

Ivana Hadjievska
and Jana Kocevskva

INVISIBLE ARCHIVES

Makedonka

Organ of the WAF (1944-1952),
historical experiences and
cultural memory

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ЦЕНТАР ЗА ИСТРАЖУВАЊЕ НА
НАЦИОНАЛИЗМОТ И КУЛТУРАТА

INVISIBLE ARCHIVES:

MAKEDONKA

Organ of
the WAF
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Skopje,
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**TOWARDS
THE ENGLISH
TRANSLATION**

The English translation of this Collection of methodological-discursive texts represents the first contemporary endeavor of its kind, beyond the basic premise of extending its audience. The Collection is devoted to the historically underresearched topic the political history of Macedonian women in the socialist period, and at the same time, it is a topic that is deficient, or even worse, absent in the West, in the English-speaking scholarly space. Bearing in mind the fact that this is also an English translation of historical and archival sources written originally in Macedonian and in Cyrillic alphabet, dating from the 1940s, the editors of the Collection believed that this short explanation is an important introduction.

The magazine *Makedonka* - Organ of the AFW (WAF) (1944-1952), as the focal source of the research, is characterized with historic, linguistic, literary and semantic specifics very relevant to the translation work. The first issue of the source was printed one year before the standardization of Macedonian as an official language in 1945; the content of the magazine was created by women from various rural and urban places on the Macedonian territory after the Second World War and their *writing* contains many archaisms, as well as unedited dialectal forms. Beyond that, a segment of this research concerns itself with the literary aspects of the magazine and engages with the poetry and prose published in it. For this reason, the editors of the

Collection were aware of the need to find a careful balance between making the Collection available to English-speaking audience and preserving the integrity of the original text.

The names and titles from the sources, as well as the entire source referencing system, are transliterated following the rules of Romanization of Macedonian and the standardized system of transliteration based on United States' Board on Geographic Names, while some of the personal names are transliterated with the use of diagraphs. A small exception was made with the several names and titles from world literature we came across during the research - they are translated from the original to their English version. When we have a narrative explanation of a source unit, the reference is translated and accompanied with proper transliteration. For readers interested in engaging deeper with the original source in Cyrillic, or if back-to-back source comparison is needed, we recommend the digitally accessible Macedonian version of the Collection, available on www.nevidliviarhivi.com.

МАКЕДОНКА



БР. 10-11





Ivana Pantelić

FOREWORD

The public engagement of women in different women's societies has been present in Balkan since the second half of the 19 century. In the beginning, they were exclusively humanitarian organisations and the scope of their public activity was focused on the margin of socially acceptable and limited engagement reflected in the care for women and children. Although at first glance, they seem quite limited and reduced, these pioneer endeavours of women mostly from the upper middle class, were nonetheless of great significance both for the change of the woman's position in society and perception of the woman's place in the social paradigm. Different forms of women's engagement took place in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. At that time, apart from the humanitarian ones, the first feminist organizations emerged based on the principles and values of the first wave of feminism. However, the 1930s saw the emergence of another organization with a very specific agenda, an ideologically very homogenous group of young women who formulated their feminist demands quite differently and perceived their struggle radically differently in regards to the existing social norms and the system generally. They were mostly female students, in different ways, linked to the then banned Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY). Their activity was channelled through the organisation they called the Youth

Section of the Women's Movement. They published the journal *Woman Today* that followed the postulates and goals of the CPY when dealing with the emancipation of women. The journal was directly financed by the CPY. This organisation can be identified as the beginning or the nucleus from which Women's Antifascists Front of Yugoslavia (AFŽ) evolved in the war as the first women's political organisation. (Barać 2020, 196).

Women's presence in the Partisan units during the Second World War enabled women a faster and more intensive emancipation. Women occupied different positions in the National Liberation Army (NOV). Female scholars mostly agree that 100,000 women took part in the National Liberation Army (NVO) 25,000 were killed and 40,000 were wounded during the war. (Božinović, 1996, 146; Jancar-Webster, 1990, 83; Batinić, 2015, 86; Pantelić, 2011, 35). This symbolic but also real potential instigated the formation of AFŽ. Female and male historians do not completely agree on the issue of the formation, that is, the motives for the formation of a such, in many ways, specific women's organisation. Barbara Jancar-Webster considers that AFŽ was established by the Party in order to offer women a political platform based on emancipatory principles and thus ensure massive participation of women in NOV and NOP (Jancar-Webster, 1990, 144), while Ivan Simić on the basis of her research dealing with the Soviet influences on the issue of emancipation of Yugoslav women considers that the structure of AFŽ can only be compared with the Soviet Ženotdel and that the Yugoslav organisation neither had models nor an organisation from the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia whose goals it could follow (Simić, 2016, 41). Neda Božinović, Barbar Jancar Webster, Jelena Batinić and Lidija Sklevicky link the activities of AFŽ with the pre-war feminist organizations and their activities and see AFŽ as the continuation of the implementation of their emancipatory policies. The previously stated thesis that the Youth Section of the Women's Movement was the nucleus that supplied the ideas and goals for the formation of AFŽ fully confirms the thesis of

