

**MOTHER COUNTRY AND HER CHILDREN –
CONSTRUCTION OF NATION AND GENDER
ON THE EXAMPLE OF *JUGOSLOVENČE*¹ –
THE JOURNAL FOR CHILDREN IN THE KINGDOM
OF YUGOSLAVIA**

LADA STEVANOVIĆ, Beograd

Abstract: *Ovaj rad posvećen je analizi konstrukcije jugoslovenske nacionalne tradicije i folkloru u periodu Kraljevine Jugoslavije i to na primeru dečijeg časopisa Jugoslovenče koji je izlazio u periodu od 1931. do 1941. godine. Naziv časopisa upućuje na mlade čitaoce, dake osnovnih škola, a indirektno se može povezati i sa kratkim postojanjem jugoslovenske nacije, tj. sa činjenicom da je država osnovana samo dvanaest godina pre nego što je izašao prvi broj Jugoslovenčeta. Ovo je, dakle, studija slučaja konstruisanja jugoslovenske nacije i tradicije kroz primere tekstova iz spomenutog časopisa sa eksplicitnom edukativnom svrhom. Kakvi su bili mehanizmi stvaranja tradicije jedinstvene troimene nacije sa planiranom ravnopravnošću (naime prvi državni naziv, od 1918 do 1929, bio je Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca)? Šta se događalo sa ostalim narodima i tradicijama koji nisu bili spomenuti u prvobitnom nazivu države? Da li su i na koji način i oni bili integrisani u jugoslovensku tradiciju? Kakav je bio rodni aspekt konstruisanja nacije?*

Key words: *Jugoslovenče, Jugoslavija, konstruisanje tradicije, stvaranje folkloru, obrazovanje*

Introduction

This paper represents the continuation of the research that has been already partially published. It concerns the construction of Yugoslav national identity and tradition on the example of the journal for children under the title *Jugoslovenče*, which means young Yugoslav, and which had been published for ten years in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, starting with the 1931. Concerning the fact that this material was aimed at primary school children, the rhythm of its publication corresponded with the school months, so every year ten issues were published. The Ministry of Education recommended to all the schools to organize a subscription

¹ This paper represents the continuation of the research about the construction of national identity and Yugoslav tradition that is published in the journal *Traditiones* (Stevanović 2010) = Stevanović, Lada: Nacionalno vaspitanje. Konstrukcija jugoslovenske nacije u časopisu Jugoslovenče (1931 – 1941) (National Education: The Construction of Yugoslav Nation in the Journal Jugoslovenče, 1931 – 1941). *Traditiones* 39 (1), 2010, 37-55.

to the Journal for all students, and the reason for that were construction and nourishing the new – Yugoslav national identity² and learning new, Yugoslav tradition that had just been created in the state that had been established just around ten years before, after the WWI had been finished, in 1918, which was verified at the Paris Peace conference (1919 – 1920), together with verification of other European national states. The head of the new established monarchy was king Aleksandar I, who belonged to the Serbian dynasty Karađorđević. The idea for the unifying of the South Slavic people began in the 19th century with the Illyrian movement, while systematic political program of the Yugoslav identity construction coincides with the appearance of the first Yugoslav state – The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, which immediately follows the fall of the multinational Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the liberation of the north and north-western part of the country. Thus, it was multiethnic country of Yugoslav people – of the one nation with the three names, which means one nation constituted of three ‘tribes’ with the common origin and for whom the same legal rights were planned. The national doctrine envisioned in such a way that was used for the building of national identity is important because every ethnic identity is necessarily oriented towards the past, and therefore it is fixed, or as it is vividly explained in the foreword of the Serbian translation of a book by Jean-William Lapierre *Théories de l’ethnicité*, written by Philippe Poutignat and Jocelyne Streff-Fenart, it is possible to hear somebody who refers to own former identity that is not ethnical (but rather religious, professional, political etc.) and says “when I was a bank clerk”, but it is not possible to hear a statement “as when I was an Irish” (Lapierre 1997: 10-11). Related to this important postulate of the theory of ethnicity, it is not surprising that belonging to the Yugoslav nation did not require rejection of the feeling of belonging to the own ‘tribe’, but on the contrary, it was necessary to associate the identity that had already existed, with other identities of Yugoslav people, and thus the sense of new national Yugoslav identity should have been made through the process of ‘adding’. As it is claimed by Michael Billig, the formation of the national states was rarely simple and harmonious process of the ‘natural’ maturing of one ethnic group, but rather far more complex phenomenon in which the fight for hegemony often resulted with the domination of one part of the nation. (Billig 2009: 57) In the Kingdom of SHS existed the public insistence on unity, inclusion, integration and the state of recognisability, while the starting position was that actually only Serbs had already had an independent state, from which, so to speak, developed the Kingdom SHS, and in that context the constitutional role of Serbia generated unequal proportion of political power. Therefore it is necessary to regard the dominating influence of Serbia in the context of the position of Craig Calhoun (as cited in Prelić 2008, p. 26), in the light of which,

² On the back of the each title page there is a text with the following content: “The Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia has decided, with the decision n.o. 65925 from 11 September 1931 to recommend *Jugoslovenče* with following words: ‘The idea that *Jugoslovenče* is aimed for is in the total accordance with the tasks of primary school, especially regarding national education of national youth, wherefore this children journal should be distributed to all children of primary schools. We recommend it to all managers and teachers in primary schools.’”

the research of the construction of Yugoslav identity might be used as an indicator of the distribution of political power and political forces in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, in the analysed period.

