollywood, for example:

almost without fail, at least until the late 1960s, Hollywood’s World War II films served the purpose of affirming the national perception that World War II was the Good War. Despite complexities of character and sometimes plot, the clear message was that during those extraordinary wartime years, Americans rose above their personal flaws, overcame their doubts and Great Depression-era cynicism, to fight the good fight, suffer the necessary sacrifices, and defeat the threat of evil from the Axis powers.

(McCrisken & Pepper, 2005, p. 93)

Hence, it would be more than interesting to learn how many of the Hollywood WWII-set films from the late 1940s or early 1950s would fit DeCuir’s standard of being wholly subversive by *not* screening the Nazis as the bad guys. However, by neglecting the post-war global ideological constellation and its repercussions for cinema in the US and throughout Europe, DeCuir and Musabegović fail to admit that the Good versus Evil dichotomy is not the defining trait of the early Yugoslav socialist-realist cinema, let alone the WWII/partisan films.

A notable evidence of this, with regard to the Yugoslav WWII/partisan films, comes from a filmmaker who could hardly be described as proponent of the socialist-realism: Orson Welles.

After he played a *četnik* leader in *The Battle of Neretva*, he was offered a role of Winston Churchill in *The Battle of Sutjeska*. Welles declined the offer, yet agreed to comment on the early draft of the script. He grouped the shortcomings of the scenario into two groups: the western-style ones and the socialist-realist ones. Given this particular division, his following remarks are rather illuminating:

I think the attempt to make the German forces appear humane [in the film] would be a weak and feeble take on *The Battle on Neretva*. This is why the Nazi forces have to be, for the partisans (and for the viewer alike), faceless, a grey wall of metal and a red wall of fire. [...] The only encounter, the only moment when we get a glimpse of a human being in this sheet of “metal”, is during the chest-to-chest battle, in the “embrace” in which both [the Partisan and the Nazi soldier] roll down the muddy slope and die.

Mislim da bi pokušaj humaniziranja njemačke snage bio slabi i blijed pokušaj *Bitke na Neretvi*. Zato nacističke snage moraju za partizane (i za gledaoca) da budu bezlični, sivi zid metala i crveni zid vatre. [...] Jedini susret, jedini moment kad u “metalu” naziremo ljudsko stvorenje jeste za vrijeme borbe prsa u prsa, za vrijeme “zagrljaja” u kome se jedni i drugi kotrljaju i umiru niz blatnu padinu.

(Husić, 1973, pp. 63–64)

A proponent of the totalitarian model unaware who wrote the quoted lines might easily attribute them to some overzealous Yugoslav Zhdanovite: does not such a sweeping reduction of Nazi soldiers to the elements – the ultimate widening of the “us vs. them”, i.e. of the “good vs. evil” divide – amount to the ultimate proof of a “totalitarian consciousness”? However, Welles’ suggestion implies differently: the radical dehumanization of the enemy is not specific for socialist realism as such. Hence, the presence of the “good vs. evil” polarity in any film – let alone in a WWII/partisan film – does not suffice to be described as the socialist realist one.

Although these two previous points are important, the most salient evidence that contradicts the “great divide” thesis comes from the films themselves. The clear-cut pattern between the good guys (“us”) and villains (“them”) was certainly at play in the WWII/partisan films of the early classic Yugoslav cinema, but even back then the film critics and the filmmakers promptly recognized it as obvious shortcoming and criticized it quite harshly. For example, the fact that *Major Bauk* (1951, Nikola Popović) was eagerly awaited as the first feature film produced in the republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, did not save it from being critically lambasted precisely for the lack of nuance in the designation of both protagonists and antagonists. Here is an exemplary review from the daily *Politika*:

How many more times will a German, a *četnik*, a saboteur and other “villains” in our scenarios stand as the pure extracts of snake evil, and the mothers, the combatants and the commissars fly high up in a trance of sublime heroism – as in the Branko Ćopić’s scenario for *Major Bauk*? [...] the black ones are all equally black, and the whites are all the same. Do [the villains] Gajo and Vranić differ in any way – other than by the length of their moustaches?

Pa koliko će još puta Namac, četnik, saboter i drugi “negativci” u našim scenarijima biti čisti ekstrakti zmijske zloće, a majke, borci i komesari uzletati u nebo u transu sublimiranog herojstva – kao u scenariju Branka Ćopića za film *Major Bauk*? [...] crni su svi podjednako crni, a i beli su isti među sobom. Da li se Gajo i Vranić ičim razlikuju – sem dužinom brkova?!

(Filmska hronika: “Major Bauk”, 1951)

What is most important is that this criticism did not fall on deaf ears. From the mid-1950s on, not all Partisans’ adversaries were equally black, just as not all Partisans were untainted white. The game-changer in this regard was *Daleko je sunce/Distant is the Sun* (1953, Radoš Novaković), the eleventh WWII-set film, which broke the monolith image of the partisans to a significant appraisal of the film critics. In order to fully describe the film’s key novelty, let me recount it in more detail. The combat between the partisans and the Nazis is only the backdrop for the film’s central conflict: the discord between the two leaders of a partisan unit. Whilst the military commander lieutenant Uča argues that the unit should stay together and continue to fight in its home region, the Party commissar Pavle insists that it should be split into two smaller units, which would leave the region altogether. When the two start mutually accusing each other of ambitiousness and dishonesty, the rest of the unit is aghast. One of the partisans explicitly warns them: “Your personal disputes will tear the unit apart! [Vaše lične svadje će da razbiju jedinicu!]” The turmoil culminates when the third member of the unit’s headquarter, Uča’s deputy Gvozden, utterly dismisses the possibility of leaving the home turf and suggests that the unit dissolves altogether. Appalled by Gvozden’s suggestion, Pavle and Uča demote him and accuse him of cowardice in front of the whole unit. In one of the most charged scenes of the classical Yugoslav cinema, Gvozden opposes to the two, presents his case, and invites some partisans to leave with him back to their villages. Triggered by such a direct act of disobedience and by the danger of the dissipation of the unit, Pavle summons the Vojni sud, the five soldiers (Uča being one of them) sentence Gvozden to death, and one of the fellow combatants executes the punishment by shooting.⁵²

⁵² Daniel J. Goulding inaccurately sums up the plot: “A brave peasant fighter from the region, Gvozden, leads an attack not sanctioned by the staff of the Partisan unit. In the interest of discipline, he is judged and executed by his own comrades” (2002, p. 48). That way, Goulding conceals both the proper traumatic dimension and novelty of the film’s designation of the partisan movement.

Although Pavle blatantly besmirches Gvozden as a coward, the film itself does not vilify the latter, but designates him as a tragic hero in his own right. Unlike Pavle and Uča, he is untainted by any ambition; what motivates his call for dissolution of the unit is nothing but genuine care for his neighbours. When he realizes that the Nazis killed the local peasants, punishing them for helping the partisans, Gvozden defiantly yells: “I do not want to fight for a waste land! [Ja neću da ratujem za pustu zemlju!]” Above all, he does not stop identifying himself as a communist: he accepts the sentence as the outcome of the party discipline and even hurries the execution, aware that the Nazis are approaching and that the unit should keep on moving. Pavle will continue to wrestle with his conscience in the second half of the film, and in the last dialogue in the film he finds out that he will be “called out [pozvan na odgovornost]” for the execution of Gvozden.

In his review, the influential critic Milutin Čolić lauded *Distant is the Sun* as the veritable break in the representation of the partisan movement. He described the previous partisan films as effectively the same socialist realist film: despite the variety of their plots and characters, they all shared “a single psychological level, without any antagonistic inner conditions, personal dilemmas or crises. There was neither a conflict between the persons, nor within them [jedne su psihološke ravni, bez oprečnih unutarnjih stanja, ličnih dilemma ili kriza. Nema sukoba ni medju ljudima, niti u njima samima]”; *Distant is the Sun*, however, was innovative “not much in the way of an artistic achievement, but as, we would say, an exceptionally important commitment: an attempt to provide us with a more complete insight into the People’s Liberation Struggle, in its multi-layers and antagonisms, somewhat darker gamut as opposed to the bright one [ne toliko umetničkim efektom koliko jednim, rekli bismo, pokušajem da se NOB sagleda celovitije, u njenoj slojevitosti i protivrečnostima, ponešto tamnijoj, ne samo svetlijoj gami]” (Čolić, 1984, p. 349). And yet, not even such a substantial step in screening the antagonisms within the partisan resistance can appease the scholars who are intent to reduce the partisan films to the socialist-realist propaganda. *Distant is the Sun* is the very film which DeCuir sees as “not wholly-subversive” of the classic Yugoslav cinema; Musabegović does not mention it at all.

In opposition to such a blatant neglect, *Distant is the Sun* indeed might appear to be the point of no return in the cinematic designation of WWII and the socialist revolution beyond the black-and-white divide. However, I would slightly correct this picture by proposing that, instead of a single film, we take 1953 as the watershed moment in the WWII representation on screen.

Ironically, out of the nine films made that year, only two were set in WWII – the other one being Gustav Gavrin’s *Bila sam jača/I was Stronger* – however, both portrayed their characters with significant shades of grey. In their classifications of the WWII/partisan films, Yugoslav critics described this shift as the one from “naive romanticism [naivni romantizam]” (Munitić, 1974, pp. 15–24), or the “heroic romanticism” (Čolić, 1984, pp. 170–180), which was specific for the early classic cinema, to “de-romanticization [deromantizacija]” of the WWII/partisan films from approximately the mid-1950s to the mid-1960s. Referring to *Distant is the Sun* again, Čolić describes de-romanticization in terms of remodelling of

the individual hero of the revolution. [With Gvozden], the typology of the characters begins to change: they are less the theses and the symbols, monoliths made of the unhesitant and the untouchable. The first warrior brings doubt and resistance, the possibility of suspicion and opposition to the ruling norms. In a word, the first man in the war film.

individualnog heroja revolucije. [Sa Gvozdenom] počinje da se menja tipologija likova: sve su manje teze i simboli, monoliti od materije nepokolebljivosti i neprikosnovenosti. Prvi ratnik koji donosi sumnju i otpor, mogućnost podozrenja i pononecije važećim pravilima. Jednom reči, prvi čovek integralno u ratnom filmu.

(Čolić, 1984, p. 184).

Although I subscribe to this thesis in general, I argue that the gender-focused exploration of WWII/partisan film can help us to discern even more shades instead of the black-and-white dichotomy. Noticing that Čolić’s account of de-romanticization is heavily centred on the male partisan hero, such an analysis would pose a question on other protagonists that were integral to the early classic partisan films, most prominently the female ones, but also the antagonists (the occupiers and the quislings). In the following pages, I will gloss several themes and motifs, which reveal that gender was integral to the de-romanticization. However, before doing that, I will do a sort of gender mapping of the early classic WWII/partisan films in order to check the ways in which the socialist-realist aesthetics moulded the gender representations.

3.4. The partisan romance in the time of the revolutionary asceticism

Let us approach the early WWII/partisan by foregrounding its main romantic ingredient: a specific type of love relationship between a man and a woman who are both committed to the antifascist struggle and the socialist revolution. Their relationship, by rule, features a tragic

ending in which one or both of them die while fighting the occupiers. Milan Ranković had in mind this type of romance when he stressed the overall prudishness of the early Yugoslav films:

The first post-war period is dominated by films that subdue the relationship between the sexes to an idealized melodrama, which mostly left out references to any sort of physical aspect of that relationship. Our first films on revolution are characterized by asexual love. In that period, in which war heroism was replaced by work hedonism, many sorts of depravation were used to test the moral strength of the persons who opted for socialism [...] The cruel morality of the sexual asceticism, imposed by the necessities of the war, transferred to the morality of the first post-war years. It possessed some of the religious exclusiveness and often led to sexuality being identified with immorality.

U prvom posleratnom periodu dominiraju filmovi u kojima je prikazivanje odnosa medju polovima svedeno na idealizovanu melodramu, u okviru koje je uglavnom izostajalo ukazivanje na bilo koju telesnu komponentu tog odnosa. Naše prve filmove o revoluciji karakteriše aseksualna ljubav. U tome periodu, u kome je ratni heroizam bio zamenjen radnim hedonizmom, mnoge vrste lišavanja bile su merila provere moralne čvrstine za socijalizam opredeljene ličnosti. [...] Surovi moral seksualne askeze, nametnut ratnom nužnošću, preneo se i na moral prvih poratnih godina. On je imao nešto od religijske isključivosti i neretko je dovodio do olake identifikacije seksualnosti s nemoralom.

(Ranković, 1979, p. 254)

However, instead of taking the “revolutionary asceticism” at face value, I propose that we should see it as an exemplary social dictum that, by stipulating eroticism, we actually entice it:

An obstacle is required in order to heighten libido; and where natural resistances to satisfaction have not been sufficient men have at all times erected conventional ones so as to be able to enjoy love. This is true both of individuals and of nations. [...] In this connection it may be claimed that the ascetic current in Christianity created psychical values for love which pagan antiquity was never able to confer on it. This current assumed its greatest importance with the ascetic monks, whose lives were almost entirely occupied with the struggle against libidinal temptation.

(Freud, 2001, pp. 186–187)

We should not overlook that the revolutionary asceticism did not shape all types of films in the same way. As we shall see in the following chapters, romance and eroticism were by large treated differently in the WWII/partisan films, the socialism-set films, and those set in the previous historical epochs. For the time being, it will suffice to say that, in their most general, sexuality and eroticism were more at display in the historical films, whereas they were more repressed in the WWII-set and socialism-set films, although, with significantly different closures (a tragic endings being reserved for the former, and the happy endings for the latter). However, a closer look reveals that even the WWII/partisan films, which were supposedly under the strictest political control, juggled several strategies of representation of romance and sexuality.

3.4.1. *Slavica*

The prototype of the revolutionary romance is found in *Slavica* (1947), a film that designates the partisan antifascist movement as the direct continuation of the pre-war proletarian resistance. Let me take a cue from Daniel J. Goulding's portrait of the titular protagonist and her romantic relationship with the fisherman-turned-partisan Marin: "Slavica is a courageous young maiden in love with Marin but too constrained by the rigors of battle to express more than an occasional comradely embrace. [...] The brave Slavica loses her life to German bullets while she is in the hold of the ship trying to caulk the holes made by German shells. [...] The ship is named *Slavica* in her honor" (2002, p. 17). However, this synopsis is astonishingly inaccurate to the extent that one has to ask oneself: did Goulding actually see the film? The ship was not baptized after Slavica, in honour of her sacrificial death, but before the war, while she was helping the co-operative of the local fishermen to build it, in an act of resistance against the local capitalist who had the monopoly in fishing. Also, even more importantly, by the time Slavica joins partisans she is not a maiden, but a wife. She and Marin marry in a ceremony that crowns the efforts of the fishermen's co-operative. As one of the fishermen quips, it is Slavica's double wedding: as the ship marries the sea (i.e. gets launched), Slavica marries Marin. And yet, as the newly married couple basks in the glow, the first Nazi airplanes fly over the wedding on their way to drop the first bombs on the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In one of the most impressive details in the film, the image of the newly-weds morphs into an image of the couple departing as Marin leaves to fight the war (FIGURE 3.1–4).





FIGURE 3.1–4 Marital bliss vanishes in a single shot in *Slavica* (1947)

Slavica, thus, does not incarnate the revolutionary asceticism. A far cry from the proverbial virginal purity, which has to be sacrificed at the altar of Revolution, she is actually a prime mover of the action, most notably in the first part of the film, which is set in the pre-war period and centred on the building of *Slavica*. Working in a local fish factory, with her old poor parents, she witnesses the crass capitalist exploitation first hand, and, accordingly, advocates for social change through the workers' solidarity. Although Marin is equally aware of the capitalist exploitation, he is, nevertheless, reluctant to join the fishermen's co-operative. It is only after he meets Slavica and hears her emotive talk about solidarity that he joins the building of the boat, i.e. the revolutionary project. In other words, Marin's romantic attachment to Slavica paves the way to his ideological attachment; her revolutionary commitment is a necessary precondition to his own. Slavica's love for Marin is not limited to the "occasional comradely embraces": when she and Marin kiss for the first time, it is Slavica who initiates the pucker and suggests that the two of them should get together.

The film also unmistakably registers the double repression of women in the pre-war gender order: Slavica does not only suffer repression in the factory, but in her home as well, where she has to resist the backward worldview of her parents. Members of the slaving class, her parents, nevertheless, consider the existing order unchangeable and chastise Slavica for opposing it. One should not forget that even such an order gives the parents – especially Slavica's father – the power over their daughter: hence, they dream of marrying her off to the factory owner, and even when Slavica marries Marin, they still resent her for marrying him instead of marrying a wealthy man. However, as Slavica resists the class exploitation, she also defies her parents in what turns out to be an everlasting education, uprooting them from the norms and values specific

of the ancient regime. The father seems to be a more apt pupil, as he acknowledges the revolutionary change more gradually and swiftly than the mother. She, however, will have learned her final lesson with her daughter's death. In the film's finale, when Marin informs his parents-in-law about Slavica's death, the camera zeroes in on the mother's face: only now, after finding out about her daughter's death, that she realizes how profound and worthy that change must be when her daughter gave her life for it (FIGURE 3.5–6).



FIGURE 3.5–6 The mother's ultimate lesson in *Slavica* (1947)

Much more than a partisan combat film, *Slavica* is about introducing the new values and ways of the socialist order to the old, traditional underclass and non-educated family – particularly those relating to the shift between the two: the traditional and the socialist gender order. The shift between the two is perfectly captured in the move from the scene in which Slavica sees Marin off as a soldier of the royalist Yugoslav army in June 1941, to the scene when – once they become partisans – it is him who sees her off to Dalmatia, his birthplace, to join the partisan units in Bosnia.

3.4.2. *On Our Own Land and Immortal Youth*

In the early Yugoslav films, only one more title renders the romance between the active, ideologically aware woman, and the man who is at first reluctant toward the revolutionary cause, but eventually succumbs to it guided by his love for her. In *Na svoji zemlji/On Our Own Land* (1948, France Štiglic), Drejc and Tildica are the only love couple in the wide ensemble of protagonists. Utterly committed to the antifascist and revolutionary struggle, Tildica joins the partisans early, whereas Drejc's commanding mother does not allow him to leave the home and

join the resistance. The conflict between Drejc and the mother is emphasized by the fact that he is not a boy, but a man in his mid-thirties, who, nevertheless, does not dare to question the matriarch's command.⁵³ Despising his own cowardice, Drejc calls himself a deserter, and effectively sides with the members of the national home guard [domobrani], who station themselves in his (or better: his mother's) household. When the *domobrani* catch Tildica and imprison her in Drejc's house ("She is not a woman, she is a partisan!"), Drejc finally decides to do the right thing: he steals the machine gun and kills the domobrans, sets Tildica free and joins the partisans. After some time, Tildica tells him that she is pregnant, implying that he is the father. It is not only a tacit acknowledgment of the love between Tildica and Drejc, but of sexual life among the partisans in general.

A telling negotiation about the limits of representation of romance is also depicted in *Besmrtna mladost/Immortal Youth* (1948, Vojislav Nanović), the first Yugoslav film that rendered the communist resistance in a large urban centre that is reigned by the quisling regime (Belgrade, in this particular case). The main protagonists are Rade, one of the most prominent members of the communist youth in Belgrade, and Vera, the upper class girl who joins the resistance. The film renders them as equals, both in terms of romantic and ideological attachment: Vera does not catalyze Rade's ideological transformation as Slavica and Tildica did, but neither does Rade introduce Vera to the communist cause. At first, he is patronizing and afraid that she is not up to the struggle; however, Vera does not care about his opinion and acts assertively on her own. The film spends some time in acknowledging her detachment from the rest of her bourgeois family: the father, a wealthy merchant, who wants to keep his family name untarnished, the vain mother, who believes that Vera should organize soirees, and her brother, who belongs to the nationalist youth, refuses the prospects of resistance, and socializes with the Gestapo officer who lives in their luxurious house. When the German expresses his love to Vera, he also warns her that he has evidence that she is a member of the resistance. Vera instantly leaves the parent house, in a clear demonstration of her independence and revolutionary commitment. Before she gets to her grandmother's place, however, she stops at Rade's and his mother's flat and spends a night there: although nothing happens between the two, the scene paves the way for their romance. Two more scenes are illustrative in that regard. First, two of

⁵³ The film does not vilify the mother figure as such, as it renders other good mothers who are more ideologically aware and support their partisan sons and husbands.

them enjoy some time together walking around the Kalemegdan fortress; although Rade expresses his love by saying that under Vera's gaze he feels as if he is enveloped by thousands clouds, the scene stops short of screening a kiss or an embrace. In their last appearance on screen, however, Rade tells Vera that he is about to leave the city and join the partisans in the countryside; aware that they might not see each other soon or maybe ever again, they kiss and Rade gently reaches for Vera's breast, holding it over her clothes for a moment; the girl leaves. Eventually, Rade gets killed in action, and Vera, herself wounded, receives the sad news about his death. At first she cries disconsolately, but her and Rade's colleague persuades her – in arguably the most didactic speech ever delivered in early Yugoslav cinema – that Rade's death has its place and purpose in the revolutionary struggle.

3.4.3. *This People Shall Live*

Živjeće ovaj narod/This People Shall Live (1947, Nikola Popović), a film about the anti-fascist uprising in the villages of Bosnian Krajina, follows Jagoda, an adolescent peasant girl, who wholeheartedly supports the partisan struggle, and who falls in love with Ivan, a partisan miner famous for blowing up the railroads. Jagoda is similar to Slavica in at least two important respects: she is a lively, extrovert person, and she eventually dies, leaving her lover to avenge her. However, her death is rendered significantly different than Slavica's. Not only is Slavica's death incidental, but it is also designated in a more poetic way: when Slavica gets mortally wounded in the deck, all by herself and unnoticed by the others, the camera zooms on her hands and the stream of water erupting through the hole in the deck. Pathetic as that scene might appear to us today, it is, nevertheless, consistent in terms of the overall metonymical relation between Slavica and *Slavica*, the woman and the boat; also, it plays upon the standard relation of femininity and the "water element" (FIGURE 3.7–10). In that sense, there is nothing inherently socialist realist about the scene: only the later scenes with Slavica's mother will retrospectively transform it into an element of the socialist-realist puzzle.



FIGURE 3.7–10 The death of Slavica



FIGURE 3.11–12 The death of Jagoda in *This People Shall Live* (1948)

Jagoda's death, however, is framed rather differently: the Nazis hang her in a scene that unmistakably emulates the end of the titular heroine of *Zoya*, the famous 1944 Soviet war film

by Lev Arnshtam.⁵⁴ When the Nazis and *četnik* forces catch Jagoda, she bravely refuses to disclose the location of the partisan ambulance and defiantly opposes the German officer who, enraged by her boldness, orders the execution on the spot; as the henchmen put the rope around her neck, she fiercely shouts that the partisans prevail (FIGURE 3.11–12). This public spectacle of both Jagoda’s revolutionary commitment and the Nazis mercilessness is far more didactic in a proper socialist-realist way than Slavica’s death scene.

Other differences between the two female protagonists, and their respective love relations, are also important. Equal with Marin in every major respect, Slavica catalyzed his ideological change through their love; Jagoda, however, is effectively inferior to Ivan in terms of knowledge and the revolutionary experience, and it is him who catalyzes her transformation for the better. True, Jagoda wholeheartedly supported the partisan cause even before meeting Ivan, but it is only after she falls in love with him that she undergoes the revolutionary change proper. Not only does Ivan tell her, for example, who is Josip Broz Tito, of whom the peasant girl was absolutely ignorant, but he also triggers her awareness of the shortcomings caused by the traditional patriarchal upbringing: when he gives Jagoda a news paper article, she admits her illiteracy and later learns to read.

However, in one substantial aspect Jagoda compensates for this apparent and temporary inferiority of hers. As she approaches Ivan – and to be sure, she is the one who makes moves on him, and not vice versa – she crosses the ethnic lines. Jagoda is a Serb, whereas Ivan is a Croat – hardly a standard combination given the animosity between the two ethnicities, which was ignited and maintained by their nationalist political elites in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, only to culminate in the WWII bloodshed. Consequently, Ivan’s presence in the region mostly populated with the Serbs, arouses suspicion among those who equate “a Croat” with “an *ustaša*”, the member of the notorious quisling regime of Independent State of Croatia, which carried out an unprecedented genocide against the Serbs. That way, *This People Shall Live* was the first Yugoslav film that tackled, at least obliquely, the ethnic hatred as one of the most pressing problems that could have been resolved only by the communists’ adherence to interethnic solidarity as one of their fundamental principles. Hence, one is tempted to discard this aspect of the love affair between Jagoda and Ivan as a crass example of the propaganda: does not their

⁵⁴ On the representations of women in the Soviet war films, see Youngblood (2010).

romance merely channel the doctrine of “brotherhood and unity”, as the communists labelled their interethnic politics?

And yet, if we are to analyze this particular romance, we would do better to drop the propaganda platitudes, and turn to the literature of Branko Ćopić. One of the most popular Yugoslav writers, he did not only write the scenario for *This People Shall Live*, but also a whole batch of novels and stories about the uprising in Bosanska Krajina, his native region in the West Bosnia. The analysis of this scope cannot do much more but scratch the surface of Ćopić’s voluminous opus, but it must be noticed, at least in shorthand, that the interethnic romance is a specific staple of Ćopić’s writing. Exemplary in that regard are his most ambitious WWII novels *Prolom* [The Break-Out, 1952], and *Gluvi barut* [The Silent Gunpowder, 1957], both set in the same milieu as *This People Shall Live*, only far more complex, sprawling, and sombre.⁵⁵ In both books, the Serb peasant women are more assertive than their men when it comes to endogamous romances. Whereas the peasant men prefer to remain within the horizon of their own ethnic group, and even perpetrate the genocide against “the ethnic others”, the peasant women are more open to the strangers and outsiders, both coming from the other regions or belonging to other ethnic group. Due to that openness, they are proto-modern and have more revolutionary potential than the peasant men, as it were. However, Ćopić does not link that revolutionary potential to some alleged feminine essence or substance, but traces its materialist roots: it is the peasant woman’s status of the repressed and exploited “other” in the patriarchal tradition that makes her attentive to all sorts of repression and exclusion, and dismissive of the chauvinism and provincialism.

⁵⁵ Ćopić was criticized as the heretic writer who subverts the Yugoslav social reality as early as 1950, and *The Silent Gunpowder* was arguably his most controversial work, due to its unfavourable descriptions of some partisan protagonists and their misdeeds.



FIGURE 3.13–14 The female ensembles and masses in *This People Shall Live*



FIGURE 3.15–16 Ritual unraveling of the women's hair in *This People Shall Live*

Ćopić's view of the peasant women as the genuine proto-revolutionary force enables the film to designate and celebrate another type of women's participation in war. Unlike Slavica, Jagoda and other peasant women never reach for a gun, i.e. they never become partisans; yet they substantially support the partisan movement by means of massive and demanding actions. For example, Jagoda organizes and conducts a march of three hundred women carrying grains through the snowy mountain to a partisan-held city plagued by hunger (FIGURE 3.13). Generally, the presence of women dominates most of the scenes that depict the village life and the uprising of the peasant masses (FIGURE 3.14). In many scenes, the ensembles of the peasant women serve as a chorus that comments the unfolding events by singing the traditional and the partisan songs: they mourn the losses and celebrate the victories. In arguably the most delicate scene that combines the traditional experience of the rural women and the revolutionary experience of the antifascist struggle, the women unravel their long braids – the traditional hairstyle in the

countryside – in order to magically help the partisans: just as the women unravel their long hair, so should the partisan’s paths unravel safety from every menace (FIGURE 3.15–16). Hence, while *Slavica* was a paean to the partisan woman, *This People Shall Live* celebrated contribution of the women that nominally might not have been partisans, but whose work was of cardinal importance for the partisan guerrilla war, in which “the front” and “the home front” intricately combined.

3.4.4. *The Flag*

The final example in this subchapter is *Zastava/The Flag* (1949, Branko Marjanović), the film about Marija, a ballerina who leaves Zagreb and joins the partisans. The film is bookended with scenes set in the post-war present, with Marija talking to her younger colleagues about quitting her job in the national ballet troupe during the war and leaving for the woods. The most of the film is effectively in flashbacks, although not structured around Marija’s perspective or presence (she is neither the narrator nor the focalizer in the strict sense). Unlike the other female protagonists mentioned here, she is not acutely aware of the ideological content of the antifascist struggle or the revolutionary cause. What drives Marija to join the partisans is not a the clear prospect of taking part in the revolution, but primarily her decision to run away from the atmosphere of terror in Zagreb, the capital of the *ustasha* puppet regime, which sucks her dry of élan vital and desire to dance.





FIGURE 3.17–20 Marija breaks down under Vuksan's piercing gaze in *The Flag*

The rule of *ustaša* is incarnated in the officer Vuksan, a brute who sleazily makes advances at Marija. Profoundly disgusted by his obnoxious persona, Marija nearly collapses on stage under Vuksan's piercing gaze from the balcony (FIGURE 3.17–20). Only after Marija arrives among the partisans, she starts gradually understanding the virtuous nature of the communist revolution and the national liberation. Again, the sentimental education buttresses the ideological one: Marija falls in love with the partisan commander Petar, who will lead the unit to a triumphant victory in the last part of the film. Once we return into the socialist present, Marija reveals that Petar did not live to see the liberation and peace. In the film's finale, she dances out her own experience of revolution, in a glorious allegorical memento to Petar and all of those who sacrificed their lives for the liberation and the revolution. Of all the revolutionary romances in the early films described here, this one is the most restrained and covert one: Petar might be attracted to Marija romantically, but he effectively acts only as a mentor, speaking of the revolutionary efforts and invincibility of the people; Marija, on her part, fails to infuse any sort of romantic discourse in their rapport. She admits that she cannot express herself in words, and promises Petar that some time in the future she will express all of her unspeakable feelings through dance.

3.5. Vindicating the glamour

After glossing over these representations of the revolutionary love, let us now refocus on its opposite: the coupling of sexuality and eroticism on the one hand, with the anti-socialist ideology and politics on the other. Whereas the revolutionary project was linked to the subdued

representations of sexuality, the accentuated, untamed and flaunting sexuality was connected to the ancient regime, bourgeoisie and Nazism. That this nexus of the menacing ideology and menacing sexuality was most spectacularly incarnated in the images of the bad women should not surprise us, after a substantial body of feminist scholarship analyzed that representational strategy in many other contexts: by rule, cinema would participate in vilifying an ideology, a worldview or a way of conduct, by embodying it in the bad girls and women defined primarily by their flamboyant, uncontrolled, and promiscuous sexuality (e.g. Jacobs, 1995; Kuhn, 1988; Staiger, 1996). The good revolutionary girls and women of the early partisan films were accordingly contrasted to the images of the ideologically-and-sexually fallen or bad women: whereas the former kept their sexuality within the limits of socialist values and order as determined by reason, morality, and self-awareness, the bad women unrestrainedly succumbed to their lowest sexual impulses and sided with the Nazis and other enemies of socialism, who were also characterized in terms of decadent, licentious, and pathological sexuality.

It suffices to check out *Slavica* where the local pre-war bourgeoisie makes a natural ally to the Italian and German occupying forces. The images of the working-class poverty, but also of the revolutionary commitment, are contrasted with the decadent bourgeois party, where the erotic unrestraint fuses with music, dance, and alcohol, all under the sign of the naked female body utterly overwhelmed by ecstasy (FIGURE 3.21–22). When the wealthy city folks enthusiastically welcome the Fascist town administrator and commander, it is the bourgeoisie women who excel with their welcome: they exchange flirting gazes with the officer, surround him and take him to his quarters (FIGURE 3.23–24).



FIGURE 3.21–22 The bourgeois nightlife in *Slavica*



FIGURE 3.23–24 The female collaborationists in *Slavica*

The Flag offers the most spectacular rendition of the obscenity of the link between Nazism and flamboyant amoral sexuality. We have already seen that the film unmistakably designated Vuksan as the obscene sexual predator who is after Marija, and the ultimate illustration of his amorality is provided by the scene where he orchestrates the wild, drunken party with several *ustaša* officers and apparent prostitutes. The scene is a jumble of music, tobacco smoke, drunken bodies dancing, and obscene female laughter. Vuksan sadistically mistreats one of his concubines, grabbing her neck, pushing her to her knees and pulling her hair, yet she does not remark; apparently, it is their sexual routine. The bacchanalias culminates when Vuksan orders that the two prisoners who were accused of supporting the communist insurgents be brought out: as the villain with his demonic threats of killing the prisoners, the drunken ladies humiliate them as well (FIGURE 3.25–28).



FIGURE 3.25–28 The *ustaša* bacchanalias in *The Flag*

To be sure, the image of the fallen women, often coupled with the Nazi/quisling villains, remained an unsurprising staple of the WWII/partisan films for some time, and sometimes in the films that are set in the early post-war period, and vilify the remnants of the pre-war bourgeoisie, e.g. in *Priča u fabrici/Story of a Factory* (1948, Vladimir Pogačić), and *Poslednji dan/The Last Day* (1951, Vladimir Pogačić). Far more surprising – and to the best of my knowledge completely unexplored – is the tendency of the gradual yet constant de-stigmatization of these problematic, collaborationist femininity, or, rather, of the female eroticism as such. In my view, the earliest illustration of this tendency is to be found in *Immortal Youth*. As we have already seen, the film features a Gestapo officer, who makes advances at the revolutionary heroine; also, the film screens some of the night life of Belgrade during the wartime: the Gestapo officer is only one of the Nazis who visit the night club, and drink with their girls or prostitutes (FIGURE 3.29–30).



FIGURE 3.29–30 The women collaborationists in *Immortal Youth*

However, the central act of the night club scene belongs to a dancer – an anonymous, episodic character – who performs her tap-dance number. Although there is no doubt that her performance is a segment of the spectacle that, at its most general, can be seen as a bourgeois frivolity and the collaborationist activity, the manner in which the act is framed does not invest it with ideological resentment, like the one that is at play in the images of the obscenely laughing bar ladies. The camera captures the tap-dance act in a fly-on-the-wall fashion (FIGURE 3.31– 32). The act is a testimony to the performer’s skill, not to her alleged or supposed ideological sympathies. It is as if the girl’s act – her enjoyment in the dance as such – briefly opens a space beyond the stark dichotomy that forces the woman to choose between good revolutionary femininity and the bad collaborationist one.



FIGURE 3.31–32 The tap dancer in *Immortal Youth*

3.5.1. *Uncle Žvane*

The next, far more elaborated example of this tendency can be found in *Barba Žvane/Uncle Žvane* (1949, Vjekoslav Afrić). One of the most critically maligned films of the period, it follows the titular old peasant who undertakes a 100 km long trip with a herd of ox, in order to provide the food for the starving partisans. Travelling by foot across the occupied territory, Žvane is caught by the Nazis guarding a mountain outpost. Žvane's imprisonment occupies the central 20-odd minutes of the film, and the most prominent protagonist of that segment is not Žvane or his capturers, but Nineta, an Italian bar singer from a nearby town, who arrives to the outpost to entertain the soldiers by singing and dancing with them. Shortly after her arrival, Nineta is horrified when she notices how the commander Rostner maltreats the old man, demanding him to disclose the location of the partisans; when Rostner – the most villainous character in the film – takes Žvane at gun point, Nineta even jumps in between the two and forces the Nazi to spare Žvane's life (FIGURE 3.33–34).



FIGURE 3.33–34 Ninetta saves Žvane from Rostner in *Uncle Žvane*

As the old man remains tied up in the corner of the cabin, he becomes a spectator of the mini drama of love and jealousy, which plays out in front of him. Whereas Rostner is attracted to Nineta, she is far more interested in the young soldier Fritz. In the evening, at the party, Rostner notices that Nineta gazes at Fritz, as if she is singing specifically to him. When the young soldier, who is himself attracted to Nineta, starts dancing with her, Rostner jealously slaps him and sends him outside to stand guard. Nineta continues to sing and dance with all the soldiers, enticing them to drink too much (FIGURE 3.35–36). When all the soldiers gets drunk and fall asleep, she

goes out, finds the young soldier, and they head to the woods where they kiss and make love (FIGURE 3.37–38). In the meantime, Žvane sets himself free, and runs away from the outpost with his bovine herd.



FIGURE 3.35–38 Nineta seduces the Nazi soldiers, and leaves after Fritz in *Uncle Žvane*

Nineta was an unprecedented figure in Yugoslav cinema due to her profound ambiguity: she was the first woman who obviously enjoys the company of the occupiers and makes love to them, and yet, at the same time, she was a far cry from being depicted as an amoral villainess. Not only does she save Žvane’s life, thus displaying humanity and bravery, but is also an independent woman who knows what she wants and knows how to get it. She is not impressed with power, as illustrated by her disregard for the commander, but apparently follows her heart. Moreover, her feelings for the young soldier de-stigmatize him to an extent. The underdog and the beauty who oppose to the supreme brute cannot but arouse sympathies, despite their (supposed) nominal ideology; under the cloak of the night they become lovers, whose passion paves the way for

Žvane’s escape. The purity of their love, then, makes them effectively complicit with the main protagonist – who, at one point, also had looked smitten with a sight of their romance.



FIGURE 3.39–42 The socialist-realist glamour: Nineta as diva in *Uncle Žvane*

One aspect of Nineta’s persona should be particularly stressed: she is a glamorous woman – indeed, the closest that Yugoslav cinema came to the notion of a diva in those early days. Unlike the prostitutes and harpies in *Slavica* and *The Flag*, she is anything but a caricature: the beauty of this brunette is genuine and apparently moulded after the female stars of the 1940s. As she croons “Besame mucho” to her lover, the camera frames her in a close-up that connotes adoration, not scorn (FIGURE 3.39–42). Again, just like in *Immortal Youth*, the feminine virtue surfaces through a performance that, although exercised in front of the audience, suggests the profound feminine enjoyment that is not limited to the public appearance: this time it is not a dance, but a song. Just as the commander fears that the song is not meant for him but for another man, one could assume that Nineta’s singing ultimately does not aim to please the men, but is a self-sufficient activity, i.e. the act that connotes the self-sufficient dimension of the feminine

enjoyment (*jouissance*, in Lacanese). As Renata Salecl reminds us (1998, pp. 59–78), it is not for nothing that the song of the Sirens offers one of the paradigmatic examples of this *jouissance*: their singing is both highly seductive and lethal for the men, suggesting the Sirens’ independence and self-sufficiency. In a way, any woman who enjoys singing or dancing is on a verge of immersing herself in this type of *jouissance*, which, ultimately, is perceived as socially dangerous as it reveals the woman’s self-sufficiency and challenges the rapport between the women and the men as natural.

3.5.2. *The Red Flower*

My final illustration in this subchapter comes from *Crveni cvet/The Red Flower* (1950, Gustav Gavrin), a film that renders the destinies of the soldiers of the Yugoslav royalist army captured in April 1941, and interned in a POW camp in Germany. Anything but a homogenous group, the soldiers are diversified in terms of age, military status, and, foremost, ideology. The central antagonism does not pit the Yugoslavs against the Germans, but the prisoners of the communist and anti-fascist bent with those who share monarchist affiliation, and side with the Nazis in the ongoing attempts to squash the communist cell in the camp.

In the second part of the film, the prisoners launch a revue that brings some joy to their fellow inmates, but also serves as a testimony to their resistance. The musical acts are actually vitriolic jokes on the Nazi values, which target the German officers who attend the show in the first row as the special guests. The number that I am especially interested in here – the one that is also accentuated by the film – offers the first remarkable queer motif in the early, socialist-realist Yugoslav cinema: a communist prisoner sings and poses as a glamorous woman. The act encapsulates the Hollywood-style spectacle: in the bar setting, we first spot the bartender and a gentleman in a white suit who sits on a bar stool, nonchalantly enjoying a glass of brandy and a cigar. A female figure steps into the frame from the right and starts singing as she approaches the man in white: we first see her black contour from the back, and when she turns away from the man toward the camera, we realize that it is a guy with a wig, heavy makeup, in a dress, striking a full-blown diva posture. The man in white lustfully gazes down at the bar siren and listens to “The Bar Song [Barska pesma]”, a sorrowful tune about longing and desire (FIGURE 3.43–46).

The “bar lady” act is as good as it gets in the improvised theatre in the POW camp. “She” boasts with fairly impressive make up and a lanky body, with properly thin waist, not to mention convincing moves and – above all – fascinating voice (the scene was actually dubbed by a female singer). The audience is amazed, and even the Nazi officers appear to be flabbergasted. The self-reflexivity of the act is unambiguous: what we see is not merely a glamorous performance but performing the glamour.