these authors with an addition that they considered as feminist organizations all organizations active in the Kingdom regardless of their ideological bases.

The Women's Antifascist Front of Yugoslavia was formed in 1942 in Bosanski Petrovac where the First Federal Conference was held. This was also the first wartime opportunity for women to coordinate their activities on the Yugoslav level. Female delegates at the Conference were high-ranking members of the Communist Party, activists from the pre-war women's movement, young women that became active during the war as well as members of the Partisan units. The Conference brought together 166 female delegates from all regions of the occupied country and it lasted three days, from 5 to 7 December 1942. The most important objectives of this Conference were to connect women from different territories of occupied Yugoslavia, to emancipate women by organising literacy courses, to politically educate them and to advocate equal participation of *partizanki* (female partisans) in the armed struggle. Josip Broz Tito attended the Conference stressing in his speech how significant the presence of women in the armed struggle was and underlining their crucial place in the home front (Broz 1978, 81-82). Spasenija Čana Babović, who after the war became president of the Central Committee of AFŽ, spoke about the organisational issues and underscored that one of the most important goals of the First Conference of AFŽ was to boost women's participation in the war effort. Thus, the first mass political women's Yugoslav organisation was formed at this Conference. It played a major role in the history of postwar emancipation of women as it was the organisation that enabled women to self-organise politically and through it activate as many women as possible. This was the only AFŽ conference organised during the war.

The Women's Antifascist Front of Yugoslavia continued its activities in the post war period. However, the goals of this most important women's organisation changed. The basic goals formulated at the First Congress held in Belgrade from 6 to 19

June 1945 dealt mostly with the reconstruction of the country and humanitarian activities. It should be underscored that one of the most important tasks was to educate women, especially organise literacy classes. At first glance, it seemed as if AFŽ operated as a pre-war women's humanitarian organisation. However, at least four characteristics point to AFŽ's emancipatory role: 1. political participation, 2. role in mobilising women for the reconstruction of the country, a task as important after the war as was participation in the war, 3. contribution to women's education and literacy, 4. incentive for building kindergartens for children enabling women to work and achieve vitally important economic independence. The cited parameters clearly confirm the thesis of the culturologist Danijela Majstorović that AFŽ undoubtedly carried a depatriarchalizing potential (Majstorović, 2018, 109-117) for which *partizanke* and other women who participated in its activities after the war sincerely and energetically fought for.

Some female scholars, like Lidija Sklevicky claim that AFŽ was to a certain extent an independent organisation (Sklevicky, 1996, 119). However, AFŽ activities to a great extent depended on the instructions given by the Party and the People's Front (PF). For any woman to occupy any function in AFŽ it had to be approved by the local Party authorities. Thus, almost without exception all the decisions were made by men. The issue of male authority was often the subject of discussions and complaints at the AFŽ meetings. The minutes of the meetings at all levels show women's dissatisfaction and complaints for being skipped when positions in different social organisations were allocated but men often defended themselves by saying that they simply "forgot that they should also choose a woman". (Pantelić, 2011, 96). However, as an organisation within the People's Front, AFŽ's ideology, program, organisation and finance were most tightly linked with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the state authorities. Instructions issued to AFŽ after the end of the war stressed the need to organise work with women within the framework of the People's Front. The AFŽ Councils were to

become sections of PF Councils. Contrary to the prominent Soviet women revolutionaries who did not want to participate in the activities of Ženotdel after the war, the leadership of AFŽ consisted of prominent members of CPY and former *partizanke*¹ and while the organisation existed not once was it in conflict with the authorities or disagreement with Party policy.