In the first part of my research I have been dealing with the questions of Yugoslav identity through the analysis of language in the Journal and through the research of the ways in which common cultural and historical past were written and presented with the aim of “Learning Memory, Remembering Identity”³, as Maria Todorova formulated it in a title of one of her paper. Apart from that, I have analyzed the ways in which common geographical space was constructed and joint holidays were invented.⁴ In the continuation of this text I am interested to see and present what happened with already existing regional or ethnic identities that started to develop, or to put it more specifically – in which way and to which extent they were incorporated into the new Yugoslav identity, especially regarding the fact that only three ethnic groups were officially recognized being formally equal in a sense that all were regarded to be Yugoslavs (‘one nation with three names’), while in reality the mosaic of regional and ethnic identities was more complex.

My starting position for researching the ways in which Yugoslav national identity was constructed is based on numerous theories that agree upon the fact that national identity is a very complex phenomenon, which is socially-constructed.⁵ It is closely related and produced by the invention of tradition in such a way that it appears as ‘natural’ and even eternal feature of someone’s life. (Billig 2009: 54). In spite of the fact that tradition is always oriented towards the past, drawing from it the symbolical potential of eternity, it is always the product of the certain moment and it is produced for the contemporary needs. As it is stated by Miroslava Malešević, tradition is also changeable and its content is always defined by the current needs and interests of the society and its dominant ideology (Malešević 2009: 337). The question that I will try to answer in this paper analyzing material from *Jugoslovenčje* is how the Yugoslav identity was created, and what was explicitly and implicitly written into its tradition.

One of the characteristics of the national identity is that it is always multidimensional and it opens lot of possibilities for combining national identity with other types of existing identities – ethnic, religious, class, regional, gender etc (Smith 1998: 30). My intent in this paper is to reveal in which way different ethnic (either visible or invisible) and regional identities were incorporated in the Yugoslav national identity. One of the important aspects of national identity

³ It goes about the introductory text to the collection *Balkan Identities, Nation and Memory* edited by Maria Todorova (2004).

⁴ Different theories that deal with national identity agree upon the fact that it goes about very complex phenomenon, and that the sense of belonging to the political community is very important for national identity, regardless of the extent to which this sense is developed. This refers, above all to, common institutions and respect of the same legal system, as well as common historical memory, common culture, common economy and expressed territorial mobility inside the nation (Smith 2010: 22-30).

⁵ The seminal work on the invention of tradition is one by Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

construction is the gender identity, wherefore I am going to research also the representations of gender role distribution in the material related to the construction of nation. I will start from the theory that relates female gender and national identity given by the most influential authors on this topic – Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, that identifies five major ways in which women might be related with the state, nation and ethnicity, emphasizing that all these five patterns do not always exist parallel: 1. Biologically: women are those who give birth to the new members, 2. Women are those who reproduce the borders between ethnic and national groups, 3. Women are the main transmitters of culture and as such they have the central place in the ideology reproduction 4. They are signifiers of national and ethnic differences, and they represent symbols in ideological discourses used for the construction, reproduction and transformation of ethnic and national categories and 5. They are participants in national, economic, political and military conflicts (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1996: 115). After applying this theory and the research of the representation of women in relation to the nation, I am going to turn to the men's representation, in particular to the way in which heroic ideal is incorporated in the construction of national identity.

Historical Background

From the very beginning the new established state was shaken by numerous disagreements and controversial questions, which resulted with the parliamentary crisis that culminated in the Parliament on 20th of June 1928, when the delegate of the Radical Party, Puniša Račić killed Stjepan Radić (and two more members of Croat peasant party). This event was an occasion for abolishing the parliament and forbidding all political parties. (Dedjer 1972: 433-434) King Aleksandar published *Proclamation* on January the 6th, in which he proclaimed the dictatorship and made an end to the parliamentarism, emphasizing that it “starts to lead to spiritual debacle and the separation of nation”. With this change, the king expected from ministries that they will “in the spirit of the national identity cherish and develop harmony, equality and sameness of all Serbs, Croats and Slovenians”, and that they will strictly hold on to the interests of the state, returning in this way the confidence of people in the state justice, laws and absolute equality (Dimić 2003: 247-248)⁶. The educational and cultural activities were oriented into the same direction, so the minister of education, Božidar Maksimović, on March 12th 1929, proclaimed in the Ministry council the program in which he first emphasized that there had been too many solitary aspirations of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians in the former period. “Instead of this, educational actions should be just the contrary” (Dimić 2003: 247-248)⁷. In the same year the law was introduced aimed at obliga-

⁶ Cf. “Реч Његовог Величанства Краља новоименованим члановима Кр. владе 6. јануара 1929”, *Алманах Краљевине Југославије IV јубиларни свезак 1929 – 1931*, Београд 1932, 132.