FIGURE 3.43–46 The revolutionary cross-dresser in *Red Flower*

The bar lady will be back on stage one more time, in the final act, when she joins the characters from the other numbers to sing the closing song. “Her” performance, thus, does not stand up alone as a cross-dressing curio, but figures as a part of the more complex series of performances that also play on other types of identifications, most prominently racial ones. What follows the bar lady act is an equally unabashed number, where several prisoners perform a blackface act, impersonating the American black slaves who decry the exploitation by the white masters, and

eventually rise up and free themselves. The tradition of blackface – itself a form of racial cross-dressing, in which the whites put on the insignias of the black race (Rogin, 1998, p. 30) – is famously and justly controversial, for it can be seen as promulgating or subverting racism – all depending on the context and reception. However, staged in the context of antifascist resistance in *The Red Flower*, the act is unambiguously about the genuine interracial *political* identification par excellence: the pro-communist prisoners translate their resistance to the Nazi politics in the mutiny of the black slaves in the antebellum South. In other words, the antifascist resistance re-appropriates the tradition of the black resistance, by reinventing it as its predecessor: the song sung by the performers is not an original slave song, but is written by the prisoners themselves – an all too obvious slap to the racist politics of Nazism.⁵⁶

One could say that the revolutionary appropriation of the glamorous femininity should be seen in the same way: a product of the capitalist/bourgeois system, the glamorous spectacle, nevertheless, has a utopian potential.⁵⁷ Indeed, the cross-gender and cross-racial identifications intertwine in the final act, when “the bar lady” – just as several prisoners who were performing as majorettes – joins “the blacks” and some others performers masked as the ethnic stereotypes; all of them joyfully embrace on the stage as they singing about international solidarity and universal humanity. After applauding courteously, the Nazi officer who was sitting in the front row as a special guest, suggests to the director of the show that “the Chinese coolie should be removed away from the white woman”, to what the director responds wittily: “I think that the mister colonel would not mind if, in order to preserve the colour-variety of the characters, we replace the Chinaman with a Japanese?” The *Red Flower* revue thus vividly illustrates Richard Dyer’s argument that we should not deem stereotypes as necessarily pejorative or politically regressive (1993, pp. 11–18): the Nazi officer knows very well that he faces the most patent stereotypes, and yet he gets provoked by them, perfectly aware that even such a shabby spectacle

⁵⁶ The representation of the black persons in Yugoslav cinema is a topic that begs for a study in its own right, but the images of blackness, by rule, connote internationalism, inviting interracial identification and solidarity. The first black person in a Yugoslav feature film appears in *Life is Ours* (1948, Gustav Gavrin): in what seems to be an insert of documentary footage (most probably from *Brčko–Banovići*, Gavrin’s documentary about the post-war mass labour action of building the titular railroad), we see an anonymous smiling black man, a member of an international labour brigade. The most famous black person in the classical Yugoslav cinema is the US sergeant Jim, the protagonist of *Dolina miru/Valley of Peace* (1956, France Štiglic). This guardian angel figure of the two war orphans was played by an American actor John Kitzmiller.

⁵⁷ I draw here on the dialectics of the ideological and the utopian, as elaborated by Fredric Jameson (2002).

still channels meanings and values that challenge his ideology, i.e. even these crass stereotypes outline the antifascist politics.

How far should we go in appraising such surprising overlapping of the revolutionary struggle, the cross-dressing as an exemplary queer practice, and destigmatization of the glamorous femininity? One could easily come up with a much more pessimistic reading that would tone down the link between them. For example, it would suffice to recall that the revue was supposed to distract the Nazis, so that a communist inmate can sneak into the camp administration offices and destroy the lists of his incriminated fellows. Moreover, before the revue, the leader of the communist prisoners explicitly stresses that its most important act will happen “behind the scene”.⁵⁸ However, to stick to these facts, correct as they may be, is to miss that the show eventually outgrows its original instrumental function. For, even if the revue is conceived as a ruse to keep the Nazis away from the communists’ secret mission, the ardour that the performers invest in it and its effects on the audience elevate the show from being merely “a means to an end” to an end in itself. This transformation of the revue from a pure charade into an authentic act of resistance is marked with the most remarkable formal feature that is linked precisely to the representation of cross-dressing: the cross-dressers do not serve as a laughing stock. The bar-lady act never slips into a caricature or comic relief, but keeps a melancholic aura of a glamorous diva. The majorettes’ number certainly lacks the melancholic gloss of the bar act, yet, their cross-dressing itself is also not to be laughed at: the audience surely laughs, but not *at* the majorettes, but *with* them, for it is the Nazis who are the butt of the joke again.

3.6. Femininity as a mediating agency

These examples of the virtuous glamour testify that the gradual absolution of the “fallen”/collaborationist femininity significantly destabilized the black-and-white divide in the WWII/partisan films already during the period of the naive or heroic romanticism, i.e. of the socialist-realist phase of Yugoslav cinema. The process continued in the years in which socialist realism in the Yugoslav films became the residual, the WWII/partisan genre lost the status of the most present domestic genre, and the idealized heroes were de-romanticized.

⁵⁸ With regard to this strategic employment of the queer spectacle, *Red Flower* anticipates the classic WWII film about the prisoners of war, David Lean’s *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957).

3.6.1. *I Was Stronger*

I have already proposed that we can take 1953 as the watershed moment in these developments and have illustrated it with the rightly famous *Distant is the Sun*. Now, let me additionally exemplify it another partisan film made the same year: it is Gustav Gavrin's third and last feature film *Bila sam jača/I Was Stronger*. The film follows Marija, the partisan who, masked as the peasant woman, leaves the woods and heads to a small town secretly to pick up the urgently needed medicine from a local pharmacist, the communist supporter. However, at the very moment when she takes over the stash of the medicine, the police raids the pharmacy; trying to escape, Marija finds herself in the flat that belongs to the very quisling head of police Mile, who orchestrated the manhunt. Mile's wife Zora accepts the unknown woman in the household, as she believes her to be a housemaid that she was expecting expecting. The film thus apparently becomes an exercise in suspense: will Marija manage to keep her cover before she sneaks away from the wolf's lair? And yet, this situation paves the way for a far more sombre drama – the central drama of the film – starts to unravel. The little son of Mile and Zora is seriously ill and his condition rapidly deteriorates, due to a wrong diagnosis and lack of medicine. Accordingly, the film transforms Zora from the bossy wife of the quisling administrator to a committed mother who would do anything to save her child; also, we gradually find out that Marija is actually a doctor, and thus the only person who can make the correct diagnosis and help the boy with the serum, which she injects to the boy unbeknownst to his parents. When he reveals her true identity, Mile remains a zealous quisling head of police. He mercilessly informs Marija that he will imprison and punish her, but that she has to help the boy anyway as her professional ethics obliges her. Zora, for her part, promises to Marija that Mile will let her go once she helps the child; when her husband refuses to confirm that, she is disgusted by his behaviour, accuses him that he puts his job before his son's life, and she even hits him (FIGURE 3.47–48). She pleads to Marija as one woman/mother to another, regardless of the ideological worldviews that might separate them. When she realizes that Marija had helped the boy at the right moment, she helps her to leave the flat. As they depart, they do not utter a word, but exchange telling gazes (FIGURE 3.49–50).



FIGURE 3.47–50 Zora's shifting allegiances

It does not take much to discern and praise Marija's actions: she is a female revolutionary heroine that still fits the socialist-realist mould, just like Mile belongs to the gallery of the toxic villains that are beyond absolution. However, it is the character of Zora that challenges the sharp divide between the revolutionary heroine and the quisling villain. Her character is coded in a highly gendered way: she is first and foremost a mother. From a feminist perspective, then, Zora – i.e. the motherhood that she embodies – remains highly ambiguous. On one hand, her maternal femininity most certainly caters to the traditional notion of the motherhood as the natural essence of femininity, something that supposedly persists beyond the transient socio-ideological conditions, and yet it still empowers some women as it carries a specific symbolic capital and is constantly engaged in the different socio-ideological antagonisms, contradictions, and tensions. If we stick to this vantage, we could say that the film privileges the status of motherhood as meta-ideological: despite belonging to the different ideological worldviews, Zora and Marija are women/mothers and thus share the profound, substantial understanding that remains

unfathomable for the men/fathers. The irony underlying this reading is a rather obvious: although it posits the motherhood as meta-ideological, this vantage is the ideology at its purest.

However, the film offers a plenty of material for the opposite or, rather, complementary reading – and that is what makes it more ambiguous in the feminist optics. This second reading insists that the mother is a far cry from a firm, consistent and universal category. True, Zora is certainly a mother at the very beginning of the film just as she is at its end, but she is not the one and the same mother at these two moments: the whole ordeal transforms her substantially, making her deeply aware of the solidarity hitherto unknown; it is precisely this transformation that inscribes her in the revolutionary project as someone who is effectively not the ideological enemy (collaborationist).

3.6.2. *The Last Bridge*

Distant is the Sun and *I was Stronger* were quickly followed by a film, which made another remarkable step – indeed the most remarkable one – in challenging the great divide in the early 1950s. This was *Poslednji most/Die letzte Brücke/The Last Bridge*, the only partisan film in 1954 and the first Yugoslav international co-production. The major co-producer was the Austrian film company Kosmopol Film made it with the Belgrade-based UFUS, hiring the “denazified” German director Helmut Käutner, as well as German and Austrian film stars like Maria Schell, Bernhard Wicki, Barbara Rüttig and Carl Möhner. Schell plays Helga, a young nurse who works in the hospital of the German troops stationed in Herzegovina. The nexus of love and ideology confirms her allegiance to the Nazi cause in the beginning of the film: she is in love with a Nazi trooper Martin, and deems the partisans as not much more than animals. The partisans soon kidnap her as a person who could save their own mortally wounded doctor; when he dies, they force Helga to stay with them and do his job. This is an uneasy alliance, forced by circumstance, rather than true desire for reconciliation. However, gradually yet irreversibly, Helga starts understanding the motivation of her captors, and eventually identifies with them. In the last segment of the film, during the mission to bring the medicine to the partisans, Helga meets Martin, who cannot believe that she is still alive and effectively sided with the enemy. Although Helga is still in love with him, she decides to get back to the partisans and bring them the medicine. Her partisan commander understands that she is torn apart between her love and the newly developed commitment for the partisan struggle, and lets her decide to go back to the

German side. On her way back, Helga dies on no man's land, on the bridge separating – but also connecting – the partisan and Nazi side.

The Last Bridge is a veritable illustration how the conditions of production, usually perceived as the extraneous to the “filmic text”, actually most directly shape that text – i.e., that there is no real substantial, clear-cut line between text and its context. For all developments in challenging the “Us vs. Them” divide in Yugoslav cinema, it is highly improbable that the domestic filmmakers would make a film about the Nazi nurse who sympathizes with the partisan cause and whose heart breaks as she cannot decide where she belongs. A story like that apparently courted more to the Austrian and German filmmakers: it goes without saying that they could not tarnish the partisan struggle and the eventual victory, but they still could show that not all Germans merely Nazi beasts. The figure of Helga is thus a symptomatic combination – i.e. a compromise formation – between a bad German and a good German, a character that embodies the intra-German negotiation and reconciliation with regard to its WWII legacy and the post-war identity. It is thus not surprising that the film steered a controversy among Yugoslav film critics, many of which caustically dismissed it as the film that is much more needed by the Germans than by the Yugoslavs. For all its sound and fury, however, the ideological discrediting of the film in Yugoslavia did not have far-reaching and long-termed effects. *The Last Bridge* met a generally favourable international reception – Schell won the special mention in Cannes that year for the role of Helga – and did not thwart the increasing openness of Yugoslav cinema for the international co-productions.

Even if the film's representation of WWII was perceived by some – or even by many – as a German vantage, it nevertheless interrelated with the other cinematic representations of the war, some of them Yugoslav, some from other national cinemas (including Hollywood). That interrelation was anything but one of sheer antagonism: the film was hardly at odds with the collective memory of WWII maintained by the Yugoslav communists. For example, *The Last Bridge* defines the partisan struggle first and foremost in terms of the absolute care for the wounded soldiers: no matter how disastrous circumstances, the partisan unit never leaves its wounded and ill soldiers behind. It is precisely this ethics of care that triggers Maria's identification with the people she had originally considered non-human. This emphasis on the partisan care was absolutely in sync with the hierarchy of values that Yugoslav communists posited in their own accounts of WWII. The film also accentuates the international solidarity of

the partisan movement: early in the film, a German doctor questions the authenticity of the Yugoslav resistance, as the partisans fight under the sign of the red star which is not a traditional or authentic insignia of the local people. The fact that the Nazi doctor does not besmirch the red star as the sign of communism or bolshevism but precisely of internationalism is telling itself. The only main aspect of the partisan struggle that remains unspecified in the film is the specific socialist/communist ideological core of the partisan struggle; i.e. the film goes at length designating and praising the partisans as the brave and selfless combatants for the national liberation, but never really acknowledges them as the revolutionaries. However, in that specific regard, *The Last Bridge* actually did not substantially differ from many Yugoslav partisan films: in all of its urgency and immediacy, the antifascist struggle was primarily rendered as the war of national or people's liberation, whereas the revolutionary dimension was often merely implied. After the revolutionary aspect of the war was most accentuated in the films of the administrative period, Yugoslav cinema followed the suit in giving the upper hand to the vicissitudes of the antifascist combat over its revolutionary program. *The Last Bridge* is illustrative of that trend, not exceptional or antithetical to it.

Although symptomatic of the German and Austrian post-war anxiety, the image of Maria nevertheless irrevocably entered and influenced the Yugoslav cinematic imaginary as well, additionally softening the "Us vs. Them" divide. She was the very first example that "they" can understand "us", i.e. a celluloid proof, as it were, that the values that fuelled the partisan resistance were so universal that even the occupiers can identify with them to an extent (of course, unless they are utterly drenched in the fascist and Nazi ideology). However, gender remains the crucial part of the formula: at that point in Yugoslav cinema it was still impossible to have a male protagonist who belongs to the WWII occupiers and then sides with the partisans or empathizes with their values. It was the women characters – or, specific types of femininity – who were crossing the line between the two ideological stances, or, to put it otherwise, revealing that there are other, more complicated subjective positions than a singlehanded support for an ideological cause. Not surprisingly, the romance remained *the* sphere of human experience that was rendered as often incommensurable with the ideological imperatives. After *The Last Bridge*, i.e. from 1955 on, the use of friction between love and ideology in order to replace the black-and-white divide with the many shades in the WWII/partisan films was anything but incidental.

3.7. Familial troubles

3.7.1. *Don't Turn Round, Son* and *Under Suspicion*

Chronologically, the year of 1955 saw the first example of that in *Ešalon doktora M./Echelon of Doctor M.*, Žika Mitrović's debut feature; however, as I will discuss this film together with other Mitrović's films in more detail below, I will turn now to two important films that came shortly after it: *Ne okreći se, sine/Don't Turn Round, Son* (1956, Branko Bauer), and *Pod sumnjom/Under Suspicion* (1956, Branko Belan).

Don't Turn Round, Son, one of the most acclaimed classical Yugoslav films (e.g. Gilić, 2010), follows Neven Novak, the engineer from Zagreb and the member of the resistance, who escapes from the train that takes him to Jasenovac, the most notorious death camp in Croatia. However, taking the cue from the aforementioned images of the elusive femininity that traverses the "Us vs. Them" divide, let me first address the character of the main female protagonist: it is Neven's former lover Vera, a beautiful blond whom he did not see since he was imprisoned. Assuming that the *ustaša* police will look for him at his home, Neven does not visit his family first, but goes to Vera's place. Although she is happy to see him, she quickly admits having a love affair with an attractive German officer; she also informs him that his small son ended up in *ustaša* orphanage, from where Neven is about to save him in the course of the film. Neven caustically notices that Vera took the radio from his old house, but that she was not willing to take Zoran with her; he also ferociously pushes her hand away while leaving the apartment. And yet, when she asks her disillusioned old lover "Forgive me [Oprosti]", he melts; presumably, the audience is expected to do the same. Indeed, although pursuing an affair with the Nazi officer, Vera will remain loyal to Neven until the end. When the *ustaša* agents storm her flat and ask her about Neven's whereabouts, Vera points them in the wrong direction; that way, she buys Neven some more time to kidnap Zoran from the training barracks where he is indoctrinated to become a young fascist. Later, when the agents realize that she tricked them, they threaten her with the brutal inquisition. At that moment, Vera summons her Nazi fiancé, who is superior to the *ustaša* agents. The film thus uses Vera's affair with the Nazi officer to make a significant gradation among the villains, putting the *ustaša* regime at the top of the hierarchy of evil: in comparison with the *ustaša* thugs, even the Nazis seem a less despicable and even desirable.

And yet, Vera is well aware of the troubling dimension of her status. In one scene, she is visited by Matilda, the mother of Neven's former friend who is now *ustaša*; this motherly figure eagerly wants to help Neven. Faced with the old woman's momentary silence, Vera reads it as a silent accusation aimed at her, and bitterly reacts: "I know what you think: that I am a Kraut's whore! Well, I am, so what? I guess that I should have died from hunger or kept [Neven] at my place, so I would be killed together with him? [Znam šta si mislite: da sam švapska drolja! Pa i jesam, pa šta? Valjda sam trebala krepat od gladi ili ga zadržat kod mene da i mene ubiju s njime?]" Given that Matilda's silence is more an expression of her desperation than anything else, Vera projects on the old lady her own remorse and anger: the rant is at the same time self-accusation and justification. Her last words in the film, addressed to the *ustaša* agents halted by the fact that she is a fiancée of the Nazi major, are illustrative in this regard: "There are people whom you catch, and there are people who do not let themselves to be caught. [Ima ljudi koje hvatate, a ima ljudi koji se ne daju uhvatiti.]" Apparently, in the chaos of the war, Vera prefers to see herself as belonging to the latter group. She does not define that position in ideological terms, but first and foremost pragmatically: it is an elemental outline for survival. For example, one could suppose that Vera entered a love affair with a Nazi officer precisely in order to protect herself from the possible charges that she had been a lover of a communist activist. The film depicts the *ustaša* regime as the one in which no one who knows a communist is safe: the *ustaša* agents eventually zero in on Matilda, disrespecting her old age and disregarding the fact that she is the mother of Ivica, an exemplary *ustaša* trooper.

The discord between Matilda (and her equally benevolent husband) on one side, and their son Ivica who betrays his old friend Neven on another side, reminds us of another gender-related motif that destabilizes the black-and-white divide: the familial relations. The antagonism between the good parents and their despicable son chimes with the main relationship in the film: the one between Neven and his son Zoran. In contrast to Neven's revolutionary commitment, Zoran is raised as an enthusiastic *ustaša* and an anti-Semite: in the training barracks he is taught to hate and kill. The boy even dreams that his father, whom he does not remember, is actually an *ustaša* hero. In a case of the bitter irony, Neven must not dispel that fantasy in order to get the boy away from the barracks and take him to the partisans. Branko Bauer did not opt for easy solutions in that regard: intent to make difficult the audience's sympathy for Zoran by casting a boy who does not have angelic face, but actually resembled none other but Ante Pavelić, the

supreme *ustaša* leader (Polimac, 1985, p. 75). Also, Zoran does not swiftly give up on the *ustaša* ideology, but for the most of the film indulges in the fascist zeal with the honesty of a child. The moment when he realizes that his father is actually the archenemy – the partisan – the boy is devastated. Suddenly overwhelmed with the fear and hate, he tries to run away from him; Neven immediately catches him and when the boy explicitly refuses to listen to him, he slaps and kidnaps him for the second time, as it were – this time against Zoran’s will. Only in the film’s finale, when Neven’s death is imminent, Zoran finally comes to terms with the father who does the last sacrificial gesture: he orders the son to run into the woods where the partisans are, whereas he remains behind him and dies covering him from the *ustaša*’s chase.

Under Suspicion also destabilizes the “Us vs. Them” divide along both the romantic and the familial plot. The film’s main protagonist is Andro Narančić, the young communist from Dalmatia, who in the opening, pre-credit scene escapes from the Italian prison with three of his comrades. As his buddies die on the run, he is the only one who manages to get back on his island occupied by Italian forces. And yet, it is only at that point that his troubles begin: his partisan colleagues do not believe his story about the escape, but think that the Italians co-opted Andro and sent him so he could spy for them. In a proper Hitchcockian fashion, Andro has to prove his innocence and ideological allegiance, in the face of the evidence planted by the film’s two main antagonists: his own uncle Zane Moro, who is a quisling city official (*prefetto civile*), and Nikola, Andro’s communist comrade who is a real traitor.

Belan originally intended to keep the audience in the dark regarding Andro’s act and motivation: did he really escape the camp or is he a traitor? However, the committee of censors found it too problematic, and demanded the opening sequence that would make Andro’s positive profile crystal clear from the start. And yet, even with Andro’s spotless ideological profile, *Under Suspicion* boasts a whole spectrum of shades between Good and Evil. The partisan bunch ranges from Andro and the characters that still trust him, to his former friends who slowly turn back to him, to the ultimate villain of the film, the traitor Nikola. The love and jealousy additionally instigate the discord among the partisans. Siba, the partisan leader who believes that Andro is a traitor, does not rationally hold that belief. The film goes at lengths to illustrate that the main reason for Siba’s antagonism toward Andro is their old dispute over Veronika, who used to be in love with Siba, but eventually left him for Andro. Hence, love remains utterly

ambiguous force. Just as his love for Veronika and jealousy for Andro triggered Siba's wrong decisions, the unconditional love of Veronika and Andro saves the day, and enables the partisans eventually to grasp the reality and stop their plans that were based on misinformation.

On the other side, the film offers two types of the Italian soldiers: captain Orlando and his unit of ordinary soldiers are juxtaposed to Fiasco and his black-shirted Fascist zealots. As we see, the contrast between the leaders of the Italian formations is connoted already with their names: whereas the captain's name signifies courage, nobility, and culture in general (*Orlando Furioso*), Fiasco is a sleazy, brutish lowlife, despised by *capitano*. Love substantially influences the difference between Orlando and Fiasco: whereas the latter is reduced to the bestial eroticism (the casual sex with the local prostitutes), the chief characteristic of Orlando is his romance with Andro's sister Marija. Although Andro is a far cry from being happy when he finds out about the two, Orlando will help him to obtain the original warrant testifying that Andro has ran from the camp. *Capitano* is introduced on screen in a telltale way. When Andro sneaks into his bedroom to steal his gun, we see Orlando in bed, the heart of the domestic and familial realm, far from the battlefield and robbed of uniform or any military insignia (he wears a pajama). Although caught unprotected and at gunpoint, Orlando is self-assured and without a trace of discomfort (let alone of some antagonistic feeling); he gallantly provides Andro with the warrant. The wrongly accused man is deeply moved as this gesture discloses that the enemy soldier trusts him more than many of his own comrades.

With the figure of Orlando, *Under Suspicion* sets what will become one of the most visible and popular representations in Yugoslav cinema: the good-hearted and amiable Italian soldier as the unwilling occupier. This representation chimes with the myth of *Italiani brava gente*, which designates Italians not as active agents of the Axis politics but its victims and opponents. The myth was based on the assumption that "While the Germans had wanted the war, Italians had been dragged unwilling into it by Mussolini and had soon become its victims. The Italians were 'brava gente' ('nice folks') who hated Mussolini, while the Germans loved Hitler and were condemned en bloc as 'hideous Teutons'" (Giovacchini 2007: 55–56). Hence, unlike the German soldiers who were true believers in the Nazi cause and thus brutal monsters, the Italian soldiers were, in words of Filippo Focardi, "good Samaritans who, plunged into a crazy war against their will, fraternized with the peoples of the countries invaded by Mussolini, aided these people in time of hunger and misery and, above all, protected them from the violence of the

Germans, thus saving many lives, including thousands of Jews” (quoted in Giovacchini 2007: 56). Yugoslav cinema had a fair share of the nice Italian soldiers. Their most famous incarnations appear in the two popular two 1969 films: the explosive expert and bomber Zavattoni in the actioner *Most/The Bridge* (1969, Hajrudin Krvavac), and captain Michele Riva in the partisan behemoth *The Battle of Neretva* (1969, Veljko Bulajić), the latter being played by Franco Nero, the ultimate embodiment of Italian manliness this side of Marcello Mastroianni. Guided by anti-fascism as their true ideological choice, both Zavattoni and Riva leave the Italian forces, join the partisans, and sacrifice their lives in combat against the Nazis. However, one should not wait for the late 1960s for representations like these: one year after *Under Suspicion* only, *Tudja zemlja/The Land of the Others* (1957, Jože Gale) featured as its central protagonist, as it were, a band of seven Italian soldiers who, starved and lost in the Bosnian woods, try to find their way back to Adriatic coast when they find out about their country’s capitulation. A motley crew of different sensibilities, the band slowly dissolves in antagonisms, the principal being the one between the good-hearted and pacifist soldier Marko and the vicious colonel. Again, love serves as the principal marker of virtue: after falling in love with the partisan girl, who is wounded by the colonel, Marko decides to join the partisans. When the Colonel kills Marko in the final shootout, Marko’s best friend, the unit’s doctor, will join the partisans.

Back to *Under Suspicion*: unlike Vera in *Don’t Turn Back, Son*, who was willing to become a “German whore” in the eyes of her neighbours only to pull through the war, Marija develops a genuine love for Orlando. That does not spare her from the wrath of the local partisan supporters, who cut her hair in an exemplary act of retribution against women who had love or sexual affairs with the occupying soldiers. The film does not have the scene of cutting the hair, and it seems that Belan did not intend in the first place; instead, he planned a dialogue in which Marija, whom at the start of the film we see with her long hair, tells Andro about the act of violent retribution when he sees that her hair is cut. However, the dialogue scene itself was eventually cut out,⁵⁹ and the only proof of vengeance acted upon Marija is the short fringe protruding from under her headscarf.

The Narančić family is another collective that is as suffused with the gray tones as the Italian and the partisan ones. As a matter of fact, it is already his familial background as such that

⁵⁹ In his otherwise detailed account on *Under Suspicion*, Nenad Polimac (2005) does not reveal whether Belan cut the scene in accordance with the strict order of the censorship committee, or whether he did it on his own, as he later admitted cutting out more material than the committee ordered.

makes Andro a perfect suspect from the partisan perspective: the house of Narančić – as was the title of the original play from which the film was adapted – is renowned but declining lineage of the ship owners and captains. The war halted the family business for a time being, yet it is the socialist revolution that would give it a mortal blow. Both Zane Moro and Nikola use this fact as an assumption upon which they build the lie about Andro’s betrayal of the revolution: being born into a rich family, it is no wonder that he eventually gives up on the communism in the prison camp. The family is not fractured only along ideological lines: the radical inter-generational gap between Andro and his father culminates in the latter’s death; the class question also pops up as Moro is a hideous social climber who married Andro’s aunt to creep into the prestigious family; however, as he needs Andro to keep the family business going, he desperately tries to undermine the young man’s devotion for the partisans and their ideology. The variety of these intersections of gender, class, age, and ideology makes *Under Suspicion* a showcase example of a nuanced classical partisan film.

3.7.2. The “Kosovo westerns” of Žika Mitrović

The partisan films made by Žika Mitrović were indisputably the most popular classical WWII-set films *and* the films that most remarkably and persistently destabilized the “Us vs. Them” divide. Also, it must be noticed that Mitrović’s readiness to complicate his plots with many shades of grey extends beyond the limits of the partisan genre. Consider his 1957 feature *Potraži Vandu Kos/Look for Vanda Kos*, a whodunit-thriller that is set in the post-war period, and yet focuses on the war past. Olga comes to the post-war Sarajevo to find out who is responsible for the wartime betrayal of her brother Pavle, a member of the local resistance, who ended up in Jasenovac. As she contacts the people who knew Pavle, including his colleagues from the resistance movement, Olga becomes aware that they hide something from her. As the fabrications pile up, she concludes that Pavle was betrayed by his closest colleagues who survived the war as the respectable fighters for freedom. Olga decides to expose the whole conspiracy, but eventually finds out that Pavle was not betrayed by his colleagues, but by Ivka, the girl who was had a teenage crush on him during the war. Ivka was particularly jealous of Pavle’s girlfriend Vanda; unaware that Vanda, employed in the Nazi headquarters, is actually a member of resistance, Ivka blurted out about her and Pavle’s relation in front of her *ustaša* uncle, who connected the dots and imprisoned both Pavle and Vanda. After realizing the consequences

of her act, Ivka suffered the mental breakdown. Apparently recovered, she remained deeply troubled. The main aim of Pavle's colleagues' "conspiracy", thus, was to protect Ivka from additional inquiry that would trigger a new breakdown. The girl and her misfortunate act apparently operate beyond the good vs. evil dichotomy: Pavle's tragic ending was caused not by Evil, but by a contingency such as teenage jealousy.

According to Mira Boglić, such a denouement was the reason for the audience's lukewarm response to the film: Mitrović made "a cardinal and textbook mistake: in looking for the culprits, he proved that there was no culprit to begin with... The viewer felt cheated and betrayed [jednu kardinalnu i sasvim školsku grešku: tražeći krivca, dokazao je da krivca nije ni bilo... Gledatelj se osjetio prevarenim i izigranim.]" (1980, p. 39). Although the critic argued that Mitrović realized his mistake and did not repeat it ever again, the filmmaker's penchant for the nuances of grey – which in *Look for Vanda Kos* resulted in the absolute lack of black – is evident also in his most popular cycle: the famous "partisan westerns" set in the province of Kosovo in the last days of the war and first days of peace, when the main Nazi forces were already defeated, but partisans continued to fight the so-called ballists – i.e. the members of the Balli Kombëtar, the Albanian nationalist and anti-communist resistance movement, which opposed both the Italian occupiers and the communist guerrilla in Albania and Yugoslavia.⁶⁰ I will focus on the first three and most popular of these partisan westerns: *Ešalon doktora M./Echelon of Doctor M.* (1955), *Kapetan Leši/Captain Lleshi* (1960), and *Obračun/Showdown* (1962); the last one – *Brat doktora Homera/The Brother of Doctor Homer* (1968) necessarily remains outside this account, although it also betrays the "Us vs. Them" dichotomy by having the main partisan commander as the chief villain.

The main protagonists of *Echelon of Doctor M.* are Ramadan and Hatixhe, husband and wife who winded up on opposite sides in the war. Ramadan is a member of the ballist gang led by his uncle Alija Kurtesi, a wealthy landlord (bey) who raised him as a son. Although he does not really support the ballist cause, Ramadan had to join the gang in accordance to the patriarchal filial norms, in an expression of the unconditional respect for his fatherly uncle as the master of the family. However, even then Ramadan resists his uncle's orders to kill someone and thus irreversibly "smear his hands". The other members of the gang are growing suspicious of

⁶⁰ For a thorough historical account on the ballist movement, see Pearson (2005).

Ramadan, recognizing him as a possible traitor. Alija defends the nephew by saying that had not wanted the boy to become a soldier anyway but a lawyer – hence he paid for Ramadan’s law studies before the war. Some members of the gang assume that the main reason behind Ramadan’s estranged behaviour is his beautiful wife who has disgraced her husband’s family by leaving them, taking off the veil, and, on top of everything, by becoming a partisan nurse.

However, what actually drives Ramadan is his abhorrence of the traditional ways: his marriage with Hatixhe – imposed on them both – opened his eyes for the patriarchal disempowerment of women and young men. In an act of deep anti-patriarchal solidarity, Ramadan promises Hatixhe that he will not treat her in a traditional way, and will let her take off the veil, to educate herself, and to work. As the war erupted and Alija ordered him to go the hills, Ramadan feels that he betrayed his wife who remained trapped in the patriarchal household. Hence, the news about Hatixhe leaving the Kurtesi house, and working unveiled in the partisan hospital Ramadan does not perceive as a real treason. Growing weary of his patience, Alija chastises the nephew for betraying his national and familial values, and eventually decides to send him into combat. The opportunity arises when doctor M., who happens to be Hatixhe’s head doctor, decides to evacuate the small-town hospital from by the wagon train – the titular echelon – across the territory controlled by Alija’s gang (the plot device borrowed straight from John Ford’s 1939 classic *Stagecoach*). Alija orders Ramadan and few other ballists to infiltrate the echelon under cover, in order to attack the partisans guard. Ramadan thus meets Hatixhe, who tries to talks him into betraying Alija’s orders, fearing that the attack will kill the wounded and the sick. After witnessing the episode with the delirious patient who went amok, Ramadan changes his mind and does not give the sign for the ballists to attack. Hatixhe invites the husband to leave the ballists and he eventually does that.

The main thrust of *Captain Lleshi* is the reconciliation of the two brothers who went the opposite paths during the war: the older Ramiz became a partisan commander famous for his courage and cunning tactics, whereas Ahmet joined the Nazis and became the right hand of Kosta, the local ballist leader. Shortly before the end of the war, an unknown man in the tavern challenges Ramiz’s impeccable status by reminding him that Ahmet’s squad still roams the surrounding hills, escapes the partisan patrols, and kills the local peasants. Realizing that he will not be at peace as long as Ahmet is among the outlaws, Ramiz meditates about the reasons that led his

brother astray: “Should I accept that you became a criminal? [Zar da se pomirim s tim da si postao zločinac?]”, he asks as he looks the pre-war photo of himself with the brother. Interrogating one of the imprisoned Kosta’s men, Ramiz finds out that Ahmet “did not taint his hands with blood [nije okrvavio ruke]”, and that Kosta keeps him close to himself because of Ahmet’s family name, as the brothers belong to the wealthy and highly respected house. Ramiz expressly rides to the hills to find Kosta’s guerrilla and to persuade them via Ahmet to surrender. Kosta dismisses Ramiz’s offer, and when Ahmet and the peasants loyal to him decide to leave the guerrilla, the two factions clash. When Ahmet and his supporters arrive into town, Ramiz contrives a scheme to get back to the hills and destroy Kosta’s squad. The media informs that Ahmet has been sentenced to death and executed, whereas Ramiz, gravely disappointed by decision of the officials, fled and went into hiding in the hills. The news reaches Kosta’s gang and they accept Ramiz who pretends to be disillusioned with the communists and driven by vengeance. A few plot twists later, Ramiz navigates Kosta’s squad into the partisan trap and Ahmet kills Kosta.

The knot of the familial and ideological allegiances also shapes *Showdown*, the *Captain Lleshi* sequel. The film opens in the courtroom, at the hearing about the 1945 attack of a ballist squad, led by Šaban Murtezi (“the biggest bandit the right side of the river Drin [najveći bandit na desnoj obali Drina]”), on a village guarded by the partisans. When Ramiz arrives to the village to start investigation, Šaban organizes his assassination, which fails. The testimony of Mefail, Šaban’s right-hand man, unearths that Šaban and Ramiz have a shared history dating back to 1941. Shortly after the Italian forces occupied Kosovo, Šaban attacked an Italian soldier and ended up in prison, from where he was rescued by Ramiz. They remained good friends as Šaban also formed the guerrilla squad for the protection of the local population. Realizing the danger coming from Šaban’s renegades, the Italians and the local riches made him a proverbial offer he could not refuse: a pile of gold that was his only real ideology. Finding about the old friend’s shift in allegiances, Ramiz found him and beat him up, causing the ever-lasting hate. The next testimony comes from Kadrija; a member of Šaban’s squad and Mefail’s nephew, he is another of Mitrović’s unwilling ballists. When his father died, the boy had to accept the estranged uncle as the supreme authority in the family, and to follow him in joining the ballists. The bookish type, Kadrija avoided fight, thus provoking Mefail’s rage and despise. After being bullied by the

brutish uncle, Kadrija eventually leaves Šaban's squad, joins Ramiz and in the final showdown attacks Mefail and prevents him from running away. Ramiz, for his part, kills Šaban.

Although *Captain Lleshi* and *Showdown* also include romance, I decided not to include it these synopses, as it is not as integral to the shift of the protagonists' allegiances as it was in *Echelon of Doctor M*. Whereas the passionate love between Hatixhe and Ramadan catalyzed his split with the ballist gang and the acceptance of the possibilities offered by the socialist modernity, no similar romantic attachment affects Ahmet's and Kadrija's decision to switch sides, as the romance in both films is mostly reserved for Ramiz Lleshi. However, the romantic formula of *Captain Lleshi* does offer one more character that challenges the "Good vs. Evil" divide as unbridgeable. It is gorgeous Lola, the singer in the local tavern who is shaped after many a luscious saloon siren; Ramiz has sex with her, unaware that she is the lover of Kosta, who uses her charms to get the information on the military actions that could threaten the ballists. Sinful and sexy Lola is designated in contrast to Ramiz's another romantic partner, the virtuous teacher Ana, an exemplary good girl. However, when Kosta scorns Lola for sleeping with other men, she realizes that he does not appreciate her sacrifice for him, and has a change of heart. By the end of the film, the bad girl Lola turns good and sides with Ramiz; Kosta kills her in his last misdeed before he is caught.

Already relatively short account of Mitrović's "Kosovo westerns", such as this one, thus unambiguously shows a number of gender-related motifs that abolish the "Us vs. Them" dichotomy. Most of them are corralled around the troublesome legacy of the pre-war (and even pre-modern) patriarchal filial system, the main values of which are embedded in securing the "blood ties", the family honour, and the class privileges. The films posit that some members of the ballist movement did not fight the partisans and socialist order due to some adamant ideological beliefs, but simply because they decided to stick with the old patriarchal mores for the reasons that had nothing to do with the politics in the standard meaning of the term. The sense of loyalty for the supreme male authority in the family (local community) is the most prevailing attitude that forces Mitrović's reluctant ballists not to challenge the patriarch's anti-communist allegiances. Ramadan, Ahmet and Kadrija are thus torn between their devotion to (what they still see as) the acceptable values of the old order, and their own inner moral compass, which warns them of the crimes that are being committed in the name of those values. The redefinition of their masculinity is integral to their overall transformation, which ends in their

acceptance of the new, socialist worldview and its respective gender order. Mitrović's films thus engage in the unambiguous criticism of the pre-socialist/pre-modern patriarchy as the gender order that does not disenfranchise only women, but also many men.

And yet, this criticism is nevertheless at odds with one of the chief characteristics of Mitrović's Kosovo western: as many war, western and action films, they apparently glorify macho image, embodied most paradigmatically in the character of Ramiz Lleshi, the paragon of virility in war films of the classical Yugoslav cinema. In my view, the paradoxical incongruity between the omnipotent partisan alpha-male figure and the general anti-patriarchal stance - anti-patriarchal machoism, as it were - is effectively *the* key antagonism of Mitrović's Kosovo cycle, the aporia that cannot be fully resolved by choosing a definitive answer to the question is Mitrović really *pro* or *contra* with regard to the radical transformation of the gender order, i.e. of its patriarchal bias. A closer look at these three films reveals a far more complex and ever changing picture. The first in the series, *Echelon of Doctor M.* introduces two types of masculinity, embodied in the partisan doctor M. and Ramadan. However, both of these masculinities are deeply flawed: for all his revolutionary and humanist credentials, M. is alcoholic and apparently life-weary, melancholic, even tinged with the self-pity. Ramadan, for his part, is significantly younger and physically superior to doctor M., yet still stifled with the traditional patriarchal burden, which presses him to join the ballist movement. Positioned between the two men, Hatixhe thus operates more as their mediator, the agent that will somehow establish the constellation in which the both M. and Ramadan will fully reach their positive potential and overcome their lacks. *Captain Lleshi*, however, gives up on the concept of mediation, and introduces the flawless, sky-is-the-limit hero in the commander Ramiz, who combines the revolutionary virtues of doctor M. and the physical strength and stamina of Ramadan.

However, what is the most crucial about this mix is the fact that there is nothing inherently socialist or socialist realist about it - Mitrović developed it by drawing on the western and action films from the West. Comparison with the rest of Yugoslav cinema is particularly instructive: as we have seen, the image of partisan masculinity became de-sanctified, more challenged and thwarted from the mid-1950s on - doctor M. perfectly illustrates that process. By 1960, when *Captain Lleshi* was released, the celluloid images of male partisans, both during the war and after, testify to a proverbial crisis of masculinity: the partisan men in the war

are traumatized with their fallibilities (doubts, cowardice, etc.), whereas the partisan veterans in the post-war period try to find their place in the society despite the physical and psychical traumas.⁶¹ By creating Ramiz Lleshi – the triumphant alpha-male partisan – Mitrović thus did not offer some radically new vision of the heroic anti-fascist struggle as authentic and true (it was too obviously rooted in the Hollywood genres to create such an effect), but to offer a type of brazen heroic, consecrated masculinity that almost became extinct from Yugoslav cinema. In any way, it is telling that even such a hero did not exist in the “Us vs. Them” universe: his main aim was to prove that not all of “them” are the same, irrecoverably bad and outright evil.

3.8. Conclusion

The works analysed in this chapter do not exhaust the body of partisan/WWII films that destabilize the “Us vs. Them” within the horizon of the classical narrative Yugoslav cinema. The chapter could just as easily encompass some other examples: *Njih dvojica/Two of Them* (1955, Žorž Skrigin), offers a benevolent *četnik* soldier who tries to help the main protagonist who hides a wounded partisan in his cellar; in *Pet minuta raja/Five Minutes of Paradise* (1959, Igor Pretnar), a benevolent Nazi soldier from Austria not only helps the couple of main protagonists to escape from the clutches of the Nazis, but himself runs away with them; in the spy thriller *X 25 javlja.../X 25 Reports* (1960, František Čap), the communist sympathizer who operates as a mole in the Nazi intelligence has a love affair with the German secretary, whose husband – a Nazi officer – has been sentenced as the traitor of the Third Reich; the main partisan protagonist of *Mačak pod šljemom/The Cat with the Helmet* (1962, Žorž Skrigin) befriends with a *domobran*, member of the Croatian Home Guard, who had previously shot at him in panic; etc. Also, the shades of grey continued to colour the WWII/partisan films in the 1960s as well, most famously in the works of the *novi film* auteurs. However, the same holds for the films that continued to rely on the classical narrative and more conventional genre approach (combat films, thrillers etc.). If we are to stick to Hajrudin Krvavac as the emblematic director of this ilk, it suffices to recall his debut feature, omnibus *Vrtlog/Whirl* (1964, co-directed with Gojko Šipovac). Krvavac-helmed segment “Ada”/“River Island” is set on the titular island in the middle of the river that separates

⁶¹ I have tackled the case of the film *Alone* in the introductory chapter; in Chapters 4 and 5 I will also point to some examples of the troubled post-war masculinity.

the Partisans and the *četnik* forces. Unable to get to the partisan side, a fatally wounded young partisan hides in the island woods, where he is found by his father, who is a *četnik*. The father decides to save the son and take him away from the island, but the sight of their boat in the midstream only triggers the fire from the both sides.

All these examples show that the historians and critics who accuse the WWII/partisans films for the clear-cut “Us vs. Them” dichotomy are off the mark. This is not say that the conflict between the partisans and the Nazis was not established as the conflict between the Good and the Evil, but far from being a peculiar vision of WWII imposed by the Yugoslav communists it was a globally hegemonic perspective of the war: simply, the Axis powers and their collaborators were perceived as bad guys due to their unquestionably malign ideology and the crimes committed on its behalf.