The Antifascist Front of Women of Yugoslavia gathered a large number of women, mobilising them to realise the most significant tasks the newly established regime in Yugoslavia set out to do. Women in public discourse, engaged in different tasks were an indispensable part of the new state ideology as their participation in the combat units was a significant segment and one of the symbols of the Partisan struggle. An important task of AFŽ was to conduct “political and cultural-educational activity”. This meant they were very active in educating and winning over women politically. Literacy classes were organised by county organisations that took on the responsibility for teaching illiterate women to read and write in the nearby villages. Throughout the period of AFŽ activity, the leadership held a prevailing conviction that the process of educating women and especially the literacy classes’ campaign despite great efforts did not achieve the expected results.² Despite great efforts that were made, poverty and lack of contact with written material led to many attendees remaining functionally illiterate although the women and men had attended several literacy courses. Thus, the number of illiterate women actually increased while in 1948 the share of illiterate women in regards to the total population of women was 34,4 % (2.256.279), five years later in 1953 it increased to 35,8% (2.506.475) (Stanišić, 2003, 290). Although the statistical data is beyond doubt, nevertheless

1 Veteran partizanke were in the Presidency of the Central Committee: Spasenija Babović, Mitra Mitrović Đilas, Persa Prodanović, Milica Dedijer, Razumenka Petrović, Jara Ribnikar, dr Olga Milošević, Milica Stajić, Anka Berus, Kata Pejnović, Maca Gržetić, Olga Kovačević, Vanda Novosel, Vida Tomšič, Pepca Kardelj, Lepa Perović, Mara Naceva, Blagoja Demnijeva, Veselinka Malinska i Lidija Jovanović. The Central Committee had 76 female members, elected at the First AFŽJ Congress.

2 ‘Zaključci plenarnog sastanka CO AFŽJ’, *Žena danas*, no. 41–42 (April-May 1946), p. 24.

we must acknowledge the importance of the opportunity given to women to meet other women and gain literacy skills and the effect it had on increasing their self-confidence. Furthermore, these courses provided an opportunity for women of different backgrounds, especially women from rural areas, to meet and bond with each other which was of great significance for them in their endeavour to become visible in any public segment or social activity. Although by statistical parameters, literacy courses did not fulfil expectations, they had a significant and valuable role in connecting and empowering women.

The Third Congress of this organisation, held in Zagreb on 28 and 29 October 1950, opened the issue of integrating AFŽ into the Peoples Front. For the first time, the leaders of AFŽ raised the issue of AFŽ's complete integration into the Peoples Front. Although they did not oppose such a development, they also voiced their complaints on this occasion that AFŽ was being used by the Peoples Front only for technical tasks, while its political function was being neglected. Mara Naceva, in a text published the same year in the journal *Partijska izgradnja*, went a step further, noting that AFŽ was not only a dependent organisation but that the significance of its political and educational role is beginning to decline. She said: "Even if the Party leadership discussed the issue of AFŽ activity, it did so only one-sidedly dealing with the issue of activating women for voluntary PF activities and other activities involving physical work but little attention was paid to the basic task: the political and broad educational work with women."³

The Congress adopted a resolution that provided for certain reforms of the organisation. "Routine and formalism" in organisation as well as bureaucratism in leadership were recognized as the shortcomings of AFŽ. The solution was seen in the proposal for further and more closer ties with the Peoples Front implying that AFŽ was to become only one of the PF's sections, that

³ Mara Naceva, 'Neka pitanja partiskog rada među ženama', *Partijska izgradnja*, no. 1 (1950), p. 35.

is, to completely sink into the Front's structures as an organisation. The future autonomous activities of AFŽ were to be restricted to the domain of dealing with motherhood and providing support to women workers, thus, to primarily deal with the social position of women. This certainly was one of the key moments that facilitated and brought about an accelerated process of abolishing AFŽ. The Party decision to divert membership fees from AFŽ to the PF budget was certainly a factor that made its independent activities more difficult to realise (Simić, 2016, 64). By terminating professional jobs, failure to provide financing from sources not directly linked to PF and thus the Party, were clear signs and significant factors that inevitably imposed broader limitations on independent women's activities and all the greater dependence on Party decisions where the greater majority consisted of men. In the period following 1948, she saw the traditions of the pre-war Women's Movement completely abandoned and thus the disappearance of the possibility to criticise the authorities. Citing the rhetoric of the leading women of AFŽ, she concluded in a lapidary way that "the women's question does not exist anymore, there are only issues that women solve". (Sklevicky, 1996, 133). The resolution of the Third AFŽ Congress held in 1950 determined the non-professional character of these organisations. Shortly after the organisation's activities became voluntary, the previously employed members were either moved to other jobs or sacked.