⁷ Cf. *AJ*, Збирка В. Ј. Марамбоа, ф-16, “Извештај о предстојећим пословима у Министарству просвете”; *AJ*, 138, ф-1, “Записник са VI седнице Министарског савета Краљевине СХС од 12. 3. 1929. Године”.

tory education. However, it was difficult to carry out this in reality because there were not enough schools and not enough teachers especially in rural areas (Dedijer 1972: 445). Anyway, in the same year the Ministry of Education set up a goal to work intensively on the development of the Yugoslav ideology. Consequently, they emphasized that the primary school is not only in charge of spreading literacy, but “even more, it is in charge of national education” (Dimić 2003: 248). This was the reason to increase the control over all school institutions. This measurement influenced, above other things, also the choice of publications that could be found in schools. It forbade any reading material inconsistent with ideas of Yugoslavism and recommended all those books and journals that influenced positively the Yugoslav national and cultural revival. (Dimić 2003: 253–254)⁸. Also for the next year there was a strong support for the same educational politics, which means that the only school and out of school activities that were supported were those that encouraged and cherished Yugoslav collectiveness.

Fitting into the defined cultural and educational orientation, and in accordance with the fact that Eriksen emphasized– that nations are being confirmed exactly through and in the everyday life (Eriksen 2004: 178), the journal *Jugoslovenče* (with the subtitle *literary journal of our young generation*) was founded, and it had been published ten times a year, while the issues coincided with the school and not the calendar year (since September until July). This journal represents convenient material for the analysis of the ways in which pupil were nationally educated. It is also useful material for researching the mentioned ideas of equality and all that was at that moment considered to be Yugoslav collectiveness, as well as for the ways in which the Yugoslav tradition had been written.

What is obvious already from the title of the state The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, is that proclaimed integrative politics, which means the egalitarian principle, could have referred only to the three mentioned ethnic groups, and not to the others. In the part of the research that I have already published, it has been showed that the Serbian identity had most remarkable space in the formation of the Yugoslav tradition and identity, which is directly related to the fact that the Serbs were the only ones who had had a state before the Kingdom SHS was established. Creation of the common state was important for Serbian people most of all as a way to gather all Serbs who lived scattered in several states, while for other Slavic people who unified at that moment, life in a common Slavic state represented bigger chance to survive. Also, the creation of such national state was in accordance with the European political climate of that time (Trgovčević 2001: 257).

Mothercountry and its Sons

Further in the text I am going to analyse exactly the material that is illustrative regarding the construction of national identity as a sum of different ethnic and local identities. The egalitarian principle that existed from the very beginning

⁸ Cf. *Просветни гласник* за јануар, фебруар и април 1929.

meant egalitarianism only for the three nations and invisibility for others. This is possible to recognize in many texts, such as (year 8, no. 2, p. 11):

To Yugoslavia

Oh our proud/ and dear fatherland,/ you have always been/ in thoughts of our forefathers.

You have been created from the blood/ of our fathers,/ the soldiers more brave/ than those of Kosovo.

They have freed us/ from the hundreds years' chains,/ the freedom of the new/ fatherland has come.

They have made for us/ a garland that we always wanted,/ which connects the brothers/ – a Serb, a Croat and a Slovenian.

The poem is devoted to the fatherland that has been created long after it has been wished for, as the verses say. Brothers that are mentioned are only Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, and apart from the fact that Serbs are always mentioned chronologically the first, it is obvious that the motive of mentioning forefathers that used to die bravely for freedom is related exclusively with the Serbian history, and with the topos of Serbian mythical past important for the construction of Serbian identity which is unavoidable even today,⁹ and that is Kosovo. In this poem Kosovo appears also as a constitutive element of Yugoslav identity. So these two facts are pointing to the same conclusion that has been made in the first part of this research, meaning that in spite of the proverbial insistence on the egalitarianism of three ethnic groups (constitutive in a sense that they all together make the nation with the three names) by frequent usage of slogans proclaiming equality (“brothers of the same blood”), it is not possible to define this as an equality in a real sense.¹⁰

On the other hand, although it is obvious that not all the nations are mentioned in official documents, neither in the rich and various content of the journal that insists on mentioned trinity, there are materials in *Jugoslovenče* that illustrate also opposing tendency of inclusion other identities in the process of construction

⁹ About Kosovo myth (and above all about myth about heavenly nation), but also about its constant evolution and powerful stronghold for the reproduction of Serbian identity, from the end of 1980ies until today wrote among others Dušan Bandić, Miodrag Popović, Miroslava Malešević, Milica Bakić-Hayden i Ivan Čolović. Dušan Bandić, *Carstvo zemaljsko i carstvo nebesko*, XX Vek, Beograd 1990. Miodrag Popović, *Vidovdan i čast krsni*, XX vek, Beograd 2007. Milica Bakić-Hayden *National Memory as Narrative Memory: The Case of Kosovo in Balkan Identities, Nation and Memory*, ed. by Maria Todorova, London: Hurst & Co., 2004. Miroslava, Malešević, *Nasilje identiteta in Zbornik EI SANU 25*, Beograd 2008, 11-35. Ivan Čolović, *Mit o duhovnom prostoru nacije in Balkan – teror kulture*, Beograd XX vek, 2008; Ivan Čolović, *Vidovdan 2009 in Republika* <http://www.republika.co.rs/470-471/20.html>.