The fallacy of “the great divide” certainly could be criticized in more ways than one. However, for the strategic reasons and in accordance to the feminist tenets of my study, I opted to challenge it along the gender-related motifs and narratives. The first step in the analysis was to acknowledge that the very “Us vs. Them” dichotomy – as articulated, for example, by Musabegović – is implicitly gendered, or to be more precise, it implies the male bias: both “Us” and “Them” are, essentially, the male warriors who confront other male combatants at gun point in the endless battlefield clash. But the war is always more than a direct military confrontation; it can never be reduced to a string of battles between the guys in two types of uniforms. Yugoslav cinema has learnt that lesson relatively fast, under the attack of the Yugoslav film critics who accused it too many times for the crass black and white divide, but also, inevitably, under the influences from other national cinemas. The filmmakers relied on the various types of femininities and masculinities to outline specific ideological positions, but also to challenge them. A closer look on these gender motifs reveals the extent to which the developments of the classical Yugoslav cinema were dynamic. Even the socialist realist films, which are by all means the most notorious among the critics, featured some significant shifts in that regard, the most remarkable being the rapid de-stigmatization of the bad – i.e. the bourgeois, glamorous, collaborationist – woman. The films often brought into proximity ideological others by downplaying their masculine aggressiveness, or accentuating their feminine virtues. The entangled filial and familial networks, just as unpredictable romantic affairs, also complicated the seemingly simple dichotomy. The allegedly monolith “our guys” dispersed into a myriad of

subjects, shaped by their respective gender roles, class, age, location, and the psychological traits.

The temptation to capture many of these complexities resulted in what can be seen as the chief shortcoming of this chapter. In comparison with the following two chapters, this chapter tackles more films at the expense of often remaining on the level of the elemental plot, without undertaking a more detailed analysis of some stylistic traits or engaging in tangential comparisons with other films, which do not belong to this genre strictly. This move is my strategic decision: whereas the two chapters that follow deal with the films that are usually unnoticed by the advocates of the totalitarian model, the pile of fallacies and misconceptions about the partisan/WWII films is getting larger. This prompted me to demonstrate that: (1) one does not have to probe deep in those films to see that they actually defy those fallacies, and (2) that there is a significantly larger number of these films which complicates the “Us vs. Them” divide than their detractors are willing to admit.

Chapter 4

How the love was tempered: Labour, romance, and gender asymmetry in the construction cycle, 1948–1958

Given the importance that Marxist theory and socialist ideology assigned to work, it is not surprising that Yugoslav cinema boasted many representations of labour and labour force. Most prominently, the labour imagery suffused a number of documentaries that glorified the work along the lines of Béla Balázs' panegyric to "Epics of Labour" from his famous *Filmkúltura*: "If there are films which deserve the appellation of 'cultural' films, they are those film memorials to human effort, proclaiming the glory of human labour, toil which at the cost of skill and sweat is labouring to make this earth a garden" (1952, p. 166). Indeed, by rendering virtually all types of labour and segments of the workforce, the documentaries remain the privileged imaginary of the development of the Yugoslav socialist modernity.

In this chapter, however, I analyze the knot of labour and gender in the feature films, following a rather straightforward assumption that we can deem our working hypothesis: as the Yugoslav communists credited work as a privileged means of emancipation (including the gender emancipation as well), one could expect that the celluloid workers of early Yugoslav socialism would designate the standard – if not ultimate – embodiments of the "new socialist men and women". I will test this hypothesis by analyzing what I label as the "construction cycle": a group of feature films produced from 1948 to 1958 which screened the "renewal and construction [obnova i izgradnja]" of the country obliterated by World War II, and the parallel

rapid industrial development that the communists deemed fundamental for the rise of the Yugoslav economy. In the first part of the chapter, I deal with specific construction films, whereas in the second, I historicize them in light of the shifts in Yugoslav socio-economic and gender order from the late 1940s to the early 1960s.

4.1. The early classical period (1948–1950)

The films that I am going to tackle in this subchapter – *Život je naš – Ljudi s pruge/The Life is Ours – The People from the Railway* (1948, Gustav Gavrin), *Priča o fabrici/Story of a Factory* (1949, Vladimir Pogačić), *Jezero/Lake* (1950, Radivoje Lola Djukić) and *Plavi 9/Blue 9* (1950, Krešo Golik) – belong to early classical Yugoslav cinema, with its constellation of the “ideologically-enlightening populism”, the cinematic primitivism, and the revolutionary asceticism.

Let me approach the gender politics of this group of films using the comparative perspective between Yugoslav and other Eastern European cinemas. In doing so, I rely on Petra Hanáková’s remarkable essay about images of women in Czech cinema, which establishes that “out of the almost 30 films made in the socialist realist style between 1949 and 1955, nearly one fourth focuses on women or [women’s] emancipation as their central theme” (2011, p. 149). Hanáková recaps the synopses of six of these films in which the women, as the central protagonists – engineers, bricklayers, tractor drivers etc. – embody the shift from the old, pre-socialist ways to the new, revolutionary ones:

The exemplary figure of this polarity is the young single woman who, like the proverbial jackfish, forces the potbellied and slow-swimming carps in the pond to move. She understands the greatness of the new tasks and undertakes them with joy, as they form part of a broader project of the socialist future. [...] All the aforementioned socialist realist films picture women successfully entering the workplace, becoming politically active and winning the heart of a man who shares their modern attitude to life, thus also revolutionizing their domestic division of roles.

(2011, p. 151)

Following Hanáková, one would expect that this type of worker heroine was anything but rare in cinemas of the socialist Eastern Europe where the cult of work had a prominent socio-ideological role. As the working hypothesis posits, the Yugoslav cinema should have abounded with the images of the women workers contemporaneous to those described by Hanáková. And yet, although Yugoslavia also nurtured “the cult of work” in the late 1940s and thus boasted its share

of the “heroines of work” (Anić, 2013; Matošević, 2013), not a single Yugoslav feature film has a central female protagonist who would fit the character – or, rather, given its socialist-realist credentials, the type – described by Hanáková.

Surprising as it might appear, this difference becomes more understandable in light of two factors. First, with no significant pre-war tradition, the classical Yugoslav cinema was a pioneer one and thus generally thin in its output: e.g., the first ten years of the feature film production (1947–1956) saw a modest sixty-four works, fourteen of them being set in the socialist present, and only five tackling the post-war renewal and construction. Second, due to the Soviet–Yugoslav rift in 1948, socialist realism in Yugoslav cinema started to vanish even before it fully developed as it did in other Eastern European cinema. Thus, one could argue that the meager amount of films that celebrate the emancipation through work was symptomatic of the short-lived and volatile presence of socialist realism in the classical Yugoslav cinema.

However, as some classical Yugoslav films did tackle the woman’s relation to labour in the early socialist modernity, it is worth to explore in what ways exactly these representations differ from Hanáková’s examples. The guiding thread in the analysis will be the relation that these films establish between work and romance. Hanáková argues that in the socialist-realist films, labour has an upper hand over love. For the heroines of work, their professional/ideological commitment is *the* precondition for successful romantic life: “happiness comes through labour, and love can exist only as a part of the satisfaction in the collective work” (Hanáková, 2011, p.152). A strong streak of romantic melodrama in the Yugoslav construction films invites us to scrutinize their rendition of the labour-over-love hierarchy: if the socialist realism ingrained it in Yugoslav cinema, how long did it stay there given the diminishing of the style, and what were its vicissitudes?

4.2.1. *The Life is Ours*

The fourth Yugoslav feature, and the very first one set in the post-war period, *The Life is Ours* tells the story of one of the many “youth labour brigades” that were the major work force in building of the industrial infrastructure (railroads, hydroelectric dams, factories, etc.) in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s. In a small pool of the Yugoslav film pioneers, Gustav Gavrin was something of a natural choice for a feature on this topic, as he had directed *Brčko–Banovići* (1947), a documentary about the construction of the titular railroad. In the promptly translated

Yugoslav edition of his *Filmkultura*, Béla Balázs deemed this very film as revolutionary as it depicted something genuinely new:

For, we have never seen people smiling under such circumstances [...]. Seeing those youthful smiles, we are becoming eyewitnesses of the first manifestations of the new human spirit. [...] A historical – hence all-human – significance of the construction of the Yugoslav railroad can be seen in those smiles. The camera has discovered *new people of a new epoch*.

Jer još nikada nismo videli da se ljudi, pod ovakvim okolnostima, [...] osmehuju. Postajemo očevidci prvih manifestacija novog ljudskog duha, videvši te mladalačke osmehe. [...] U tim osmesima je koncentrisan sav istoriski – jer je sveljudski – značaj izgradnje jugoslovenske železnice. Kamera je otkrila *nove ljude jedne nove epohe*.

(1948, 162–163, original emphasis)⁶²

Gavrin’s feature debut also abounds with these smiling new people – a predominantly male youth brigade – who dig a tunnel against all odds (the lack of training and experience, the outdated equipment, the underground torrents etc.). Eventually, the boys triumph over the elements and their own insecurities, since, as Balázs had it, “the railroad became [their] alma mater [Pruga je postala [njihova] alma mater]” (1948, p. 162).

Integral to the boys’ emotional growth are the first romantic experiences. Coming after the three WWII-set films that featured romances with tragic endings, *The Life is Ours* was the very first film with a romantic happy ending, which, it goes without saying, should stand for the overall social harmony in the wake of socialist modernity. However, the film’s romantic layers are as underdeveloped as they are symptomatic. There are two chief reasons for that. First, Gavrin might have made the documentary praised by a critic like Balázs, but his debut feature failed to deliver, to say the least. Second, the filmmakers tried to come to terms with the “revolutionary asceticism”; and, in my view, they realized the elusive and ambiguous nature of its “cruel morality”, and thus came up with the two neatly separated and tellingly different love stories.

The first romance involves two episodic characters: nurse Mara and student Slobodan. In the ultimate example of the film’s containment of romance, their love is suggested by a single scene, which pops up thirty-seven minutes into the film, out of absolutely nowhere: not a single previous shot has shown that the two knew about each other, let alone shared any feelings. The very same scene, however, promptly turns into the end of what has never even become a full-

⁶² It seems that Balázs wrote the segment “Historical smile” specifically for the Yugoslav edition of *Filmkultura* (1948, pp. 162–163), as it cannot be found in the English version (1952).

fledged romance: as the Trieste crisis escalates, Mara decides to leave the railroad, arguing that her nursing skills will be more needed in a possible military conflict.⁶³



FIGURE 4.1–2 Mara and Slobodan in *The Life is Ours*

Mara and Slobodan never utter the word “love”, and yet the *mise-en-scène* unambiguously invites an amorous attachment between them. As the two wander off to the construction site and walk along the river, they are framed from the lower angle, surrounded with plants and showing the sky in the background (FIGURE 4.1–2). However, the *mise-en-scène* also includes one more important element: the presence of the labour collective. As Mara and Slobodan walk, they can see groups of young brigadiers running by them, singing and feasting nearby. At first, it seems that the overbearing presence and the zeal of the revolutionary collective thwarts the more immediate expression of love between the two. However, things are a bit more ambiguous, as the revolutionary, collective pathos is what makes their love possible in the first place. In other words, the labour collective that surrounds Mara and Slobodan gives body to the big Other of the socialist-realism, which, if we are to judge from this particular love story, privileges labour and construction – “the work hedonism”, as Ranković would have it – over love and desire. Watching the labour brigade that triumphantly sings while marching with flags over the newly constructed bridge, Slobodan solemnly declares: “How rich is our life! [Kako je naš život bogat!]”, to what Mara adds in the same tone: “The life is ours! [Život je naš!]” They exchange a brief look, in what appears to be the standard substitute for the passionate kiss in those days of

⁶³ On Trieste crises, see Sluga (1994).

sexual asceticism. Their unrealized romance thus stands for the socialist-realist formula of the work/ideological commitment outranking the romance.

Although the second romance does not start before the fifty minutes mark, it gets more screen time and a gradual development, thus appearing as the romance proper (to be sure, again no one utters the L-word). Its protagonists are the young peasants Milan and Stana. The difference between them and the previous couple is striking. Whereas Slobodan was a more of an urban intellectual, who pitied himself for not being strong like the other brigadiers (most of them peasants), Milan is the most hardworking brigadier, whose commitment and stamina earn him a leading position in the labour unit. The difference between Mara and Stana is even more prominent. Devoting herself to the new revolutionary task, Mara leaves the man whom she ostensibly loves, while Stana gets defined primarily in terms of her love for Milan.



FIGURE 4.3–4 Milan and Stana in *The Life is Ours*

The consequences of the shift between the two couples are blatantly visible in the double finale of the film. The first finale suggests that the unspoken love between Milan and Stana will survive the end of the works at the tunnel site. Milan asks Stana what she will do after the railroad gets completed; she gently touches the dirty soiled sleeve of his work jacket, trying to remove the dirt, in what is the very first and the last physical contact between the two. Then she raises her head and, while looking Milan straight in the eyes, responds: “To another [labour action]! [Na drugu!]” Enthused by her response, the boy smiles: “That means together! [Znači zajedno!]”, to what Stana approvingly nods (FIGURE 4.3–4).

In the following finale, the brigadiers and the people from the neighboring villages gather in a mass eruption of joy after the completion of the tunnel. At the peak of a spectacular celebration, the final shots show Milan with two of his closest colleagues, as they triumphantly march, sing, and look at the spectators in a fairly common socialist-realist breaking of the fourth wall (FIGURE 4.5–6). Stana, however, is excluded from this spectacle altogether. Although we see her for a moment in the sequence preceding the final feast, she is nowhere to be seen in the last shots.



FIGURE 4.5–6 The triumphant camaraderie in the ending of *The Life is Ours*

The difference between the two finales, then, reveals an important gender asymmetry. The first finale mixes romance and labour, whereas the second decouples them. The former reveals that Stana relates to labour through her love for Milan, as her future work on another construction site is a thinly veiled metonymy for her devotion to the boy. Although the first finale suggests that the same holds for Milan too, Stana's absence from the second finale suggests that her love is hardly integral to his relation to work. Instead, what really counts is the unconditional bond he has with his work buddies, incarnated in the male camaraderie. Here, however, we should not miss a crucial detail: the first ending, which detours Stana's relation to work through her love for Milan, is a romantic happy ending. Its chief function is to confirm that a woman will stand by her man; once she does that, the film takes her for granted and excludes her from the picture of the man as the triumphant labourer.

From a feminist perspective, such a flamboyant display of male privilege over work cannot but appear as a disappointing coda to the film that, despite being centered on the male

brigadiers, managed to carve out some space for the women's emancipation. For example, being set in the backward Bosnian countryside, where the Muslim women were traditionally veiled, the film tackles, tangentially at least, the issue of unveiling in accordance with the socialist principles of gender equality. The local Muslim girls, like Mara's and Stana's friend Fadila, take off the traditional dress and veils that completely covered their faces, and join the workforce.

The Life is Ours, thus, performs two interrelated moves. First, it replaces the committed, assertive socialist femininity that does not define itself primarily *via* the romantic relation to the man (Mara), with the one that tacitly complies with the male privilege (Stana). Second is the move from the solemn ending of the first romance to the happy ending as a preferable closure of the socialist-set love story. This can be seen as a bitterly ironic twist on Hanáková's remark that the socialist realism "limit the woman to her public, political function in the service of the socialist state, creating the image of a woman as a token of the socialist struggle, with her personality limited to a vehicle of narrative and political purpose" (2011, p. 153). If anything, *The Life is Ours* shows that socialist realism can also easily create a problematic image of women precisely by doing the opposite: by subjugating the political motivation to the romantic imperative.

4.2.2. *Story of a Factory*

Coming after an aesthetical disappointment that was *The Life is Ours*, *Story of a Factory* was acknowledged as the first veritable representation of the Yugoslav post-war reality. Daniel J. Goulding specified both the shortcomings and the virtues of the film: although it "shares the idealism and patriotism which characterized these early films of socialist reconstruction and reveals some of the same simple stereotyping of heroic workers and irredeemable reactionary types", the film nevertheless "provided a more interesting and complex sense of time and setting, a more believable and natural style of film acting, and more sophistication in character development" (2002, p. 24). This analysis, however, will stress how *Story of a Factory* treated gender, labour, and romance rather differently than *The Life is Ours* did.

The film is set in a textile factory in Zagreb, which is plagued by many problems that are posited as specific for the late 1940s. On one hand, the outdated technology, inadequate working conditions and the lack of coordination with the suppliers makes the production much harder, whereas, on the other hand, the pre-war owner of the factory plots a sabotage that would blow

the place up in smithereens. Accordingly, the two plots shape the film, each having a respective chief protagonist. The main protagonist of the sabotage plot is Branimir, a seasoned engineer who already worked in the factory before the war; hence, the pre-war owner Gartner pressures him to sabotage the factory. The principal protagonist of the production plot is Marija, a textile worker who tries to compensate the troubles at the workplace by increased labour: she demonstrates that one labourer could double her output by simultaneously working on six machines instead on only three. The plots substantially intersect in the film's climax, when Marija's experimental demonstration is abruptly ended by the explosion that destroys the facility.

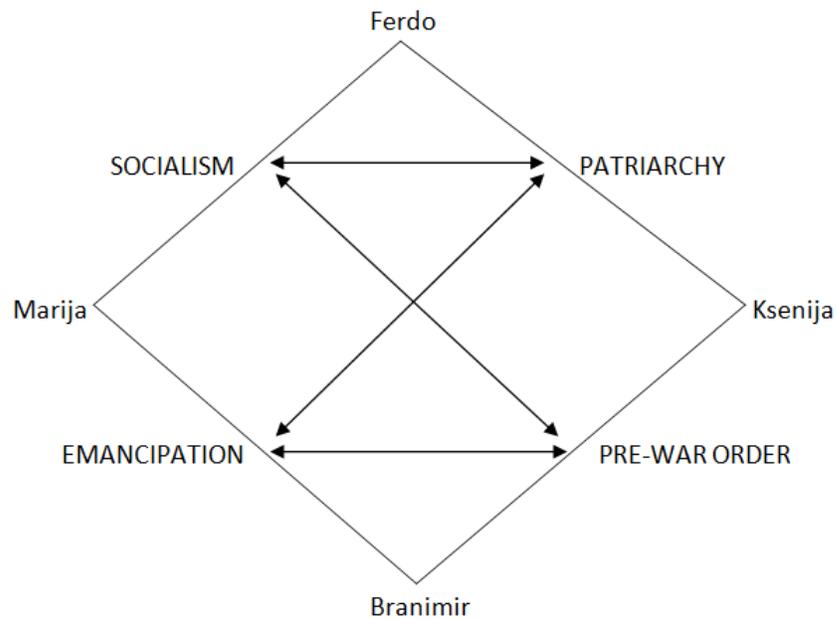
Both plots involve misfortunate matrimonies. Branimir's wife Ksenija is constantly nagging about their family's fall from pre-socialist socioeconomic grace. Whereas her husband has come to terms with the socio-political change, realizing that he can pursue his profession in socialism as well, Ksenija persists in her status of a victim whom the socialist regime robbed of her high-class status. A bourgeois decadence incarnated, she is a glamorous beauty who indulges in all sorts of things that are inappropriate for – and inaccessible to – the working-class women like Marija. She idles around her vast habitat all day long, smoking, drinking, wearing kimono-style robes, issuing orders to her housemaid and pestering her husband lady Macbeth style. She insists that her husband sides with Gartner in a plot to destroy the facility.

Marija's matrimony is unhappy for altogether different reasons. Her husband Ferdo accuses her of privileging her profession over their marriage, and does not even try to grasp her motivation for her zealous professional commitment. In his retelling of the film, Goulding sees Ferdo's complaints as "the only note of protest" against "the growing sense of solidarity between the workers" in the factory, and claims that the husband "sees little to recommend such huge exertions [on Marija's side] in the face of low pay, minimal living conditions, and shortages of the basic necessities of life" (2002, p. 25). However, both points miss the mark. Ferdo, himself an impeccable worker, neither shuns the workers' solidarity, nor reproaches Marija for working too much with no adequate compensation. What really bothers him is Marija's refusal to separate the public (her vocation) from the private life (their marriage). Marija's excessive dedication to work, according to Ferdo, prevents her to develop a specific notion of privacy, domesticity, and family.

Once both marriages end on a sour note, the main protagonists completely give up on romance and turn to their work. In the final scene, Marija, Branimir and their manager Kosta are

glowing in a vast, bright working hall, among the new machines. Previously depicted as chronically worn out and worried, now, Marija looks younger, reinvigorated, with a new hair style and clothes, and with no trace of fatigue or sadness in her wide smile. In what could be seen as a counter-image to the male camaraderie in the last shots of *The Life is Ours*, the two men and the woman labourer turn their back to the camera and walk away together.

A Greimas square can help us to delineate the positions of the four spouses in relation to their historical-ideological context:



Marija’s central feature is her firm refusal of the public/private divide. In contrast to her husband, Marija argues that the public and the private, factory and family, cannot be separated. This is no surprise given that her closest co-worker in the pre-war days was her own sister, who has been killed by the quisling regime. What appears to be merely Marija’s too excessive attempt to the production rate turns out to be a painstaking strategy of keeping the intimate memory of her sister alive – something that Ferdo fails to acknowledge. Marija’s testimony at the Gartner trial also illustrates her view on the public and the private. While describing the events in the factory before the sabotage, she starts talking about her own domestic situation. When the defense lawyer objects that her private life is irrelevant for the case, Marija is aghast: “‘Private life’?! Do you really think that life can be divided? [‘Privatni život’!? Zar vi zbilja mislite da se život može dijeliti?’]”

Story of a Factory thus dismisses the notion that anyone should surrender her or his emancipation-through-work status to the imperatives of marriage. That makes the film an exception among the early Yugoslav films, which prefer to render the marriage as the paramount stage for romance. Ferdo's pressure on Marija shows that the marriage, even in socialism, can be all too easily compromised by the patriarchal values and imperatives. Not only that the film designates a committed socialist man, who narcissistically believes that he should be the main object of his wife's love and care, but, far more importantly, it underscores that it is primarily men who continue to define the border between the private and the public, something to which all women should comply. In other words, the private/public divide continues to court the patriarchal privilege in the socialist modernity as well.

This makes *Story of a Factory* a far more complex film than it initially appears. There is no doubt that most of what Marija says in the film operates as not very subtle socialist-realist propaganda on the importance of work. And yet, when reading her statements, we should not reduce them to their content alone, but should also take into account the position from which they are uttered. It is a position of a woman caught in the marital peril: the husband shoehorns her in the image and a role that she adamantly does not want to accept as her own. A look back at Hanáková's account is instructive again, for she notices that the Czech socialist-realist heroines would eventually find "similarly progressive partners" and win "the heart of a man who shares their modern attitude to life, thus also revolutionizing their domestic division of roles". In the case of Marija, however, integral to her heroism is her ability to cut her ties with the problematic husband who, despite his respectable professional status and ideological commitment, nevertheless, remains anything but progressive and modern in terms of the socialist politics of gender equality. Hence, despite the unquestionable socialist realist credentials of *Story of a Factory*, its profound skepticism towards the marital privilege torpedoes the socialist pursuit of romantic happiness.

4.2.3. *Lake and Blue 9*

The two socialist-realist construction films from 1950 dispersed the cautionary air of *Story of a Factory*. *Lake and Blue 9* both foregrounded the male privilege and creation of love couple as the ultimate index of social harmony, furthering the formula of the socialist realist melodrama.

Lake is set at the construction site of a huge hydroelectric plant, and in the nearby village that should be resettled, as it occupies the location of the prospective accumulation lake. Mato, a young and handsome teacher who presides over the local co-operative, convinces the peasants that there are benefits of the building of the dam and the resettlement: the hydroelectric plant would provide electricity, whereas the village should be resettled in the water-safe zone, with an even more fertile soil. His most vocal opponent is Petar, an old peasant who is driven by stubbornness and disbelief in modernity, whereas the real antagonists are the pre-war kulak and a priest who orchestrate the sabotage at the dam. Petar's daughter Mara, unlike her father, devotedly supports the changes. By the end of the film, she and Mato will unite in a romantic couple, this bliss will signify the end of the ordeals: as the electricity lights up the flash bulbs in the new village, Mato and Mara sneak away from the main feast to the lake shore and kiss.

After *Story of a Factory* decidedly refused to define the socialist femininity in terms of the male privilege, *Lake* vehemently brings back and amplifies the gender asymmetry. First, it reintroduces the figure of the woman whose professional interests are shaped by the means of the romantic attachment to the man's. At the same time, the man is resistant to the romantic troubles, as they do not cloud his mind nor detract him from work: when Mara temporarily turns to Jerko that does not challenge or affect Mato's ideological and professional priorities. The same cannot be said about Mara. Her status is always substantially defined by means of her relation to a man, whether it be Jerko, or Mato. Also, we should not miss the class aspect of the affair: by introducing the romance between a middle-class man and a peasant girl, *Lake* testifies that the traditional patriarchal romance is not merely an effect of the lower class background and the lack of knowledge, as one could conclude from the case of the peasant couple in *The Life is Ours*.

The importance of *Lake*, for this analysis, lies in introducing a specific romantic plot. At its beginning, the male protagonist – the positive socialist hero – is coupled with a woman who does not share his idealism and allegiance to the communist cause. The discrepancy between the two intensifies when he moves to some backward region in order to help in its modernization; the woman, however, snubs the idea to leave the big city for the backwater that her man bravely tries to change for the better. The couple breaks up, the woman returns to the big city, whereas the man finds a new match, this time, the appropriate one: the local beauty who was secretly in love with him the entire time, and who consequently develops an ideological attachment to communism.

Lake starts at the provincial train station as Mato sees his girlfriend off back to Sarajevo where she lives and works as a teacher. The girl reproaches Mato for leaving their big city for the province where she cannot possibly stay: “Such a filthy place, the mud... [Tako prljavo mjesto, blato...]” She will appear in the film only one more time, providing Mato with the pretext to expressly announce the end of their relationship: “We are not meant for one another. I almost lost the girl who truly loves me because of you! [Nismo mi jedno za drugo. Zamalo da zbog tebe nisam žrtvovao djevojku koja me zaista voli!]” That other girl is, of course, Mara, who at that very moment spots the couple from a far, and wrongly concludes that Mato will remain devoted to his city girl. Thus she turns to Jerko, the local young man whom she does not love, yet, who repeatedly expresses his love for her and proposes to her. The prospect of a marriage with Jerko is untenable, not only because Mara does not really love him, but also because he is one of the villains.



FIGURE 4.7–8 The obliquely rendered kiss in the last shots of *Lake*

Let me wrap up the discussion on *Lake* by tackling its final shot that screened the first socialist-set happy-end kiss in Yugoslav cinema, although obliquely: we see the lovers’ silhouettes in medium long shot as they embrace and kiss against the lucid background of the titular lake (FIGURE 4.7–8). Thus, the kiss is not completely visible, but is certainly “there”, on-screen, with its tremendous importance, as we are talking about an era when, as Linda Williams summed it, the film kisses “carr[ied] the burden—or the enormous electrical charge—of being the whole of sex that can be seen” (2008, p. 26) in cinema. The lovers are monitored by a person who can be seen as an embodiment of the big Other: it is Petar, Mara’s nose and jealous father, who

watches the couple from afar and is not happy with what he sees; however, he returns to the house without interfering and the lovers remain undisturbed in their bliss. We understand Petar's behavior – first following the lovers but eventually retracting – in light of the emancipation of the women and young men from the traditional patriarchal norms, here much more prominent a theme than in *The Life is Ours*. The stern father is both a ridiculous anachronism, which is defused by the revolutionary change, but also a warning that in the new socialist society the patriarchal customs will not disappear overnight.

The protagonist of *Blue 9* is Zdravko, a young and hardworking underwater welder in the shipyard “The Shock-Worker [Udarnik]”, who also happens to be the best player of the factory's soccer club. “Blue 9” refers to the team number he gets after being transferred to the A-league soccer club Dinamo. He is in love with Nena, a student apprentice in the shipyard and an exemplary athlete herself; she is a record-holding member of the local swimming club. At one point, the two of them plan to go to the movies. “Are you sure that there is no shooting in it? [Jeste li sigurni da nema pucanja u njemu?]”, asks Nena, as they inspect the film's poster. “Does it have to have a happy ending? [A mora li biti sretan završetak?]”, Zdravko snaps back, smiling. “Of course it does! [Svakako!]”, she says cheerfully, as Golik's light-hearted comedy winks at the spectators, commenting about its own “happily ever after” priorities.

The prospect of romance is seemingly shadowed by Fabris, a spoiled and self-centered Dinamo star who attempts to prevent Zdravko's arrival in Dinamo, justly seeing him as his major rival, and entices Nena's vanity and thirst for fame. However, this antagonist turns to be a paper tiger, as the most pressing conflict in the film has nothing to do with him *per se*, but has everything to do with the ways in which Nena and Zdravko relate to work and sports.

In the penultimate moment, Zdravko faces the elemental choice: whether to play for Dinamo in an international match, or, participate in an important working task? An exemplary positive hero of the socialist realism, he expressly chooses labour over sports. The reward for such model behavior comes instantly: once Zdravko makes his decision, everybody from his manager to the Dinamo officials give their best to enable him to have it both ways. Hence, after completing his hard underwater work, Zdravko jumps out of his heavy atmospheric dive suit and gets transported to the stadium where he brings victory to Dinamo. Apparently, once you

embrace your profession as the only real choice, the rest – the passion for and success in sports – follows, as if by magic.

However, when Nena confronts the same dilemma, she cannot set the priorities straight. Her flights of fancy about becoming a sport star make her neglect the educational work in the factory; when her fellow students and team-mates warn her that her sport activity should not cloud her education, she dismisses the criticism. In the last wake-up call for Nena, the athletic council bans her from participating in a major swimming competition, to what she reacts with rage and defiance, considering giving up on the study and the future in the factory altogether. However, what makes Nena eventually choose work over sports is her passionate attachment to Zdravko. The moment she finds out that, in the same dilemma, he opted differently from her, she grasps the aptness and nobility of his choice, and changes her mind. Predictably, at that same moment, her problem magically disappears: not only is she expressly allowed to participate in the swimming tournament, but her triumph anticipates Zdravko's victory at the soccer field.

The male privilege, thus, wins the day again. Similar to Mato, Zdravko remains solid in the face of the romantic ordeal: in the moment of the dilemma, he believes that Nena does not love him and is angry at her, and yet, that does not prevent him from making the right decision. For a man, the profession has an upper hand over love, and, apparently, cannot be substantially affected by it. For a woman, things are vice versa, the right romantic choice is the precondition for making a proper professional decision. Left to her own devices, undirected by love and the man's guidance, she ends up in hysteria and bad decisions.

However, paradoxically, the romantic privilege properly challenges the socialist realist credentials of the film in what is the film's central contradiction. Nena resists all direct, politically-aware lessons from her peers: the collective influence on her fails utterly, only igniting her anger and defiance. Only her love for Zdravko will make her change her mind and adopt the advices her colleagues give her. In opposition to Hanáková's thesis that in the socialist realism "love can exist only as a part of the satisfaction in the collective work" (2011, p. 152), love in *Blue 9* is the key precondition for acknowledging the importance of the professional and the collective – again, for women only.

The finale of *Blue 9* is reluctant to crown the happy ending with a kiss – or, to be precise: the kiss on screen. Just as Nena and Zdravko are about to seal the film with a pucker, they are interrupted by Zdravko's buddy Pjero, who provided comic relief for most of the film and does

the same again. The final shot, thus, zooms on Pjero's face, as he realizes that he popped up in a bad moment and, ashamed, covers his face with a cap (FIGURE 4.9–12).



FIGURE 4.9–12 The failed kiss, and Pjero's shame in the ending of *Blue 9*

Pjero's reaction, at its most general, can be seen as an index of the persistent ambivalence of the big Other of early socialist modernity with regard to romance. However, in a telling difference from the jealous and angry patriarch Petar in the finale of *Lake*, Pjero reacts with shame. This feeling received a relatively small amount of attention by the psychoanalyst theory; Jacques-Alain Miller (2006) reminds us of such two places in the work of Jacques Lacan. First, in *Seminar XI*, Lacan recounts Sartre's anecdote about a subject who peeps through a keyhole, hears someone's steps on the stairs, and that triggers a feeling of shame. This feeling strikes the subject before he even finds out the identity of the person on the stairs, i.e. what shames the subject is the "anonymous gaze" that turns him from the subject (who looks) into an object (which is looked at): "This is where shame is introduced: 'I recognize that I am this object that

the Other regards and judges” (Miller, 2006, p. 14). Lacan returns to shame in *Seminar XVII*, which he held in 1970, as his commentary of the student protests of 1968 and the historical moment that triggered them. According to Lacan, the shift from the “puritan” capitalism toward the “permissive” one in the late 1960s/early 1970 entailed the loss of shame. The permissive capitalism – nowadays also known as “the late capitalism” – does not prohibit the subject’s access to the enjoyment (*jouissance*), but buttresses it and even imposes it as *the* imperative. Hence, in the era in which one is ordered to enjoy at any cost, the ashamed subject, as the one described by Sartre, becomes a rarity, structurally anomalous, if not impossible. Lacan thus ends the seminar by pleading for shame: he tells his audience that he wants to make them ashamed “not too much, but just enough” (2007, p. 193).

Although, to notice the obvious, the films that I interpret are not made in capitalism, I believe that their images of shame (or the lack of) attests to a dynamical interplay of prohibition and permissiveness that can be traced in the history of socialist modernity as well. In that sense, the absence of Zdravko and Nena kissing, and the display of Pjero’s shame signify that the universe of *Blue 9* is still one in which the revolutionary asceticism requires an air of prohibition in the depiction of the socialist present.

We find the perfect point of comparison in the first Yugoslav films set in the past (historical or mythical), which featured a more relaxed representation of sex-and-violence in the classical Yugoslav cinema. Hence, the very same year when *Lake* and *Blue 9* were still restrained in sealing their socialist romances with a kiss, the adaptation of a folklore legend *Čudotvorni mač/The Miraculous Sword* boasted a fleeting, but visible pucker (FIGURE 4.13–14), which was soon to become a standard affair in Yugoslav cinema.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ I will elaborate more on this permissiveness of the historical films in the next chapter.

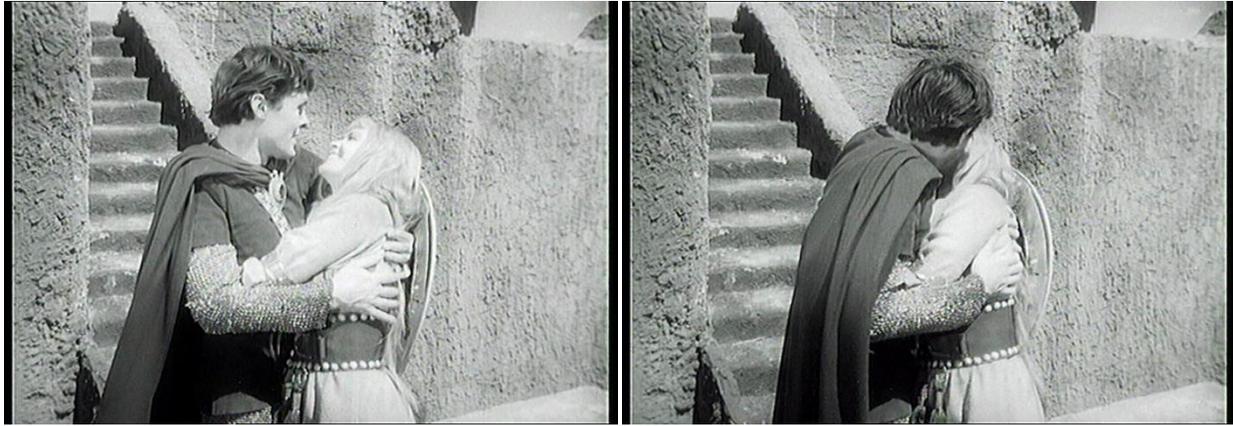


FIGURE 4.13–14 The happily-ever-after kiss in *Miraculous Sword*

4.2. The mature classical period (1957–1958)

After *Lake and Blue 9*, the construction films disappear for seven years. By the time they returned, Yugoslav cinema transformed from the state-owned one to the cinema of the producers; among other changes, the status of socialist realism, as Raymond Williams' would have it, shifted from the hegemonic to the residual by the mid 1950s. However, from 1951 to 1956 the filmmakers did not produce many socialism-set films, as if it was more convenient for them to designate the horror and the glory of WWII, and the depravities of the pre-socialist era, than to more fully render the socialist present. Hence, the period saw only eight socialism-set films, which were outsized by nineteen films set in WWII and twenty-one films set in some earlier historical epochs.

In 1957, however, the tables have finally turned, the nine “contemporary themed” films wining over two WWII-set and three historical ones – this dominance of the socialism-set films over two other groups will remain uncontested by the very end of Yugoslav cinema. Within that batch, the construction-set film also resurfaced. Out of the five of them released in 1957 and 1958, four were romantic melodramas with a happy ending: *Nije bilo uzalud/It Was Not in Vain* (1957, Nikola Tanhofer), *Zenica* (1957, Jovan Živanović and Miloš Stefanović), *Te noći/On That Night* (1958), and *Samo ljudi/Only Human* (1958, Branko Bauer). Moreover, as we shall soon see, even the fifth one was anything but sad: *Pogon B/Section B* (1958, Vojislav Nanović) was a comedy that promoted another type of relation at the expense of the heterosexual romance. The predominance of the romantic happy ending was not surprising, as it reigned the rest of Yugoslav

socialist-set films as well: *U oluji/In the Tempest* (1952, Vatroslav Mimica), *Svi na more/Off to the Seaside* (1952, Sava Popović), *Vesna* (1953, František Čap), *Ne čakaj na maj/Don't Whisper* (1957, František Čap), *Male stvari/The Little Things* (1957, Boško Kosanović), and the two romantic stories in the omnibus *Subotom uveče/Saturday Night* (1957, Vladimir Pogačić). It seemed that the era of tragic love has finished with WWII: it transpires that romance in socialism had to be a happily-ever-after affair.

4.2.1. *It Was Not in Vain and Zenica*

Not set at a construction site in a literal sense, *It Was Not in Vain* varies the early-socialist-modernity plot by being set in a marsh-encircled village that, plagued by malaria and superstition, begs for modernization. The main protagonist is Jura, an exemplary agent of modern knowledge, rationality, and action. Born in the countryside, yet, left for the big city to study medicine, he returns to his village as the young doctor driven by desire to eradicate its backward ways.

The very conflict between the pre-socialist and the socialist is tellingly gendered. The principal antagonist of the enthusiastic, young male doctor is Čarka, an old woman who lives in the swamp and is reputedly a witch. Embodying the pre-modern ignorance at its most heinous, she warns the illiterate peasants that her spells are superior to vaccination, chemicals, and other humbugs of the modern medicine. Threatened by Čarka's curses, the peasants avoid vaccination from malaria, which makes the old woman responsible for their deaths. However, later, it turns out that the alleged hag is also the mother of a quisling soldier who is still hiding in the swamp, and is responsible for a string of seemingly mysterious deaths in the marsh. Her witchcraft is, thus, debunked as a ruse that ought to keep the peasants away from the swamp, so her son can be safe.

The romantic plot along the lines of *Lake* is obvious enough. Jure's wife Vera is a self-centered big city blonde who comes to the village with him; she is horrified with the dust, mud, and the mosquitoes that attack her carefully maintained alabaster skin. Eventually, she leaves Jure and the swampy village and he then turns to Bojka, a devout local girl who assists him in the local ambulance, and who was in love with him while they were kids.



FIGURE 4.15–16 From discord to harmony: Jure with Vera (left), and with Bojka

That being said, however, we should note that Vera is a far more fleshed out character than Mato’s anonymous, one-note girlfriend in *Lake*. Her good-bye letter to Jure reveals that she fully understands his motifs, yet, she cannot give up on her own vision of happiness for the sake of his plans: “Do not be angry with me, but you once told me that you cannot be so dishonest to leave this place, do you remember? So you see, I too cannot be so dishonest to myself and stay here. I am too young for it. I would die here.[Ne ljuti se na mene, ali jednom davno si mi rekao da ne možeš biti baš sasvim nepošten i otići odavde, sjećaš se? Eto vidiš, tako ni ja ne mogu biti baš sasvim nepoštena prema sebi samoj i ostati ovdje. Premlada sam za to. Ja bih ovdje umrla.]” Vera’s rhetoric and voice – as she is reading the letter in voiceover – does not reveal any malice or resentment, but conveys benevolent empathy, thus making her motifs and actions easy to understand, and not to condone. In that sense, she is an important step toward the self-centered city woman who can be “reformed”, that is, fully adjusted to her working man.

Zenica designates such a reform of the self-absorbed femininity. Boro is an engineer from Belgrade who comes to work in the steel factory in Zenica, a Bosnian town that was one of the key symbolic markers of rapid industrialization in Yugoslavia in general. When his wife Divna enthusiastically and unexpectedly arrives after him, expecting that her husband dwells in a cozy flat where two of them would make a family nest, to her disappointment, she finds that not only Zenica is a provincial town, but also reveals that Boro lives in a shabby collective housing, sharing a room with his nerdy and clumsy colleague Zdenko. Progressively embittered, Divna

disregards her husband's professional efforts, which results in especially dire consequences. When Boro decides to spend some time more with Divna, in order to please her, Zdenko dies in a factory accident while replacing him on the job.

Following the formula introduced by *The Lake*, *Zenica* also features a lovely local ingénue who is in love with the main male protagonist, and who is more in-sync with the revolutionary change than the self-centered big city girl. She is Emina, the daughter of the old Muslim merchant who fell from the pre-war economic grace. Unlike her old father, who cannot adapt to the new social reality and bemoans his fate, Emina readily quits the traditional ways, stops wearing the veil, and goes to the steel factory in search for work. Needless to say, her crush for Boro substantially buttresses her confrontation with the old ways and adopting of the modern, socialist values. And yet, the film betrays the *Lake* formula in that regard: Boro tacitly rejects Emina's advances and sticks to Divna who will eventually be "reformed".