The Forth, and last, Congress of AFŽJ was held from the 26 to 28 September 1953. Apart from the transformation of the organisation, the most important issues discussed were the position of women in rural areas and the political inactivity of women. Josip Broz Tito did not attend these AFŽ congresses although he had been present at the previous ones. Milovan Đilas, representing top government officials at the Congress, addressed the female delegates noting that women's true equality was yet to come but he underscored that by strengthening democracy and women's equality in Yugoslavia every separate women's political activity has become an obstacle in

achieving women's equality and activity. Đilas considered that the establishment of the Alliance of Women's Societies (SŽD) instead of AFŽ, which was a "half political and half centralised organisation", was inevitable. According to his interpretation society on the whole should assume responsibility for AFŽ's goals and the goal of the future Alliance of Women's Societies (Savez ženskih društava - SŽD) should be to persuade the authorities to accept their ideas (Đilas, 1953, 227-220). Đilas's arguments were completely identical to the ones the Soviet revolutionary and official Lazar Kaganovič used when addressing female delegates of Ženotdela at a meeting that preceded the dissolution of that organisation (Simić, 2016, 66). Vida Tomšič delivered the key arguments in favour of reforming AFŽJ claiming the organisation that monopolised social and political activities of all women has become inadequate. She saw different women's associations dealing with specific issues that directly pertain to the advancement of women's position in society as the logical successors of AFŽ. Vida Tomšič stressed that such associations already exist.⁴ Not one of the mentioned associations dealt with the issue of the political emancipation of women, but all the associations stressed from different aspects that their main task was to solve the issues dealing with motherhood.⁵ The Fourth Congress abolished AFŽ on the basis of speakers' arguments and at the same time formed the Alliance of Women's Societies (Savez ženskih društava - SŽD). This decision was met by some strong, even emotional reactions. Addressing the delegate Draga Dikić from Leskovac did not hide her personal disappointment, dissatisfaction and disapproval: "I am illiterate and old, but I do not like what the comrades said, that AFŽ has died. We who are active have also lost our sons; we who fought do not allow AFŽ to be pronounced dead. We have supported our struggle a lot ... I faced the firing squad three times because my son was in the Partisans. I will not allow

4 They were Associations for the Advancement of Household Management, Association for the Education of Women and Mothers, as was the Association for the Formation of Institutions for Children, School Kitchens, Children's Upbringing and Health ... Vida Tomšič, 'Mesto i uloga ženskih organizacija', *Zora*, no. 89-90 (1953), p. 5.

5 Tomšič, *Ibid.*, 5-6.

AFŽ to be pronounced died.”⁶ According to Neda Božinović while this decision was accepted in the cities, the women in the villages protested the dissolution of AFŽ for a long time: “They told us how their men rejoiced. They told them: ‘Your time is up!’ or ‘It’s over, over!’ or ‘No more.’ They stressed that men were always gathering, that they had their taverns, football and the Peoples Front, while nobody gathers them anymore but they desire to hear something and talk about their women’s problems.” (Božinović, 1996, 174).

Social processes are always complex and never univocal, so the phenomenon of women’s organisation in the first post-war decades in socialist Yugoslavia must be viewed from several perspectives. When we analyse the activities of AFŽ and SŽD from the perspective of reverse hierarchization, from the position of history and *emancipation from below* we get a very clear picture of great female energy, work on improving the general living conditions of all citizens, then huge and sincere efforts of implementing the already existing legal norms. Practical fieldwork with rural women, literacy courses, medical education, continuous and persistent efforts to improve the position of workers, insistence on opening kindergartens, extending paid maternity leave, open and public advocacy for women’s reproductive rights... are some of the areas covered by these meetings, which were discussed by women and which, together with a large number of their female comrades, they successfully implemented. They were fully aware of the limitations imposed on them by the state and the ubiquitous patriarchal order in it. The analysis of the activities of women’s state organizations in socialist Yugoslavia, but also in other countries of European socialism, leads to the conclusion that their agency was feminist, that their concern was feminist and that their struggle was feminist. Socialist women/comrades, with their sincere, dedicated and energetic work on improving the position of women, on encouraging the idea of equality in the new society, have earned their place in our collective memory, and above all in our feminist histories.

⁶ AFŽJ, 141-5-12, A.J.

775/II

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Кемс др 1.