¹⁰ I devoted more attention to the numerous examples that are, above all, focused on the promotion of the equality of the three nations in the first part of this paper. There I have analyzed if, and to which extent it is possible to talk about the proclaimed equality. My conclusion has been that it is possible to recognize insistence on certain symmetry between Serbs and Croats, but also that the symmetry with Slovenians existed exclusively formally, and not in reality. In all analyzed examples the presence of Slovenians is strikingly less noticeable.

of Yugoslav nation. It goes mostly about inclusion of regional identities and not explicitly ethnic ones, although some of those might be identified as such. They are being added up making together a special kind of identity fusion in a specific way, and exactly this is one of the themes of this paper.

I will start with a poem titled *Proud Bosnian* (year 3, no. 8, p. 6) which represents a personal, family and history of the own “tribe” of a girl according to whom the poem is titled – *proud Bosnian (ponosna Bosanka)*:

I'm a Yugoslav child,/ from (šeher) Sarajevo,/ Fiddle-man sings lovely,/ about heroism of my tribe.

My grandfather was a true knight,/ who like a strong lion/ attacked enemies/ and cut off their heads...

My good father lost his life/ in a bloody battle/ against Vienna, when honourable Hadzi-Loja/ rose the army.

Proud Bosnia was giving birth/ to falcon heroes,/ who were defending their land,/ from every invasion.

This is testified by the grave stones/ next to the town of Doboj./ Where Bosnian heroes made resistance./ the enemy died...

I am proud that I am daughter/ of the heroic clan,/ who has always appreciated/ golden freedom.

When the army of the czar/ stepped across our threshold,/ my dear mother lost her life,/ closed her gentle eyes...

Like an angry lion/ she was fighting for Herceg-Bosna/ with the fire in her gun,/ and died like a man. s

The history tells and writes/ all about it lovely,/ and my soul is burning/ for my clan and home....

This young woman appears in the beginning of a poem as a *Yugoslav child*. She talks about the heroism of her grandfather who was fighting bravely against Turks (*My grandfather was a true knight, who like a strong line attacked enemies and cut off their heads...*) and she praises heroic death of her father who lost his life in a battle against Austro-Hungarian army (*My good father lost his life in a bloody battle against Vienna, when honourable Hadzi-Loja rose the army*). This hostile soldiers also killed her mother who, the same as her father and grandfather, died a heroic death, fighting, as a poem says, “like a man” against the enemy. Young Bosnian proudly boasts that she is a daughter of *heroic clan*. So, at the same time she celebrates her family and Bosnian tribe to which she belongs.¹¹ *Proud-Bosnian* appears in a usual way as a metaphor of a Mother Country that was giving birth to *Falcon heroes*. Like *Young Bosnian*, *Proud-Bosnia* is also an abstract, idealised and actually symbolic woman figure. This double femininity of *Mother Country* and *her Daughter* might be interpreted, in the context of the construction of Yugoslav (supra)national identity, through double symbolic

¹¹ There is an indication that these verses refer to Muslims, because it is mentioned the braveness of Hadzi Loja, mythologized and famous person from history who became famous fighting against Turks and Austro-Hungarians in the second half of the 19th century.

dimension: as a homeland who is always a mother giving birth to her clan, i.e. nation, and as her daughter that appears in a poem also as a child of another Mother Country, that, as such, exists only implicitly in the verses – and that is Yugoslavia (*a Yugoslav child*). The presence of the mother and the daughter at the same time represents one complex, but at the same time very usual metaphoric pattern according to which the nation, or nationality, is reproduced through the model of kin relations, while woman, petrified and idealised, appears as a symbol of homeland, i.e. the Mother Nation. (Eriksen 2004: 292; Yuval-Davis 2004: 91) One of the examples where homeland appears as a Mother is, paradoxically, also a poem *Fatherland* (1, 2, 1). The beginning verses are following:

The holy land of our forefathers,/ decorated with the thorny wreath,/ a good mother of noble children,/ washed with bloody spring water. Like big, poor and simple,/ we used to kiss your old eyelids;/ we sowed our knight bones/ and gave the dearest presents.

These verses are devoted to the Fatherland as a *holy land*, but at the same time they are devoted to the *Mother* and to heroic death of her sons, who bravely died for freedom. This poem does not mention the name of Motherland, or the title of its peoples. The addressing has rather the form without personal names, which is, anyway usual for the addressing of mother.

The similar model to the one in the poem *Proud Bosnian* is written also poem *Hercegovka* (3, 10, 6): “I am young Hercegovinian,/ lively, brave and strong;/ I come from this lovely country,/ from the region of heroes.” Also for this country, the past of which is glorified, people used to give their lives bravely and gloriously (“I am connected to this land/ with the sacred history;/ Many people died for it,/ many years ago”). This poem also represents words of a young woman. Ascribed to her is the symbolic of mother country who would sacrifice her heroes (sons) for freedom, if that is necessary: “I am young Hertcegovinian, lively, brave and strong; I would give to the fatherland the ocean of heroes.” So, the symbolic function, which is in the first poem split into two feminine figures (Bosnia appears both as a Mother country of the own people, as well as a daughter of Yugoslavia in which, among others, live Bosnians) is present here but less explicitly.

Unlike the former two poems, *Dalmatian (Dalmatinka)* (7, 7, 13), is also sung by a young girl: “The poem is sung by the child of rocky mountains – Shepherdess, the Young Dalmatian.” She does not mention audacity and the heroic past of her country, but sings about its beauty: “Oh dear God, is there anywhere in the world, some other country that is like this, that is blossoming in winter with oranges and lemons? Is the Sun warm like this somewhere else, and is the grass underneath it so green; is every sea beautiful like this? Like islands of our sea?” Although the poem lacks the components important for the construction of ethnic and national identity that exist in the former two examples (the homeland does not appear as a mother of her sons and daughters, and no forefathers are mentioned who gave their life for the freedom), the celebrations in superlatives

and emphasizing the extraordinary characteristics of the region, put these verses in the category of patriotic poems.