Near the film's end Boro and Divna have a major altercation. He slaps her, in arguably the first open display of the positive hero perpetrating the marital violence in a socialism-set film. Divna expressly packs up and leaves for the station, but eventually returns and roams the factory looking for Boro (FIGURE 4.17–18), who, for his part, realized the harshness of his act and is elsewhere looking for Divna to ask her for forgiveness. When they meet in the last scene, Divna slaps Boro back and they both start laughing: the trauma of marital violence is gone in a second. The final shot shows the spouses embrace against the background of the steel factory; when they exit the frame, we are left to enjoy the industrial landscape behind them (FIGURE 4.19–20).

This time the socialist big Other is incarnated in Boro's closest work fellows, who approvingly comment the reunion of the spouses. For the hardworking Hasan, the uneducated simpleton with a crush for Emina, the sight of marital bliss that wins against all odds is the paramount proof that he himself should marry. In that regard, *Zenica* marks another step in the gender politics of the construction cycle: whereas *Lake* and *It Was Not in Vain* screened the interclass romances between the middle-class men and the low-class ingénues, *Zenica* gives up on such romantic affairs across the class lines. The film's class segregationist politics did not only vanquish the possibility of the inter-class romance, but, moreover, established the class hierarchy: as the last scene illustrates, it is the middle class that sets up the template of the romance and marital happiness for the working class.



FIGURE 4.17–20 Divna roams the factory and makes up with Boro in *Zenica*

4.2.2. *On That Night*

Jovan Živanović’s next feature *On That Night* varied some of motifs from *Zenica*. Pavle is an engineer working at the hydroelectric plant near a small Bosnian town, whereas his wife Marija is disappointed for being stuck in the middle of nowhere and having a husband who puts his job before her. The arrival of Pavle’s new colleague Mirko precipitates the marital crisis that eventually ends when the spouses mutually acknowledge their wrongs and commit to a fuller mutual understanding. In comparison to *Zenica*, the film delivers more suspense and melodrama. Whereas in *Zenica* Boro’s suspicion that Divna has an affair was obviously unfounded (his “competition” was a significantly older man whom she never really considered a prospective lover), Pavle’s suspicion of Marija’s infidelity is more founded. Mirko and Marija had been a couple a long time ago, and since she has never told her husband about her ex-boyfriend, Pavle suspects that she still carries a torch for Mirko.

On the other side, *On That Night* complicates the class matters by creating two working communities: the electricians, who work in the power plant (Pavle, Mirko, and their colleagues), and the miners, who work in a nearby mine, embodying the middle class and the working class, respectively. The film opens with a brawl between these two groups in a local tavern, when a policeman is called in to stop the violence. The rest of the film can be seen as an attempt to reconcile this class divide by means of the professional ethics that is designated as the unabashedly masculine one. On the New Year's Eve the miners are trapped underground due to a mining accident; as the mine shaft is slowly filling with the water, Pavle and Mirko have to repair the transmission tower that conveys the energy into the pumps that drain water out of the mine, and save the miners from the imminent drowning. The inter-class animosity pales in face of the disaster, as the professional ethics and the male camaraderie take over.

The film accentuates some class-specific gender nuances. The wives of the miners appear to be at a more equal foot with their husbands, and relate to them in no-nonsense, straightforward way: e.g. after the bar fight, they chastise the men for behaving irresponsibly. The mundane simplicity of the lower-class gender relations evokes similar scenes in *Zenica*, where the poor, uneducated women from the collective housing ridicule their husbands in everyday exchange. However, while in *Zenica* those scenes played for laughs, their similes in *On That Night* yield the deep and down-to-earth bond between the working class spouses. It transpires that the working-class love does not leave space for melodramatic spectacle that, as we shall see, abounds in the middle class romance.

However, while in *Zenica* at least one woman – Emina – used labour to overcome the patriarchal norms, *On That Night* excludes the women from the industrial workplace, bounding them exclusively to the domestic sphere. At its most dramatic, the film renders the woman in the industrial setting as equivalent to the old stereotype about the disastrous woman on the boat. When Marija decides to spend New Year's Eve with Pavle and Mirko in their shift in the power plant, her presence causes the short circuit between them (no pun intended), bringing them to the edge of dispute (FIGURE 4.21–22).



FIGURE 4.21–22 The love triangle at the workplace in *On That Night*

Her husband assigns her with a responsible task: while he is away to fix the transmission tower, she is supposed to answer a call from the mine and turn the electricity on if necessary, and thus save the drowning miners. However, Marija undermines the task. First, she leaves the plant for a while, and, later, she removes the handset from the phone, thus preventing the call from the mine; at last, when she finally receives the call, she does not turn the electricity on, but runs away looking for Pavle (FIGURE 4.23–26). Her worries are justified in light of her love for Pavle (for the electricity might kill him while he is repairing the transmission tower), but unlike him and Mirko, she is incapable of taking into account the lives of the miners, i.e. to empathize with anyone else outside her narrow private sphere.





FIGURE 4.23–26 Marija fails to act and melodramatically runs away from the plant

In other words, the working men are able to suppress their interpersonal rivalry for the sake of the professional commitment. Pavle and Mirko suspend their mutual animosity when the unfortunate string of events reminds them that they are working colleagues who have to employ all their skills and stamina in order to save the trapped miners, more than they are jealous rivals. For them, there is a line between the personal sphere defined by (the heterosexual) love, and the professional sphere defined by (the homosocial) work. From the vantage of macho work ethics, the latter is superior to the former. The women – embodied in housewives – appear to be blind to the line between the personal and the professional, between love and work, as they relate to work only through love, or even disregard profession in the name of love. Whereas the hardworking guys immediately realize the problem and try to solve it, Marija remains locked in her melodramatic tunnel vision which boils everything down to love and jealousy. The film stresses narcissistic aspects of her vantage: she even believes that the men would kill each other because of her. When Pavle tells her about the disaster in the mine, she accuses him that he concocted that whole story only in order to send Mirko to the tower and electrocute him. When she finds out that the disaster is real, she accuses Mirko that he used the macabre circumstances to scheme the murder of Pavle. As if unable to grasp the banal reality, including the demanding nature of labour, Marija translates it into a romantic soap opera in which everything revolves around her.

4.2.3. *Only Human*

Only Human is a paramount example of the melodramatic creation of the love couple at the background of the construction site in the post-war years. Arguably *the* melodrama of Yugoslav

cinema,⁶⁵ the film is set in Bosnian mountains where a new giant water plant is getting built. The main male protagonist is Bojkan, an engineer at the plant’s construction site, who lost one leg while fighting as a partisan, whereas his love interest is Buba, a blind young woman of twenty-three who arrives in the oculist clinic nearby. Buba lost her sight as a little girl, when a bomb ravished her house killing the rest of her family. After ten years of being raised as both an orphan and a blind, she wallows in lethargy and self-pity. Her doctor, professor Vrančić, greets her (and introduces her to us) by saying: “Hello Sadness! [Dobar dan, tugo!]” – a telltale quote of the title of the popular novel *Bonjour Tristesse* by Françoise Sagan. Vrančić – an old, benevolent patriarch who combines the modern scientific knowledge and the traditional wisdom – realizes that restoring the girl’s self-confidence and joy are integral to restoring her vision (FIGURE 4.27–28). In order to prepare Buba for surgery, he sends her not in the sanatorium but in the mountain lodge where “the jolly fellows”, as he calls Bojkan and his lively buddy Žarko, live with the housemaid Ema.



FIGURE 4.27–28 The feminine lethargy in *Only Human*

Although the budding friendship with Bojkan reinvigorates Buba, it is founded upon on a lie as white as the idyllic snow-covered hills around them: he does not tell her about his handicap. Buba hears the sound of Bojkan’s crutches, which he uses occasionally, when he is not wearing his prosthetic leg, but she thinks that it is his walking cane. The film tries to come up

⁶⁵ Most of the critics lambasted the film, accusing Bauer for unintentionally making a melodrama, although he decidedly aimed to do just that. More on the film’s production and reception see the interview with the director in monograph on his opus (Polimac, 1985, pp. 80–92). The analysis of *Only Human* in the same volume, however, disappoints by winding in the cheapest Freudianism (Despotović, 1985).

with a convenient explanation for keeping the girl in the dark on this matter. Žarko tacitly pleads to the engineer not to reveal the handicap, for that might cause Buba to feel like in a hospital after all, and Bojkan agrees. However, after hearing how Buba besmirches the handicapped people as “cripples” and “half-humans” (a symptom of her own self-pity), he is convinced that she will be horrified by the sight of him once she restores her vision. When Žarko informs him that the girl’s surgery was a success, he decides that she should never see him; as the power plant is finished, he accepts the offer to move to a new construction site located in a distant part of the country. Žarko, however, sabotages the engineer’s plans. He tells Buba the truth, and takes her to the dam where Bojkan makes his final inspection. She rushes to meet Bojkan at the tiny and shaky suspension bridge below the monumental dam. In the final scenes, the lovers are united in a euphoric embrace, and the power plant is activated. As the wild torrents erupt from the accumulation in a spectacular waterfall, the drops of water rain all over the couple (FIGURE 4.29–32).



FIGURE 4.29–32 The ecstatic finale of *Only Human*

However, the over-the-top vision of romantic harmony, both sublime and ridiculous at the same time, should not make us overlook the asymmetry between Buba and Bojkan in terms of their power- and love relations. While Bojkan knows that Buba is blind all along, she falls for him ignorant of his lack, and thus becomes additionally blind, as it were. Bojkan's power over Buba draws on his status of the highly respected man, the supreme combination of a fierce war veteran and the impeccable worker with the untainted professional ethics. His physical handicap, it appears, did not diminish his main assets (knowledge, commitment, and stamina), but only cemented his social prestige. In a telling contrast, Buba's handicap drives her in the opposite direction: her sight has to be cured so she could be reintegrated into the world she is progressively disconnecting herself from. In other words, the man's handicap seems to have a greater social value than the woman's.

And yet, an uncanny feature taints Bojkan's shining status. Every year, the first snow reminds him of the day he lost the leg in the war. Haunted by the gloomy memories, Bojkan gets drunk and bursts in anger, demolishing everything around him and even attacking the people close to him. It is this lack of control, and not the physical handicap that truly testifies to Bojkan's incompleteness. Symptomatically, the film spares the viewers of the sight of Bojkan's wrath. At the beginning of the film, we find out that he smashed the local tavern the previous night (i.e. before the film's diegesis). At the same time, an abundance of jokes about the incident – Bojkan himself making some of them – both contain and reveal the truly traumatic nature of his loss of control over himself. Due to the very mechanism of humor, the jokes simultaneously underplay Bojkan's violent outbursts as the tolerable and ultimately insignificant caprice, *and* cement the bitter knowledge that these fits of rage will persist as a symptom of the deep trauma that lurks behind the engineer's respectable social status.

A closer look at the first part of the film reveals that Vrančić does not send Buba to Bojkan's lodge only to her benefit, but also to help the engineer resolve his "complex", as the doctor calls it. The engineer must keep his impeccable symbolic status of a model post-war masculinity for the imagined gaze of the big Other of the Yugoslav socialist modernity. The girl's restored vision and her love should patch that last rupture in his otherwise flawless profile. Her gaze serves as another one of Bojkan's prosthesis, as it were, guaranteeing that he is still the man, and that the gigantic dam is the supreme testimony to his masculine power. (Of course, the monumental edifice can also be seen as a ridiculously obscene symptom of his impotence, like

the proverbial gigantic cars, houses, and guns, some men use to compensate for their inferiority or insecurity).

Tellingly, Bojkan and Buba do not kiss in the final scene, but turn to the enthused workers on the top of the dam; triumphantly, Buba yells that now she can see them (FIGURE 4.33–34). Thus we get the self-reflexive logic of big Other and love at its purest: what bonds Buba and Bojkan in the final shots is not simply their mutual affection, but the insight that their love entices the gaze of the big Other. That is the true value of Buba's restored sight: she literally becomes the key eye-witness that the big Other exists after all. Her love with Bojkan makes the world around them meaningful and consistent (at least provisionally).



FIGURE 4.33–34 Love under the gaze of the big Other

The film in which everybody tries to pamper the blind girl, thus, reveals itself to be about the pampering of masculinity as something that is imperfect and fallible; any attempt to maintain the illusion of social harmony has to include concealing that masculine lack. Bojkan is not an exception in that regard; virtually all male protagonists cope with the imperfections that challenge their masculinity-related entitlement. They use different strategies: one of the workers at the construction site pities himself for being bald, already, at the age of twenty-five (FIGURE 4.35); Vrančić uses Buba's case to prove to his rival colleague that he is still a great surgeon despite his old age; Bojkan's buddy Žarko, for the most part of the film, denies his imperfections by means of humor, and yet at one point cracks up, bursting into the most dramatic exercise in the self-mourning masculinity. One evening he brilliantly plays Chopin's "Sadness" on the piano; his friends are astonished, since they knew that he hates the instrument. Žarko then

reveals that a long time ago he was married for eight years, but his wife left him for a pianist; although the piano was his old passion, therefore, he quit playing it. That way, even the biggest joker and philanderer in the film is unmasked as an insecure man who licks his wounds and does not want to give his heart to a new woman who could hurt him again (FIGURE 4.36).



FIGURE 4.35–36 The masculine insecurity and self-pity in *Only Human*

Of course, my point is not that men cannot be as insecure, traumatized and vulnerable, but what makes gender politics of *Only Human* dubious in light of this analysis is the difference it makes between the men's and women's incompleteness on one hand, and their relation to work and profession on another. The film defines all major male protagonists – Bojkan, Žarko, Vrančić – first and foremost in terms of their work ethics and professional achievements, whereas the only female protagonist that has a job is Ema, Žarko's and Bojkan's housemaid. However, by insisting that she is actually over heels in love with Žarko, the film even strips her work of professional credibility, and turns it into the substitute for her non-existent romantic life, an ersatz marriage. There is also one other gender difference at play: while the men bond by means of genuine camaraderie, the women lack such natural solidarity among themselves, for, predictably, they fight over men (as illustrated by the animosity between Ema and Lela, one of Žarko's many flings). The male privilege wins the day again: both the woman and the man can be traumatized and handicapped, but, while he can reaffirm himself in the public, professional sphere and homosocial bonding, she can restore her lack only through the romantic attachment to him.

A detail about the film's production is a telltale: the working title of the film was *Traces* [Tragovi], and it referred to ski lessons that Bojkan gives to Buba, as she learns to ski by

following his traces in the snow. At one point, Buba complains that there is only one trace of Bojkan's skis, not two, in the snow – which is not a surprise to the audience, for we see that one-legged Bojkan is using one ski only. It is as if, at that moment, *Only Human* most overtly acknowledges that female subjectivity cannot follow the trajectory of the male subject, or, even, that the woman remains a subject who structurally, as it were, reveals the lie about the man's completeness. Generally, however, *Only Human* – despite's Buba's blurting the truth at the ski slope – follows the traces of the previously analyzed films that used the romance to cement the fundamental lie about the male privilege: the woman's main role is to follow her man, and stand as the main guarantee of his triumph that is first and foremost grounded in professional work, which is key to the man's social symbolic mandate.

Although not a construction film, *Vratiću se/I Will Be Back* (1957, Jože Gale) is worth comparing to *Only Human* as another contemporary melodrama about the romantic troubles of a former partisan who lost his leg in the war. A former partisan lieutenant, Branko, tries his best to continue with his life despite the grief and self-pity about his handicap. A pregnant scene finds him in a restaurant garden, drinking alone and bitterly gazing at the legs of young couples dancing to the mambo "Brasil" on the nearby dance floor (FIGURE 4.37–38). A dancing couple approaches him: it is Branko's acquaintance with the same handicap, with his girl. He benevolently criticizes Branko for being too gloomy and ascribes that to the fact that he is single: "You still have not found a girl? You are wrong! Those dark thoughts would soon abandon you if you had! [Još nisi našao devojku!? Grešiš! Brzo bi te napustile crne misli!]" In another scene, when he talks about the upcoming wedding and invites Branko to be his best man, he repeats his advice: "Fall in love, man, that will cure you! [Zaljubi se, čoveče, to će te izlečiti!]"



FIGURE 4.37–38 The handicapped man facing his lack in *I Will Be Back*



FIGURE 4.39–42 The scenes from the loveless marriage in *I Will Be Back*

Branko, for his part, meets his first love Jana, a young woman caught for ten years in a loveless upper-middle class marriage with Ivan, a man who is not only significantly older than her, but is also an archaeology professor. The film opens with the scenes of the everyday routine of the unhappy spouses, and contains the notion of Jana being a trophy wife by inviting us to empathize

with the misfortunate housewife whose youth and vitality are incompatible with her old husband's penchant for the past.

However, despite prompting us to understand Jana's unhappiness, *I Will Be Back* uses the same matrix of gender and work that we saw in the previously analyzed film: whereas Jana has no professional ambition at all, Ivan is utterly dedicated to his work. At first, it transpires that the film criticizes this asymmetry as part of their marital problems, yet it turns out that the same pattern shapes other characters and relationships as well. The film, thus, features an employed woman in the episode figure of Ivan's colleague and assistant, but her professional attachment boils down to romantic impulse as well: she is secretly in love with Ivan. Branko also has a professional ambition, and it is not for nothing that the only encounter between him and Ivan happens in Branko's office: at first, Branko believes that the cuckolded husband came to discuss the love triangle, but then it turns out that the visit is strictly professional. Jana has no problem with being socio-economically dependent on a successful professional man; she just wants to be dependent on the man whom she loves.





FIGURE 4.43–46 Jana’s voluntarily blindness and isolation

In a triumph of his ravaged masculine ego, Branko murders a man who mocked him in public as a crippled hero, i.e. as a loser. He might be seeing himself as worthy of Jana’s love, but he is too pathetically obsessed with protecting his masculine pride to let the passing joker off unpunished. The fact that Branko’s violent male narcissism cancels the romantic future, clearly shows that he hangs onto his own ego more than onto his genuine love for Jana. In another curious parallel to *Only Human*, the film’s ending plays with the motif of female blindness. As Jana and Branko embrace for one last time on his way to prison, he closes her eyes with his palm, and asks her to stay that way: “Do not look after me. Imagine that I have traveled away! I will be back... [Nemoj da gledaš za mnom. Zamisli da sam otputovao! Vratiću se...]” The women’s vision, thus, again functions as main guarantee of the man’s integrity, but this time in reverse. While Bojkan needed Buba’s sight to make him complete in *Only Human*, Branko needs Jana’s “blindness”: if she does not see his lack, he can pretend that it does not really exist. Jana accepts this role and, as the camera tracks out in the final shot, she keeps her eyes closed. By obeying Branko’s request, she refuses to be an eye-witness of his utter demise, and thus at least grants him with a provisional sense of completeness. However, by this “blindness”, Jana refuses to admit not only Branko’s, but also her own demise as well. Now, more than ever, she is defined by her relation to the man. Not only will she most probably remain in her marriage with Ivan upon whom she depends socio-economically, but she is also bounded to Branko with the promise that she will wait for him until he returns from jail. As the last shot diminishes her to a tiny figure-speckle in the empty stark corridor, it also connotes that Jana’s dependence on the men translates into her loneliness and isolation (FIGURE 4.43–46).

4.2.4. Section B

The construction cycle 1948–1958 closes with *Section B*, a film about the oil-drilling in the federal province of Vojvodina. Not being a melodrama but a comedy, the film is less interested in romance and more in creating a buddy–buddy tandem of two main male protagonists (or “bromance”, if we are to use the jargon of contemporary Hollywood). It matches a young, sky-is-the-limit engineer Dejan, with Mane, an older, experienced driller who had worked on the oil rigs in South America and the US for twenty years; with his nickname Caracas, the Panama hat, mustache, and a bizarre mixture of English, Spanish, and Serbo-Croatian, he is unambiguously the heart of the film.



FIGURE 4.47–48 The couple of working buddies in *Section B*

True, each of the two men engage in a romance of sorts. Mane becomes a tenant “with benefits” for his landlady, a vivacious widow who develops a crush on him. Dejan is attracted to Branka, the daughter of his superior, who visits their oil rig to pass time until her next faculty exam.⁶⁶ The women thus incarnate two opposite, yet complementary stereotypes: the older possessive and suffocating woman eager to domesticate the man, and the younger, elusive tease incapable of true commitment. The man should run away from the first one, for she might domesticate him, as it were, while the second one is unattainable, for she is the one who runs away from the man.

However, once the eruption of the oil marks the end of the work on the rig, the already tentative romances dissolve. Branka quits flirting with Dejan and returns to her studies, fitting

⁶⁶ Given the film’s preference for Mane as the real protagonist, it does not surprise that the fling between Dejan and Branka is the least accomplished plot thread, which merely rehashes the stereotype of the frivolous woman who is interested more in appearance and social status, than in real love. In his generally positive review of *Section B*, Dragoslav Adamović chastised the character of Branka as the weakest element in the film: she is “so out-of-place [...] that it is almost tragic [toliko falš ... da je to gotovo tragično]” (1959, p. 125).

the stereotype of the big city girl who cannot stand the mud and dust of the countryside. Mane succumbs to his nomadic impulse and sets himself in search for another oil rig, leaving his landlady. The ending scene of Dejan and Mane meeting on the road, and driving away into a new adventure reaffirms the superiority of the homosocial work solidarity over the heterosexual romance. Whereas *Zenica*, *On That Night*, and *Only Human* unambiguously lauded the camaraderie as integral to macho work ethics, the conventions of melodrama pressed them to eventually give the heterosexual romance its due. *Section B*, however, provides us with a vehemently macho coda to the construction cycle 1948–1958: in the world of the real labour, only a man can deeply understand another man, and the woman necessarily remain outside their domain in which virility and professional intertwine; the man and the woman surely can develop an erotic attachment, but its depth and complexity are no match for a much more substantial professional attachment that the man shares with his working fellow. Whereas the working buddies at the drill rig rejoice without abandon when the oil erupts, splashing all over them (FIGURE 4.49–50), the women are unable to grasp and properly enjoy the triumph of labour: Branka protests that Dejan, all covered with oil, will smear her dress (FIGURE 4.51–52).





FIGURE 4.49–52 Where the men see the fruits of hard labour, the women see merely dirt

Section B's coda to the construction cycle will be a rather elusive one: in 1960, the film got a sequel *Bolje je umeti/It Is Better to Know How* (again directed by Nanović), which follows Dejan and Mane Caracas in new adventures. I will return to the sequel in the next subchapter, but for the time being it suffices to say that it vehemently gives up on construction and labour.

However, to say that the construction cycle closed with *Section B* in 1958 by no means amounts to saying that labour-and-construction vanished from the classical Yugoslav cinema, let alone from Yugoslav cinema altogether. As we shall see in the following chapter, the early 1960 will see a few important films set on the construction sites of socialist modernity; however, they will operate with substantially new subjects and plots. Out of the crucial importance for establishing that difference is the watershed moment of Yugoslav cinema in 1959, when several proto-modernist films dispelled the optimistic notion that Yugoslav modernity is innately harmonious, and offered protagonists whose life stories showed that the socialist project is “out of joint”, suffused with contradictions and aporias, i.e. – to put it in Lacanese – that the socialist big Other does not exist. Unlike those films – and the new construction-set films that will unravel along the same lines – the 1948–1958 construction cycle still operated within the optimistic paradigm: not only did they render the socialist harmony attainable, but they also pointed to the romantic happiness as the main index of this social orderliness. I argue that we ought to keep that in mind while historicizing them in the following pages.

4.3. The erasure of labour and the rise of the consumerist spectacle

After addressing specific films, we can now synthesize the major tendencies in representing gender, romance, and labour in the construction cycle. The most elemental and ubiquitous is the gender asymmetry in relation to work:

- (1) with his immediate and substantial relation to work, the man is the natural born worker, as it were; his chief symbolic mandate or status is the professional one; the romantic attachments are secondary for him, therefore barely cloud his professional choices and actions; the libidinal economy of his relation to work is homosocial;
- (2) the woman cannot relate to work directly or substantially, but does it via the man whom she loves; as her romantic attachment to the man is the precondition for her working experience, her professional status is secondary to those that define her relation to the man (the lover, wife...); the libidinal economy of her relation to work is heterosexual.

The most dramatic result of the gradual and shifting, yet steady affirmation of this gender asymmetry in the 1948–1958 construction cycle, is the vanishing of the celluloid women worker, i.e. her replacement with the figure of a housewife. Fully committed to the professional and ideological cause, this woman labourer embodies the socialist gender empowerment through work. The ideological attachment gives her strength to endure and confront the love spells and the dangers of patriarchy. In that sense, she is independent of the man: although she can be in love with a man or even married, she is not afraid to leave him if she feels that he compromised her integrity in any way, including her relation to the socialist cause or work.

Only two characters in early Yugoslav cinema fit this profile. Mara in *The Life is Ours*, but only to an extent, for the film eventually challenges her preference for work over love with the counter-example of Stana; that makes Marija in *Story of a Factory* the only emancipated woman worker in classical Yugoslav cinema, as fleshed out as one could get in the socialist realist vein, somewhere between a typage and a character. This representation coincides with the cult of labour in the late 1940s and its apogee in the phenomenon of the so-called shock-workers, many of them women employed in the textile industry: although never explicitly labelled as the shock-worker, Marija most certainly qualifies for that status. However, the exceptionality of her

image in early classical cinema testifies that the cult of work and socialist realism failed to produce a Yugoslav gallery of the women labourers as they did in the rest of the socialist Europe, as described by Hanáková.

Instead, the gender asymmetry expressly demoted the working woman, by succumbing her to the imperative of love. This type of the women worker is incarnated in the girl who recognizes the emancipating capacity of socialism and labour, but never becomes a worker in her own right, as her professional and ideological commitment is defined via her romantic attachment to her man: Jana in *Blue 9*, Mara in *Lake* or Bojka in *It Was Not in Vain*. The employed ingénue is a symptomatic representation, the compromise formation that tries to reconcile the still officially propagated doctrines of the socialist emancipation-via-work and gender equality on one hand, and the reaffirmation of the male privilege and the public/private divide in patriarchal terms. These girls who approach work with one eye on her romantic partner thus for the first time in Yugoslav cinema reveal “a painful discrepancy between the rhetoric of women’s emancipation and the gradual objectification of women’s bodies, desires and wishes” (Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić, 2013, p. 64).

In the final blow to the woman’s relation to work in the construction films of 1957 and 1958, the employed ingénues moves out to make a space for the housewife. Despite being defined via her man, the ingénue still nurtured some ideological awareness and professional ambition. The housewife, however, is rendered as the exemplary woman utterly devoid of any professional ambition and ideological consciousness, and isolated in domestic sphere. By this point in Yugoslav cinema, the motif of labour has lost its empowering capacity for women, with romance becoming the only factor that shapes her life.

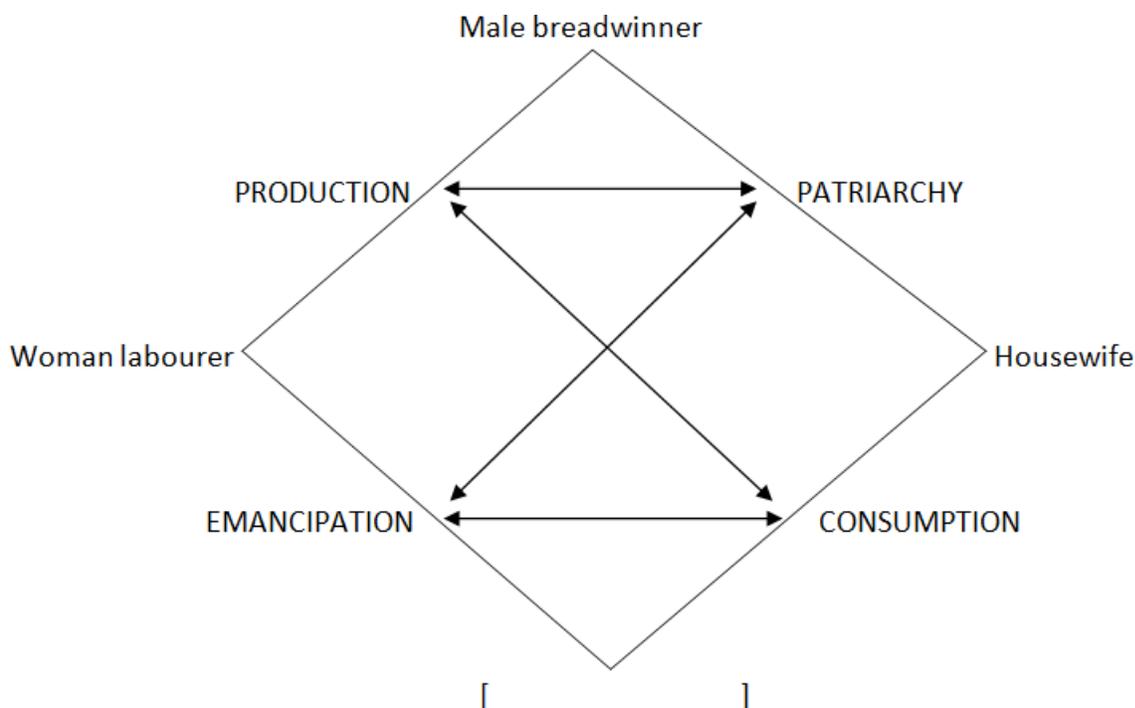
An analogous outline of the man’s relation to work is equally telling. The male privilege, posited by gender asymmetry, persists throughout the whole cycle, but there are considerable shifts with regard to class. We should not forget that Zdravko in *Blue 9* is the last male protagonist of the cycle who comes from the working class. In the 1957–1958 films, the figures of middle-class technical intelligentsia – engineers and doctors – take central stage, whereas the working class men are relegated into the supporting roles, marginalized in the characters whose lives are dependent on the actions of their superior, middle-class protagonists. The notion of macho work ethics – integral to the supposedly intrinsic link between masculinity and work – can be seen as an attempt to soften the class barrier between the working and middle class. The

assumption of the male camaraderie boils down to the denial of the class factor: the men are substantially defined in terms of their deep, natural, attachment to work and their gender-based solidarity, their class belonging becoming secondary.

At the most fundamental level, we should use this tension between the blue collar and white collar men as indicative of the fact that the man's relation to work is as complex as the women's. In other words, each gender's relation to work is inconsistent and socially mediated; it is only that the patriarchal norms privilege the men's relation to work by showing it as natural and innate. The antagonisms that suffuse the man's relation to work – i.e. the repressed truth that lurks underneath the image of the man as the “natural born worker” – thus resurfaces and erupts in the clash between the working class men and the middle class men. To heal that breach (the male interclass camaraderie in *Zenica, On That Night* and *Only Human*; the bromance of Mane and Dejan in *Section B*) is to reaffirm the naturalness of the man as a being-of-work.

All these interrelated shifts in the celluloid representation of gender and labour should be historicized as integral to the broad socio-political and economic reshuffling of Yugoslav socialism, as outlined in the introductory chapter: a turn from the world or utopia of production toward the one of consumerism – arguably the central contradiction of the Yugoslav socialist modernity –, which was generally symptomatic of “the exhaustion of the revolutionary morale” (Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić, 2013, p. 57), and, specifically, of the exhaustion of the revolutionary morale in terms of gender emancipation. The Yugoslav economic rise in the 1950s and the openness for the ideological and cultural influences from the West, only buttressed the reaffirmation of patriarchy. The colourful and friendly world of home appliances, fashion, and advertisement paved the road to consumption, the imperative of which dethroned the imperative of production. In another concise phrasing by Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić, “The turn from the world of production to the world of consumption was decisive for women's unfinished political subjectivation. It was accompanied by the political pasivization of women and their sexualisation in the public sphere” (2013, p. 59). The lure of the consumerist utopia, adopted from the capitalist West, thus catalyzed the symbiosis of socialism and patriarchy in a common project of “reinstating the discourses of femininity and domesticity” (Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić, 2013, pp. 56–57), during which the women “were implicitly told to realize their desire for happiness and a better future in the place where they had relative power and control: in their homes and

through their own body” (Jambrešić Kirin and Blagaić, 2013, pp. 63). The figure of the housewife gave body to such a “re-domesticated woman”, who depends on the male breadwinner but who actually rules – or believe that she rules – her own domain as the mistress of the modern household and the heroine of the leisure lifestyle. Again, a Greimas rectangle comes handy in classification of the main character types produced by contradictions between production and consumption, and patriarchy and emancipation:



As we can see, one slot in the scheme remains empty: the construction cycle failed to designate a type of character that would embody the gender emancipation in the conditions of the consumerist utopia. This absence is all the more perplexing given the popularity of a character type that apparently fits that position. It was the so-called “mondain woman”, whose portrait is published in the Yugoslav *Filmska enciklopedija* (drawing upon the 1963 typology of the film’s characters *Sozialgeschichte der Stars* by German film critic Enno Patalas). The mondain woman is

a figure of the self-reliant, often self-centered woman, materially independent of the man, and a spiritually independent woman who emancipated herself (hence the alternative label for the type – *an emancipated woman*); she is characterized by self-awareness, contempt for conventions,

much life experience (hence the common label – *a worldly woman*), ambition [...]. Related to that are the quality of her communication skills: ranging from aggression to extreme restraint, expressing superiority (sometimes with a dose of cynicism) – these features vary depending on the period when the films were made, and their topic and genre.

lik samostalne, često samožive, o muškarcu materijalno i duhovno neovisne žene koja se emancipirala (otuda altern. naziv tipa — *emancipirana žena*); odlikuju je i samosvijest, prezir prema konvencijama, veće životno iskustvo (odatle i čest naziv — *svjetska žena*), ambicioznost [...]. S tim u svezi su i značajke njezina komuniciranja: u rasponu od agresivnosti do izrazite suzdržanosti, iskazivanje superiornosti (ponekad i s dozom cinizma) — odlike što variraju ovisno o razdoblju nastanka filmova, te o njihovoj temi i žanru.

(Peterlić, 1990, p. 166, original emphasis)

The mondaine woman appeared, for the first time, in the cinema after WWI, “as a reflection of an increased emancipation of the woman (later corresponding with the feminist tendencies as well) [kao odraz ubrzane emancipacije žene (kasnije korespondirajući i s feminističkim tendencijama)]”, and after a relative disappearance during WWII regains popularity in the 1950s, when she loses her romantic and eccentric traits, and “signifies the contemporary woman aware of her own equality [označuje suvremenu ženu svjesnu svoje ravnopravnosti]” (Mondenka, 1990, p. 166). Among the actresses that played this type – from Hollywood in 1940s to the European cinema in the 1960s – some of the most iconic were Deborah Kerr, Lea Massari, Melina Mercouri, Jeanne Moreau, Patricia Neal, and Simone Signoret. Although Yugoslav cinema in the 1950s most certainly had some prominent actresses who fitted the type (e.g. Marija Kohn, Olivera Marković, Mia Oremović, or Olga Spiridonović), the Yugoslav *mondenska* had extremely spotty, volatile presence. Most importantly, for this particular analysis, she never appeared in the construction cycle as a worldly and self-aware antidote to the re-domesticated woman who depends on her man.

To rephrase it more pointedly: the mondaine woman is incommensurable with the world of the romanticized technical intelligentsia, which is characteristic of the construction cycle. This romanticization or idealization, conveyed by privileging the male professional exclusively, is analogous to the lionization of technical intelligentsia in the Soviet Union. Commenting on the privileged place that the technical intelligentsia held in the works of Boris Arvatov, one of the Russian theorists of productivism, Branislav Dimitrijević notices that

The romanticization of the “technical intelligentsia” was an immediate response to the romanticization of the proletariat, and was founded upon the premise that unlike the bourgeoisie, the technical intelligentsia works closely with the proletariat, understands the conditions of their

work and does not rule over the means of production. Hence, it can be act in solidarity with the labourers and serve them as a role model, because it lacks their “primitive habits”, and can not only help organizing the work, but also help erase the alienating dualism between the work and everyday life, which was crucial for Arvatov.

Romantizacija “tehničke inteligencije” bila je neposredni odgovor na romantizaciju proleterijata, i bila je zasnovana na pretpostavci da za razliku od sitnosopstveničke buržoazije tehnička inteligencija radi u tesnoj sprezi sa proleterijatom, razume okolnosti njihovog rada i ne vlada nad sredstvima za proizvodnju. Tako može biti solidarna sa radnicima a poslužiti im kao uzor, jer upravo nema one njihove “primitivne navike” te može ne samo pomoći u organizaciji rada već i u onom što je za Arvatova bilo ključno, brisanju otuđujućeg dualizma između rada i svakodnevice. (Dimitrijević, 2012)

The working class was fascinated with the bourgeois everyday life based on the alienation of production and consumption, “styl-ism and fashion” being, for Arvatov, its exemplary manifestations (1997, p. 124); the technical intelligentsia, however, was supposed to vanquish this fascination by providing another model of everyday that would not be founded on the schism between production and consumption. One could argue that the middle class protagonists of the construction cycle – the engineers and their housewives – were supposed to function in a similar way. In my view, however, the gender asymmetry and the male privilege in relation to work fatally thwarted that intention. Even if the male technical intelligentsia could have embodied a new type of bond between the production and the consumption, the women did not fit the picture, as their relation to production was first diminished to the side-effect of their romantic feelings, and later they were detached from the wage labour altogether. (In other words, this explains why the figure of a female engineer – or some other analogous middle-class employed woman that could be a breadwinner – was never the central protagonist in the construction films in the late 1950s.)

The glamorization of the women and her displacement into the leisure setting was not limited to the construction cycle. Although *Blue 9* certainly contains the seeds of this tendency, we found its first unambiguous expression in *Svi na more/Off to the Seaside* (1952, Sava Popović), the comedy that was critically dismissed due to its dilettante realization. However, it is *Vesna* (1953, František Čap) that remains the landmark achievement in this regard. This romantic high-school story offered the Yugoslavs a blend of a romantic comedy of mistaken identities crammed with pretty girls, handsome boys, music, fashion, and – on top of everything – airplanes and parachuting. Compared with the rest of the Yugoslav cinema at the time, *Vesna* indeed looked as if it flew in directly from Hollywood; it triggered a nation-wide craze,

becoming, not only a blockbuster, but a social phenomenon.⁶⁷ It was not surprising that *Vesna* was the first Yugoslav film that got a sequel *Ne čakaj na maj/Don't Whisper* (1957, Čap), which uses the story of the minor love strife as pretext for delivering even more music and sports (set in an resort in the Alps, the film mixes romance with the joys of winter just like *Only Human*). However, with every new Čap's film the critics increasingly lambasted the director: while usually acknowledging his technical skills, they criticized his images of Yugoslav socialist modernity as fairytale-like. The paramount example of that criticism was the vehement dismissal of *The Doors Remain Open* (1959), when Čap was accused, among other things, for designating Konjic, a provincial town in Bosnia, as The Azure Coast or Monte Carlo, and making the working girls in a local textile factory looking as ballerinas or big-city students (Čolić, 1959). Vladimir Pogačić's omnibus *Subotom uveče/Saturday Evening* (1957), most certainly did not "hollywoodized" the Yugoslav quotidian as Čap's films did, yet its first and the last segment, both revolving around the love stories, effectively belonged to the same category of the films that presented modernity through more conventional romantic narratives. Vladimir Pogačić's omnibus *Subotom uveče/Saturday Evening* (1957), most certainly did not "hollywoodized" the Yugoslav quotidian as Čap's films did, yet its first and the last segment, both revolving around the love stories, effectively belonged to the same category of the films that presented modernity through more conventional romantic narratives. Of course, this telegraphically short account cannot do justice to the ambiguities and contradictions which most certainly existed in these films, but it is safe to say that that segment of Yugoslav cinema dominantly maintained the notion of necessity of romance and reaffirmation of the matrimony as, proverbially, the fundamental social cell.

For the purpose of this analysis, it is important to note that the glamorization structurally, as it were, was aimed at censoring the work and class matters: the problems of the working class were utterly evaded or softened. The problem culminated in 1960, with the rise of the *estrada* comedies, which I tackled in the introductory chapter. Incidentally, *It Is Better to Know How*, the sequel to *Section B*, is exemplary of these films. The sequel blatantly replaced the original film's focus on work with the one on leisure, tourism and entertainment: Dejan and Mane arrive in a small town on the Adriatic coast, and instead of finding oil, they help the locals boost tourism by

⁶⁷ See, for example, Marcel Štefančič's account of *Vesna* in the second chapter of his book *Maškarada* (2013), tellingly titled "Problem of the first Slovenian Hollywood [Problem prvega slovenskega Hollywooda]".

launching a music festival, which were in vogue during those years. Whereas *Section B* boasted many scenes of labour, showing some dirty and dangerous oil drilling (FIGURE 4.53–54), *It Is Better to Know How* utterly devoted itself to the colourful (literally) spectacle of comedy, music and tourism (FIGURE 4.55–56). Also, it is more than a convenient coincidence that *It is Better to Know How* features the first flamboyant display of female nudity in a colour socialist-set film: the spectators have a full view on the completely bare backsides of the two women who are sunbathing in the nude, whereas, at the moment they jump up from their towels, and right before they cover themselves up again, we get flashed by the girls breasts and behinds, bathed in the sun light (FIGURE 4.57–58).⁶⁸ This shift from the spectacle of labour in *Section B* to the spectacle of sex and entertainment in *It is Better to Know How*, thus, in a nutshell, stands for the shift from the utopia of production to the utopia of consumption in the second half of the Yugoslav 1950s.