Македонка



ОРГАН НА АНТИФАШИСКИОТ ФРОНТ НА ЖЕНИТЕ ОД МАКЕДОНИА

БРОЈ 2

ДЕКЕМВРИ 1944

ГОД. I





Ivana Hadjievska
Jana Kocevska

INTRODUCTION

Researching
the first
Macedonian
women's
magazine:
from disjointed
memory to
archives of
female lived
experience

1. The careful entry into the newspaper library of Macedonian women's history

At the beginning of November 1944, three months after the first plenary session of the Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) when the Macedonian state was declared,¹ the activists of the partisan resistance printed the first issue of the women's magazine *Makedonka* – Organ of

¹ The process of nation-building of the Macedonian people and the establishment of its state had its culmination during World War Two, in the period between 1941 and 1945. The avant-garde of the antifascist partisan movement consisted of intellectuals that inclined towards the leftist-communist ideas on the solution to the 'Macedonian Question' in the interwar period and of agricultural and industrial workers that demanded social justice and revision of the economic and agrarian experiments on the territory of Vardar Macedonia and the right to self-determination. They were united in the national liberation struggle under the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and its leader Josip Broz Tito. The actual tasks for political and guerrilla organisations of the mobilised population were defined at the first Provincial Conference of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Macedonia in September 1940, presided by Metodija Šatorov-Šarlo. The process of creation of the Macedonian state was institutionally and politically linked to the central processes and events in the establishment of the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia at the session of the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) in 1943. According to the documents and resolutions from this session, the new Macedonian nation was officially recognized as an equal subject. In November 1943, a Steering Committee for the Antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM) was formed. The next important document put together by the Macedonian partisan authorities on liberated territory (in the village of Crvena Voda) was the Manifest of the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Units of Macedonia that anticipated the AVNOJ solutions for Macedonia. Eventually, on 2 August 1944, on the orthodox holiday of St Elijah, in the Saint Prohor Pcinjski Monastery, in the Kumanovo region, 60 delegates gathered (among whom were Veselinka Malinska, Vera Aceva, Mara Naceva, Maca Kabreva and Liljana Čalovska), and held the First Session of the Antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM). The arrival of the Soviet, American and British military missions on liberated Macedonian territory signalled the international recognition of the Macedonian army – the National Liberation Army of Macedonia.

the Women's Antifascist Front in the city of Bitola. This was yet another in the series of printed media in Macedonian published little before the end of World War Two. Following a resolution of the Antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia, the daily newspaper *Nova Makedonija*² was the first to be established, as a medium that transmitted the basic party political line of the Communist Party of Macedonia,³ followed closely by the publications of *Mlad Borec* (*Young Fighter* - a youth magazine), *Titov pioner* (*Tito's Pioneer* - a children's magazine) and the magazine *Makedonka* (as an official organ of the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia, dedicated to the women's issues in the society). All these titles resonated greatly in the Macedonian media context. The journalism and its propagandist function reproduced by these newspapers and magazines generated mass media differentiations and creation of separate media population groups, as well as a platform for cooperation and solidarization among the individuals belonging to these groups as regards various issues that affected their lives in the new socialist state. In addition to this, this press fulfilled the universal function of all press – to present opinions and information as a basis for further action – and for the first time to mass readerships in Macedonian.⁴

2 Vasil Ivanovski, 'Prvot naš sloboden list', *Nova Makedonija*, Year 1, no. 1 (29 October 1944), p. 1.

3 The Communist Party of Macedonia was established during World War Two. In the interwar period, as a consequence of the modernization, industrialization and agricultural experiments introduced by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on the territory of Vardar Macedonia, a working class was formed, which in a political sense was mobilised in unions and workers' movements and organisations, most commonly linked to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Individuals from these movements were communists and had theoretical knowledge of the communist platform, but on the territory of Macedonia there was no communist party yet. Only when Svetozar Vukmanović-Tempo visited in 1943, as a political instructor for the Macedonian partisans, more centralised organisation of party life ensued. The first meeting that elected the Central Committee of the Communist party of Yugoslavia was held on 19 March 1943 in Tetovo. This date was celebrated in socialist Macedonia as the date when the Communist party of Macedonia was established. In 1952, the party changed its name into the League of Communist of Macedonia (SKM).

4 For more on the development of the press on the geographical territory of Macedonia before World War Two, see Boro Mokrov (1980).