All the same, *Young girl from Prizren* (1, 4, 1) is a Yugoslav girl who does not mention heroes of her clan, and does not sing about her beautiful country. She talks about herself, describing her folk costume (next to the poem there is also an illustration of a girl in shalwar) and actually the poem is important as an identification of cultural identity. Through the glorification of her local identity she transposes Yugoslavism, representing thus another way in which women can be included in the national processes, as signifiers of ethnic and national differences (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1996: 115) in this case as a transmitter of culture.

Look at me, a small girl!/ My name is Donka./ I am of Yugoslav origin/ My blood is Yugoslav...

Don't be surprised/ That I have such gestures!/ I don't like some foreign fashions/ I'm proud with my own.

I inherited these nice clothes/ from my dear forefathers/ Old people use to say: Every bird/ is recognizable by its own feather."

That is how I, a young/ girl from Prizren grow/ To become one day/ ideal Yugoslav.

In this example appearance of a young girl, and not of a grown woman, is motivated not only with the fact that it goes for the journal for children, but also with the symbolic position of the local identity that is subordinated and integral, or as it is said by Anthony Smith, it is amalgam part inwrought into the national identity.¹²

Similar example in which three young woman appear might be recognized in a short play written in verses, published in the first year of the journal and titled *Three Yugoslavs* (1, 6, 5). We come across here *Šumadinka, Zagorkinja i Ljubljanka*. Chronologically the first who speaks is one from Šumadija:

Hallo my dear sisters. / Welcome to us now!/ Strong love has bonded us,/ The love that breaks all the obstacles.

I am your dear sister/ Šumadija is my region./ It is full of loveliness/ and beautiful like paradise.

I love it, but there is love/ that is inside of me even stronger./ I want to travel all through my homeland/ And to see all its beauties.

I see love sparkling/ in your beautiful eyes;/ I know we have one soul/ And one and the same thought.

Accept this wreath of flowers/ my sisters from the Sava and the Drava/ It's the sign of love/ Sent from the Drina and the Morava.

In the first verse *Šumadinka* says hallo to *Zagorkinja* and *Ljubljanka*, addressing them like sisters, according to already mentioned principle identified by Nira Yuval-Davis, about identification of nation and clan. *Zagorka* is the second who speaks, and *Ljubljanka* the third one. Both of them speak about the lovely

¹² According to Anthony Smith (2010: 44), the processes of ethnic modelling are complex and conditionally spoken, they are created in the processes of emerging, i.e. amalgamation or absorption of certain elements (cities, tribes, regions etc).

native lands, expressing happiness for becoming part of Yugoslavia and wish that it lasts forever. *Šumadinka* expresses welcome greetings (δWelcome to us now!) that once more sends a message that the Kingdom SHS grow out from the Kingdom of Serbia, which provides Šumadinka with the first place in the chronological order of appearing in the play. It also refers to the conclusion that the principle of one nation consisted of three equal parts means that some nations are “more equal than the others”. However, further in the text we can recognize the contrary tendency – Šumadinka sings about the beauty of her region, but also about love to it, emphasizing that there is love that is even stronger, and that is love for the new homeland (“I love it, but there is love/ that is inside of me even stronger. / I want to travel all through my homeland/ And to see all its beauties”). In this way her regional, i.e. ethnic identity is being put into subordinate position to the national identity. It is interesting that the poem does not mention women from Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. Instead, there is undoubtful choice of clearly recognizable regions of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. In the last verse Šumadinka sends greetings to her sisters (around rivers of the Sava and the Drava) from sisters from the Drina and the Morava, which means from other regions of Serbia. This usage of regional symbolism, as recognizable model for the nation and the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, refers to the conclusion that the regions are used here as a figure *pars pro toto*, expressing ethnic identity by mentioning its parts. However, the usage of this figure makes clear that the tendency to form ‘one nation with three names’ required its members to get familiar also with the regions in which different people lived. This also reveals the educational method of teaching about common geography of the new established state.

It is interesting that there is another poem of the similar type printed on the same page as Hercegovka and titled *Šumadija*. This is one of the rare examples where we do not come across young female who at the same time speaks in the poem and personifies some region. Here, a young female talks about the glory of her region:

The first war-cry was heard in You/ And it was for justice and the wholly freedom/ In you the heroes were born/ Who were honoured/ with the wreaths of glory by Vilas.

I often watch from your hills/ The sunsets or the crimson dawns./ I often listen to the twitter of songbirds/ That comes from the green forest.

Your narrow and grassy paths/ Are full of packs and herds/ the shepherd play his pipe/ And shepherdess sings a song.

Your forests used to be: / The shelter for weak children, and the defence for our land. / Šumadijo, our famous region,/ I want you to be healthy and cheerful forever.