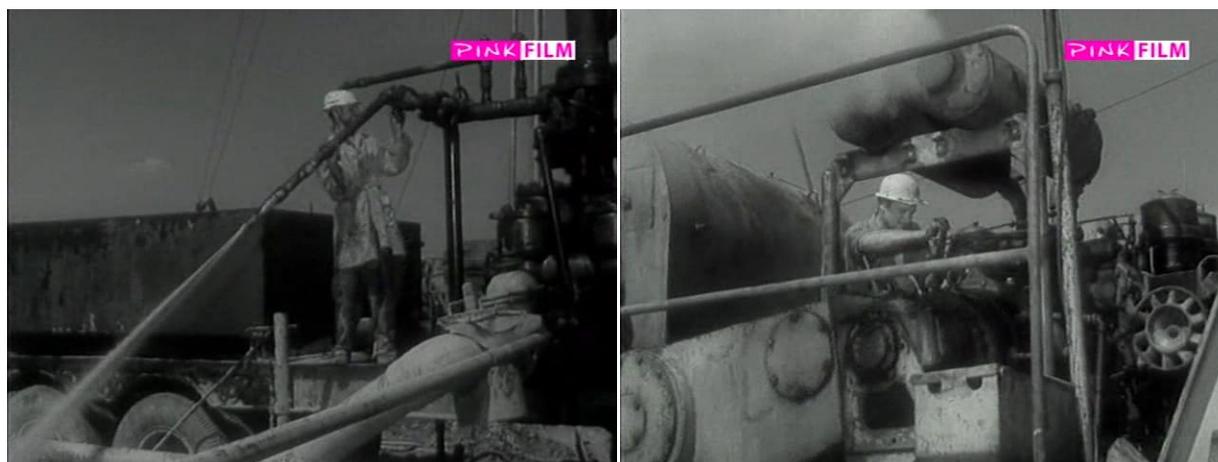


FIGURE 4.53–54 The spectacle of labour in *Section B*

⁶⁸ This was not the first denuding of a woman’s breast in a socialist-set Yugoslav film though. *Male stvari/Little Things* (1957, Boško Kosanović), a melodrama about marital fidelity, offered a scene where an episodic female character tries to seduce the main male protagonist, by denuding and jumping in the sea before him. However, the final outcome was a technical underachievement, just as the rest of that excruciatingly primitive film: as the filmmaker opted for the “American night” technique, the breasts are barely visible and appear for just a blink on screen.



FIGURE 4.55–56 The spectacle of *estrada* in *It is Better to Know How*



FIGURE 4.57–58 The spectacle of sex in *It is Better to Know How*

Even the critics, who were willing to admit that the films like *It is Better to Know How* or *Ljubavi moda/Love and Fashion* (1960) are not utterly worthless and have their purpose within the national film industry, would eventually admit their cringing detachment from contemporary reality. For example, Dušan Makavejev (1961a) argued that although *Love and Fashion* may not be up there with Hollywood musicals, nevertheless, it is not inferior to the French musicals as *Folies-Bergère* (1956, Henri Decoin); and yet he felt obliged to stress that *Love and Fashion* belongs to the batch of films that he labels “narcosis” (Makavejev, 1961b). In 1962, Branko Vučićević launched arguably the harshest attack on the *estrada* comedies, by accusing them of courting to the “technocrats” – the upper and upper-middle class of managers and technical intelligentsia who are out of touch with the masses of workers and peasantry:

[Those are] the people whose activity has “palpable”, concrete stimuli: the cars, houses, furniture, travels, clothes in vogue, all [...] palpable objects that can be sold, exchanged, which have their material value and entice bodily enjoyment. And yet, all of these surpass the exclusively material sphere: they are all a means to social affirmation, prestige, some fictive pleasure... [Therefore,] what is the profession of the heroes of our films? Apparently, they are mostly technocrats or their entertainers. Yugoslav cinema is slowly shifting to a cinematic chronicle of an idealized “high life”. A technocrat is completely indifferent toward the people who have neither opportunity nor possibility to “spend the most and most rationally”, he does not know those handicapped consumers really well. Hence it is no wonder that our cinema is like that. It does not care about the spring sowing; it does not want to know about the warehouse worker who embezzled three millions of dinars, because his wife complained that he does not know how to manage in life, and he was also reprimanded for coming to work plainly dressed; it does not give a damn for the bad tuberculosis-stricken girl whose family lives from 15.000 dinars per month, the monthly income of the invalid father; etc. As if the big and hard changes are not happening, as if the peasants do not make half of the population, as if life is a continuous festival of popular melodies, and the biggest problem is finding the right combination in a contest organized by Severin’s Whiskey.

[To su] ljudi čija delatnost ima “opipljiv”, konkretan stimulans: automobile, kuća, oprema stana, putovanje, odelo po modi, sve [...] opipljivi predmeti koji se mogu prodati, zameniti, imaju svoju materijalnu vrednost i svi izazivaju telesna uživanja. Pa ipak, svi prevazilaze isključivo materijalnu sferu: svi su sredstvo društvene afirmacije, prestiža, nekakvog fiktivnog zadovoljstva ... [Dakle,] šta su po zanimanju junaci naših filmova? Videće se, to su mahom tehnostrate ili njihovi zabavljači. Jugoslovenski film se polako pretvara u kinematografsku hroniku idealizovanog “high life”. Tehnostrata je do Kosova ravnodušan prema ljudima koji nemaju prilike ni mogućnosti da “najviše i najracionalnije troše”, te hendikepirane potrošače on i ne poznaje dobro. Nije ni čudo što je često i naš film takav. Zato se ne brine o proletnoj setvi: neće da zna ni za magacionera koji je proneverio tri miliona dinara jer mu je žena zamerala da ne zna se snadje u životu, a predbacivali su mu da na posao dolazi suviše neugledno obučen; ni brige njega za nevaljalu tuberkuloznu devojčicu čija porodica živi od 15000 mesečno, prihoda oca invalida itd. Krupne i teške promene kao da se ne degadjaju, kao da polovinu stanovništva ove zemlje ne sačinjavaju seljaci, kao da je život neprekidan festival zabavnih melodija, a najveći problem pronalaženje prave kombinacije u nagradnom takmičenju koje organizuje Severin's Whiskey.

(quoted in Bogojević, 2013, pp. 237–238)⁶⁹

In retrospect, knowing that Vučićević was soon to become one of the most prominent *novi film* screenwriters, this harsh criticism of the overtly commercialized images of the “high life” in Yugoslavia sounds almost programmatic, as it were. The crucial confirmation of that can be found in the famous manifesto-like article “Za jednu drukčiju kinematografiju [For a Different Cinema]”, the open letter signed by many filmmakers and critics from all over Yugoslavia, during the national film festival in Pula in 1966.⁷⁰ Among other things, the letter acknowledged

⁶⁹ Bogojević spots that this class-aware criticism remains gender-blind: the underpaid labourer, who committed a crime, was actually prompted to do it by a nagging wife – housewife? – who questioned his aptness (2013, p. 238, fn. 687).

⁷⁰ Apparently penned by Makavejev and Vučićević, the letter was signed by Karpo Acimović Godina, Branko Belan, Vojko Duletić, Boštjan Hladnik, Srdjan Karanović, Vatroslav Mimica, Krsto Papić, Živojin Pavlović,

the importance of the “commercial cinema [komercijalna kinematografija]” and even praises its “*day-dreaming and consumerist [sanjarska i potrošačka]*” dimension as innate to all of the cinema, but argued against the passivity that it bestows upon the cinemagoers and called for a cinema that would imply the “*more active audience – the critically minded viewer [aktivniju publiku – kritičkog gledaoca]*” (Za jednu drukčiju kinematografiju, 1966, original emphasis). Unlike the vantage that defines *novi film* “the black wave” first and foremost *via* opposition toward the communist doctrines, Vučićević’s article and the 1966 letter suggest that the celluloid consumerist utopia, both glamorous and soporific, was one of the principal targets of the *novi film* tendencies.

4.4. Conclusion

Several elements of the construction films illustrate the waning of the value of labour and production, and, consequently, of the working class in Yugoslav society in the 1950s, and the rise of the “consumerist utopia” and the values usually assigned to (or embodied by) the middle class. The main mechanism of that gradual, yet, irreversible debasement was a gender asymmetry, which posited man as a being of work, and the celluloid woman as a being of romance. Hence, these films dramatically support the feminist thesis of the re-patriarchalization of the Yugoslav gender order in the 1950s.

However, it should be noted that this process was in no way a Yugoslav specificity. *Grosso modo*, the classical Yugoslav cinema re-domesticated the women in much the same way as Hollywood in the 1950s. It suffices to recall Jackie Byars’ re-elaboration of the insights of Marjorie Rosen, Molly Haskell, and Brandon French: when she describes how “the increasingly frightening specter of the Working Woman, conflated with the Woman Alone, began to haunt the melodramas early in the 1950s” (Byars, 1991, p. 64), we get the template of the gender-related anxieties that haunted the classical Yugoslav cinema as well. The fact that the imperative of romance marked such two distinct ideological climates (inclusive of the respective cinemas), as those in the US and Yugoslavia, perfectly illustrates the global scale of the post-war restoration of patriarchal privilege. Of course, a more detailed comparison between the re-domestication of

Vladimir Petek, Aleksandar Petrović, Jože Pogačnik, and Lordan Zafranović – to name but a few. Interestingly, the recent accounts of the “black wave” (DeCuir, 2011; Kirn, Stojanović, and Testen, 2012) prefer to pass in silence over this important document.

femininity in Hollywood and the Yugoslav cinema in the 1950s would require a study on its own. That would also include the issue of the immediate influence of American cinema on Yugoslav cinema, both on the filmmakers and on the audience; given that Hollywood conquered Yugoslav cinema theatres expressly in the late 1940s, that line of research seems mandatory. Before that study appears, however, I believe that it is safe to argue that the gender politics of Yugoslav classic cinema was more influenced by Hollywood and other Western cinemas than by some Zhdanovite-style imposed imperative of the socialist emancipation of women. It is not surprising that Edmund Stillmen saw the happily nagging, fashion-obsessed (house)wives of the nomenclature men – instead of, say, the nomenclature women or single working women – as one of the key indices of Yugoslav modernity in accordance with the Western standards.

By developing and varying the labour-related gender asymmetry, the Yugoslav cinema gradually gave up on the notion of work as an emancipating agency, especially with regard to the women, who eventually vanished from the screen as the characters whose problem would make a compelling film story. That vanishing had profound and long-lasting effects, as the woman labourer will remain one of the rarest species of femininities in Yugoslav feature film in the years to come.⁷¹ That goes for the *novi film* tendencies as well: although some important modernist film in the 1960s and early 1970s did address the issue of labour and unemployment, most of them actually remained within the coordinates of the very same gender asymmetry.

⁷¹ It is very important to notice, as least in the footnote, that the documentary films showed more interest for the vicissitudes of the working women. For example, Krešo Golik – who could (wrongly) appear as an anti-feminist in light of the particular reading of his *Blue 9* in this chapter –, has directed documentary *Od 3 do 22/From 3 to 22* (1966), arguably the most harrowing testimony of the everyday routine of the working class woman provided by Yugoslav cinema.

Chapter 5

Confronting the rural patriarchy: Celluloid peasantry from the monarchist to the socialist Yugoslavia

Yugoslav cinema always had a penchant for the countryside. The filmmakers' interest in the peasantry did not come out of the blue. From its very inception, after World War I, to its socialist re-articulation, Yugoslavia was predominantly a rural country. Limited interwar modernization did not substantially change the predominance of the farming population, and it was the peasantry and not the urban proletariat that effectively carried out the antifascist struggle and the socialist revolution in World War II. Rapid socialist modernization affected the Yugoslav countryside in an unprecedented way, stirring up the massive transformation of the rural society into an urban and industrial one.⁷² The rapport of the peasantry and modernity provided the filmmakers with a seemingly inexhaustible repertoire of plots and motifs, yielding many films that designated its inner frictions and antagonisms.

The starting point of this chapter is the assumption that the filmmakers of the classical period especially recognized the importance of the gender-related shifts in the modernization of the countryside and peasantry. Moreover, I argue that the very central theme in virtually all of these films is the change of the traditional rural gender order into a modern and emancipated one. Depending on the historical setting, we could more specifically argue that: (1) the films set in the pre-revolutionary period screen the countryside primarily as the realm of the centuries-long patriarchy that should be vanquished by the socialist emancipation; (2) the films set in the socialist present tackle successes and the failures of that emancipating project. Accordingly, in the first part of the chapter, I will analyze the films that are set in the monarchist Yugoslavia, whereas, in the second part, I will tackle the socialism-set films.

Before proceeding, however, one point begs clarification in light of the previous chapter. As we have seen, several of the construction films – *Life is Ours*, *Lake*, *It Was Not In Vain* – are

⁷² In what is the most extensive study on the Yugoslav countryside in English, Melissa K. Bokovoy (1998) focuses on the communist project of collectivization, but also provides an account of the pre-war period.

set in the village milieu and feature the peasant protagonists. Hence, undoubtedly, one should take them in account when exploring the rural motifs in the Yugoslav cinema. However, I decided to include them in the construction cycle because they unambiguously give an upper hand to the imperative of reconstruction and modernization over the problems and impasses of the Yugoslav peasantry in the post-war development. All three aforementioned films unremittingly dispense with almost anything that could tarnish the beneficial effects of the modernization on rural life. According to them, it suffices to debunk a scheme concocted by the proverbial agents of the traditional oppression of the peasants (a kulak, a priest, or a sorceress), convert the most stubborn village, and the hamlet would enter the socialist bliss as embodied in the happy love couple. That way, those films alleviated the gender problems anchored in the patriarchal rural tradition. In opposition to them, the peasant films that I analyze in this chapter offer more intricate accounts of the rural patriarchal legacy.

5.1 . Peasantry and gender in the interwar period-set films

Stories of classical films that designate the peasantry in The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, by rule, unravel on a background of poverty that plagued the countryside in the interwar period. One does not need to know much about the specificities of the “agrarian question” in the monarchist Yugoslavia to understand the motif of the rural penury, but some elemental information helps. According to the last inter-war census in 1931, peasantry made 76.5 percent of Yugoslav population, whereas, in the underdeveloped parts of the country, this percentage was higher (e.g. in Macedonia, the peasants made 90 percent of the population) (Woodward, 1995, p. 43). A major 1919 land reform paved the way for the gradual abolition of serfdom and disintegration of the large landed estates, making the land belong to those who tilled it. However, the state actively privileged the industrial growth at the expense of the agrarian sector: since “a disproportionate share of the increase in income went to the industrial sector and to the towns, [...] there was probably little, if any, reduction in the absolute numbers of those living in extreme poverty in the more backward rural areas of the country” (Dubey, 1975, p. 24). According to Woodward, after the farm prices globally decreased in the late 1920s and the domestic demand declined in the 1930s, the penury of the farming population culminated in “widespread malnutrition bordering on starvation [that] hit all areas of the country” (p. 44, fn. 46).

The classic films used this extreme poverty as canvas on which they painted the dynamic of the patriarchal exploitation. Due to the inter-war setting, these films could be seen as symptoms in the psychoanalytical sense of the term, for they combined the incongruous tendencies. On the one hand, the films criticized The Kingdom of Yugoslavia as a political and ideological system that is radically different from the socialist Yugoslavia – indeed, it is a negation in more ways than one. At the same time, however, the films emphasized that the historical and social past, which they criticized, is relatively a recent one; consequently, some of its integral aspects might have survived the revolution and spilled over in the socialist today. The rural patriarchal tradition appeared to be such a remainder. The films criticized it as a part and parcel of the dead epoch, but also connoted that it might still be quite alive. By underlining this fact, these films functioned as the corrective to the village-set construction films, which screened the socialist pastoral from which the electrification and the romantic happy endings purged the last ugly remains of the patriarchy.⁷³

5.1.1. *Stone Horizons*

Having for the main protagonist a peasant girl who moves to a town in a search for a job, *Kameni horizonti/Stone Horizons* (1953, Šime Šimatović) tackled the issue of gender dimension of the economic migration from the countryside to the urban zones – the phenomenon that will radically escalate in the socialist period as the main precondition of the Yugoslav industrialization and urbanization. The film connotes the poverty and harshness of the prewar peasant life with its title already. It is set in Dalmatinska Zagora, an exemplary karst region: a craggy wilderness with a dearth of water and fertile soil is the key *topos* of barrenness and penury in Yugoslav cinema. Of all natural vistas in Yugoslav cinema, the inert, arid karst expanses – Istria, Dalmatia, Zagora, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia – provide the most primordial, seemingly eternal landscape in which both the Nature and the Human are stripped to their elements; hence, Tomislav Šakić's notion of the “rocky terrain chronotope [kronotop kamenjara]” (2004, p. 18).⁷⁴

⁷³ Out of the four films set in the inter-war Yugoslavia with the peasant protagonists, I do not analyze only the omnibus *Tri zgodbe/Three Stories* (1955, Jane Kavčič, Igor Pretnar, France Kosmač), as it remained beyond my reach. The film features bleak episodes from the peasant life from the early 20th century in the Slovene countryside, all connected with the motif of water (Furlan et al., 1994, pp. 42–43).

⁷⁴ That karst setting also attracted international filmmakers, as testified by the cycle of the Karl May westerns produced by the West German company Rialto in the 1960s. Due to the idiosyncratic quality of the karst landscape,

In 1940, the peasant girl Mala is forced to leave her rocky hamlet for Trogir, a small town on the Adriatic coast. In order to pay the family debt, her father, the old peasant Jakov, takes her to work as a maid in the household of Roko, a rich peasant who is in the olive oil business. Although her boss unexpectedly dies relatively soon after her arrival, Mala nevertheless experiences the deprivation, both by Roko and his wife. Aware that Roko's widow will not stand her in the house after her husband's death, Mala heads to town where she is found by Bude Amerikanac, a former émigré from the US, who is looking for a waitress for his tavern. Very soon Bude discovers that she is too keen and emphatic to work in such an environment, and fires her. Mala manages to find a new job as a housemaid in an upper-class household, first for *signore* Kaputić and then for the lecherous count Alberto. Losing track of his daughter, Jakov starts working in the Trogir shipbuilding, where he commits suicide by drowning. Mala reappears and mourns the loss of her father and her own misfortunate position, but one of their friends, who is himself a peasant employed in the shipyard, pledges that the other workers stand by her.



FIGURE 5.1–2 The ending of *Stone Horizons*

The finale of *Stone Horizons* is socialist realism at its purest: hundred-odd laborers from the shipbuilding swarm around Mala in what was supposed to be a paramount display of proletarian solidarity. However, the scene misfires as it aggressively erases the girl's already fragile agency and her bodily presence (FIGURE 5.1–2). That being said, the blatant socialist-realist ending

these westerns do not operate as mere imitation of the American western: “the landscape that *Der Schatz im Silbersee* constructs is less the authentic representation of a real America than a condensed image of a European idea of the Wild West” (Bergfelder, 2005, p. 187).

should not distract us from the fact that the rest of the film does not designate the prewar trials and tribulations of the peasantry in an overtly didactic way: before ushering the socialist realism in its finale, the film alloys social realism, neorealism, and “some instinctive folklore realism” (Šakić, 2004, p. 19).

The best example of the film’s betrayal of the socialist-realist principles is the striking absence of the positive assertive hero, whose revolutionary activities would make the main story of the film. At its very beginning, the film appears to feature such a protagonist: Bane, the peasant boy who became the factory worker who returns to the hamlet. Early scenes define him as the man of the revolutionary action: in the first dialogue, he explains that he is on the run from the gendarmerie for organizing a strike. However, the moment Mala appears, Bane gets relegated to an episode.

Mala also does not fit the profile of the assertive revolutionary heroine. Not only is she a far cry from the cheerful and restless Slavica (although Irena Kolesar played both roles), but turns out to be less active than Vera in *Immortal Youth*, and Marija in *The Flag*, who are, at first, the ideological *tabulae rasae*, unaware of the revolutionary Cause, however gradually discover and embrace it. Also, unlike Vera and Marija, Mala does not fall in love with the active hero through whom she would develop a revolutionary attachment; the film stops short of establishing her conventional – indeed, almost obligatory – coupling with Bane.⁷⁵ In addition to this, whereas the partisan girls lose their romantic partners and thus sublimate their love into the ultimate commitment to the revolution, Mala’s final loss is the death of the father who did not die in an act of revolutionary defiance, but, quite the contrary, killed himself precisely because of lack of it.

The film also belies the socialist-realist pattern by introducing another supporting character who stands as Bane’s ideological opponent but is not his villainous adversary. It is Martin, a vagrant and petty thief, who meets Mala two times (in a telling coincidence, just like Bane). His jovial appearance hides a disillusioned soul. A man of peasant origins as well, he leaves for the city in search of a job. After realizing that no wage could possibly save his family from poverty, he severed a contact with them, gave up on looking for a job, and became a bird of passage. According to Martin, everyone lives either as a wolf or as a lamb: “Destiny determined

⁷⁵ The lack of romance is atypical for a 1953 film, especially in case of an attractive actress such as Kolesar. In all of her previous roles – as Slavica, Zorica in *Immortal Youth*, and Nena in *Blue 9* – she played the girls in love, as she will proceed to do so in all of her major cinema roles from the 1950s (*The Last Track*, *I Will Be Back*).

me to be the lamb, but I found a way not to be eaten by the wolves. It may not be fully honest and those who want can resent me for it... Why don't they give me work to do I don't want to starve to death, but I don't want the gendarmes to beat me either. That takes courage ... [Sudbina je odredila da budem janje, a ja sam izmislio način da me vuci ne pojedu. Možda nije sasvim pošten, neka mi zamjeri ko hoće... Zašto mi ne daju posla? Ja neću da umrem od gladi, a neću ni da me žandari prebiju. Za to treba hrabrosti...]" This tacit acknowledgement of an ordinary human weakness challenges the notion of revolutionary heroism more than any outright anti-communist attack would do.⁷⁶

However, although the film acknowledges the importance of a worldview that contrasts the revolutionary one, it stops short of attaching it to Mala. In that sense, I would disagree with the argument that it is Martin and not Bane who entices Mala's moral transformation (Šakić, 2004, p. 19). As a matter of fact, the film does not show any substantial change of her worldview: Mala does not make any significant act that would testify to her adoption of either Bane's or Martin's lessons. In the last segment of the film, she is seen crying over her dead father's body – something that she would presumably do anyway – and eventually gets surrounded-and-concealed by the supportive workers, but does not have the opportunity to act.

Instead of romantically and ideologically attaching Mala to either Bane or Martin, the film prefers to keep her unbounded and sets her to roam from one social niche to another. That way, it screens something that was obfuscated in the socialist-realist representation of the pre-war capitalist exploitation in the previous films. Whereas the films like *Slavica* or *Major Bauk* (1951, Nikola Popović), privileged industry as the paradigmatic arena of capitalist abuse and proletarian resistance, *Stone Horizons* reveal that the exploitation extended far beyond the factory and targeted much more numerous and diverse socio-economic subjects than the industrial workforce. As Mala's search for a job illustrates, the infra-industrial exploitation also encompassed the low-class women, many of them peasants, who did not need to enter the factory gates to become disempowered. By entering the middle and upper-class households, the peasant and underclass women would wind up as the maltreated and underpaid handmaids, waitresses, and, it went without saying, "white slaves". Thus, contrary to a view that sees Mala's trajectory as the standard socialist-realist display of the class divide (Šakić, 2004), the string of her

⁷⁶ The film appears to have a sort of pro-Martin bias: Martin has more screen time and dialogue than Bane, and is played by Antun Nalis, one of the most popular actors of the period; Bane was the debut act for Boris Tešija, who will remain remembered more as a film editor than as a thespian.

employments reveals the niches of exploitation in a way that is quite atypical if compared with the previous socialist-realist films.

It is hard to miss the gender aspect of this infra-industrial exploitation and its disclosure. By opting for the female protagonist, *Stone Horizons* does not merely argue that the women were more vulnerable, as such, to exploitation than the men, but reveals that they were exploited differently and with different outcomes. Bane's story reveals that the male workers in the industrial setting could easily get killed due to the inhumane working conditions; on the other hand, the film shows that the sexual abuse, which was integral to the exploitation of the women, would often lead to pregnancy of the wretched woman.⁷⁷ This gender difference might point as to why this type of exploitation remained under the socialist-realist radar in the previous film: the stories of heroic resistance of the brave factory workers organized in syndicates and party cells, cast a long shadow over the ordeals of the disenfranchised women who roamed the grey, unprotected zone that was not designated as integral for the political resistance. Out of industry, out of the grand revolutionary narrative: the revolution was to be conducted by dominantly male factory workers, not by maids and waitresses.

The film is adamant that the underclass, peasant woman is the ultimate social pariah. In comparison to Mala, even Martin boasts the gender privilege. Although it seems that, as a vagrant, he is at the very social bottom, in both of his scenes with Mala she literally has to serve him (first in the tavern, later at the ball). Moreover, in the first scene, Martin recklessly contributes to her exploitation: after he sneaks away from the tavern without paying his lunch, the owner holds Mala responsible, slaps her, and decides that the stolen lunch be deducted from her wages. In light of Bane's and Martin's male privilege, then, the ideological opposition between them appears ultimately insignificant from Mala's vantage: that could be the main reason why she does not choose either of their strategies.

But how should we describe Mala's position, then? Let me try by referring to *Koncert/Concert* (1954, Branko Belan), a film which significantly differs from *Stone Horizons* in terms of style, and yet, share some thematic traits that are worth exploring. *Concert* opens in 1945, in the postwar Zagreb, when a group of young people invites Ema, an old wretched woman and former piano teacher, to play the piano that they got. The story then returns to the

⁷⁷ One such girl returns to Mala's village. Not only that she will give birth to another human being, which requires food and others sorts of goods and care, but she also loses her honor and possibility to find a husband in the rural community.

past in four flashback segments that make most of the film. The first one is set in 1914 (on the day of assassination of Franz Ferdinand no less!), the second and the third one are set in the monarchist Yugoslavia, in 1922 and 1929 respectively, whereas the fourth one is set in 1941; finally, the film returns to the postwar framing story. Every retrospective segment renders an episode in the life of Ema, starting from her childhood in 1914. All these episodes elaborate the antagonistic relation between Ema, the working-class girl (her mother is a cleaning woman), and the upper-class family of baron Glojzner. Due to the Glojzners' malevolent influence, Ema gradually loses her integrity: she gets crippled, loses the man she loves, remains unrealized as a pianist, turns to alcohol... Even though she is present in each and every segment of the film, she does not occupy the standard position of the main, active protagonist. In a way, she has the paradoxical status of an episodic character in her own life, remaining in the shadow of the grand familial narrative of the Glojzners, which dramatically registers the historical shifts and breaks.

Already, this sketch indicates how complex and ambitious work *Concert* was, especially given its production context.⁷⁸ However, here, I will only tackle the similarity between the paths/positions of Mala and Ema. Both women embody the link between the disfranchisement of an under-class woman and the certain subjective inertia on her side. *Concert* radically dramatizes this relation: Ema eventually collapses in a nervous (existentialist) breakdown, as if realizing that her loss is irrecoverable even in the new, socialist era (FIGURE 5.3–4). According to Nenad Polimac (1976), that incurable breakdown stands the fatal eruption of pessimism that was utterly at odds with the dominant ideology of that time.

Although *Stone Horizons* might be inferior to *Concert* in many ways, Mala paves the way for Ema, as it were. Due to her class inferiority she also lives a life shaped by the forces out of her control; also, she is hardly assertive or prone to positive action. It is hardly a coincidence that the endings of both films feature a group of supportive revolutionaries who surround the hapless female protagonist, persuading her to embrace the revolutionary change as the one that will finally heal all of her traumas.

⁷⁸ Back in 1954, the film met with generally unfavorable critical reception, but the new generation of critics thoroughly revalorized it in the mid-1970s, praising it as the greatest film of the early 1950s (Polimac, 1976; Jurdana, Tadić and Turković, 1977). For an exhaustive account of this radical turn in the film's reception, see Turković (2005).



FIGURE 5.3–4 Ema’s breakdown in the finale of *Concert*

Apparently, Ema’s breakdown overtly defies that recuperation scenario (FIGURE 5.4), as the revolutionary group remains at a distance from her. However, the shoddy closure of *Stone Horizons* can be seen as a desperate and ultimately failed attempt to hide the fact that Mala, just like Ema, cannot be integrated into the socialist-realist prospect of modernity. She could easily scream and collapse just as Ema does, but we could not hear and see that because of the mass of active male revolutionaries that surrounds her. The fact that *Concert* offered a much more refined variant of Mala’s experience only one year after *Stone Horizons*, testifies to the exquisite dynamic of the withering away of the socialist-realist mold in Yugoslav cinema.

5.1.2. *The Girl and the Oak*

Djevojka i hrast/The Girl and the Oak (1955, Krešo Golik) is a coming-of-age story of Smilja, the titular protagonist, who lives in a nondescript hamlet in Zagora. When her mother dies, the girl of five becomes an orphan; after some time a sow severely grips and cripples her right fist. Most of the villagers deem Smilja as a jinx, and her foster father Roko uses every opportunity to accuse her of bringing misery upon his house. And yet, the handicap and the prejudices do not matter much to the three young men infatuated with the girl’s beauty. Josip is Roko’s brutish son, fiercely jealous at any other boy who approaches Smilja. Appalled by his cruel nature, Smilja turns to Ivan, a gentle, sensitive, and educated boy, who expresses his feelings for Smilja by teaching her to read and write. However, the prospect of their romantic bliss is doomed, as Ivan is terminally ill from tuberculosis. The third young man is Bojan, a nomadic basket weaver who is an orphan himself. Unlike Josip the Demon and Ivan the Saint, he is all too human, as testified both by his genuine care for the girl and a lack of prudishness. When Josip finds out that Smilja

plans to leave with Ivan, he murders his rival and rapes the girl. Since the patriarchal tradition of blood law obliges Ivan's brothers to avenge him, Josip hides from them in the karst. Accusing Smilja of his son's misfortune, Roko throws her out, so she returns to the dilapidated house that belonged to her mother. Fleeting from Ivan's brothers, Josip seeks refuge at Smilja's place, but Bojan intervenes and the criminal returns to karst where the persecutors eventually track him down and kill him. The end of the film shows Smilja with her newborn son. She is prematurely gray, yet her face expresses serenity, and maternal bliss.

As the synopsis indicates, *The Girl and the Oak* most certainly address the hardships of the peasant woman, but in a decidedly different way than *Stone Horizons*. Not only does the film not utilize the notion of capitalist exploitation and class conflict, but it drastically erases references to modernity in general, creating an impression that the film is set earlier in the past.⁷⁹ That way, *The Girl and the Oak* aligns itself with a cycle of classical historical melodramas set in the pre-Yugoslav epoch, featuring the central female protagonist who challenges and destabilizes her social milieu: *Sofka* (1948, Radoš Novaković), *Ciganka/Gypsy Girl* (1953, Vojislav Nanović), *Anikina vremena/Anika's Times* (1954, Vladimir Pogačić), *Pjesma sa Kumbare/The Song from Kumbara* (1955, Radoš Novaković), and *Hanka* (1955, Slavko Vorkapić); and, somewhat atypical within this batch, *Nevjera/Shame* (1953, Vladimir Pogačić).

These historical melodramas most certainly were cautionary tales about the women's socio-economic disenfranchisement in the pre-modern era, when the patriarchal norms and customs blatantly subjugated women to the male privilege. However, there was more to these films than the anti-patriarchal pedagogy. Its *differentia specifica* was the way it tackled romance and sexuality. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the romantic happy ending was the norm in the socialist-set films, whereas the WWII-set films foregrounded the tragic ending with at least one lover dying by the fascist hand. The historical melodramas, however, introduced in Yugoslav cinema the notion of love as inextricably linked to irrationality, pain, and all sorts of excessive passions. They showed that love, far from being a beautiful emotion only, derails us profoundly, and often irreversibly. Whereas the tragic endings in the partisan films were the result of the external agency that obliterates the couple that is genuinely in love, the tragic endings in the historical melodramas illustrated that there is something within love itself, as it

⁷⁹ The *mise-en-scène* does not feature any prominent trace of modernity. Only two breadcrumbs suggest the interwar period: Bojan mentions an airplane, and the fact that the peasants are in possession of their land connotes the post-1919 setting.

were, that aims to demise and destruction. Love is not a precious fragile thing anymore that needs to be protected from the outside danger, but a clock-work device that hides the ultimate danger in its very core. In that regard, historical melodrama was substantially at odds with the dominant romantic fiction of socialist realism.

It is easy to see how *The Girl and the Oak* fits this profile. First, it zeroes in on the women's ordeal in the traditional rural community. Its very first shot shows a row of women clad in black as they slowly walk across the hellish, sun-burnt landscape. As the credits roll, we see these faceless beings as they, in the Sisyphean effort, slowly walk away, their backs bending under the heavy wooden barrels. The male voiceover narrates: "This is my native land: the rocks and the cracked earth. During the summer, when the rainwater supplies dry up, the women walk to the remote well in the cliffs for hours. In our village, they call it the Calvary [Ovo je moj kraj: kamen i raspucala zemlja. Ljeti kada presuše zalihe kišnice, žene satima pješače do dalekog izvora u litici. U našem selu to zovu Križnim putem]" (FIGURE 5.5–6). The last woman in the row – Smilja's mother – is lagging, falling behind and falling, and dies soon afterwards, there, in the karst, exhausted from hunger, thirst and the heavy wooden barrels. Smilja's own personal history is also one of female hardship and suffering.

The film also offers a whirlwind of amorous, but also dark passions, the most daunting of them is Josip's demonic obsession with Smilja, which drives him to commit murder and rape. One should not forget that Smilja is the first main female protagonist in Yugoslav cinema that suffered sexual violation. The film does not restrain from staging the rape, designating it with a series of shots of Josip throwing himself on Smilja and dragging her to the ground, leaving the most obnoxious part of the crime off screen.



FIGURE 5.5–6 Calvary in *The Girl and the Oak*

Important as these similarities are, they should not distract us from the equally important differences between *The Girl and the Oak* and other historical melodramas. The most obvious one is the different type of closure. The melodramas' tragic endings find their female protagonists unambiguously crushed by the patriarchal values and norms: they either end up in a loveless marriage, or murdered. *The Girl and the Oak*, however, illustrates that there are other options for the women other than death and marriage; I will return to its ending in due time. Now, I would like to stress the difference regarding the most notable trait of the sexually charged universe of the historical melodramas: eroticization of the female body. In the time when bodies in the rest of Yugoslav cinema were carefully kept in check, represented as chaste and virtually asexual (unless, of course, they belonged to the debauched villains), the historical melodramas short-circuited corporeality and sexuality. Hence, from one film to another, the female body was gradually eroticized by means of different, constantly developing strategies of representation that foremost included denuding. The first step in denuding of the woman is found in *Sofka*, the very first Yugoslav historical film. The titular beauty, who drives men insane, visits the women's *hamam* (the public bath), and, as she takes off her clothes and rejoices in the bathing, the camera does not focus on her body, but on her curvaceous and arousing shadow on the wall. In *The Gypsy Girl*, the titular protagonist Koštana performs a seductive belly dance, wearing a translucent shirt that covers-yet-reveals her breasts. In *Hanka*, when the titular beauty, another fatal Gypsy, gets murdered by her jealous lover, her body ends up on the autopsy: the viewers can see a nipple for the first time uncovered (at least partially) in Yugoslav cinema (FIGURE 5.7–9).⁸⁰

⁸⁰ That the first bare nipple in Yugoslav cinema belongs to a dead woman can be seen as the symptomatic compromise of the two opposed impulses: to finally reveal the nipple and to contain excessive effect of that move. The haunting presence of death permeates the next case of denuding, which is, to the best of my knowledge, the first one in a WWII-set film. In *Don't Turn Around, Son* (1956), a woman painting model flashes the viewers with her breast in a blink-and-you-will-miss-it moment. However, the gloomy context defuses the titillating potential of the scene: the painter is a Jew, whom we already deem virtually dead as the ustaša forces might enter his studio and take him to the concentration camp at any moment; the woman herself is a deaf-mute who does modeling to make ends meet in the midst of the wartime penury.

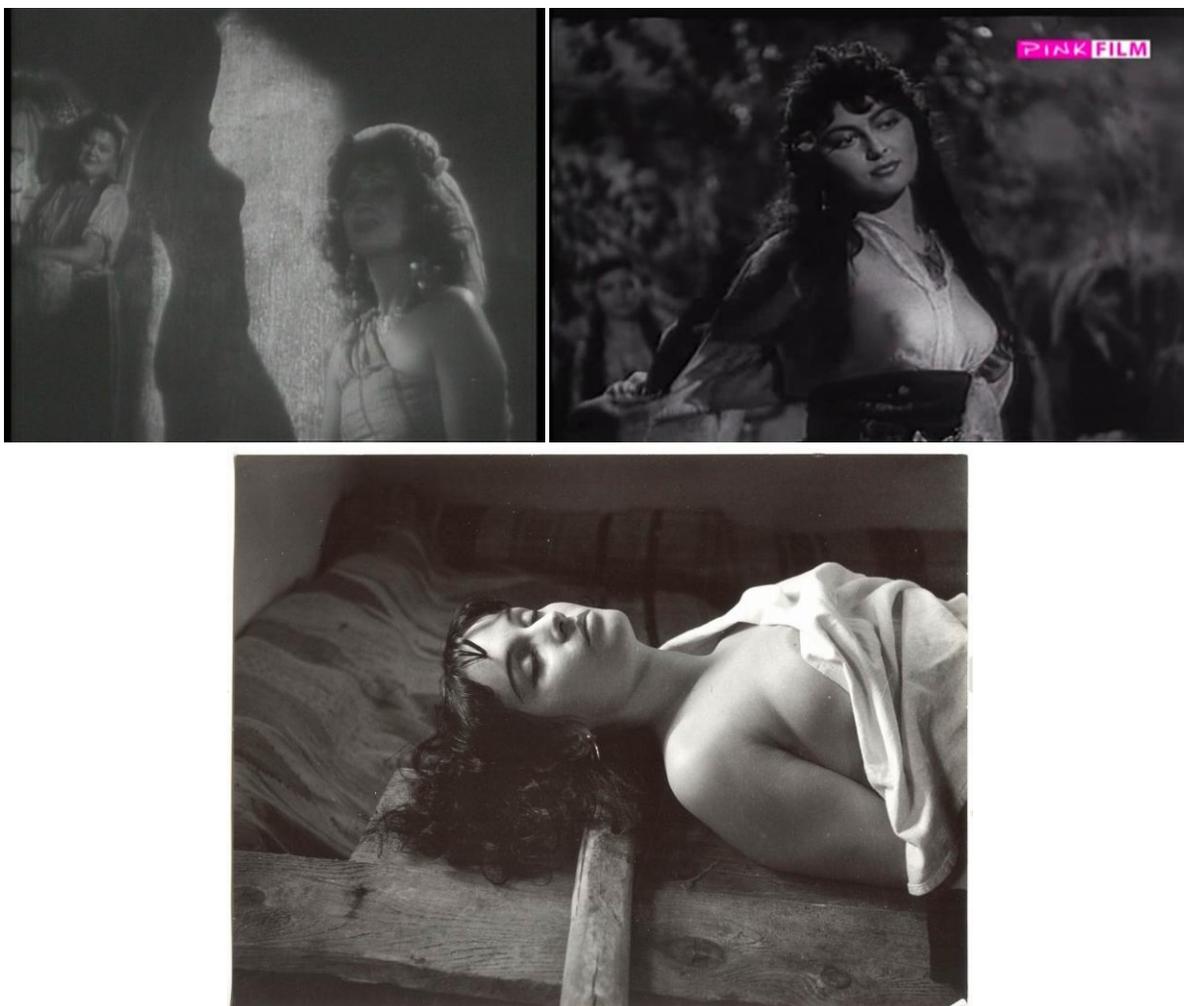


FIGURE 5.7–9 The gradual denuding of the female body from *Sofka* (1948), to *Gypsy Woman* (1953), to *Hanka* (1954)

Set in Serbia and Bosnia during the Ottoman rule or shortly after that, those historical melodramas screen eroticism by pertaining to “[t]he phantasm of Oriental sexuality, with its lure of boundless pleasure and perennial lasciviousness” (Behdad, 1999, p. 68).⁸¹ In a curiously neglected paradox, then, erotica in early Yugoslav socialist modernity thrives on the Orientalist imaginary that originated from the literature of the pre-socialist or sometimes even pre-Yugoslav epoch: *Sofka* and *Gypsy Girl* are based on Bora Stanković’s novel *Impure Blood* (1910) and the play *Koštana* (1902), respectively; Ivo Andrić’s novella *Anika’s Time* and Isak Samokovlija’s play *Hanka*, both published in 1931, were adapted into the eponymous historical melodramas. It

⁸¹ Exception to this is *Shame*, set in south Dalmatia, i.e. outside the Ottoman influence. It also differs from the rest of the cycle with having a both happy *and* tragic ending, as it intertwines the stories of the two couples with radically different outcomes.

is not for nothing that Vicko Raspor labeled these sub-genre the “shalwar films [šalvarski filmovi]” (1988, p. 107), after the women’s loose trousers made of silk or cotton, one of the most emblematic Oriental garments. Hence, the central figure of this socialist-Orientalist imaginary is a girl or a woman, graced with the irresistible beauty and irrepressible pride. Not only does she express her vitality and passion through song, dance, or even promiscuity, but she is not afraid to do so in public, perfectly aware of the shattering effects that her oozing eroticism has on the men surrounding her. She does not only incarnate the sexual, but also the ethnic other: she is a Gypsy (as Koštana and Hanka), comes from an inter-ethnic wedlock (as Zehra, a half Serb-half Turk, in *Song from Kumbara*), or does not restrain from having affairs with the members of the “other” ethno-religious group (like Anika). Needless to say, just like with any other representation of sexuality, it would be dangerous to limit the meaning and effects of these images. Instead of idealizing them as overtly liberating, or besmirching them as the downright exploitative, we ought to stay attentive for the antagonistic relation between these two aspects.