The first issue of *Makedonka* was printed on 24 pages and had a circulation of about a thousand copies. It was printed in a small format once a month. As indicated by its title, this was a publication that was an official organ of the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia.⁵ In fact, this medium was part of the broad range of publications closely related to the activism of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The printed culture of the party can be followed back to its very beginnings, and 'partisan press'⁶ was developed during the Second World War that issued illegal publications whose aim was to disseminate messages of resistance against the occupation

5 The Antifascist Women's Front of Yugoslavia was founded during the National Liberation Struggle with the aim to mobilise women in the struggle against the fascist forces, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Front was officially formed in December 1942, in Bosanski Petrovac. Left-leaning women's organisations with similar tasks and ways of working with women had existed before and the prewar experiences in the mobilisation of women in workers' organisations were particularly important. The leaders of the partisan resistance had a very clear vision that the struggle against fascism was at the same time a struggle for a more just society in which women would have an active role. This was included in the ideological and political platform of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia that envisaged full equality between men and women in all segments of life. When the Women's Antifascist Front was formed, Governing Boards of the organisation were formed locally on the entire territory of Yugoslavia. The Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia was formed on the basis of the same principles on 14-15 December 1945.

6 The partisan press formed a special imaginarium in the mental mapping of the Yugoslav peoples after the war. The partisan memoir literature contributed hugely to its creation, as did the partisan films and popular TV series from the nineteen sixties. In them, the illegal partisan printing presses were experienced symbolically as something special and unique, but also defined very clearly and concise in the following manner: these were mostly secret basements in private homes of activists, or concealed and not easily accessible parts of inns or other public buildings. They were the subversive places that functioned as in-between spaces: on the first level were the Gestapo (the secret state police of Nazi Germany) and the occupation authorities vigilantly overseeing all events and all citizens, while 'a few steps down the stairs and along the dark corridor', another world began and functioned clandestinely: the resistance not only got together to communicate and organize, but it also, which is perhaps the most fascinating aspect, discovered a way to communicate its messages to the outside world via the press. The material remains of this kind of resistance are the many leaflets, pamphlets, serial publications and partisan newspapers. Historiography only corroborates the status of the 'illegal printing presses' in the imaginarium of the partisan resistance. A local historian that wrote about the socialist period has agreed that 'the most conspirative activity of the *Resistance* was the illegal press. In Veles, rooms in private homes of activists of the partisan resistance were used: in Bitola, just before the end of the war, five private and relatively well-equipped printing houses operated. One of them, 'Gutenberg', played an important role for the illegal press. During their working hours, the owners Petre and Mite Dimovi, who were involved with the partisans, engaged only in legal work to avoid attracting the attention of the authorities, but when the working day finished, they continued printing illegal materials. They printed the ASNOM Declaration (Mokrov 1980; Kirkov 1981; Sterjovski 1986; Inadeski 1961; Vesković-Vangeli 1982).

forces on the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia as well as to engage in open and unequivocal agitation for a 'socialist revolution' planned by the Communist Party.⁷

The history of the magazine *Makedonka* is made of at least three (major) temporal lines:⁸ the developments in the national and state history; the development lines of the women's movement emancipation in the 20th century and its eventual clear political formulation in the form of WAF during World War Two; the lifespan of the publication itself and its development and presence in the culture of memory: from a living medium to a historical source. These temporalities are intertwined, but it can be said that this is their actual chronology as well, starting with the historical circumstances of the 20th century that enabled the establishment of the magazine, and concluding with the historical contexts of the 21st century, that led to radical changes and dissolution of the medium – and its new life – in the memory and in the past. Still, we can reduce the complexity of these historical ordeals by materially positioning the magazine in the reality in which it emerged. Through reconstruction of the process of creation of the first issue of *Makedonka*, that is to say, by acquainting the reader with the concrete material circumstances and living factors that participated in its creation, we managed to gather a surprising amount of data about the world in which the magazine *came into being*, and for this reason we consider this an important step towards the analysis of the other aspects of the magazine.

According to the sources/reminiscences published in honour of the anniversary of the first issue of *Makedonka*, the City Board of WAF of Skopje discussed the initiative to start a magazine at a

7 According to Gordana Stojaković, a historian of the WAF press, the ideological plan of socialist Yugoslavia in the period between 1945 and 1953 was transmitted via the printed media, and the leading role in communicating these messages to women was played by the WAF press. As early as the period between 1942 and 1944, in very difficult circumstances, on the territories where the national-liberation movement was active in Yugoslavia, some 30 WAF titles were published (Stojaković 2012, 37).