This poem celebrates the heroism and beauty of the region without any mentioning of Yugoslavia. In that sense, the attitude towards Serbian region repeats completely the same pattern that I have already identified in the first part of the research, which is: the Serbian identity, or for example the Serbian past (in the column that existed in many issues of the journal, and was oriented towards

construction of the common history), is identified with the Yugoslav one, without explicit mentioning of Yugoslavia, while other identities are always mentioned as “subsets”, i.e. “sub-identities” of the Yugoslav identity. Although there is no explicit mentioning of Mother Country, she is unambiguously present in the verses, and might be recognized as a parent who protects her children: “Your forests used to be:/ The shelter for weak children and the defence for our land.”

Only in several examples of the same type, we come across a boy instead of a girl or a maid. Children, as main actors of the journal are present not only because the texts were aimed at kids, but also because of the fact that Yugoslavia was at that time a young state. Exactly in this context the title *Jugoslovenče*, (that is a diminutive for a Yugoslav) does not refer only to the kid. It also represents the metaphor of Yugoslav nation. Among young Yugoslavs (*Jugoslovenčićima*) is also *Šumadinče* (2, 2, 3), a young inhabitant of the region of Šumadija:

I'm a school boy Šumadinče,/The faithful friend of my fatherland./ Come to me,
proud son,/ to the grove of famous Rudnik.

I'm greeting with a pipe all my kin/, From Moglena to Zagorje:/ From lowland
and through hills/ to calmly harvest golden fruits.

In the middle of the peace/ the throne of our eagles will shine/ And from the
monasteries of Rudnik/ It will ring the bell of fame.

A girl from Vardar, exult loudly/ I want to hear the echo of your song./ Your old
cradle/ swung its time.

Come brother from Jadran,/ A son of blue sea/ Let it be our oath/The holy
thought about our enemy.

From the mentioned examples it is possible to notice that Šumadija and Šumadinci appear more often than other regions and their inhabitants. Above the poem is an illustration of a boy in Serbian national costume, playing pipe. These verses inform us that he is the host who greets all Yugoslavs (from Maglena in Macedonia to Zagorje in Croatia, and from Triglav on the north, to Vardar on the south and to Jadran) and invites them to the court. Celebrating the kingdom and “the throne of the eagles”, he is a loyal representative of the nation (“the faithful friend of fatherland”), he invites his compatriots to make a common oath against the enemy, building thus the idea of unity that is constructed through the opposing the *Other*, the enemy.

The similar example is a poem published in the first year of the journal, in the third issue and on the first page, titled *A school boy from Povardarje (Đače povardarče)* (1, 3, 1):

I'm the son of our famous South/ My voice comes from Povardarje:/ In the
round dance, friend next to friend,/ It came the time for work!

The brothers of other provinces/ I greet with the joy:/ Let the country blossom,/
Beautiful Yugoslavia.

She calls her sons/ To work diligently and harmoniously,/ To build new courts/
And safe cities./ The soul is freed from the sorrow of slavery./ The ray of freedom
is warming us.

In the work of the plough and the book/ lies our salvation and our life./ I'm
a small young Yugoslav/ I am getting armed with learning,/ To help my people/
When it is necessary.

This poem by *Jugoslovenče* from the title of the journal is one of many examples how, in the way appropriate for children, the sense of belonging to Yugoslav nation was being built and consolidated. The principle of adding identities is represented in a poem through the metaphor of a round dance in which friends, i.e. "brothers" dance. "Beautiful Yugoslavia" is represented as Mother Country of all of her "sons". The poem celebrates freedom that this country provided, as well as work and building the country, for "better life", especially through learning. This emphasis on the importance of education is not surprising for the journal aimed at school children.

A boy from the poem is obviously from Macedonia. However, Macedonia is not mentioned, while Macedonian identity is not represented as ethnic, but rather as regional (the region of Povardarje is mentioned). In the first verse a boy says for himself that he is "the son of our famous South". The South should be understood both as the South of Yugoslavia, as well as the South of Serbia, especially regarding the fact that Macedonia at that time used to be called South Serbia. In that context it is interesting that in the poems dealing with the Serbian regions appear boys, while in other examples girls turn up. Regarding the patriarchal model of Yugoslav society, in which women appear as a less valuable pair of dichotomy male/female,¹³ this element might be read as a certain way of deprivileging of mentioned ethnic groups and regions that are symbolically related to the domain of feminine, unlike Serbian, dominant one, that is related exclusively to the male aspect.

Another similar poem testifies the same, and it is titled *The knight from the South*. It was published during the fourth year of publishing of the journal, on the last page, and such position provided it a prominent place. It is sung not by a boy, but by a young soldier from the mentioned region. It belongs to the corpus of materials from the journal that celebrates heroism, which I will address further in the text.

I am a young knight/ from the old cradle/ where people used to/ make handjars
for freedom.

Like brave Babunski/ I am glorious hero/ Ready to die/ For my home and the King.
Chetniks were my granddad and dad;/ Mother, shouldn't I/ follow their path?!/
The proud of past is waking in me/ When I hear "guslar" who sings a song/
about the old glory.

¹³ Here I think above all on dualistic conceptualisation characteristic for contemporary, western view-world that conceptualizes everything through the binary pairs, while one part of the pair is always less privileged in relation to the other, which is regarded as the main one. In the dichotomy male/female, female is always deprivileged. Such a relation on the symbolical level transfers to everything that is related to women, such as dichotomies soul/body, reason/passion, and substance/form (Grosz 2005, 22-28, Stevanović 2009, 210).