And yet, Smilja is a far cry from the erotic Oriental femininity. At first, it is understandable as the world of *The Girl and the Oak* is untouched by the actual Ottoman influences, but remains firmly Christian, as illustrated by the streak of religious symbols running through the film (Calvary, the opposition between Josip and Ivan, an old woman petrified in the eternal prayer, the massive crosses – FIGURE 5.10–11). In its most flamboyant erotic moment, Bojan reaches for Smilja’s breast, teasing her as she is hanging up the clothes to dry; this moment is rendered through a play of shadows (FIGURE 5.12) – a rather timid image when compared to the racy shots of *Hanka* or *Anika’s Times*. Unlike the seductive but proud Oriental beauties, Smilja is chaste, meek, and decidedly de-eroticized.

The main strategy of the film contains the body and sexuality by using one more strategy: by emphasizing the landscape. Following Martin Lefebvre (2006), I use the term “landscape” here as contrasted to “setting”: e.g. the karst in *Stone Horizons* is not more than a setting, as it conventionally operates as a backdrop for the action, whereas the karst in *The Girl and the Oak* functions as a proper landscape since it does not serve as supportive scenery, i.e. it is not “subordinated to eventhood” (Lefebvre, 2006, p. 28). The karst ambient explodes into the seemingly never-ending series of open, vast landscapes, at the same time unbearable in its desert-like harshness and stunning in its beauty. One could quip that the story in *The Girl and the Oak* is just an excuse for creating the natural landscapes of sublime quality.



FIGURE 5.10–11 Christian symbols in *The Girl and the Oak*



FIGURE 5.12 Bojan reaches for Smilja's breast

The contradiction between the human body and the landscape is mediated by the rich visuals which Golik himself describes as influenced by Eisenstein and expressionism, whereas some critics also recognized the more contemporary influence from the work of Gabriel Figueroa (Jurdana, Polimac and Zubčević, 1975; Škrabalo 1984, p. 169). The film incessantly uses stylized framing and *mise-en-scène*, which were atypical for Yugoslav cinema at the time: symmetrical compositions, canted framing, and subjective camera (FIGURE 5.13–16). These formal devices are integral to the contradiction between the body and the landscape. The tension between the two is maintained by numerous shots in which they apparently cannot coexist. The extreme long shots of the karst wilderness diminish human figures, often reducing them to blots on the horizon (FIGURE 5.17–18). On the other side, the most expressive representations of the

human body are the close ups and the extreme close ups of the face, which often dismisses the natural background or, apparently, the diegetic space altogether (FIGURE 5.19–20).



FIGURE 5.13–16 The stylized framing and the *mise-en-scène*

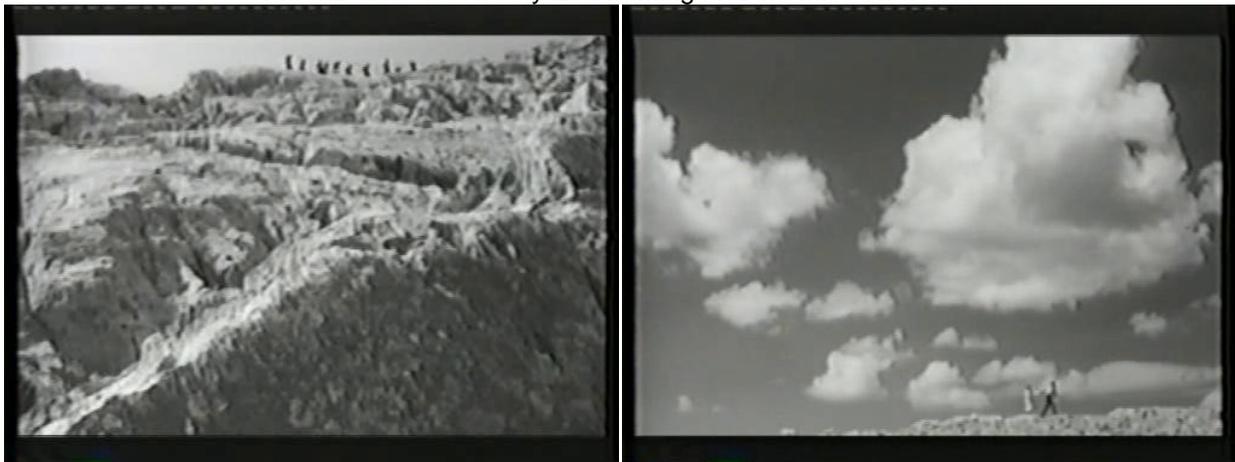


FIGURE 5.17–18 The human figures diminished by the landscape



FIGURE 5.19–20 The extreme close-ups



FIGURE 5.21–22 Smilja as Madonna

The closest that *The Girl and the Oak* comes to a sort of reconciliation between the body and the landscape, is the titular combination of Smilja and her pet tree, the oak that she has been watering and keeping from being cut down, ever since her childhood. The fact that she irrigated the tree for the first time with the water from her death mother's barrel, establishes a symbolic filial relation between them, and invites the notion of the everlasting bond between the absent (dead) mother and the orphan daughter, most famously illustrated with the fairytale about Cinderella (Warner, 1995, pp. 201–217). Of course, by the end of the film, Mila has become a mother herself. The final shot places her in the shadow of the tree, as she tenderly holds the baby in her arms: the place of her mother's death turns into the place where Smilja, as a mother, celebrates life. Relying on Christian imaginary, *The Girl and the Oak* equates motherhood with virtue and sacrifice: from the opening shots of Smilja's mother dying on Calvary, to the final shots of Smilja herself, shaped after Madonna with the child (FIGURE 5.21–22), the film makes a

full circle in its celebration of motherhood as the supreme agency that appears to resolve the very antagonism between the Society and the Nature. At the same time, however, one should not underestimate its effects within the social field alone, with regard to quotidian problems such as the out-of-wedlock pregnancy: in the gender regime of the pre-war patriarchy, a woman would be effectively ousted from her rural community due to problems like these.

At first, thus, it seems that the film ends on a relatively high note: even a pinch of melancholy does not challenge Smilja's maternal bliss. However, a closer look reveals that the closure, nevertheless, relies on masculinity and patriarchy. Excluded from the field of vision, the male agency returns through sound, in the male voiceover who solemnly concludes: "The women from my motherland bloom quickly and wilt quickly. If they experience even a moment of happiness, they become endeared and hide their tear in embarrassment [Žene u mom kraju brzo cvatu i brzo venu. Ako dožive časak sreće, raznježe se i stidno skriju suzu]." True, the voice belongs to the righteous peasant who is most responsible for reintegrating Smilja into the village community; and yet, it serves to remind us that the whole story of Smilja is articulated from the privileged male vantage. As such, in a deep contradiction, it readily acknowledges the most heinous aspects of the traditional patriarchy, but eventually does not challenge its master status.

5.1.3. *Master of One's Own Body*

Unlike the previous two films, *Svoga tijela gospodar/Master of One's Own Body* (1957, Fedor Hanžeković) is not set in the arid and rocky Zagora but in Zagorje, the fertile and lush region in northern Croatia, which will entail arguably *the* archetypical pastoral in the classic Yugoslav cinema. The pastures abundant in cattle, peasants who work in the field, or frolic in the hay, are the representations apparently incongruent with the scarcity of the karst setting. And yet, the air of penury informs the film: after the sudden death of his only cow, the peasant Jakov decides to marry his adolescent son Iva in order to get a new cow as part of the dowry. The fear of poverty thus paves the way for the arranged marriage between the handsome and careless womanizer Iva, and Roža, an unattractive limp from a rich peasant family.⁸² Iva is disgusted by his bride, and the wedding turns into a farce: a shot of Roža, sitting alone by the table, in an empty room, anticipates the marital misfortune, as Iva refuses to sleep with her, let alone have sex. Roža tries

⁸² Like Bude Amerikanac in *Stone Horizons*, Roža's father was an economic migrant in the US, where he made enough of money to return to Yugoslavia and rise above the poverty threshold.

her best to please and seduce her husband, but to no avail. Iva keeps spending his nights with Jaga, a local voluptuous widow, notorious for her promiscuity, until Jakov decides to stop it, and takes his son's place in the widow's bed. The film's finale takes place at the wedding banquet of Rosa's young sister. Whilst Iva stares at the attractive bride, Rosa puts some magic dust into his vine, which she got from the local sorceress. Iva catches her red-handed, and starts beating her. To his surprise, Roža starts demanding him to hit her more, saying that it is the only way for her to feel the touch of her husband. Perplexed, Iva stops beating her. He leaves the feast, and Roža follows him.

Both of Hanžeković's previous feature films – *Monk Brne's Pupil* (1951), and *Stojan Mutikaša* (1954) – were set in the second half of the 19th century. Adapted from the eponymous historical novels published in 1892 and 1907 by Simo Matavulj and Svetozar Ćorović respectively, those two films serve as an interesting gender counterpoint to the historical melodramas analyzed in the previous subchapter. Whereas the heroines of the historical melodramas were driven by passion, Hanžeković's films boasted the male protagonist plagued by social ambition: a peasant boy by origin, he becomes a social climber, who gives up on his innocent childhood dreams and sinks deep into greed and corruption. That way, his life path reveals the crookedness inherent to the dominant social norms in the pre-socialist past: in *Monk Brne's Pupil*, the clergy preaches humbleness and renunciation, whereas, at the same time, it excels in privilege and effectively exploits the peasantry; in *Stojan Mutikaša*, the trade is a thinly veiled theft. Hence the crucial gender difference in the historical melodramas: the heroines get punished for disrespecting the social norms, whereas the male anti-heroes get punished for clinging to the social norms too hard. The key element in designating this difference is love: the women transgress the social norms in the name of love, whereas the men give up on love so they could climb up the social hierarchy.⁸³

Adapted from a more contemporary literary source – Slavko Kolar, the famous social realist writer, penned the script after his own story – *Master of One's Own Body* entails a far more complex story than the novels of Matavulj and Ćorović. To begin with, the main male protagonist is a far cry from the overambitious protagonists of the previous Hanžeković's films.

⁸³ One of the conventions of the genre is the man's choice between true love, usually the poor girl whom he met during his days of innocence, and the pragmatic romance, by rule, with a rich widow or married-yet-unloved wife, who is significantly older than the hero yet still sexually active and desirable. In a proper Oedipal pattern, the romance with this matronly lover marks the point of no return in the anti-hero's demise. The characters of the wealthy women that Mira Stupica played in *Stojan Mutikaša* and *Hanka* are exemplary of this figure.

Lazy and irresponsible, Iva certainly overestimates himself, and thus can be seen as an embodiment of the male hubris, but he is never guilty of excessive aspirations. It is the simple carnal pleasures that guide him, not the long-term plans of a social climber.

In another remarkable difference, *Master of One's Own Body* is Hanžeković's first film with such a prominent and multilayered female protagonist. Roža is not only the heart of the film, but also an exercise in representation that was unprecedented in Yugoslav cinema: for the first time, a filmmaker decidedly opted for an unattractive girl as the central protagonist, inviting the audience to identify and empathize with her. Comparison with *The Girl and the Oak* is instructive. Whereas Smilja's beauty is hardly tainted even with her bodily handicap, Roža makes for a truly unsightly appearance, her lame walk only adding insult to injury. Most importantly, whereas Golik neutralizes Smilja's sexuality by transforming her beauty into the sublime, Hanžeković dared to eroticize his crippled heroine. In one of the crucial scenes, the forester spots Roža alone in the woods, and tries to rape her, to which she fiercely and successfully resists. Pulling herself together, Roža realizes that the attack – as horrendous as it was – testifies that she is desirable nevertheless: even a crippled body possesses an erotic capacity (FIGURE 5.23–24). The same shot graced the poster of the film, inviting the audience to desire the deformed, yet, erotic woman.



FIGURE 5.23–24 Roža discovers her own eroticism in *Master of One's Own Body*

Serving as a crucial distinction from the heroines of the historical melodramas, Roža does not perceive her desire to love and be loved as incongruent to social norms. Instead of confronting the patriarchal law head on, through denial or ridicule, she does the opposite: she demands that

law must be fully implemented – if she has become Iva’s wife, then he must treat her accordingly. As Slavoj Žižek would have it, she over-identifies with the patriarchal law and thus reveals its major problems even more, and challenges it: “an ideological edifice can be undermined by a too-literal identification [...] Is not an exemplary case of such a subversion-through-identification provided by Jaroslav Hasek’s *The Good Soldier Schweik*, the novel whose hero wreaks total havoc by simply executing the orders of his superiors in an overzealous and all-too-literal way?” (2008, p. 29).

Two scenes aptly illustrate how Roža’s overzealous insistence reveals the insufficiency of the patriarchal law and the pre-socialist rural gender order: her visits to the priest and to the sorceress. The difference between these two instances is clear: the priest stands for the official matrimonial law,⁸⁴ whereas the witch represents the tradition of the unwritten norms and customs; the manner in which these two registers are gendered is also a telltale. And yet, the scenes reveal that the two are effectively one and the same. In a pronounced parallel, both the priest and the witch require to be paid for their services: both scenes end with the camera focusing on the money Roža is paying them. Equally important is that both of them remain outside our field of vision, as we only hear their voice – the voice as the ultimate medium of the law, both official and unwritten (Dolar, 2006). In the most substantial mirroring of all, both the priest and the witch ask Rože the very same questions (“Does your husband beat you? Does he curse upon you?”), as if domestic violence is the only marital problem worthy of an intervention. Roža responds that her husband does not beat her, but she does not believe that the lack of violence equates good marriage; apparently, there must be something more to it. In a case of cruel irony, however, the issue of marital violence reappears in the final scene when Iva slaps Roža after debunking her “sorcery”, to which she responds with an outcry: “Hit me! Hit me, dear little Iva, let your fist at least show me that I am your wife! [Udri! Udri, mili Ivek, nek bar po šaki tvojoj znam da sam ti žena!]” Enraged, Iva raises his hand to hit Roža again, but then instantly stands petrified, as if himself being struck by a new insight. However, what thoughts and feelings did exactly cross his mind remains an enigma: did he realize how unfounded and misguided was his scorn for Roža?; to what effect would that sudden knowledge entail?; did he recognize his wife’s beauty?; his own disenfranchisement?; all of these, or – none? Roža’s own thoughts and emotions are equally unclear: was her outcry sarcastic and defiant, or does she really

⁸⁴ As emphasized in Introduction, in the monarchist Yugoslavia matrimony was in jurisdiction of the churches.

masochistically desire Iva's touch and recognition at any cost? When Iva and Roža walk away, up the hill, in the closing shot, this massive uncertainty persists. Hence, although the film stylistically does not meet the standards set by the most innovative contemporary work in classic Yugoslav cinema, the radical openness of its closing, makes *Master of One's Own Body* genuinely proto-modern.

However, this does not mean that the film is vague or inconclusive in its criticism of the patriarchy. Let me illustrate that by tackling the titular phrase: who exactly is the "master of one's own body"? To be sure, the film puts that phrase in Iva's mouth. He defiantly shouts it when his parents force him to marry the girl whom he detests; that way, he demonstrates that he does not want to renounce his carnal freedom (his affair with Jaga) for the sake of traditional norms. However, paradoxically, the very affair with the seductive widow is the paramount evidence that Iva is actually a slave of his own body. Indeed, the misfortune that befell him and Roža, stems for his inability to control his sexual urge: while he was looking after his cow, he could not resist Jaga's invitation for pastoral sex, and while they were rolling in the hay, the cow ate the very four-leaf clover that caused her death!. The fact that later on in the film Jakov also falls for Jaga's charms, only cements the impression that men are hardly masters of their own bodies.

In opposition to men, women appear to be more in control of their own bodies. The reasons are not biological, but are social. Consider Jaga: although it might appear that her (in)famous status of the local "public woman" is the result of her innate promiscuity, one cannot but notice that it is actually defined by her unenviable social position in the village community. As a poor widow, she cannot fully reintegrate into the village by means of new matrimony: she simply cannot offer a significant dowry. Hence she strategically decides to occupy the marginal social position that might be notorious, but still attaches her to the local community and provides her with some elemental security. She is perfectly aware of the norms and customs that run the village life: when Iva upsettingly tells her that he is shoehorned into the arranged marriage, she advises him to calm down and marry, as that will not preclude their own affair. In the same vein, when Jakov attacks her for distracting his own son from his marriage, Jaga seduces him, not simply because she is promiscuous by nature, but because she knows how to use her body in order to negotiate her own position: by means of sex, she converts Jakov from an adversary to a supporter.

All of these enable us to sum up the key difference between *Master of One's Own Body* on the one hand, and Hanžeković's previous films and historical melodramas on the other. Whereas the latter maintain that Love and Law are antagonistic to the point of exclusion, *Master of One's Own Body* zeroes in on another antagonism: the deep contradiction that runs within the Law itself. In other words, there is nothing innately antagonistic between love and Law. Truly problematic is the fact that Law is never true to itself, as it were. Roža's minimal yet persistent demand reveals that the law inevitably betrays itself, is never up to its own self-imposed standards, always sliding into its own mockery. As the parallel between the priest and the witch has shown, this internal split of the Law should not be confused with the split between the official letter-of-the-law and unofficial unwritten norms: each of these two sets of rules and regulations is inconsistent and unstable in its own terms, as it were. It is because of this complex view of the Law that *Master of One's Own Body* avoids the clear-cut divide between the good guys and the villains, where the former represent the benign, "official" side of the law (e.g. the good peasant who finds Smilja, Bojan), and the latter, its obscene, sadistic flipside (Roko, Josip). However, *Master of One's Own Body* does not turn Iva into the sadist monster from whom the good agents of patriarchy should rescue Roža: if anything, it is clear that Iva himself is also a prey of the appalling matrimonial deal.

Instead, in a true stroke of genius, the film conflates the most benign and most malign aspect of the patriarchal law into a single protagonist, a person who is at the same time paternal authority at its most tyrannical and most comical: Iva's father Jakov. In what is the running joke of the film, Jakov develops a bizarre attachment to Pisava, the cow that belongs to Roža's family. The film goes to lengths to give this man-to-animal attachment an air of romantic infatuation: it is as if Jakov falls in love with Pisava at first sight, as it were – from the moment he sees her she is everything that he talks about, even in his sleep. It is precisely this awkward yet profound infatuation that presses Jakov to marry Iva to Roža: he intends to get Pisava as dowry. When his wife tells him that Iva will most probably marry and thus get a cow anyway, Jakov is enraged: he does not want any other cow, only Pisava! Accordingly, Iva cannot marry any other girl but the homely Roža. The paramount illustration of the relation between the two offers Iva's and Roža's wedding banquet: the feast reaches its climax when Jakov euphorically leads all guests – including the musicians – to the barn to see Pisava, now in his possession. The crowd, already in rather high spirits, is cheering and continues to dance in the barn, as Roža

remains alone in the empty house, forgotten by everyone (FIGURE 5.25–26). The mismatched pairing of Roža and Iva is thus revealed as a collateral damage on the way to the real thing: the wedding of Jakov and Pisava.



FIGURE 5.25–26 The wedding in the barn and the lonely Roža

Master of One's Own Body thus did not merely disclose and criticize the patriarchal habits of the bygone era, but the fact that any law, due to structural internal contradiction, is tainted by some unwritten, “perverse” element. Needless to say, the same goes even for the socialist law. Based on the notion of gender equality, as it was, the socialist legislative was an unquestionable improvement in comparison to the monarchist one, and yet, the traditional norms of male privilege, as its obscene underside, continued to shape the socialist modernity, both in the countryside, but also among the peasants who move to the urban and industrial surrounding. As we shall see in the following pages, the shadow of the cow, proverbially the most sacred property in the traditional rural economy, will continue to roam the films about peasants even when they relocate their setting and stories into the socialist period.

5.2. Legacy of the rural patriarchy in the socialism-set films

For the most part of the 1950s Yugoslav cinema evaded the complexities revolving around the rural troubles in the establishment of the socialist edifice. That is anything but surprising: the relation between the Communist Party and the peasantry was far more intricate than the ruling doctrine was ever willing to admit. The tensions and antagonisms between the two can be traced

back to the pre-war political life, and they certainly complicated their synergy during WWII, when significant portions of the peasantry did not side with the partisans (or, did that rather reluctantly).⁸⁵ Again, as the economy of the study does not allow me to dwell extensively on these problems, let me sum these antagonisms up by drawing on Melissa K. Bokovoy's account:

On the one hand, the peasants were numerically, militarily, and economically essential to the revolutionary movement; on the other hand, they were often recalcitrant, obstinate, even rebellious, and thereby an obstacle to revolution and state building. Although the Yugoslav Communist revolutionaries held up the peasant as the ideal national patriot, they soon discovered that neither traditional Marxist ideology nor the dominant Soviet model had a place for this peasant. The KPJ, with surprising agility and flexibility, modified and blended its goals for revolution into a working accommodation with the older and local forms of peasant aspirations and resistance in the Yugoslav countryside. Yet the coalition between the radical elite and the insurgent peasantry was an uneasy one at best, because the long-term interests of the revolutionary elite the members of the KPJ were not necessarily those of the peasants whom they had co-opted into the revolutionary movement.

(1998, p. xvi)

Especially telling was the filmmakers' silence on what was indisputably the most traumatic post-war socialist venture in the countryside: the collectivization of agriculture by means of the peasant work cooperatives. Launched in 1949, the collectivization prompted the peasants to a first mass political resistance against the communist rule; faced with the peasant disobedience, the communists eventually gave up on the reform in 1953 (Bokovoy, 1998). In the early 1950s, thus, only *Lake* and *Life at Kajžar* tackle the issue, optimistically rendering the cooperatives as the ultimate realization of the socialist principles in the countryside. No major film will dare to directly address the trauma of the collectivization before the early 1970s.

However, in the late 1950s filmmakers finally started to screen the peasantry and countryside in the contemporary setting in the more complex ways, leaving behind the imperatives of the socialist happiness and triumph as testified in the films set in the socialist village in the process of modernization.⁸⁶ Even with the painful experience of collectivization

⁸⁵ After the case of the troubled peasant-partisan Gvozden in *Distant is the Sun* (1953), at least two more films tackle the issue of ideological allegiance of the peasantry to the socialist revolution: *Njih dvojica/The Two of Them* (1955, Žorž Skrigin), and *Šolaja* (1955, Vojislav Nanović); from the 1960s on, this motif will become more pronounced on screen.

⁸⁶ Exemplary in that regard is *Svet na Kajžarju/Life at Kajžar* (1952, France Štiglic), a drama about confrontation between the communists and the reactionary forces in an agricultural cooperative in Slovenian countryside. Unfortunately, as the film remained out my reach during the research, I cannot analyze this example in more detail here. However, drawing from the film's synopsis (Furlan et al., 1994, p. 37), it appears the film offers a notable attempt of reconciliation of the "good woman" and the "bad woman". Jula, the principal female character – a peasant woman who fully commits herself to the revolutionary change – tries to redeem Lizika who had an affair

untouched, the socialist vicissitudes of the rural population yielded many antagonisms and contradictions waiting to be cinematically elaborated.

Cesta duga godinu dana/The Year Long Road (1958, Giuseppe de Santis), a film about the villagers who decide to build a road from their craggy village toward the sea, symptomatically renders visible that shift between the prewar-set and postwar-set peasant films. The opening credits inform us that the film is set in some “imaginary land” in order to make its story more universal.⁸⁷ The government in the film resembles the provincial officials of the royalist regime, and hence suggests the prewar period; however, the enthusiasm of the people about making the titular road connotes the revolutionary elan of the postwar mass labor actions. On top of this, some references are overtly post-WWII, like the one about the atomic weapons as the dominant type of contemporary armament in the world. Along with this elusive mixture of then-and-now, the film encompassed half a dozen of romantic plots shored up by a huge ensemble and splashed across the Ultrascopes, a German-made variant of CinemaScope, making it the most epic Yugoslav film to that date; the 190-minutes length only emphasized its ambition.



with a collaborator; however, the redemption of such a problematic woman is possible only over her dead body, as Lizika gets killed by the main antagonist, a reactionary kulak Trinkhaus.

⁸⁷ The setting, however, unmistakably connotes Dalmatinska Zagora (we can even see the name plate “Općina Zagora [Municipality Zagora]”).



FIGURE 5.27–32 The self-aware bodily display in *The Year Long Road*

However, here I will not deal with those romances, or with the respective gender representations, as they remain within the optimistic framework: the sugar-coated variant of De Santis' neorealism makes the film occasionally reach levels of the socialist-realist kitsch (e.g. the scenes where the peasant women bring the food to the workers). True, the film does accentuate misogynist basis of patriarchy, yet the happily-ever-after closure heals the problems all too easily: even the most dramatic affair – a love triangle that almost wrecked a family and even ended in a murder – is resolved in a conciliatory way. However, the most intriguing ingredient of the film was the blatant glamorization of the bodies. De Santis foregrounds the beauty of some of the protagonists by making them pose a pin-up style, as it were. In other words, the film does not merely screen the beauty, but a self-reflexive beauty: both actors and actresses are displayed not only as handsome and pretty, respectively, but as perfectly aware of their own beauty and desirability. Such a strategy was not unprecedented in Yugoslav cinema, but it was reserved for the actresses mainly: De Santis, for the first time, extensively represented the male bodies that way (FIGURE 5.27–32).

5.2.1. *Train without a Time Table*

A far more accomplished and important film for this analysis, is *Vlak bez voznog reda/Train without a Time Table* (1959), directed by De Santis' protégé Veljko Bulajić. The film rendered the postwar colonization, i.e. the mass migrations of peasants from the harsh and poor regions to the fertile plains of Pannonia (Slavonia, Vojvodina). Combining the large number of protagonists and epic scope with the successfully employed neorealist influence, the film follows villagers from a Zagora hamlet, on their way to the region of Baranja. The fact that some villagers refuse to leave, and persist in their reluctance toward resettlement (i.e. the socialist modernity in general)

pivotaly indicates the shift in representation of the peasant question. Whereas, in the early 1950s – say, in *Lake* – such a negative position would be rendered as merely reactionary, *Train without a Time Table* not only lets the sceptical peasants remain in the poor village, but ultimately dispenses with the clear-cut distinction between those who stay there and those who leave: some of the former are actually aware that they made a bad choice and that Baranja is the place to be, just as some of the latter will eventually be sorry for leaving Zagora.

The film centers on Periša and Nikolica, the wartime buddies who reunite on their way to Baranja, and their respective romances. Eighteen-year old Periša falls in love with Dana at first sight, a peasant girl who is also in love with him. Their tender romance is in peril due to the patriarchal norms that rule their families. Periša's mother and two older brothers expect him to behave in accordance with the old ways that privileges the notion of family honour. The patriarchal hierarchy demands from Periša to wait his turn to get married, as the older brother Lovre should do that before him. When the boy mentions that “nowadays” one does not have to marry after dating a girl, his shocked mother slaps him. When his oldest, married brother Duje ridicules the notion of being in love, Periša accuses him of being in a loveless marriage: “You have got your wife as a cow and you treat her like a slave! [Ženu si uzea ka kravu, držiš je ka sluškinju!]”

Dana is in an even less enviable situation as her parents press her into one such loveless marriage, arranged four years before, with a boy of a wealthy peasant who waits for her in Baranja. When she tells that she does not even know this husband-to-be, her father Jole – the closest the film comes to the antagonist – gently tells her that she will have a whole life ahead of her to get to know him. He says that without a trait of cynicism in his voice, for he himself believes that: simply, that is how things are in the traditional patriarchal coordinates within which he was raised and spent all his life. However, after he finds out that his daughter is seeing Periša, Jole savagely beats her. Despite the father's threats that she must not tarnish the family honor, Dana breaks out at the wedding, crying out that she does not want to marry the imposed bridegroom, as she loves another one. After the boy's family furiously rushes out from the wedding banquet, the humiliated and enraged father approaches Dana to beat her again. However, his previously obedient wife stops him, this time protecting the daughter. Shocked by the disobedience of the women that were supposed to obey him blindly, Jole realizes that the world as he knew it is gone for good (FIGURE 5.33–34).



FIGURE 5.33–34 Dana’s parents fight over her rights; the father loses in *Train without a Time Table*

Thus, despite its obvious pro-emancipatory stance, the film nevertheless successfully invites us to identify with the palpable disorientation of a peasant man whose unbridled patriarchal authority – the gist of his self-experience – has been radically challenged by the socialist gender order. In that regard, Jole belongs to the lineage of the fathers whose fall from the patriarchal throne is precipitated by their daughters’ decision to embrace the socialist modernity (Mara’s father in *Lake* and Emina’s father in *Zenica*).

Although the last shot reunites Dana and Periša at the endless Baranja plain in the romantic happy ending, the film does not exactly showcase the triumph of love in socialism. Periša’s pal Nikolica, the rowdy twenty-year-old boy, enters into romances with two women, which will both end on a sour note. He develops a crush for Ike, the widow with two small sons, whose husband has died fighting as a partisan. Although infatuated with Nikolica, Ike eventually gives up on him, as the traditional norms prohibit a marriage of a widow mother to a younger man. To the boy’s farewell question, why they do not love each other, Ike bitterly responds: “People say that it cannot be. A mother is a mother, and a lad is a lad! [Ljudi kažu da se ne smi. Majka je majka, a momak je momak!]” Hence, Ike turns to another man. Periša’s brother Lovre, who is in love with Ike and adores her sons (just as they adore him). The main organizer of the transport of the Dolac people, Lovre is mature and reliable, unlike the scatter-brain Nikolica. The fact that he lost his leg as a partisan makes him an even more appropriate choice for Ike: in the eyes of their community, they are conveniently compatible as the “damaged goods” (the widow, the invalid). In any case, Ike is perfectly aware that, with Lovre, her sons will get the reliable father, she will have a reliable husband, and the community will gain yet another stable married couple; however, there is no doubt that Lovre is a man whom she appreciates more than she

loves. In her last scene, Ike and Nikolica embrace in their first and last, good-bye kiss – arguably the last passionate kiss in her life. As he leaves, her sons are returning home in company of Lovro; he stands in front of Ike – even below her, for she is above him, in the doorway – as if waiting for her permission to let him in her home and life. Torn between different impulses, Ike thus finally chooses the man whom she does not desire, but who can give her the “quiet life” that she craves. In a telling detail, she lets Lovro in the house only after her sons start calling for him, and after Lovro himself, hearing the voices of the children, asks: “May I?” The voices of the boys thus remind Ike that her chief identity is the one of the mother, who is first and foremost defined in terms of the care for children, which, according to the patriarchal rules, are provided with the presence of a strong male, paternal authority in the family (FIGURE 5.35–38).



FIGURE 5.35–38 Ike and Nikolica share a farewell kiss; Lovre arrives as Nikolica leaves

Nikolica also fails to find romantic bliss with Venka, the girl who is head over heels in love with him, although she knows that he actually desires Ike. Despite spending some time together and even having sex, both of them are painfully aware that he cannot reciprocate the girl’s desire. Eventually, after saying good-bye to Ike, Nikolica also leaves Venka: “Do not cry for me, for it is better to lose me than to have me [Nemoj plakat za mnom, mene ti je bolje izgubit nego imat?].” It

is not an empty statement. By that point Nikolica has come to terms with his fallibilities, which make him the most complex character in the film.

In his first scene, Nikolica boasts a wide smile and seems the happiest person under the sun. Carefree and perky, he drops the monotony of his post-war life, and uses the colonization as a springboard for further professional development. He is utterly enchanted by modernity in every way possible. Out of UNRRA humanitarian aid, he proudly picks up the shirt with the “Crystal Lake” logo, the illustration of his fascination with the USA; he also likes to use some “modern” words although he does not understand them (e.g. he compliments the girls for “looking frigid”). But this penchant for modernity runs deeper than these superficial emblems might suggest, enticing Nikolica to his own vision of modern life: “It should be so, that the man is a railroader for two years, then an artist for two, a sailor for two, a fotographer for two... I would like to be everything! [Tribalo bi da bude tako, da je čovik dvi godine željezničar, dvi godine umjetnik, dvi godine mornar, dvi godine fotograf... Ja bi’ htia sve bit!]” It is no wonder, then, that Nikolica despises his own rural background: to be a peasant in modern times is to negate modernity as such. That means to remain stuck in the dirt and mud, and at the mercy of the primordial elements, to never leave one’s own turf and thus miss the opportunity to travel and see the big cities where modernity thrives. Therefore, Nikolica first dreams of being a railroader, because they “travel all the time! They see the world! Vienna, Rome, Paris...” In his last scene, he opts for an even more mobile profession: a truck driver. This starry-eyed peasant boy is too enchanted by the open vistas and never-ending roads to remain within the confines of a rural household.

And yet, under Nikolica’s fantasies of modern mobility, urbanity, and industry, lurks a far more somber side. In the most devastating scene that features a young man, Nikolica gets drunk, his layers of happiness and devil-may-care attitude being swiftly peeled away. What remains in front of us, is a boy who is thoroughly soaked in self-pity and grief after his family was killed in the war. At one point, Nikolica even runs amok and starts pretending that he is shooting from his machine gun at the invisible enemy. To anyone who remembered the first post-war days, this sight unmistakably demonstrated that Nikolica suffered from the so-called “partisan disease”, a sort of post-traumatic stress disorder specific for the partisans. The people affected by the disorder, among other symptoms, used to stop all of their daily activities and, besotted by the hallucinations, “re-created” the war combats in fits that were reminiscent of

psychotic or hysterical episodes. In that sense, Nikolica embodies an important step forward in representing the war trauma: Nikolica's emotional scars might be invisible at first sight, but they affect him more profoundly than that the bodily handicap affects his rival Lovre (this comparison also extends to the severely somatically handicapped war veterans in *Only Human* and *I Will Be Back*).



FIGURE 5.39–40 Nikolica suffers a mental breakdown that resembles “the partisan disease”

This profound inner split that derails Nikolica from a supposedly normal life, makes the unfortunate boy one of the first genuinely proto-modernist protagonists that marked the Yugoslav cinema in 1959, and whom I mentioned in the introduction together with the suicidal Marija in *Heaven Without Love*, the loner Marko in a search for the daughter in *Three Girls Named Anna*, the underage delinquent Rade in *The Doors Remain Open*, and the cowardly partisan Čavka in *Alone* – this wretched gallery reminds us that it was the classical Yugoslav cinema that introduced the celluloid individual who is “out of joint”, irreparably split both from within and from her or his surroundings, i.e. the fact that it pointed that the socialist modernity, due its limitations, antagonisms and deadlocks, cannot recuperate such an individual.

5.2.2. Boom Town

Two years after *Train without a Time Table*, Bulajić directed another film about the rural masses on the move. This time, they did not change one rural setting for another, but for the industrial and urban one. *Uzavreli grad/Boom Town* (1961) is set in Zenica, as the iconic site of the Yugoslav rapid industrialization, and interweaves the stories of a group of newcomers – mostly peasants – at the construction site in Zenica steel factory, where the new blast furnace has to be finished in extremely hard conditions and in record time. u The workforce does not encompass only mature men, as one would expect given the heavy-industry environment, but also young

boys, girls, and women, either in the form of whole families, couples, or singles. The myriad of the plot lines outnumbers those in *Train without a Time Table*, and offers a more complex picture of peasants' gender troubles at the junction of the traditional and the modern. Remarkably, not a single plot closes on an overtly optimistic note; instead, the ambiguities, uncertainties, and contradictions reign.

For starters, at its most general, the film does not designate the rapid industrialization as a utopian project carried out by enthusiastic protagonists, who are guided by the noble strivings and the absolute ideological commitment. Whereas the peasants in *Train without a Time Table* could choose to go to Baranja or not, most of the characters in *Boom Town* explicitly state that did not want to come to Zenica, but were ordered to come there, or were even deported. We first hear it from the main female protagonist Riba, the prostitute from the harbor city of Rijeka who has been sentenced to work in Zenica in order to be “corrected” and re-socialized (the train car with the prostitutes was literally sealed during the trip). The main male protagonist Šiba, the foreman of the construction site, reminds his wife that he came to Zenica because it was assigned to him; the end of the film finds him leaving Zenica for another construction site, again against his will. In a moment of weakness, even the chief engineer Plavšić – a far cry from Boro, the engineer from *Zenica* – admits that he actually did not want to be at the furnace construction site, and that he is not even qualified to be there in the first place. However, the imperatives of the post-war construction and industrialization did not care for such “trifles”.

In a crucial part of his confession, however, the engineer reduces his professional problems to the marital ones: “Do you know, gentlemen, what my wife is doing in Belgrade at this moment? You do not! Well, neither do I. For five years now, I have been wandering around the province. Jablanica divorced me from my first wife, Vinodol from my second, and Zenica will divorce me from this one, because I do not own an apartment! [Znate li, gospodo, šta sad radi moja žena u Beogradu? Ne znate!? Ne znam ni ja. Već pet godina ja se potucam po provinciji. S prvom ženom rastavila me Jablanica, s drugom Vinodol, a s ovom će Zenica – jer nemam stana!]” The way in which Plavšić short-circuits the problems of the industrial development with the romance and marriage, is illustrative of the way in which the film persistently uses the industrial development as a backdrop for the modern realignment of the gender relations as the substantial theme of the film. Virtually all major protagonists – except the convicted prostitutes and a petty thief – are peasants who have to negotiate the rural patriarchal

tradition with the urban and industrial modernity.⁸⁸ They do it not merely by becoming good labourers, but, primarily, by transforming – or, in some cases, failing to transform – their gender-related ways and habits. The film does not imply that there is one proper formula of gender modernity that needs to be learned, nor does it draw a line between the traditional patriarchy and the modern socialist gender regime. The negotiation between the two remains fuzzy and open-ended process with no clear-cut solutions and stances.

Already, the establishing scene subtly sets the stage for exploring gender in-between the traditional/rural and the modern/urban. Out of the darkness of the night, the steam train with the prospective labourers approaches Zenica. Their rural background is indicated even before we see them, with the traditional folk song that slowly emerges as the train comes from the distance. Joyfully sung by the peasant women and combined with the rhythmic noise of the steam engine, the song is about flirting and love. It is a highly charged detail that reminds us that, in the patriarchal tradition, singing the folklore songs was one of the rare opportunities for the peasant woman to express her romantic passion in public. The motif will evolve throughout the film, as the folklore songs will be sung in the local tavern. Again, they are sung by women, but, now, significantly transformed with the new musical arrangement, making, what was usually labeled in Yugoslav popular culture as the “road-inn [kafanska]” or, later, “newly-composed folk music [novokomponovana narodna muzika]” (Hofman, 2010). That makes *Boom Town* one of the first films that tackled this specific soundtrack of the Yugoslav socialist modernity.

Due to the large number of the protagonists, *Boom Town* is an even more ensemble-driven film than *Train without a Time Table*, so, I will sum up several plot lines in order to illustrate the pivotal role of gender in the negotiation between the rural/traditional and the urban/modern. Young sprightly Jovica arrives to Zenica with the rest of his family, which stand for the traditional, rural patriarchy, at its purest. His father is the undisputed patriarch and his mother is an utterly submissive wife. The boy uses the arrival to Zenica to challenge the father’s absolute authority, and claims the rights that he would hardly get if they had remained in the village: economic independence (he protests against his father taking his wage), and the freedom to choose his romantic partners (he falls in love with, and starts dating a girl without the knowledge of his parents). These new claims are intertwined with the remarkable shift in

⁸⁸ Symptomatically, shortly before his speech, even the engineer Plavšić is mistaken by the fellow workers as a peasant.

Jovica's self-experience: he fiercely renounces his rural identity, and rushes to adopt the urban, modern one. When the father decides to return to the village, disappointed with the wage at the construction site, Jovica makes it clear that he has no intention of returning to the village: "I am not a peasant anymore, but a worker! [Ja više nisam seljak, nego radnik!]" He even finds a paramount role model for the transformation from the peasant to a modern man: it is none other than Nikola Tesla, whose biography graces the local bookshop. The boy is amazed that the champion of science, who introduced the electricity to the world, was a peasant boy from a Yugoslav countryside, just like himself.

Integral to Jovica's attempt to re-fashion himself as the urban boy, is his romance with Hajra, a peasant girl who came to Zenica before him, and works as the cleaning lady in the factory ambulance. Jovica quickly learns that the peasants and the city boys differ in the way they court the girls: the latter use more poetic phrases but also jump to kisses and bodily contact faster than the former. Jovica's attempts to imitate the city courting habits, offers some comic relief, as the two of them, as a couple, are expressly learning the ways of city life: they buy modern clothes, sport new hairstyles, start going out at public places such as clubs etc. However, the film does not designate the couple's shift as an unambiguous progress from the traditional/rural/patriarchal to the modern/urban/emancipated. Despite standing up to his father's authority, Jovica does not fight the patriarchal norms as such, as he sticks to those that work for him. He might have renounced his rural background, but the power relation that defined the marriage of his parents survives in his own relationship: Jovica continues to dominate Hajra who, despite her new city looks, actually remains as submissive as Jovica's mother.

Arguably the most extreme illustration of the tension between the rural and the urban can be found in the storyline involving Luka, the assembler. With his professional skills and urban appearance, Luka stands as the ultimate embodiment of the modern masculinity. His key trait is his shameless philandering, which, in combination with his obsession with his own looks, makes him "a male whore" – quite a remark, given that it comes from Riba, the prostitute. Luka's unscrupulousness reaches its peak in the seduction of Rada, the peasant girl who came pregnant to Zenica, believing that the father of the child – a peasant boy from her village – would also arrive there so they would get married; however, the boy severs every contact with her. Luka seduces the young single mother by empathically criticizing the father of the child as the coward who neglects his own child: "How could a man be such a pig and leave such a woman and such a

child? Only a peasant would do that! A city man would never!” [Kako može jedan čovjek da bude takva svinja da ostavi ženu i ovakvo dijete? To samo može seljak, gradski čovjek to ne bi učinio!]