8 For more about the temporality of certain historical events and the theoretical postulates of this term and its contextual function, see Tanja Petrović (Petrović 2021).

meeting in October 1944, held in a basement of a building near the theatre and attended by 11 women. Reminiscences about the first issue were published almost every year in the successor magazine 'Prosvetena žena' [Enlightened Woman], either in its November, or December, issues, and from an issue from 1955 we learn:

"Those days, it became clear that a women's paper was a necessity. It would serve to unite women's efforts, and it would aid and direct their desire to give as much as they could for their fatherland. Then, at a meeting of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia a resolution was voted to start publishing a women's magazine. (...) Firstly, a group of women comrades from different brigades was organised and they were held responsible for the publication of the magazine: Nada Bogdanova, Lenče Ivanova, Nada Ačkoska and others. The first editor of the magazine was Veselinka Malinska. They constituted the editorial board. A decision was reached to name the magazine *Makedonka* – Organ of the Women's Anti-fascist Front. The painter Cico Popović was in charge of the front page and the other illustrations, and a plan was devised for the articles that were to be published in the first issue, and the tasks were distributed. That is how it all started. (...) With exception of Veselinka Malinska and Nada Bogdanova, who had written for the progressive press and worked on the publication of illegal materials, the majority of the male and female comrades that agreed to write for the first issue were supposed to write their first articles ever. But all that was overcome. (...) This was the beginning of November, around the 7th of November – six days before the liberation of Skopje and about two weeks before the liberation of Macedonia." ['Prvot broj', *Prosvetena žena*, Year 9, no. 1-2, 1955, pp. 1-2]

All these reminiscences are jubilant and marked by the *pathos* of the 'heroic stage' of the national liberation struggle.⁹

9 From a historiographical point of view, in the socialist countries of Europe after World War Two, the workers' history, the developments in the class struggle and in the union and communist movements constituted the central and official narrative of the past of the state. The methods applied in the study of history were those that understood history as a dialectic totality and they were theoretically founded upon scientific Marxism. In socialist Yugoslavia, this configuration gave the institutions enough space and time for voluminous and documentation-oriented academic products on one hand, volumes and volumes of historical books were printed about the development of the Communist Party in every republic, etc. But, on the other hand, the research in this field often suffered from the contextual limitations of the official historiography that, at the

The reminiscences published in honour of the anniversaries in the following years referred to data that corroborated the ‘selfless efforts’ and the practical difficulties in the technical part of the activities whose aim was to create the ‘resistance press’. In fact, the road that the first issue of *Makedonka* had to travel was long and literally ‘bumpy’: the materials and equipment travelled from the village of Gorno Vranovci, in the Veles region, to Prilep and then to Bitola, where, when the printing press was delivered in a truck (Sterjovski 1986), the magazine was finally printed, waiting for its turn, right after the printing of the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*:

“The first issue, in a small format of 24 pages and with circulation of 2000 copies, was published immediately after the liberation of Bitola, in the beginning of November. The printing of the magazine started in Gorno Vranovci in the printing house ‘Goce Delčev’ that had only a few cases of letters (*sic!*). The pages were printed one by one, and the letters of one page were re-used for the next page. After the liberation of Prilep, the printing press was transferred there. The rest of the pages of the magazine were printed in this city. Finally, the types were moved to Bitola, where the magazine was eventually published. The second December issue of the magazine was also published in Bitola.” [“Četirinaeset godini od izleguvanjeta na spisanieto ‘Makedonka’ - ‘Prosvetena žena’”, *Prosvetena žena*, Year 13, no. 11-12 (1958), p. 3.]

According to the activists that were direct participants in the process of printing, the greatest challenges were the organisation of the resources for printing, as well as the difficulties in the organisation of women on the ground and the collection of the texts:

“Vranovci – end of October 1944. In the village house where the printing press of the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and Partisan Units of Macedonia was situated, all the efforts were made to prepare the publication of the first Macedonian daily *Nova Makedonija*. And when the first copies were printed on 29 October, general joy erupted among the people that

same time, was supposed to construe and maintain the narrative of the federal state and of the national narratives, and had to function as some sort of ‘amalgam’ of the different elements of nation-building. This ‘amalgam’ often materialized in a supra-narrative about the heroic struggle of the partisans during World War Two.