Lovely Povardarje,/ A star of my homeland/ Where heroes and hawks gather together./
On the sound of war trumpet/ the legions of hawks/ will go immediately/ In the middle of bloody battle.
It is Yugoslav/ nobody can blame us/ we will die for our country/ we can't live in slavery.

Although in the background of this poem is an illustration of a lad in the Macedonian folk costume, Macedonia is not mentioned in this poem as well. The reason for non recognition and not mentioning of the ethnic identity of Macedonians is related to the fact that territory of Macedonia was divided between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, (Dedijer 1972: 350) and Macedonians who lived in Yugoslavia were considered to be Serbs (Dedijer 1972: 445). Thus, there was the lack of recognition of Macedonian ethnic identity, in spite of the fact that it had been already established.¹⁴ In that sense, this poem illustrates *absorption* of the identity with the elements of *amalgamation*, because, although there is no sign that it goes about Macedonians, the region is present, unlike Monte Negro and Montenegrins, who are almost already absent from the journal. The only text of the explicit representation of Monte Negro (but not of Montenegrins) is the text titled *Nomadic life in Monte Negro* (5, 10, 12-13). The reason for such obvious invisibility of Montenegrins should be searched in the political relations between Serbia and Monte Negro. Namely, negotiations about the unification of Serbia and Monte Negro were held even before WWI, but the agreement failed because of the inter-ethnic rivalry between Karađorđevići and the Montenegrin dynasty Petrović Njegoš, defeated in 1918 (Dedijer 1972: 398). Although finally, with the establishment of the Kingdom SHS also unification between Serbia and Montenegro was realized, the invisibility of Montenegrin people in the journal might be explained exactly with the mentioned rivalry.¹⁵ Except that the mentioned poems represent suitable material for the analysis of construction of national identity through, as I have already shown: celebration of Mother Country; through the promotion of war ideal that implies that Her sons are ready to give their life for freedom; using method of reproducing the nation through the line of kin relations; through cultural identification; through forefathers culture; and through creation of common geography that is important for spatial, i.e. territorial aspect of understanding the nation, which, according to Antony Smith is necessary because "People and territories must, so to speak, belong to each other." (Smith 2010: 23) In other words, all dimensions important for the national identity that are celebrated in the analysed poems, are unified in the wider context and geographical area of

¹⁴ In the middle of the 19th century, Macedonians expressed tendencies to have own nation, which was revealed through the fight for the own language. By the end of the century the secret movement against Turks was established, called VMRO, (in English IMRO – *International Macedonian Revolutionary Organization*), which in the beginning was not independent from Bulgaria. (Ekmečić 1972: 328-329)

¹⁵ Montenegrin, Macedonian and Muslim nations have been formed in the AVNOJ (Anti-fascist Councils of People's Liberation) Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia, that is created through mentioning of regions and their inhabitants (*Young Bosnian, Hercegovinian, Šumadian, The night from the South, Young girl from Prizren*), but also through the glorification of beauty of these regions, as parts of the homeland, like in the poem *Dalmatinka*.

War Ideal and Nation

Further in the text I will pay more attention to the poem *The Knight from the South*, but also to other materials suitable for the analysis of the ways in which heroic, i.e. war ideal is conceptualised. In this poem, the young knight is compared with already famous Serbian chetnik, who fought in the Balkan wars – Jovan Stojković Babunski (he received the nickname Babunski from Macedonian mountain Babuna) who appears in the poem as a national hero whose braveness represents an example not only for the knight from the poem, but also for all the people for whom this poem is written. This youth, whose forefathers were also brave soldiers, is ready to give his life for his fatherland, for the king and for freedom. He is proud of the glorious path described in the songs and poems, while his homeland (*lovely Povardarje*) represents the place where heroes, or as he says, hawks gather. In this way he refers here to chetniks, and in this historical moment of the Kingdom SHS, between two world wars, they are represented, as it is obvious from this poem, as Serbian, but at the same time, Yugoslav heroes. The construction of war and heroic ideal that is promoted in this poem is achieved through usual invocation of forefathers, as a part of the ancestry culture, which is very important constitutive element of the national identity construction. In that sense, this motive lies in direct relation with the construction of common history of one nation, which I have discussed in the first part of this research, analyzing the rubric *Yugoslav great men*. Thus hero ideal that is essential part of war narrative appears here as cohesive element of national identity. Directly related to this is also the opposition We /Others, i.e. the construction of the Other as exterior enemy. Illustrative in that sense is also prose text titled *How I became conscientious Yugoslav* (2, 10, 21-22), about a boy, Slovenian, from Brdo near Gorica and his childhood. Before he moved to Gorica for school, this boy thought that all people speak the same language (Slovenian) and that all belong to the same, Slovenian nation (language as an element of national identity). However, when he moved to Gorica, he discovered not only that this is not true, but also that Italians are his enemies. Namely, already on the first day of school, he was attacked by other boys, because he had a belt with the colours of the Slovenian flag. The hero of this story defended himself, thinking “I would rather lose my head, than give my nice belt!” In the beginning the boy did not understand this event, but his landlady explained him, why the boys attacked him. Clashes and “war” between Slovenian and Italian school boys continued until one day when they decided to stop fighting and choose one boy from each side to confront in a duel. The main character of this story was fighting from the Slovenian side, in spite of his weak constitution. However, his opponent attacked him from his back, because of which the boy was defeated. The story continues in Trieste, where the