And yet, later in the film we find out that, behind his perfect mask of the city tomcat, Luka is actually a peasant who himself left his wife and three children three years ago. After roaming many construction sites in search of him, his family arrives to Zenica in one of the most harrowing scenes of the film. The forewoman decides to use the arrival of Luka’s family to debunk him in front of all factory women – the act of punishment for him and the cautionary example for them. As the women labourers surround Luka and confront him with his wife and children, the reaction of Luka’s oldest, teenage son encapsulates the ambiguity of the scene. The boy approaches his father and starts slapping him in anger, but, eventually burst into tears and they embrace; the original despise is but a mask of the profound love and devotion. Women, who gathered to witness Luka’s getting comeuppance for his misdeeds, actually start crying deeply affected by the family reconciliation.

The case of Šiba also reveals that the man’s loyalty to modernity does not mean that he will smoothly adopt the anti-patriarchal norms and fully support the gender equality. As the foreman, Šiba tries his best to get the work done, but also tries too hard to assert himself as the infallible man who knows best. However, his judgments and decisions are a hit-and-miss, to say the least, and engineer Plavšić warns him that, despite being good-intentioned, his decisions have to fit the engineer’s calculations and plans. When Šiba’s headstrongness causes the wreckage of a machine, leading to a severe delay in the work, Plavšić chastises the foreman by accusing him of incompetence: “What do you know! This is about mathematics! Everything is calculated! Did I not tell you to stay out of things which you know nothing about! [Šta ti znaš! Ovdje postoji matematika! Sve je proračunato! Jesam li ti rekao da se miješao u stvari koje ne znaš?]” At the same time, Šiba is exposed to the dismissive gaze of the laborers who witnessed the disastrous effects of his incorrect judgment. The whole affair thus shatters Šiba’s symbolic status of the self-designated master of the construction site and, by extension, his own newly constructed identity as the modern man.

Shortly after the incident, and Plavšić’s snubbing, Šiba is pleasantly surprised with the unexpected visit from his wife. A brief exchange reveals that she lives with their kids in the village, taking care of their upbringing, whereas Šiba is being sent around as foreman, from one construction to another – a testimony that the socialism did not substantially change the relation

femininity and domesticity in the rural milieu. However, when she jokingly reports that their son does not like school and that he failed arithmetic, Šiba bursts in rage: “Failed arithmetic!?! Don’t you know how important that is! Do you want our children to get embarrassed in front of others when they grow up? Here I am, struggling, and you can’t even handle the children! Go away! Don’t come back until you make them study! Leave! [Jedan iz računa!?! Pa znaš li ti šta znači račun! Hoćeš da nam se djeca sutra crvene pred drugima? Ja se tu mučim a ti ne možeš ni djecu da savladaš! Idi! Ne izlazi mi na oči dok ih ne natjeraš da uče! Idi!]” Flabbergasted by Šiba’s reaction, the wife starts crying and, speechless, immediately leaves the city. Even with the knowledge of the previous incident – the fact that Plavšić dismissed him as ignorant in terms of calculating and planning – Šiba’s fit of anger and dispatch of the wife are exaggerated, especially given that she visited him after a long time, and that she come from far away .

The excessive attack on his wife is not the only indicator of Šiba’s irresponsible relation to his matrimony. Seduced by Riba’s singing in the tavern, he gets drunk and ends up sleeping with her. In yet another of the film’s many short-circuits between the professional/public and romantic/private, Šiba’s sex with Riba is both a marital and a professional failure. While he cheats on his wife, Šiba does not realize that he is the one who has been actually cheated. Riba seduced him in order to distract him from the sabotage that is organized by her fellow women laborers (which I will address later). In the overall picture of Šiba’s deeds and misdeeds, it is precisely his betrayal of the husband role that appears utterly irredeemable. Ironically, when the factory management punishes Šiba by discharging him to the construction site in a provincial town, we see him reunited with the family. In a sort of negative to the opening scene, the last scene features the night train that takes Šiba from Zenica, this time together with his wife and children; one cannot but wonder whether he will repeat the same mistakes of the masculine pride and disregard for the family in the new surroundings.

In opposition to these examples, one romance fails to achieve the matrimonial/familial status. It is an unlikely couple of Jefto, a simple minded peasant, and Marica, one of the prostitutes from Rijeka. Although their mutual feelings give birth to a tender relationship, it nevertheless remains suffused with friction. The male workers are mocking the couple because of Marica’s unholy past, which triggers Jefto’s violent impulses that lurked underneath the surface of his calm demeanour. Perfectly aware of her past, Jefto does not question Marica about it, and tacitly expects from her to completely and utterly erase all traces of her old self; thus he

becomes enraged when she almost automatically sends a flirting gaze to a guy in a restaurant who paid for her drink. Marica, for her part, also desperately wants to change her ways and feels genuinely for Jefto. However, in the film's finale, Jefto accidentally meets his death while trying to prevent the torrents to flood the construction site. Symptomatically, his death prevents the only romantic, i.e. prospective marital relationship between a peasant and a citizen. In other words, for all its romantic variations, the film does not maintain the possibility of love that would cross the line between the rural and the urban. Bulajić's film is hardly exceptional in that regard: any broader mapping of Yugoslav cinema in the late 1950s and early 1960 would reveal that love does not travel well across the class lines.

And yet, something does succeed in crossing the divide between the rural and the urban: women's solidarity and transfer of knowledge. In one of the most ingenious scenes of the film, the forewoman Nuna, invites Riba to learn the peasant women to dance. The prostitute explains that dance is not merely a string of steps, but a strategy that is part gender equality: "Every woman must know that she is equal to the man, and she can only know if she can dance [Svaka žena mora da zna da je ravnopravna s muškarcem, a to može jedino ako zna plesati]." As she sings and dances to a popular beguine, she also teaches them to subtly dominate their male partners by keeping specific appearance: "When you dance with a man, you have to act indifferent, and only touch him with your foot once in a while, as if, by accident. If he does the same to you, you must act surprised: 'What!? Fiddledeedee! Mind your manners, please!' A woman must be gracious, supple..." [Kad plešete s muškarcem, morate se praviti mrtvi 'ladni, samo ga tek malo, tu i tamo, dodirnete nogom, kao slučajno. Ako on vama to isto uradi, vi se strašno iznenadite: 'Šta!? Koješta! Kakav je to način, molim vas!' Žena mora biti graciozna, elastična...]" – and proceeds to show them how to sway their hips. By 1961, the popular modern music and dance was an important ingredient of Yugoslav cinema, usually in the comedies. However, no other Yugoslav film used the popular music so cleverly, as an agent of social change, in which the prostitute – the most unlikely epitome of the modern urban woman at that time – introduces the illiterate peasant women to the notions of gender equality and the new, modern and urban femininity.

This is not to say that Riba's lessons about men and romance are flawless; after all, it is Riba herself who at one point becomes a prey of her own romantic philosophy, falling in love with a man who does not return her love. In her last scene, she even leaves Zenica by stopping a

truck and asking an unknown driver to take her away. I argue that the scene does not simply designate Riba as an inveterate promiscuous woman who cannot but return to her old trade, but as a woman who, after a short experiment in Zenica, realizes that the new type of modernity does not offer her significantly different opportunities to prosper; for that reason, she opts for “the devil she knows”.

Other women handle their own with the different stakes and results. In the last segment of the film, both the peasant women and prostitutes scheme sabotage: crammed in a shabby cabin and afraid that they will not get a real accommodation before the fall and winter, they decide to burn the cabin and move into an empty building that awaits the families of the engineers. Convinced that their men would not approve of such a radical measure, they do it on their own and clandestinely. As the flames destroy their poor habitat, they persuade their husbands that they should promptly storm the new building. Their scheme remains unrevealed: the only person who realizes what happened is the forewoman Nuna, but, despite her stark demeanour, she is all too aware of the needs of her women colleagues to debunk them.

However, just as the film remains ambiguous toward the patriarchal legacy, the same goes for this women’s act. On the one hand, one can hardly imagine a more justified act, as it corresponds to the women’s (and not only their) undisputable needs; on the other hand, immediately after being accomplished, the positive outcome of the justified revolt turns into its very negation: the women entice their men not to leave the building, although they should go out and stop the flood that is threatening the construction site. Knowing that the water is traditionally considered “the feminine element”, one can even interpret the dangerous flood as the materialization of the female rage that, after being suppressed so long, erupts in the final segment of the film and threatens with obliterating the whole site. In an almost mythical moment, a man – Jefto – drowns in the torrents, as a sort of masculine sacrifice that needs to be made in order to appease the untamed feminine waters.

5.2.3. *The Superfluous One*

Prekobrojna/The Superfluous One (1962, Branko Bauer) revisits the youth labor action for the first time after *Life is Ours*. The film is set at the construction site, the highway “Brotherhood and Unity”, the longest and biggest road structure built in Yugoslavia in another epic mass public works carried out by youth labor brigades. The adolescent peasant Mikajilo, the male protagonist,

arrives to the youth labor action with the aim to learn to drive; he dreams of leaving his village and working as the chauffeur or truck driver. Ranka, the girl from the same village, blindly follows him as her husband-to-be. Apparently, her motive is not genuine love, but the shame that she feels before the village. Some time ago Mikajilo kissed her, and since “we know what *that* means in the village”, Ranka almost obsessively stalks him, resolved to make him marry her and thus save her honor. She is horrified with the prospect that he would learn to drive and leave the village, i.e. abandon her.



FIGURE 5.41–42 Mikajilo is trying to get away from Ranka

The dichotomy between the main characters is thus unambiguously gendered. Whereas the man is aware of the possibilities provided by the socialist modernity and uses them in order to educate himself and leave the village for the city, the woman is not only ignorant of the revolutionary change around her, but effectively thwarts it by preventing the revolutionary realization of the man. Ranka’s lack of awareness of the revolutionary change, both at the societal and the personal level, is what really makes her *the* superfluous one. While reading the register, the commander of the youth brigade discovers two more superfluous persons; however, they are both boys, who recognized the labor action as an opportunity to change their lives for the better. Ranka is the only one who arrives at the construction site merely guided by the ways of the past.

And yet, the superfluous here does not mean worthless or purposeless. The main point of the revolutionary project is its radical openness and inclusiveness: it provides the room even for those who are unaware of its nature and who thus might appear at odds with it. One could argue that it is this very openness for the superfluous ones that makes the revolution “non-all”, if we may use Lacanian lingo here: the revolutionary project can never be completed; there is always

something that at first seems to be outside the revolution or incommensurable with it, and yet it eventually finds its proper place in the revolutionary order.

Very soon, however, it turns out that the introductory dichotomy of the male/modernity (Mikajilo) versus the female/pre-modernity (Ranka) is anything but absolute. Not only does it not describe the other characters in the film, but it does not take long before the tables turn even for the main protagonists. Mikajilo's attempts at self-realization wind up in keeping up appearances. He boastfully pretends to be something that he is not, and hides what he perceives as his own shortcoming: his rural background. The fellow brigadiers eventually mock his desperate attempts to appear modern – the expected fate for anyone who tries way too hard. In the end, Mikajilo does not accomplish the aim that brought him to the brigade: he learned how to drive, but instead of driving the truck in the city, he decides, disillusioned, to stick to the tractors back in his village.

For her part, however, Ranka gradually but irreversibly becomes aware of the new social horizon emerging before her. Unlike Mikajilo, she does not pretend to be part of modernity already. She is genuinely surprised with the things she learns, and instead of Mikajilo's know-it-all posture, she does not shy away from acknowledging her ignorance, or from expressing her amazement and joy with the little things that she learns about the modern life. Acknowledging the new opportunities surrounding her, Ranka starts attending sewing classes. Even more importantly, she finds about the more jovial aspects of the modern living thanks to her new friend, whose modern worldview is connoted through her passionate attachment to cinema: she is a film fan (e.g. she says that Mikajilo resembles Anthony Perkins), and she was even an extra in a film.

More overtly than in *Boom Town*, the urban/rural divide in the film de facto stands for the class barrier. The film fuels on the rivalry between the competing brigades, one dominated by urban youth (students), the other by youth from the countryside; colloquially, they even talk refer to themselves as “the student” and “the peasant brigade”.⁸⁹ Mikajilo's demise starts the moment he attempts to transgress this barrier. He sneaks in to the student brigade, and in a desperate attempt to pass as the modern guy he piles up the markers of urban life style (expensive watch, fancy shoes). He even develops a crush for a pretty student girl; her refusal of his love will

⁸⁹ Although *The Superfluous One* effectively obfuscates the status of the working class or the city poor, Bauer's films such as *Tri Ane/Three Anas* (1959), *Licem u lice/Face to Face* (1963), and *Doći i ostati/To Come and to Stay* (1965) zero in on the working class in his subsequent films.

precipitate the climax of the discord between Mikajilo and the students. Mikajilo's being stuck in-between the urban and the rural is humorously summed up in a scene at the brigadiers' revue. Whereas the brigadier choir sings about connecting the Village and the City ["Naša pesma svud se čuje, grad i selo povezuje!"], Mikajilo is caught on stage (for he is not part of the act), as if lost between the Village and the City, a living proof of the antagonism that songs tries to sing away (FIGURE 5.43).



FIGURE 5.43–44 Mikajilo stuck in-between the Village and the City (left); Ranka sings

Ranka handles the urban/rural divide in an altogether different manner. She never denounces or hides her peasant background, yet that does not prevent her from acquiring student friends and from adopting the modern knowledge. She incarnates the blend of the traditional and modern, which is perfectly epitomized in a scene when Ranka is singing a traditional folk song from her village: at first, she is completely unaware that she is being recorded on tape; when her singing is then reproduced via the public speakerphones in the labour camp, she is bewildered by listening her own voice loudly reproduced in open air (FIGURE 5.44).⁹⁰ It seems that *The Superfluous One* suggests that such bewilderment with our tradition is the only proper way to actually become modern. One should not cheat on modernity, as Mikajilo attempted, but allow being surprised and amazed by it, and getting to know its norms and ways with a child-like innocence. This sort of attitude makes Ranka a true subject of modernity.

The Superfluous One unabashedly wears its gender agenda on its sleeve. Ranka receives her first lesson on the new gender order from a fatherly engineer shortly after her arrival in the

⁹⁰ The rest of the soundtrack also mediates between the tradition and modernity: the accordion player plays the modern tunes, the revolutionary songs, and the folklore melodies equally good. It is precisely in such moments – when the entire collective participates in the song and dance – that the rural/urban and the traditional/modern dichotomies collapse.

brigade. With an open contempt for the rural customs, he summarizes the traditional village matchmaking at its most senseless: “first a kiss, then the boy gives the girl a handkerchief, and already it is time for the aunt to come and arrange the engagement and the marriage”. His final advice to Ranka does not leave any doubts as to who suffers the most in the traditional rural community:

Stop slobbering and be happy that they hadn't married you off! I know those marriages and romances of yours! You are still being sold as the cattle, and then, for the rest of your life, you would walk after some Mikajilo, three steps behind him, washing his legs and working hard, and he would kick you when he gets drunk! That is what that love of yours is all about! Go on now, and give it some thought...

Prestani da sliniš i budi sretna što te nisu udali. Znam ja te vaše udaje i ljubavi! Još vas prodaju ko telad, a posle bi celog veka išla iza nekog Mikajila tri koraka, prala mu noge i rintala, a on bi te nogom kad se napije! Eto, to je ta vaša ljubav! Hajde, hajde, i razmisli malo...

By the film's final third, Ranka's relation to the rural tradition will shift from an unconditional submission to bitter criticism. When Mikajilo reclaims his peasant side and attempts to reconnect with Ranka, he is stunned by the fact that she is no more the girl who blindly followed him to the construction site. To his disbelief, she discards his recollections of their early pastoral love with profound skepticism.

How, then, the film copes with the apparent fact that paths of Ranka and Mikajilo bifurcate? By its finale, the film is at pains in trying to have its cake and eat it too. On the one side, the genre conventions require the standard happy end, i.e. the reunion of the love couple, just like in Bauer's previous love stories *Only Human* and *Martin u oblacima/Martin the Clouds* (1961). However, the great divide between Ranka and Mikajilo is patently insurmountable to be healed with a romantic happy ending. The solution to this dilemma came in the form of the film's ending, one of the most ambiguous in Yugoslav cinema.

The film's last scenes provide the solution that is at the same time very simple and rather complex. I have already mentioned that Mikajilo resolved his “the city or the village” dilemma by opting for the later but with the new knowledge of mechanics: he might not be driving in the city, yet he will be driving after all. And, how does Ranka solve her dilemma? Apparently, there is no reason for her not to do the same as Mikajilo: she could easily go back to the village with him, equipped with the new knowledge and skills (of sewing, reading, writing...), that way getting both Mikajilo and her newly constituted self. However, not only does she not do that, but

she does not leave for the city either. Instead, she decides to stay at the construction site for one more shift, to work and learn. One could say that by doing so she actually refuses to accept Mikajilo's dilemma as her own; she thus ditches both solutions – the city and the village – as wrong for her at the moment.

While Mikajilo is leaving the site, they do not kiss or embrace, but share a clumsy, swift handshake, not unexpected if one knows that two of them never kissed or exchanged any sentimentality in the film. However, only after Mikajilo's truck departs the site, he calls for Ranka to run after the vehicle so he can give her the textbook from the camp's school. She does so, starting to shout his name (as he shouts her), picking up the dropped book from the road, with a photo of Mikajilo (in his traditional, folklore clothes), and waves goodbye to the truck disappearing in the distance. To his shouts "Get back! [Vrati se!]", she silently utters "Yes... [Da...]", and smiles while the tears run down her face (FIGURE 5.45–50).

The ending thus invites the thought that the two will reunite when Ranka, after another shift at the construction site, returns to the village. However, the fact that she remains at the site, serves as an uncanny remainder of the gap between the two and of the radical openness of the situation for Ranka. This ambiguity makes the film's ending superior to the finales of Bauer's previous romantic films, even if they are superior to *The Superfluous One* as a whole. Ranka's running after the truck, the photo of Mikajilo, her smile and tears, her silent "Yes": as much as all these elements signify her love for Mikajilo, they do not necessarily signify the inevitability of a happy reunion. In one and the same move, these elements designate the moment when Ranka finally realizes that she actually loves Mikajilo and feels free to express this love, but they also point out that Ranka realizes that if she wants to save the purity of this love, she has to keep it unrealized, "at the distance". The only way to remain loyal to her love for Mikajilo, as she felt it in this particular moment, is not to return to him, but to continue to cherish the memory of him (with the photo of him as a peasant, for example).



FIGURE 5.45–50 The elusive ending of *The Superfluous One*

However, to firmly argue that Ranka will not return to Mikajilo would be to make a mistake symmetrical to the interpretation that would unambiguously go for the reunion. The point of the film's finale does not actually lie in choosing any of these options as the definitive one, but precisely in short-circuiting them in an unstable, open situation. What I deem the most remarkable about this ending is its emphasis on the fact that no matter where Ranka goes once the construction site is closed, it will be *her* decision. One can hardly overstate the importance that the film gives to the female choice till the very last shot, for, as one should never forget, *The Superfluous One* centres on the peasant woman who escapes the fate of the cow. Even after all his troubles at the construction site Mikajilo can quite easily return to the countryside, since his male privilege there will more easily remain substantially uncontested; however, Ranka's

return to the village – even if guided by the real love this time – invites the bitter scenario of her disempowerment. By remaining at the construction site, Ranka stands for the unfinished revolutionary modernity, which thus finds its ultimate embodiment in what at first looked as its unlikely, supernumerary element.

5.3. Conclusion

Designating the village as the social milieu with especially troubled relationship with modernity, the peasant films in the classic Yugoslav cinema have particular importance. Unlike the construction films (including those set in the countryside) that succumbed to the dominant fiction of socialist modernization too fast and too easily, the peasant films critically stressed not only those aspects of the rural tradition that were at odds with the proclaimed socialist aims, but also revealed that the socialist modernity does not offer any sort of panacea for the many problems of the countryside. Privileging gender-related aspects of the “peasant question”, the classic Yugoslav cinema launched and maintained an ongoing discussion on the patriarchal norms and customs, which served as the backbone of the traditional rural life in the pre-socialist era, and continue to function the same way in socialism – at least to a certain point.

By rendering the rapport between the rural and the modern in the ambiguous and complex ways, the classical representation of peasantry and countryside paved the way for an ever increasing number of peasantry-related films in the 1960s and early 1970s across the stylistic and generic lines. Migration tellingly figures as the dominant motif. *Zemljaci/The Countrymen* (1964, Zdravko Randić), renders Bosnian peasants who travel to Vojvodina as season workers in the fields of Vojvodina, whereas in *Po isti poti se ne vraćaj/* (1965, Jože Babič), they come to Slovenia, where they work as the underpaid, non-qualified, manual workers in the construction business. *Doći i ostati/To Come and to Stay* (1965, Brano Bauer) and *Tople godine/The Warm Years* (1966, Dragoslav Lazić) tackle the migration from the Serbian countryside to Belgrade, anticipating a much more critically acclaimed *Kad budem mrtav i beo/When I am Dead and Pale* (1967, Živojin Pavlović). *Ovčar/Shepherd* (1971, Bakir Tanović) is a somber tale of the last seasonal nomadic shepherds while they herd their herds from the Bosnian mountains to Slavonia. *Sunce tuđeg neba/The Sun of the Strangers' Sky* (1968, Milutin Kosovac), and *Let mrtve ptice/The Flight of the Dead Bird* (1973, Živojin Pavlović) tackled the

emigration to the West. Ever convenient expression of the social change, the clash of generations also features, to an extent, in many of these films, finding its arguably bleakest expression in *Razmedja/Borderlines* (1973, Krešo Golik), a story of an old peasant, in conflict with everyone around him, and his son, who moved to the city. The hardships of the village life test the young men in *Vreme bez vojna/The Time without War* (1969, Branko Ivanovski Gapo), and in *Siroma sam al sam besan* (1970, Dragoljub Ivkov). Krsto Papić remarkably explored the symbiosis of the ideology and the traditional patriarchy in his films set in the Zagora karst: the macabre *Lisice/Handcuffs* (1969), and *Predstava Hamleta u selu Mrduša Donja/Playing Hamlet in the Village of Mrduša Donja* (1973). No major film will dare to directly address the trauma of the collectivization before 1971, and the films *Rdečje klasje/Red Wheat* by Živojin Pavlović, and *Doručak sa djavolom/Breakfast with the Devil* by Miroslav Antić. *Skupljači perja/I Even Met Happy Gypsies* (1967, Aleksandar Petrović), the story about the Roma community in the muddy plains of Vojvodina, was both a blockbuster at home, and the emblem of Yugoslav cinema internationally. Far more controversially, *Rani radovi/Early Works* (1969, Želimir Žilnik), rendered the Yugoslav village as the darkest corner of the Yugoslav socialism, virtually untouched by the socialist modernity.

Although all of these films, of course, can be analyzed in terms of gender and sexuality, a group of films more directly tackles these issues by focusing on the central female character. “Put/Path”, the second segment in omnibus *Vreme ljubavi/Time of Love* (1966, Vlada Petrić, Nikola Rajić), *Sirota Marija/Poor Marija* (1968, Dragoslav Lazić), *Cross Country* (1969, Puriša Djordjević), and *Opklada/The Bet* (1971, Zdravko Randić), are films about peasant women who negotiate their position within the patriarchal norms. In reverse, *Nizvodno od sunca/Downstream from the Sun* (1969, Fedor Škubonja), *Biće skoro propast sveta/It Rains in My Village* (1968, Aleksandar Petrović), and *Živjeti od ljubavi/To Live on Love* (1973, Krešo Golik) show the urban, modern women who move to live and work in the countryside as school teachers; Štefka from *Slike iz života udarnika/The Images from the Life of the Shock-Workers* (1972, Bato Čengić) and Jugoslava from *Early Works* also fit this group to some extent. The history of the patriarchal legacy continued to inspire the filmmakers, and it is hardly a coincidence that virtually all films set in the pre-socialist past feature central or prominent female characters: e.g., *Breza/Birch Tree* (1967, Ante Babaja), *Moja strana sveta/My Side of the World* (1969, Vlatko Filipović), and *Lucija* (1965, France Kosmač).

The sheer number of the itemized peasant films testifies to a plethora of plots and stylistic approaches, each of them pointing to the respective aesthetical and ideological contradictions in store for analysis. The gender and sexuality by rule remained high on the list of motifs, building up on the discussion about the relation between the patriarchy and socialism, which was started by the classical peasant films. This is not to say that the peasant films as such – the classical or the modern – were anti-patriarchal through and through, or even (proto-)feminist. It is just that, compared to the construction and the WWII/partisan films, they operated as the broader “interpretive arena” (Duara, 1988) for discerning and discussing some of the most pressing effects of patriarchy in the socialist modernity (violence against women, economic dependency of the women, the women’s illiteracy and general lack of education, the breakdown of the traditional family, etc.).

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The classical Yugoslav cinema is chronically under-researched, deeply in the shadow of the scholarly fascination with Yugoslav modern cinema in the 1960s in general, and with the problematically defined “black wave” films in particular. Opposing to this predominant tendency, this thesis has instigated a major reassessment of the classical Yugoslav cinema by paying homage to its richness and vibrancy, and has demonstrated the importance of the gender and sexuality-related concepts and optics in film analysis of the classical Yugoslav films. I propose that Yugoslav cinema offers unique and opulent historical imaginary of the first stages of Yugoslav socialist modernity. By proposing this, I do not mean that the classical Yugoslav cinema merely mirrors the developments of, in this particular case, gender regimes of the Yugoslav socialism from WWII to the 1960s, but that it actively contributed to them, by filling the public space with a variety of gender-related images, narratives and motifs, all which can be seen as the elements in the conflict of signification and meaning that was integral to the continuous redefinition of gender regimes in socialism.

The still-predominant totalitarian paradigm pursues by now a well-known story about the early Yugoslav socialist modernity (including its cinema): from the very start of their rule, drunk with the absolute power, the Yugoslav communists barely concealed their darker purposes; dogmatism and repression reigned, cinema was one of the most important instruments of the ideological manipulation and brainwashing; the aesthetics of socialist realism was nothing but the more or less straightforward agitprop routine; the filmmakers could adopt the party line and become the propagandist drones or perish. The gender-inflected analysis of the classic Yugoslav films, however, tells another story. It reveals that even apparently crass examples of socialist realism are far from being simple and unambiguous, but rather they are ridden with the antagonisms, aporias and paradoxes: the communist activist in drag, the vindication of the glamour, a homosexual priest as the good guy in the film aiming at the clergy, symptomatically

different strategies in depicting the femininity and masculinity from one genre to another, are just some examples. And if seemingly monolithic and bland socialist realist cinema was actually that complex, are we to be surprised with the overall complexity of the classical Yugoslav cinema, beyond the confines of that specific – and historically relatively short-lived aesthetics?

Looking back to the examples elaborated in the study, I cannot but be frustrated, as I had to leave out many films that I find important due to the scope of the study. For that reason, the thesis is a far cry from being an exhaustive overview: depending on one's vantage point and preference, she or he could accuse me of downplaying or excluding certain genres, authors, themes, or even "national cinemas" (e.g. incidentally I did not analyze a single film produced by Macedonian or Montenegrin film enterprises). I also leave room for the argument that the other selection of the films would offer different findings. However, the major material circumstance within which this thesis intervenes is accessibility of films – a point that might seem too obvious to mention, but which I nevertheless have to emphasize given that many classical Yugoslav films remain out of our sight, waiting to be restored and become accessible.

Therefore, this thesis proposes a platform of arguments and conclusions about the specific gender motifs in a set of the classical Yugoslav films to be further elaborated through individual and collective research projects. Future research could be conducted along many epistemological and methodological lines, and I will outline only two of them. First, one could pursue a more detailed study of the very same period of the cinema explored in this thesis to include other materials: other feature films could be analyzed, but also shorts, documentaries, and animated film; a complex relationship between the classical Yugoslav cinema and the contemporary foreign cinemas (from Hollywood to Mexico to variety of European cinema) also awaits to be more fully tackled; without studies of audiences, film stars, production and other segments of cinema history, the classical period will remain the *terra incognita* of Yugoslav cinema. Equally important is the diachronic analysis of the vicissitudes of the classical Yugoslav cinema in the 1960s. For all the international critical acclaim of the Yugoslav *novi film*, it is obvious that its emergence does not occur unexpectedly and that the relation between the two is anything but one of the outright opposition and exclusion. Also, one should not forget that the legacy of classical cinema as the narrative mode continued to exist throughout the 1960s and after, effectively being the most dominant and popular segment of Yugoslav cinema.

My future research of Yugoslav cinema will certainly go along some of these lines, with the categories of gender and sexuality remaining my main theoretical optics. I argue that just as we should not be surprised with the antagonisms and paradoxes in the classical Yugoslav cinema, we should not be perplexed with the inconsistencies and aporias suffusing the gender regimes of the Yugoslav socialist modernity. Hence, we should challenge the totalitarian paradigm in its very foundations; its “descending type of analysis”, which deduces everything from a very fact of the communist party rule, should be replaced with a more refined “ascending” type of socio-historical inquiry – both in relation to gender and cinema (including their interstices).

A Yugoslav law scholar has argued that “it is possible to talk about *the family in socialism*, and not about the socialist family [danas je moguće govoriti samo o porodici u socijalizmu, a ne i o socijalističkoj porodici]” (Mladenović, 1963, p. 77, original emphasis). This proves that one does not have to be a fervent Foucauldian to give up on the essentialist notion of some intrinsically “totalitarian” gender regime (subjectivity, body, etc.), but to turn to the dynamic aspects of the Yugoslav cultural revolution. Accordingly, I would say that the plurality of the gender-and-sexuality motifs in Yugoslav cinema from the late 1940s to the early 1960s – contrary to the accusations for dogmatism and political control – suggest that there was no single dominant Yugoslav socialist gender order, but that there were gender orders in the Yugoslav cultural revolution, which were influenced by a far more numerous factors than some alleged totalitarian subjectivity, “big Other”, or a clear-cut and straightforward ideological outline. To explore these factors most certainly requires a multi- and interdisciplinary approach. This thesis invites the scholars of Yugoslav cinema to come forward and contribute more assertively to such a project.

Appendix

A filmography of the Yugoslav feature films, 1947–1962

The filmography encompasses all 35mm feature films made and released in Yugoslavia during the titular period. The films that I tackle more extensively in the thesis are described here in a more detailed way, with the following information:

THE FILM TITLE

year of the production, the film enterprise (its location: a Yugoslav city; another country involved in the co-production)

d. – director, **s.** – screenwriter, **c.** – cinematography, **m.** – music, **pd.** – production design, **cd.** – costume design, **e.** – editing

cast:

ts. – technical specifications: aspect ratio (standard, widescreen, Cinemascope etc.), film length (in meters), and colour (black and white, or colour)

The other films are mentioned with only the most elemental data: the title, year of production, the film enterprise, and the name of the director. For better or worse, I believe this is the most convenient way both to preserve a general outline of the feature film production from 1947 to 1962, and to underline the analyzed films.

Last but not least, Nikola Popović's *Majka Katina/Mother Katina* (1949) and Branko Marjanović's *Ciguli Miguli/Higgledy-Piggledy* (1952), the two banned/shelved films, are not included in this chronology as they were not released during this period.



SLAVICA

1947, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Vjekoslav Afrić, **c.** Žorž Skrigin, **m.** Silvije Bombardelli, **pd.** Jozo Janda, **e.** Maja Lazarov, Dušan Aleksić

cast: Irena Kolesar, Marijan Lovrić, Dubravko Dujšin, Carka Jovanović, Ljubiša Jovanović, Jozo Laurenčić, Božo Nikolić, Ivka Rutić, Branko Pivnički, Braslav Borozan, Joža Rutić, Dejan Dubajić, Predrag Milanov, Tješivoj Cinotti, Junus Međedović, Danka Paljetak, Olga Skrigin, Aleksandar Zlatković, Marko Marinković, Andro Marjanović, Jozo Bakotić, Marija Lotsky, Tana Mascarelli, Ivo Marjanović, Žarko Pavlović, Karlo Bulić, Pavica Benčić, Božo Alfirević, Ljubo Dijan

ts. standard, 2.740 m, black and white

ŽIVJEĆE OVAJ NAROD / THIS PEOPLE SHALL LIVE

1947, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Nikola Popović, **s.** Branko Ćopić, **c.** Oktavijan Miletić, **m.** Fran Lhotka, **pd.** Miomir Denić, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer

cast: Vera Ilić–Đukić, Fran Novaković, Carka Jovanović, Siniša Ravasi, Nikola Popović, Vaso Kosić, Dobrica Milutinović, Milutin Jasnić, Aleksandar Stojković, Sima Janićijević, Joža Gregorin, Emil Kutijaro, Miša Mirković, Ilija Nedimović

ts. standard, 2.520 m, black and white

BESMRTNA MLADOST / IMMORTAL YOUTH

1948, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Vojislav Nanović, **c.** Aleksandar Sekulović, **m.** Mihajlo Vukdragović, **pd.** Lazar Milin, **e.** Milanka Nanović

cast: Miloš Branković, Ivanka Veljković, Rade Marković, Irena Kolesar, Mića Tatić, Vlada Petrović, Mila Gec, Stevan Morvai, Jovan Gec, Nevenka Mikulić, Vlada Belopavlić, Ljiljana Marjanović, Pavle Vugrinac, Rade Milosavljević, Branko Vojnović, Sava Subašić, Branka Martić, Zoran Nikolić, Filip Jovanović, Olga Petković, Aleksandar Jakšić, Lia Petrova

ts. standard, 2.995 m, black and white

ŽIVOT JE NAŠ – LJUDI S PRUGE / LIFE IS OURS – THE PEOPLE FROM THE RAILWAY

1948, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Gustav Gavrin, **s.** Vlatko Vlatković, **c.** Milorad Marković, **m.** Stanojlo Rajičić, **pd.** Jozo Janda, Vasilije Reznikov, **e.** Miodrag Jovanović

cast: Borislav Gvojić, Bahrija Hadžiosmanović, Slobodan Kolaković, Jovan Antonijević, Slobodan Slobodanović, Mihajlo Farkić, Vladan Đorđević, Sonja Aradski, Branko Mikonjić, Borislav Gligorović, Slobodan Stojanović, Dragan Balković, Miodrag Ognjanović, Pera Milosavljević, Krsta Stanković, Petar Govedarević, Kiro Vinokić, Jelena Ljubojević, Mihajlo Švabić, Batrić Jovanović

ts. standard, 2.534 m, black and white

NA SVOJI ZEMLJI / ON OUR OWN LAND

1948, Triglav Film (Ljubljana)

d. France Štiglic, **s.** Ciril Kosmač, **c.** Ivan Marinček, **m.** Marijan Kozina, **pd.** Boris Kobe, Tone Mlakar, **cd.** Mija Jarc, **e.** Ivan Marinček

cast: Lojze Potokar, France Presetnik, Mileva Zakrajšek, Štefka Drolc, Miro Kopač, Avgusta Danilo, Majda Potokar, Boris Sešek, Stane Sever, Angela Rakar, Jule Vizjak, Franjo Kumer, Stane

Starešinič, Tone Eržen, Andrej Kurent, Gabrijel Vajt, Jože Zupan, Ivan Grasič, Janez Jerman, Jože Gale, Oskar Kjuder, Metka Bučar, Vasja Ocvirk, Aleksander Valič, Ivan Belec, Ivan Fugina
ts. standard, 2.983 m, black and white

SOFKA

1948, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Radoš Novaković, **s.** Aleksandar Vučo, **c.** Stevan Mišković, **m.** Stevan Hristić, **pd.** Miomir Denić, **cd.** Danka Pavlović, **e.** Maja Lazarov

cast: Vera Gregović, Milivoje Živanović, Marija Crnbori, Tomislav Tanhofer, Mila Dimitrijević, Marija Taborska, Marko Marinković, Rade Marković, Mirko Milisavljević, Jovan Nikolić, Nevenka Urbanova, Sofija Perić–Nešić, Dragomir Felba, Branko Đorđević, Vojin Tatić, Rade Brašanac

ts. standard, 2.685 m, black and white

ZASTAVA / THE FLAG

1949, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Branko Marjanović, **s.** Joža Horvat, **c.** Nikola Tanhofer, **m.** Milo Cipra, **pd.** Vladimir Žedrinski, Vladimir Tadej, **cd.** Inga Kostinčer, Višnja Ercegović, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer

cast: Sonja Kastl, Marijan Lovrić, Joža Gregorin, Antun Nalis, Josip Maričić, Zvonko Tkalec, Marija Aleksić, Helena Vrbanić, Viktor Lejčak, Ljubomir Didić, Vladimir Sušić, Josip Halla, Adam Vedernjak, Josip Marotti, Dubravka Gall, Selma Karlovac, Olivija Andrović

ts. standard, 2.710 m, black and white

BARBA ŽVANE / UNCLE ŽVANE

1949, Zvezda Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Vjekoslav Afrić, **c.** Mihajlo Ivanjickov, **m.** Krešimir Baranović, **pd.** Mića Tatić, Aleksandar Markus

cast: Dragomir Felba, Desa Berić, Vladimir Medar, Nada Mladenović, Branko Vojnović, Kiro Lahčanski, Nastja Šubić, Mića Tatić, Aleksandar Markus, Rade Mladenović, Dušan Dobrović, Kiro Vinokić, Ivan Predić, Gita Predić–Nušić, Boško Bošković, Boban Kolaković, Miša Mirković, Mirjana Dapčević, Vanja Kraut, Nada Bošković, Olivera Gajić, Đorđe Jelisić, Mira Nikolić

ts. standard, 3.023 m, black and white

PRIČA O FABRICI / STORY OF A FACTORY

1949, Zvezda Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Vladimir Pogačić, **c.** Vladeta Lukić, **m.** Milan Ristić, **pd.** Aljoša Josić, **e.** Olga Skrigin

cast: Marija Crnbori, Strahinja Petrović, Ljubiša Jovanović, Tito Strozzi, Salko Repak, Branko Pleša, Bojan Stupica, Aleksandar Stojković, Ksenija Jovanović, Mira Gavrilović, Mato Milošević, Dubravka Perić, Sava Sever, Viktor Starčić, Sima Janićijević, Dejan Dubajić, Žarko Mitrović, Joža Rutić, Milan Živković, Milena Filipović, Slobodan Kolaković, Predrag Delibašić, Jovan Jeremić

ts. standard, 2.337 m, black and white

JEZERO / LAKE

1950, Zvezda Film (Belgrade)

d. Radivoje Lola Đukić, **s.** Jug Đorđević, **c.** Nenad Jovičić, **m.** Mihajlo Vukdragović, **pd.** Vasilije Reznikov, **e.** Milada Levi

cast: Milivoje Živanović, Vera Ilić–Đukić, Jovan Milićević, Bert Sotlar, Joža Rutnić, Milan Puzić, Jozo Laurenčić, Karlo Bulić, Aleksandar Stojković, Branka Pantelić, Dejan Dubajić, Miroslav Belović, Vasilije Pantelić, Viktor Starčić, Branko Vojnović, Zora Zlatković, Dragutin Dobričanin, Ivka Rutnić, Vladimir Medar, Janez Vrhovec, Žiža Mažar, Zoran Longinović, Darinka Toskić

ts. standard, 2.471 m, black and white

ČUDOTVORNI MAČ / THE MIRACULOUS SWORD

1950, Zvezda Film (Belgrade), **d.** Vojislav Nanović

CRVENI CVET / THE RED FLOWER

1950, Zvezda Film (Belgrade)

d. Gustav Gavrin, **s.** Oto Bihalji-Merin, Sima Karaoglanović, **c.** Milorad Marković, **m.** Aleksej Butakov, **pd.** Milan Vasić, **e.** Vanja Bjenjaš

cast: Dragomir Felba, Milivoje Živanović, Milan Puzić, Bojan Stupica, Jurica Dijaković, Jovan Milićević, Vladan Đorđević, Nada Škrinjar, Drago Makuc, Sonja Hlebš, Stevo Žigon, Branko Pleša, Karlo Bulić, Viktor Starčić, Stojan Arandelović, Joža Rutnić, Kiro Vinokić, Mića Tatić, Salko Repak, Sima Janićijević, Zoran Ristanović, Žarko Mitrović, Mirko Milisavljević, Miodrag Petrović

ts. standard, 3.006 m, black and white

PLAVI 9 / BLUE 9

1950, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Krešo Golik, **s.** Geno Senečić, Hrvoje Macanović, Krešo Golik, **c.** Nikola Tanhofer, Slavko Zalar, **m.** Bruno Bjelinski, **pd.** Zdravko Gmajner, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer

cast: Irena Kolesar, Jugoslav Nalis, Antun Nalis, Ljubomir Didić, Tješivoj Cinotti, Šime Šimatović, Josip Daneš, Stane Sever, Veljko Maričić, Ljiljana Gener, Micika Žličar, Braco Reiss, Adam Vedernjak, Miljenko Dragosavac, Nada Kareš

ts. standard, 2.590 m, black and white

TRST / TRIESTE

1951, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** France Štiglic

BAKONJA FRA BRNE / MONK BRNE'S PUPIL

1951, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d./s. Fedor Hanžeković, **c.** Oktavijan Miletić, **m.** Boris Papandopulo, **pd.** Vladimir Tadej, **e.** Blaženka Jenčik

cast: Miša Mirković, Milan Ajvaz, Josip Petričić, Vasa Kosić, Milivoj Presečki, Milan Orlović, Stjepan Pisek, Josip Slabinac, Josip Vikario, Aleksandar Binički, Viktor Starčić, Rahela Ferari, Šime Šimatović, Jozo Laurenčić, Emil Kutijaro, Joža Rutnić, Josip Batistić, Mira Stupica, Milena Dapčević,

Oskar Harmoš, Dejan Dubajić, Branko Matić, Stanko Kolašinac, Ljudevit Galić, Vladimir Medar, Ivo Jakšić, Karlo Bulić
ts. standard, 2.849 m, black and white

MAJOR BAUK

1951, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Nikola Popović

POSLEDNJI DAN / THE LAST DAY

1951, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Vladimir Pogačić

DEČAK MITA / THE BOY MITA

1951, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Radoš Novaković

KEKEC

1951, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Jože Gale

HOJA! LERO! / HOYA! LERO!

1952, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Vjekoslav Afrić

FROSINA

1952, Vardar Film (Skopje), **d.** Vojislav Nanović

U OLUJI / IN THE TEMPEST

1952, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Vatroslav Mimica

SVI NA MORE / OFF TO THE SEASIDE

1952, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Sava Popović

SVET NA KAJŽARJU / LIFE IN KAJŽAR

1952, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** France Štiglic

KAMENI HORIZONTI / STONE HORIZONS

1953, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d./s. Šime Šimatović, **c.** Branko Blažina, **m.** Ivo Kirigin, **pd.** Uroš Jurković, Ivo Lovrenčić, **e.** Boris Tešija

cast: Irena Kolesar, Marko Soljačić, Boris Tešija, Jozo Laurenčić, Antun Nalis, Viktor Bek, Mirko Perović, Stane Sever, Josip Daneš, August Cilić, Marija Sekulin, Josip Križaj, Sonja Fabič, Martin Matošević, Dara Vrbanić, Greta Kraus, Veljko Maričić, Josip Jurčević, Aleksandar Binički, Emil Kutijaro, Josip Batistić, Rudolf Sremec, Josip Marotti, Ljudevit Galić, Nela Eržišnik

ts. standard, 2.442 m, black and white

OPŠTINSKO DETE / COMMUNITY CHILD

1953, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Puriša Đorđević

NEVJERA / SHAME

1953, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Vladimir Pogačić

CIGANKA / GYPSY GIRL

1953, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Vojislav Nanović, **s.** Aleksandar Vučo, **c.** Milenko Stojanović, **m.** Dragutin Čolić, **pd.** Milan Vasić, **cd.** Jovan Ćurčić, **e.** Milanka Nanović

cast: Radomir Plaović, Selma Karlovac, Milivoje Živanović, Rastislav Jović, Branko Đorđević, Mirko Milisavljević, Mihajlo Bata Paskaljević, Pavle Vuisić, Jovan Nikolić, Sima Janićijević, Aleksandar Stojković, Janez Vrhovec, Nada Škrinjar, Vladimir Medar, Pera Obradović, Stanko Buhanac, Divna Kostić, Ljupka Višnjić

ts. standard, 2.634 m, black and white

JARA GOSPODA / PARVENUS

1953, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Bojan Stupica

SINJI GALEB / THE GREY SEAGULL

1953, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Branko Bauer

BILA SAM JAČA / I WAS STRONGER

1953, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Gustav Gavrin, **s.** Radoš Novaković, Gustav Gavrin, **c.** Mihajlo Popović, **m.** Stevan Hristić, **pd.** Zoran Zorčić, **e.** Kleopatra Harisijades

cast: Sava Sever, Mira Stupica, Nikola Popović, Aleksandar Ognjanović, Božidar Drnić, Ljubiša Jovanović, Fran Novaković, Ljuba Tadić, Miodrag Naunović, Miodrag Veselinović, Ivo Jakšić, Božidar Marjanović

ts. standard, 1.900 m, black and white

DALEKO JE SUNCE / DISTANT IS THE SUN

1953, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Radoš Novaković, **s.** Josip Kulundžić, **c.** Nenad Jovičić, **m.** Krešimir Baranović, **pd.** Vlastimir Gavrik, **e.** Neva Habić

cast: Branko Pleša, Rade Marković, Dragomir Felba, Jozo Laurenčić, Marko Todorović, Olga Brajović, Janez Vrhovec, Rastislav Jović, Rahela Ferari, Slobodan Stanković

ts. standard, 2.800 m, black and white

VESNA

1953, Triglav Film (Ljubljana)

d. František Čap, **s.** Matej Bor, **c.** Pavel Grupp, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Mirko Lipužič, **cd.** Mija Jarc, **e.** Milka Badjura

cast: Metka Gabrijelčič, France Trefalt, Janez Čuk, Jure Furlan, Metka Bučar, Stane Sever, Elvira Kralj, Mila Kačič, Marjeta Rupnik, Alice Cimperman, Frane Milčinski, Pavle Kovič, Olga Bedjanič, Slavka Glavina, Alenka Svetel, Boris Kralj, Drago Zupan, Ana Grgurevič, Marjan Lombar, Ante Gnidovec, Ana Zarnik, Pavel Biber, Antonija Ponebšek, Franc Merjasec

ts. standard, 2.617 m, black and white

SUMNJIVO LICE / A SUSPICIOUS PERSON

1954, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Soja Jovanović

POSLEDNJI MOST / DIE LETZTE BRÜCKE / THE LAST BRIDGE

1954, UFUS (Belgrade), Cosmopol film (Austria)

d. Helmut Käutner, **s.** Helmut Käutner, Norbert Kunze, **c.** Elio Carniel, **m.** Karl de Groof, **pd.** Oto Pischinger, Kosta Krivokapić, **e.** Hemine Diethelm, Paula Dvorak

cast: Maria Schell, Barbara Rütting, Bernhard Wicki, Carl Möhner, Pavle Minčić, Zvonko Žungul, Robert Meyn, Horst Hächler, Tilla Durieux, Fritz Eckhard, Janez Vrhovec, Walter Regelsberger, Steffie Schwarz, Bata Stojanović, Stevan Petrović, Milan Nešić, Franz Eichberger, Heinrich von Einsiedel, Pero Kostić

ts. standard, 2.800 m, black and white

STOJAN MUTIKAŠA

1954, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Fedor Hanžeković

KONCERT / CONCERT

1954, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Branko Belan, **s.** Vladan Desnica, **c.** Oktavijan Miletić, **m.** Silvije Bombardelli, **pd.** Želimir Zagotta, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer

cast: Nada Škrinjar, Sonja Šagovac, Miroslav Petrović, Branko Špoljar, Rudolf Kukić, Marija Piro, Viktor Bek, Zvonimir Rogoz, Ivan Pajić, Ana Hercigonja, Nela Eržišnik, Antun Nalis, Stevo Vujatović, Asja Kisić, Milan Orlović, Borivoj Šembera, Relja Bašić, Vladimir Leib, Mirna Stopić, Vlasta Hegedušić, Mila Mosinger, Anđela Baj, Neda Pataki, Boris Buzančić, Bruno Mandić

ts. standard, 2.613 m, black and white

KUĆA NA OBALI / DAS HAUS AN DER KÜSTE / THE HOUSE ON THE COAST

1954, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), J. Arthur Rank Film (West Germany), **d.** Boško Kosanović

ANIKINA VREMENA / ANIKA'S TIMES

1954, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Vladimir Pogačić, **s.** Vicko Raspor, Vladimir Pogačić, **c.** Aleksandar Sekulović, **m.** Krešimir Baranović, **pd.** Nikola Radanović, **cd.** Desanka Pogačić, **e.** Milada Levi
cast: Milena Dapčević, Bratislav Grbić, Ljubinka Bobić, Mirko Milisavljević, Bosiljka Boci, Severin Bijelić, Mata Milošević, Viktor Starčić, Milan Ajvaz, Nevenka Mikulić, Tomislav Tanhofer, Nikola Gašić, Marinko Benzon, Žarko Mitrović
ts. standard, 2.391 m, black and white

V ZAČETKU JE BIL GREH / AM ANFANG WAR ES SÜNDE / IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE SIN
1954, Saphir Film (West Germany), Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** František Čap

DJEVOJKA I HRAST / THE GIRL AND THE OAK

1955, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Krešo Golik, **s.** Mirko Božić, **c.** Frano Vodopivec, **m.** Branimir Sakač, **pd.** Frano Šimunović, **cd.** Vlasta Hegedušić, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer
cast: Tamara Miletić, Ljuba Tadić, Miodrag Popović, Andrej Kurent, Viktor Bek, Josip Petričić, Stojan Arandelović, Violeta Proševska, Ivka Berković, Mia Sasso, Luka Aparac, Josip Batistić, Drago Mitrović, Mile Gatara, Andro Marjanović, Josip Marača, Ratko Glavina, Zorka Falović
ts. standard, 2.250 m, black and white

EŠALON DOKTORA M. / ECHELON OF DOCTOR M

1955, UFUS (Belgrade), Producer group Tempo (Belgrade)

d. Žika Mitrović, **s.** Žika Mitrović, Dušan Zega, **c.** Mihajlo Al. Popović, **m.** Ivan Rupnik, **pd.** Kosta Krivokapić, **e.** Vanja Bjenjaš
cast: Nađa Regin, Severin Bijelić, Marijan Lovrić, Ilija Džuvalekovski, Milivoje Popović, Vladimir Medar, Marko Marinković, Abdurrahman Shala, Janez Vrhovec, Dragojlo Marković, Slobodan Kolaković, Milutin Jasnić, Đorđe Krstić, Živojin Nenadović, Dragomir Bojanić Gidra
ts. standard, 2.486 m, black and white

KRVAVI PUT / THE BLOOD PATH

1955, Avala Film (Belgrade), Norsk film (Norway)

d. Radoš Novaković, Kåre Bergstrøm

TRI ZGODBE / THREE STORIES

1955, Triglav Film (Ljubljana)

SLOVO ANDREJA VITUŽNIKA: **d.** Jane Kavčič, Igor Pretnar, France Kosmač

NJIH DVOJICA / THE TWO OF THEM

1955, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Žorž Skrigin

MILIONI NA OTOKU / MILLIONS ON AN ISLAND

1955, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Branko Bauer

TRENUTKI ODLOČITVE / MOMENTS OF DECISION

1955, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** František Čap

DVA ZRNA GROŽĐA

1955, UFUS (Belgrade), Nikos Skulidis & Co. (Greece), **d.** Puriša Đorđević

JUBILEJ GOSPODINA IKLA / JUBILEE OF MR. IKL

1955, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Vatroslav Mimica

VOLČA NOĆ / NIGHT OF THE WOLF

1955, Vardar Film (Skopje), **d.** France Štiglic

LAŽNI CAR / THE FALSE TZAR

1955, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Velimir Stojanović

PESMA SA KUMBARE / THE SONG FROM KUMBARA

1955, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Radoš Novaković

ŠOLAJA

1955, Studio Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Vojislav Nanović

HANKA

1955, Bosna Film (Sarajevo)

d./e. Slavko Vorkapić, **s.** Isak Samokovlija, Slavko Vorkapić, **c.** Milenko Stojanović, **m.** Ilija Marinković, **pd./cd.** Dragoljub Lazarević

cast: Vera Gregović, Jovan Milićević, Mira Stupica, Vaso Kosić, Mišo Mrvaljević, Jelena Kešeljević, Kaja Ignjatović, Karlo Bulić, Milivoje Popović, Fran Novaković, Predrag Laković, Aleksandar Stojković, Dejan Dubajić, Pavle Ković, Olga Nađ, Nada Urban, Jovan Jeremić, Mile Pani, Esad Kazazović, Jovan Gec, Bogda Kazet, Dragutin Todić, Safet Pašalić

ts. standard, 3.600 m, black and white

PUTNICI SA SPLENDIDA / PASSENGERS FROM SPLENDID

1956, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Milenko Štrbac

KLISURA / DER FELSEN / THE ROCK

1956, Studio Film (Sarajevo), Titanus Film (West Germany), Projektograph Film (Austria), **d.** Boško Kosanović

POTRAGA / THE SEARCH

1956, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Žorž Skrigin

OPSADA / THE SIEGE

1956, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Branko Marjanović

POSLEDNJI KOLOSEK / THE LAST TRACK

1956, UFUS (Belgrade)

d./s. Žika Mitrović, **c.** Dragoljub Karadžinović, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Miomir Denić, **cd.** Danka Pavlović, **e.** Vanja Bjenjaš

cast: Jovan Milićević, Marijan Lovrić, Olivera Marković, Salko Repak, Severin Bijelić, Dragomir Bojanić Gidra, Irena Kolesar, Slobodan Perović, Žarko Mitrović, Vladimir Medar, Svetislav Pavlović, Miodrag Veselinović, Sonja Hlebš, Milivoje Popović, Mirko Srećković, Desa Berić, Ivo Jakšić, Bata Živojinović, Radmilo Ćurčić, **ts.** standard, 2.300 m, black and white

ZLE PARE / THE EVIL MONEY

1956, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Velimir Stojanović

VELIKI I MALI / THE BIG AND THE SMALL

1956, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Vladimir Pogačić

POD SUMNJOM / UNDER SUSPICION

1956, Bosna Film (Sarajevo)

d./s. Branko Belan, **c.** Hrvoje Sarić, **m.** Silvije Bombardelli, **pd.** Strahinja Petrović, **cd.** Jagoda Bujić–Bonetti, **e.** Blaženka Jenčik

cast: Milorad Margetić, Tamara Miletić, Mirko Vojković, Božo Jajčanin, Josip Zappalorto, Drago Mitrović, Mile Gatara, Josip Vikario, Mišo Mrvaljević, Obrad Gluščević, Ivka Berković, Božo Nardeli, Dejan Dubajić, Asja Kisić, Marija Aljinović, Bogdan Buljan, Toma Kuruzović, Branka Krželj, Jakov Andrić, Dulka Bujas, Ljubo Milanović, Dragutin Jelić, Branko Belan, Pero Tedeski
ts. standard, 2.650 m, black and white

NE OKREĆI SE, SINE / DON'T TURN ROUND, SON

1956, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Branko Bauer, **s.** Branko Bauer, Arsen Diklić, **c.** Branko Blažina, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Želimir Zagotta, **e.** Boris Tešija

cast: Bert Sotlar, Lila Andres, Zlatko Lukman, Mladen Hanzlovski, Radojko Ježić, Stjepan Jurčević, Greta Kraus–Aranicki, Zlatko Madunić, Tihomir Polanec, Nikša Štefanini, Vladimir Bačić, Kolja Carević, Vladimir Dopuđa, Nela Eržišnik, Viki Glovacki, Beba Lončar, Marija Merlić, Ivo Pajić, Mladen Šerment, Branko Špoljar, Hrvoje Švob, Kruno Valentić
ts. standard, 3.031 m, black and white

DOLINA MIRU / DOLINA MIRA / THE VALLEY OF PEACE

1956, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** France Štiglic

CIPELICE NA ASFALTU / THE CHILDREN'S SHOES ON ASPHALT

1956, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Boško Vučinić, Zdravko Randić, Ljubomir Radičević

U MREŽI / IN THE WEB

1956, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Bojan Stupica

DALMATINSKA SVADBA / EINMAL KEHR' ICH WEIDER

1957, Hansa film (West Germany), Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Géza von Bolváry

KO PRIDE LJUBEZEN / QUAND VIENT L'AMOUR

1957, Production H. P. D. (France), Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Maurice Cloche

ZENICA

1957, UFUS (Belgrade)

d. Jovan Živanović, Miloš Stefanović, **s.** Miloš Stefanović, Bogdan Jovanović, **c.** Josip Novak, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Dragoljub Lazarević, **cd.** Mira Glišić, **e.** Jelena Bjenjaš

cast: Rade Marković, Gordana Miletić, Mato Milošević, Stojan Arandelović, Mihajlo Viktorović, Nikola Popović, Svetlana Mišović, Dragoslav Popović, Viktor Starčić, Pavle Vuisić, Nikola Milić, Vera Stefanović, Miloš Šami, Nada Zamfirović, Sveta Milutinović, Krsta Stojković, Žarko Velicki, Nikola Gašić, Dragomir Bojanić Gidra, Milorad Samardžić, Milica Mijatović

ts. standard, 2.349 m, black and white

NIJE BILO UZALUD / IT WAS NOT IN VAIN

1957, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d./s. Nikola Tanhofer, **c.** Slavko Zalar, **m.** Milo Cipra, **pd.** Zdravko Gmajner, **cd.** Olga Maruševski, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer

cast: Boris Buzančić, Mira Nikolić, Zlata Perlić, Mia Oremović, Vjera Simić, Zvonimir Rogoz, Ivan Šubić, Ljuba Tadić, Antun Vrdoljak, Marija Aleksić, Silva Fulgosi, Duka Tadić, Mladen Šerment, Stjepan Jurčević, Branko Majer, Branko Šantić, Zvonimir Nuber

ts. standard, 2.662 m, black and white

TUDA ZEMLJA / THE LAND OF THE OTHERS

1957, Bosna Film (Sarajevo)

d. Jože Gale, **s.** Meša Selimović, **c.** Ivan Marinček, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Džemo Ćesović, **e.** Ruža Cvingl

cast: Rade Marković, Ilija Džuvalekovski, Milorad Margetić, Tamara Miletić, Marija Crnbori, Stane Potokar, Mihajlo Bata Paskaljević, Milutin Jasnić, Toma Kuruzović, Vlastimir Đuza Stojiljković, Radovan Vučković, Dubravka Kenić

ts. standard, 2.440 m, black and white

MALE STVARI / THE LITTLE THINGS

1957, Studio Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Boško Kosanović

MALI ČOVEK / THE LITTLE MAN

1957, Vardar Film (Skopje), **d.** Živan Čukulić

POP ĆIRA I POP SPIRA / FATHER ĆIRA AND FATHER SPIRA

1957, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Soja Jovanović

SAMO LJUDI... / ONLY HUMAN

1957, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Branko Bauer, **s.** Arsen Diklić, **c.** Branko Blažina, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Vladimir Tadej, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer

cast: Tamara Miletić, Milorad Margetić, Nikša Štefanini, Olivera Marković, Stjepan Jurčević, Nela Eržišnik, Branko Šantić, Tomo Kuruzović, Luka Delić, Dragoslav Popović, Dušan Banjac, Darinka Durašević

ts. standard, 2.890 m, black and white

SVOGA TELA GOSPODAR / MASTER OF ONE'S OWN BODY

1957, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Fedor Hanžeković, **s.** Slavko Kolar, **c.** Oktavijan Miletić, **m.** Fran Lhotka, **pd.** Želimir Zagotta, **e.** Blaženka Jenčik

cast: Marija Kohn, Julije Perlaki, Mladen Šerment, Nela Eržišnik, Ivo Pajić, Vanja Timer, Marija Aleksić, August Cilić, Viktor Bek, Ivka Dabetić, Ljubica Jović, Mate Ergović, Rikard Brzeska, Fabijan Šovagović, Ivo Serdar

ts. standard, 2.977 m, black and white

NAŠI SE PUTOVI RAZILAZE / WE'RE GOING SEPARATE WAYS

1957, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Šime Šimatović

SUBOTOM UVEČE / SATURDAY EVENING

1957, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Vladimir Pogačić

NE ČAKAJ NA MAJ / DON'T WHISPER

1957, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** František Čap

KRVAVA KOŠULJA / THE BLOODY SHIRT

1957, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Žorž Skrigin

VRATIĆU SE / I WILL BE BACK

1957, Bosna Film (Sarajevo)

d. Jože Gale, **s.** Jara Ribnikar, Zoran Gluščević, **c.** Ivan Marinček, **m.** Marjan Kozina, **pd.** Vladimir Tadej, **e.** Zora Branković

cast: Stevo Žigon, Irena Kolesar, Stane Sever, Mia Oremović, Vasa Pantelić, Dragoslav Popović, Ilija Džuvalekovski, Mihajlo Bata Paskaljević, Severin Bijelić, Dragan Todić, Relja Bašić, Stjepan Pisek, Ljudevit Gerovac, Tomo Kuruzović, Joviša Vojnović, Marija Tocinovski, Jelena Žigon, Boris Smoje, Milorad Samardžić, Moris Levi, Josip Bilić, Rejhan Demirdžić, Jovan Rančić

ts. standard, 2.600 m, black and white

POTRAŽI VANDU KOS / LOOK FOR VANDA KOS

1957, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Žika Mitrović, **s.** Frida Filipović, **c.** Dragoljub Karadžinović, **m.** Dragutin Savin, **pd.** Milan Vasić, **e.** Milica Poličević

cast: Olga Spiridonović, Zoran Ristanović, Jozo Laurenčić, Merima Eminović, Viktor Starčić, Rahela Ferrari, Nevenka Mikulić, Milan Srdoč, Žarko Mitrović, Branko Đorđević, Vladimir Medar, Slobodan Stojanović

ts. standard, 1.960 m, black and white

VELIKI PLAVI PUT / LA GRANDE STRADA AZZURA / THE WIDE BLUE ROAD

1958, G. E. S. I. Cinematografica (Italy), Play Art (France), Eichberg Film (West Germany), Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Gillo Pontecorvo

RAFAL U NEBO / SHOTS IN THE SKY

1958, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Vanja Bjenjaš

CRNI BISERI / THE BLACK PEARLS

1958, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Toma Janić

DOBRO MORJE / THE GOOD SEA

1958, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Mirko Grobler

ALEKSA DUNDIĆ

1958, Avala Film (Belgrade), Kino-Studio Gorky (Soviet Union), **d.** Leonid Lukov

TRI KORAKA U PRAZNO / THREE STEPS INTO THE VOID

1958, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Vojislav Nanović

KALA

1958, Viba Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Andrej Hieng, Krešo Golik

ČETIRI KILOMETRA NA SAT / FOUR KILOMETERS PER HOUR

1958, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Velimir Stojanović

CESTA DUGA GODINU DANA / THE YEAR LONG ROAD

1958, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Giuseppe de Santis, **s.** Giuseppe de Santis, Maurizio Ferrara, Tonino Guerra, Elio Petri, Gianni Puccini, Mario Socrate, **c.** Marco Scarpelli, **m.** Vladimir Kraus-Rajterić, **pd.** Želimir Zagotta, **cd.** Jagoda Buić, **e.** Boris Tešija

cast: Silvana Pampanini, Eleonora Rossi Drago, Massimo Girotti, Bert Sotlar, Milivoje Živanović, Gordana Miletić, Nikša Štefanini, Hermina Pipinić, Lia Rho–Barbieri, Antun Vrdoljak, Branko Tatić, Nada Škrinjar, Radojko Ježić, Rikard Brzeska, Petar Spajić, Dragica Mežnarić, August Cilić, Aleksandar Stojković, Neda Pataki, Milan Vojnović, Ljubo Dijan, Milan Lentić, Tihomir Polanec

ts. Ultrascope, 4.443 m, black and white

H-8...

1958, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Nikola Tanhofer

TE NOĆI / ON THAT NIGHT

1958, Slavija Film (Belgrade)

d. Jovan Živanović, **s.** Miroslav Subotički, **c.** Aleksandar Sekulović, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Zoran Zorčić, **cd.** Mira Glišić, **e.** Jelena Bjenjaš

cast: Rade Marković, Milanka Udovički, Jovan Milićević, Mihajlo Viktorović, Pavle Vuisić, Jovan Janićijević, Daniel Obradović, Nikola Popović, Jovan Rančić, Mija Aleksić, Ljiljana Vajler, Dara Čalenić, Nikola Milić, Severin Bijelić, Bata Živojinović, Milan Srdoč, Dragoslav Popović, Miodrag Popović, Dragoslav Radoičić, Đokica Milaković, Predrag Milisavljević, Dušan Vuisić

ts. standard, 2.400 m, black and white

KROZ GRANJE NEBO / SS STRIKE AT DAWN

1958, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Stole Janković

JEDINI IZLAZ / THE ONLY WAY OUT

1958, Zastava film (Belgrade), **d.** Vicko Raspor, Aleksandar Petrović

MIS STON / MISS STONE

1958, Vardar Film (Skopje), **d.** Žika Mitrović

GOSPOĐA MINISTARKA / MRS. CABINET MINISTER

1958, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Žorž Skrigin

VELIKO PUTOVANJE / A GREAT JOURNEY

1958, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Ivan Hetrich

POGON B / SECTION B

1958, UFUS (Belgrade)

d./s. Vojislav Nanović, **c.** Milorad Marković, Slobodan Novaković, **m.** Borivoje Simić, **pd.** Milan Vasić, **cd.** Mira Glišić, **e.** Milanka Nanović

cast: Milivoje Živanović, Dragan Laković, Pavle Vuisić, Ljiljana Marković, Vasa Panetlić, Miroslav Petrović, Nikola Popović, Branislav Jerinić, Slavko Simić, Stanko Buhanac, Miša Mirković, Slobodan Simić, Ljubiša Jovanović, Marijan Lovrić, Desa Berić, Nada Škrinjar, Milan Ajvaz, Vuka Kostić, Anka Vrbanić, Dragica Felba, Velimir Bošković, Vlasta Antonović, Milan Nešić

ts. standard, 2.600 m, black and white

KLEMPO

1958, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Nikola Tanhofer

TAKVA PJESMA SVE OSVAJA / A SONG LIKE THAT WINS ALL

1958, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Branko Majer

U NAŠEG MARINA / OUR GUY MARIN

1958, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Branko Majer

ZVIJEZDA PUTUJE NA JUG • HVEZDA JEDE NA JIH

1959, Barandov Film (Czechoslovakia), Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Oldřich Lipský

VRATA OSTAJU OTVORENA / THE DOORS REMAIN OPEN

1959, Bosna Film (Sarajevo)

d. František Čap, **s.** Vladimir Paskaljević, **c.** Janez Kališnik, **m.** Borut Lesjak, **pd.** Veselin Badrov, **cd.** Helena Horvat, Ana Petrova, **e.** Manja Fuks

cast: Rade Vergović, Teodora Arsenović, Milena Dravić, Mirjana Erić, Zorica Lozić, Breda Dular, Vera Hrkač, Snežana Misovska, Stanislava Lazarević, Dušan Janićijević, Miljko Jovanović, Radosav Jukić, Dimitrije Nestorović, Dragan Zubac, Dušan Todorović, Fuad Ahmić, Nikola Barbalić, Branko Pavlin, Luka Delić, Savo Jovanović, Boris Smoje, Mladen Nedeljković, Božica Kazazović

ts. standard, 2.747 m, black and white

SAM / ALONE

1959, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Vladimir Pogačić, **c.** Aleksandar Sekulović, **m.** Bojan Adamić, **pd.** Vlastimir Gavrik, **e.** Milada Levi

cast: Nikola Simić, Milan Puzić, Pavle Vuisić, Severin Bijelić, Radmila Andrić, Tugomir Kostić, Milorad Volić, Milan Srdoč, Franja Živni, Tori Janković, Ivan Jonaš, Milan Panić, Zoran Marjanović, Đorđe Jelisić

ts. standard, 2.575 m, black and white

VLAK BEZ VOZNOG REDA / TRAIN WITHOUT A TIME TABLE

1959, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Veljko Bulajić, **s.** Veljko Bulajić, Ivo Braut, Stjepan Perović, Elio Petri, **c.** Krešo Grčević, **m.** Vladimir Kraus–Rajterić, **pd.** Dušan Jeričević, **cd.** Marko Cerovac, **e.** Blaženka Jenčik
cast: Olivera Marković, Lia Rho–Barbieri, Inge Ilin, Ljiljana Vajler, Ivica Pajer, Milan Milošević, Stojan Arandelović, Bata Živojinović, Jan Sid, Jelena Kešeljević, Ivona Petri, Tana Mascarelli, Luka Delić, Mate Ergović, Krešimir Zidarić, Marko Soljačić, Ljubo Dijan, Muhamed Čejvan, Zdenka Trach, Mirko Boman, Nevenka Benković, Milorad Spasojević, Zlatibor Stojmirov, Vera Simić
ts. totalvision, 3.308 m, black and white

VIZA NA ZLOTO / THE FALSE PASSPORT

1959, Vardar Film (Skopje), **d.** France Štiglic

OSMA VRATA / THE EIGHT DOORS

1959, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Nikola Tanhofer

DOBRI STARI PIANINO / THE GOOD OLD PIANO

1959, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** France Kosmač

NOĆI I JUTRA / NIGHTS AND DAYS

1959, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Pjer Majhrovski

TRI ČETRTINE SONCA • THREE QUARTERS OF THE SUN

1959, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Jože Babič

PUKOTINA RAJA / HEAVEN WITHOUT LOVE

1959, Jadran Film (Zagreb)

d. Vladimir Pogačić, **s.** Milan Tutorov, V. Pogačić, **c.** Milorad Marković, Slobodan Marković, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Želimir Zagotta, **e.** Ljerka Stanojević

cast: Ljubica Jović, Milan Puzić, Severin Bijelić, Tatjana Beljakova, Antun Vrdoljak, Branko Tatić, Branka Pantelić, Milivoj Popović, Milan Lentić, Zlatko Crnković, Zoran Longinović, Milan Vojnović, Stanko Buhanac, Vlado Bačić, Rikard Brzeska

ts. standard, 2.911 m, black and white

PET MINUTA RAJA / FIVE MINUTES OF PARADISE

1959, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Igor Pretnar

CAMPO MAMULA / CAMP MAMULA

1959, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Velimir Stojanović

VETAR JE STAO PRED ZORU / THE WIND STOPS BLOWING

1959, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Radoš Novaković

TRI ANE / THREE ANAS, OR THREE GIRLS NAMED ANA

1959, Vardar Film (Skopje)

d. Branko Bauer, **s.** Slobodan Glumac, **c.** Branko Blažina, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Vladimir Tadej, **cd.** Mira Glišić, **e.** Radojka Tanhofer

cast: Dušan Stefanović, Svetlana Mišković, Marija Kohn, Dubravka Gall, Branko Tatić, Ružica Komnenović, Tito Strozzi, Vera Misita, Velimir Hitil, Marica Popović, Josip Marotti, Dubravka Rajhl, Željko Šoš, Milivoje Popović, Dušan Janićijević, Marija Danira, Stanoje Dušanović, Stjepan Jurčević, Vladimir Medar, Vera Orlović, Stjepan Draganić, Mladen Brandolica, Dušan Vuisić

ts. Totalscope, 2.654 m, black and white

BIJELI ĐAVO / AGI MURAD, IL DIAVOLO BIANCO / THE WHITE WARRIOR

1959, Lovćen Film (Budva), Majestic films (Italy), **d.** Riccardo Freda

JURNJAVA ZA MOTOROM / THE MOTORCYCLE CHASE

1959, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Branko Majer

PIKO

1959, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Srećko Weygand

KOTA 905 / POINT 905

1960, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Mate Relja

DILIŽANSA SNOVA / THE DREAMS CAME BY COACH

1960, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Soja Jovanović

DEVETI KRUG / THE NINTH CIRCLE

1960, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** France Štiglic

KAPETAN LEŠI / CAPTAIN LLESHI

1960, Slavija Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Žika Mitrović, **c.** Branko Ivatović, **m.** Rexho Muliqi, **pd.** Vlastimir Gavrik, **cd.** Božana Jovanović, **e.** Vanja Bjenjaš

cast: Aleksandar Gavrić, Petar Prličko, Dimitar Kostarov, Reiner Penkert, Marija Tocinoski, Selma Karlovac, Abdurrahman Shala, Siegfried Breuer Jr., Darko Damevski, Jovan Rančić, Dušan Tadić, Dušan Antonijević, Pavle Vuisić, Boris Beginov, Shaban Gashi, Đorđe Nenadović, Shani Pallaska, Istref Begolli, Muharrem Qena, Zlatibor Stoimirov, Pantelija Grnčarovski, Ranko Bradić

ts. Cinemascope, 2.953 m, colour

AKCIJA / ACTION

1960, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Jane Kavčič

IZGUBLJENA OLOVKA / THE LOST PENCIL

1960, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Fedor Škubonja

DRUG PREDSEDNIK CENTARFOR

1960, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Žorž Skrigin

RAT / ATOMIC WAR BRIDE

1960, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Veljko Bulajić

X 25 JAVLJA / X 25 REPORTS

1960, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** František Čap

PARTIZANSKE PRIČE / PARTISAN STORIES

1960, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Stole Janković

VESELICA / THE FEAST

1960, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Jože Babič

KAPÒ

1960, Vides, Zebra Films, Cineriz (Italy), Francinex (France), Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Gillo Pontecorvo

LJUBAV I MODA / LOVE AND FASHION

1960, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Ljubomir Radičević

SIGNALI NAD GRADOM / SIGNALS ABOVE THE CITY

1960, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Žika Mitrović

ZAJEDNIČKI STAN / THE SHARED APARTMENT

1960, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Marijan Vajda

BOLJE JE UMETI... / IT IS BETTER TO KNOW HOW

1960, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Vojislav Nanović, **c.** Radoš Lužanin, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Miodrag Nikolić, **cd.** Anđelka Slijepčević, **e.** Milanka Nanović

cast: Pavle Vuisić, Milena Dravić, Dragan Laković, Mija Aleksić, Božidarka Frajt, Blaženka Katalinić, Žarko Mitrović, Jelena Bjeličić, Pavle Minčić, Joviša Vojnović, Dušan Antonijević, Stanko Buhanać, Zlatko Madunić, Dušan Dobrović, Milorad Nikolić, Mato Grković, Sabrija Biser, Vaso Perišić, Pavle Bogatinčević, Desa Berić, Marko Milisavljević, Jovan Gec, Gabi Novak

ts. widescreen, 2.855 m, colour

DAN ČETRNAESTI / THE DAY FOURTEEN

1960, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Zdravko Velimirović

PARČE PLAVOG NEBA / A PIECE OF THE BLUE SKY

1961, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Toma Janić

PRVI GRADANIN MALE VAROŠI / THE FIRST CITIZEN OF THE SMALL TOWN

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Puriša Đorđević

TI LOVIŠ / HIDE AND SEEK

1961, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** France Kosmač

MARTIN U OBLACIMA / MARTIN IN THE CLOUDS

1961, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Branko Bauer

KAROLINA RIJEČKA / KAROLINA OF RIJEKA

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Vladimir Pogačić

NEMA MALIH BOGOVA / THERE ARE NO LESSER GODS

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Radivoje Lola Đukić

NEBESKI ODRED / THE SUICIDE SQUAD

1961, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Boško Bošković, Ilija Nikolić

MIRNO LETO / THE SERENE SUMMER

1961, Vardar Film (Skopje), **d.** Dimitrie Osmanli

PLES V DEŽJU / A DANCE IN THE RAIN

1961, Triglav Film (Ljubljana)

d./s. Boštjan Hladnik, **c.** Janez Kališnik, **m.** Bojan Adamič, **pd.** Niko Matul, **cd.** Nada Souvan, **e.** Kleopatra Harisijades

cast: Duša Počkaj, Miha Baloh, Rado Nakrst, Ali Raner, Joža Zupan, Arnold Tovornik, Janez Jerman, Janez Albreht, Vida Juvan, Demeter Bitenc, Janko Hočevar, Franci Jež, Mojca Platner, Miha Burger

ts. widescreen, 2.680 m, black and white

CAREVO NOVO RUHO / THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES

1961, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Ante Babaja

NOČNI IZLET / NIGHT TRIP

1961, Viba Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Mirko Grobler

PUSTOLOV PRED VRATIMA / THE ADVENTURER ON THE DOORS

1961, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Šime Šimatović

BALADA O TROBENTI IN OBLAKU / THE BALLAD OF THE TRUMPET AND THE CLOUD

1961, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** France Štiglic

SREĆA DOLAZI U DEVET / LUCK COMES AT 9

1961, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Nikola Tanhofer

SUDAR NA PARALELAMA / CRASH ON THE TRAIN

1961, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Jože Babič

SOLUNSKITE ATENTATORI / THE ASSASINS FROM SALONIKA

1961, Vardar Film (Skopje), **d.** Žika Mitrović

UZAVRELI GRAD / BOOM TOWN

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Veljko Bulajić, **s.** Dragoslav Ilić, Radenko Ostojić, Bruno Barati, Veljko Bulajić, **c.** Krešo Grčević, **m.** Vladimir Kraus–Rajterić, **pd.** Duško Jeričević, **cd.** Maja Galasso, **e.** Ljerka Stanojević
cast: Ilija Džuvalekovski, Bata Živojinović, Dragomir Felba, Janez Vrhovec, Miloš Kandić, Nikola Privora, Zaim Muzaferija, Olivera Marković, Milena Dravić, Lia Rho Barbieri, Mira Sardoč, Lela Šimecki, Zorica Šimunović, Tana Mascarelli, Ivan Radonić, Danijel Obradović, Latica Ivanišević
ts. Cinemascope, 3.128 m, black and white

NASILJE NA TRGU / SQUARE OF VIOLENCE

1961, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Leonardo Bercovici

NE UBIJ / TU NE TUERAS POINT / THOU SHALT NOT KILL

1961, Lovćen Film (Budva), Gold Film (Italy), Vaduz Film (Lichtenstein), **d.** Claude Autant–Lara

DVOJE / AND LOVE HAS VANISHED

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Aleksandar Petrović

PESMA / THE SONG

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Radoš Novaković

NE DIRAJ U SREĆU / DON'T MESS WITH HAPPINESS

1961, Lovćen Film (Budva), **d.** Milo Đukanović

DRUŽINSKI DNEVNIK / FAMILY DIARY

1961, Viba Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Jože Gale

SREĆA U TORBI / THE BAG OF LUCK

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Radivoje Lola Đukić

IZBIRAČICA / PICKY GIRL

1961, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Marijan Vajda, Dimitrije Đurković

VELIKA TURNEJA / THE GRAND TOUR

1961, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Žorž Skrigin

POTRAGA ZA ZMAJEM / SEARCH FOR THE KITE

1961, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Jane Kavčič

ABECEDA STRAHA / THE ALPHABET OF FEAR

1961, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Fadil Hadžić

VELIKO SUĐENJE / THE BIG TRIAL

1961, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Fedor Škubonja

LETO JE KRIVO ZA SVE / BLAME IT ON THE SUMMER

1961, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Puriša Đorđević

IGRE NA SKELAMA / PLAYING ON THE SCAFFOLDING

1961, Zora Film (Zagreb), **d.** Srećko Weygand

STEPENICE HRABROSTI / THE STAIRWAY FOR THE COURAGEOUS

1961, Zastava Film (Belgrade), **d.** Oto Deneš

SIBIRSKA LEDI MAGBET / SIBERIAN LADY MACBETH

1962, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Andrzej Wajda

PROZVAN JE I V-3 / THE LAST ROLL-CALL

1962, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Milan Štrbac

PREKOBROJNA / THE SUPERFLUOUS ONE

1962, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d. Branko Bauer, **s.** Bogdan Jovanović, Krešo Golik, Branko Bauer, **c.** Branko Blažina, **m.** Vladimir Kraus-Rajterić, **pd.** Branko Hundić, **cd.** Branka Soldo, **e.** Blaženka Jenčik

cast: Milena Dravić, Ljubiša Samardžić, Boris Dvornik, Dragomir Felba, Jovan Rančić, Molotov Jovanović, Snežana Mihajlović, Snežana Mladenović, Đorđe Nenadović, Slavomir Stojković, Dragana Nikolić, Miodrag Popović, Ivan Jagodić, Ruža Vesligaj, Strahinja Mojić, Aleksandar Mitić, Zvezdana Đorđević, Dobrila Kekić

ts. Cinemascope, 2.569 m, black and white

SREŠĆEMO SE VEČERAS / WE WILL MEET TONIGHT

1962, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** František Čap

ČUDNA DEVOJKA / STRANGE GIRL

1962, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Jovan Živanović

MEDALJON SA TRI SRCA / MEDALLION WITH THREE HEARTS

1962, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Vladan Slijepčević

ŠEKI SNIMA, PAZI SE! / ŠEKI IS SHOOTING – BEWARE!

1962, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Marijan Vajda

DR. / D.PHIL.

1962, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Soja Jovanović

SJENKA SLAVE / SHADOW OF FAME

1962, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Vanja Bjenjaš

ZVIŽDUK U OSAM / WHISTLE AT 8 P.M.

1962, UFUS (Belgrade), **d.** Sava Mrmak

DA LI JE UMRO DOBAR ČOVJEK? / DID A GOOD MAN DIE?

1962, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Fadil Hadžić

KRST RAKOC

1962, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Žika Ristić

MINUTA ZA UMOR / A MINUTE FOR MURDER

1962, Viba Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Jane Kavčič

SAŠA

1962, Avala Film (Belgrade), **d.** Radenko Ostojić

KAPI, VODE, RATNICI / DROPS, WATERS, WARRIORS

1962, Sutjeska Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Živojin Pavlović, Marko Babac, Kokan Rakonjac

KOZARA

1962, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Veljko Bulajić

TISTEGA LEPEGA DNE / THAT BEAUTIFUL DAY

1962, Viba Film (Ljubljana), **d.** France Štiglic

OBRAČUN / SHOWDOWN

1962, Avala Film (Belgrade)

d./s. Žika Mitrović, **c.** Ljube Petkovski, **m.** Rexho Muliqi, **pd.** Dime Šumka, **cd. e.** Katarina Stojanović

cast: Aleksandar Gavrić, Jelena Žigon, Petre Prličko, Ilija Milčin, Abdurrahman Shala, Gojko Kovačević, Dragan Ocokoljić, Todor Nikolovski, Darko Damevski, Panče Vasovski Kamšik, Vukan Dimevski, Svetislav Pavlović, Mira Oljenji, Žarko Kojčev, Risto Strezov, Pantelija Grnčarovski, Pantelej Mirkov, Muharrem Shahiqi, Fehmi Grubi, Džemail Maksut, Ramadan Jonuz

ts. Totalscope, 2.316 m, colour

RANA JESEN / EARLY AUTUMN

1962, Jadran Film (Zagreb), **d.** Toma Janić

MAČAK POD ŠLJEMOM / CAT UNDER THE HELMET

1962, Bosna Film (Sarajevo), **d.** Žorž Skrigin

NAŠ AVTO / OUR CAR

1962, Triglav Film (Ljubljana), **d.** František Čap

PEŠČENI GRAD / THE SAND CASTLE

1962, Production Group Reflex, Viba Film (Ljubljana), **d.** Boštjan Hladnik

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