hero of the story continued high school and where Slovenians and Italians fought with each other divided into two hostile armies, pretending to be Russians and Japanese. This time, the Russian, i.e. Slovenian won. His name was Viktor Medved (which means Winner Bear), and as the story tells, “he was a real giant, a head taller than all the other, and very fierce... ‘Japanese’ was desperate, while the ‘Russian’ walked murmuring: ‘What do you want, war is war!’” This story about “a boy who became conscientious Slovenian and Yugoslav” reveals a lot about the usage of heroic and war ideal as an important element of national identity, which also appears very explicitly as the motive for becoming nationally conscious. While Slovenian, i.e. Yugoslav appears as honest, brave, well intended (he is surprised with the cheating), but also superior, the enemy is represented as aggressive (he attacks the first), he is perfidious and false (he comes from the back) and only because of that he wins sometimes, but is beaten in the end. It is interesting that throughout the whole journal only Italians appear such explicitly as enemies, which is not surprising regarding historical circumstances. The thing is that negotiations about the borders with other states that lost in the WWI, such as Bulgaria (Nei treaty), Hungary and Austria (Saint Germaine and Trianon treaty) flowed without big problems and the borders were made in favour of Yugoslavia, unlike with Italy where there were many problems. Very strong straining relations in the “fight for Adriatic” happened in 1919 when Italian poet and leader of rebellion, Gabriel D’Anunzio took Rijeka. The circumstances of foreign policy (defeat of Wilson on the US elections and the pressure of major European powers) forced the government in Belgrade to agree to sign Rapal agreement in October 1919, according to which the complete Istria, Trieste, Zadar and two Adriatic islands belonged to Italy, in spite of the fact that all these areas were inhabited by half million South Slavs (difficulty was that majority of the city inhabitants was Italian, while other regions were settled by Slavs). Apart from that, Rijeka had free status until 1924 when it was annexed to Italy (Sundhaussen 2009).

Related to the problems of borders with Italy are many poems devoted to Adriatic sea, and Istria, where this region appears as sad, imprisoned country. The last verse of the *Poem to Istria* (2, 1, 5) by Vladimir Nazor is “My Istria, our sorrow,/ I keep you in my heart./ You are the most beautiful country for me/ On this Jadran see.” In the poem *Adriatic sea* by Mihailo Petković, Istria appears again like sorrowful: “Why the sea is sad? – What is it longing for?/ Where is the song full of zest and hope?/Why do always light and foamy waves/ Endlessly whirr the song of sorrow?/ The waves whirr.../ On the top of the clear waves it flies/ and it’s cold like news/ Crying in October our poor sister,/ Proud and said, our sister Istria.” Numerous poems about Istria, as well as above mentioned text represent testimony about the way in which nation might be consolidated around common problem, while the important element that gathers the nation is animosity towards the enemy, marked as the Other. Thus it represents one more way in which national identity and identification with collective ‘us’ are established. This ‘we’, as I have shown in this paper, does not necessarily represent fair sum

of its, sub-identities, reflecting, above all, the relationship between political powers of a certain historical period.

Conclusion

According to the theory of Nira Yuval Davis and Floy Anthias, women's place in national narratives is strictly defined, and the examples that I have been analyzing reveal that women's representation in the narrative of early Yugoslav national ideology is mainly oriented towards the symbolical level, omitting the women in real life, with the real qualities or faults. Women appear as symbols of Mother country, who gives birth and nourishes her sons – the male representatives of the nation, presented as heroes and raised to be devoted to their homeland and ready to die for it. This heroic model is directly connected to the importance of war ideology, which is crucial for the mobilisation of the national awareness and ethnic sentiments. Anthony Smith emphasizes that wars are important sources of myths and memory for the younger generations (Smith 2010: 49). I would rather say that wars and past conflicts are the inspiration for such myths. In my view, two components of the war ideology are crucial – one is cohesive element which bounds the nation in opposition to the dangerous Other – the enemy. Another dimension is evoking the past and the ancestors, which always puts the stamp of eternity – an important symbolical dimension in national narratives that gives illusion of something unchangeable that has been lasting and will last forever. The examples that I have analyzed in this article reveal that this past and mythical pattern is more often (although not exclusively) created through the evoking of the Serbian past. The domination of Serbian identity that is undoubtedly related to the political predominance of Serbia at that time, denies nominal equality often expressed through the metaphors of brotherhood and sisterhood. These metaphors that represent members of nation in terms of kin relations, point to the 'ethnic' model of nation that insists on the birth and origin as crucial for the belonging to one nation; this model is mostly oriented towards vernacular culture and insists on myths and history (that is all testified in this and previous analysis) (Smith 2010: 26).¹⁶

The question that imposes in the end of this paper is what happened to the Yugoslav national identity after the fall of the Kingdom SHS, in the new Yugoslav state (SFRY). I hope that my following researches will shed a light to these questions and make this issue clearer, helping also to understand the disappearing of Yugoslav nation, and adding some new arguments to this topic that is so often raised, but much more in the public media than in academic researches, which makes it full of commonplaces and prejudices.

¹⁶ On the other hand, the Western type of territorial nation is more oriented towards territory and is based on the civil society and the individual choice (Smith 2010: 26).

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