worked on the paper, among the fighters and the villagers and this caused a slight postponement in the work on the publication of the first newspaper of the Women's Antifascist Front. (...) Bogdan Stojanovski, the current technical manager in the printing house 'Nova Makedonija' was one of the participants in the printing of *Makedonka*. He told us about the manner in which the technicians managed to 'collect' the necessary materials for the first issue: We worked day and night – he said 'We had to prepare the pages for *Nova Makedonija* first, and then we had to print some leaflets and bulletins, and a brochure or two. But at the same time, we were preparing the materials for the first issue of *Makedonka*. What slowed us down the most was the insufficient amount of letters and we were forced, having finished and printed one page, to break the type and use the same letters to prepare the next page. That is how we printed both *Nova Makedonija* and *Makedonka*. They told us that it was especially hard to make the types planned for the front page and some other pages. The printing outfit in Vranovci did not have zincography, and the types had to be made in Skopje. – Several comrades took the risk to be discovered by the occupation authorities – said Bogdan Stojanovski – but owing to their resourcefulness and cool-headedness, we finished all these preparations without too many problems. We learnt from him that they finished the printing of the magazine *Makedonka* in liberated Prilep. – We had only the covers to print, but this time too, because the General Headquarters and the press moved to Bitola, there was a slight postponement. On 7 November in Bitola, the first issue was finally published. About a thousand copies were printed first and were immediately sent via couriers to all parts of Macedonia. The second issue of *Makedonka* was also printed in Bitola in December, and from the third issue onwards *Makedonka* was printed in Skopje." [P. T., 'Kako e otpečaten prvot broj na 'Makedonka' pred Petnaeset godini', *Prosvetena žena*, no. 12 (1959), pp. 12-13.]

The political reason behind the starting of this magazine, as explained by its authors and editors in the central article dedicated to the task of the Women's Antifascist Front, was: "to strengthen the position that women won as builders of the state and to reinforce their right to participate, en masse and actively, in all professions and in all government institutions, as well as to connect with

other women from all over Yugoslavia for a united solution of the 'women's question'."¹⁰

The position of the magazine was clearly defined within the framework of the new social and political context and the creation of the Macedonian state: to create a 'new socialist woman', politically emancipated, so that she could participate fully in the new socialist society: according to communist ideology, the equality between women and men was a clearly defined postulate given in advance, not a goal that was yet to be reached. This observation, placed in the context of WAF of Macedonia, was summarised successfully by the editor of the magazine in the period between 1946 and 1951 – Vera Nikolova:

"The magazine *Makedonka* as an organ of WAF served to implement a series of the organisation's directives and stimulated the organisation of voluntary work actions and the inclusion of women in the life of the society. (...) The articles reporting about women shock workers, about the first woman builder, or about women from the rural cooperatives helped build the image of a woman that gradually freed herself from her backward opinions that her place was in the house, and began involving herself in the life of our society. Especially the issues of *Makedonka* printed on the eve of the holidays such as 8 March and 1 May published many articles reporting about eminent women workers from all fields of our social life. In parallel with this coverage of the lives of our working women, *Makedonka* disseminated political information and printed articles that informed its readership about important events in the country and the world. The magazine played a special role in the political and cultural-educational advancement of women. (...) Later on, a certain change in the orientation of the magazine occurred, *Makedonka* was given a more entertaining character, with more literary contributions, practical and healthcare advice, sewing courses, fashion journals, etc. The publication of *Makedonka* was plagued by many problems and difficulties. Most of the articles that covered events in the first years were written by authors that were not paid and the magazine

¹⁰ Veselinka Malinska, 'Da go zajakneme Antifašističkiot front na ženite na Makedonija', *Makedonka*, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), pp. 9-10.

demanded a lot from its contributors. The printing was also not without difficulties. The magazine was printed in the printing house 'Kultura' and its capacity was insufficient. Quite often when the linotype workers were busy, the types for the magazine were done manually by unqualified workers and this caused even greater difficulties during the corrections. The magazine's distribution was not easy either. The magazine was distributed on a voluntary basis, via the local organisations of WAF, and they were often late. Sometimes several issues of the magazine would be left unpacked in some office, never reaching the readers. This tardy distribution of the magazine entailed belated payments by the subscribers, which further complicated the financial situation of the editorial board." [Vera Nikolova, 'Ulogata i problemite na spisanieto Makedonka od 1946 - 1951 godina', *Prosvetena žena*, Year 20, no. 11 (1964), p. 3.]

The position of the magazine as "the principal medium about women's issues in the society" remained closely linked to the needs of the state upon which it was based, and consequently the political and ideological changes in the socialist state affected the goals and visions of the magazine in a crucial way that greatly surpassed the influence of the leaders of the organisation of WAF, which also underwent political reorganisation in the nineteen fifties. The magazine was called *Makedonka* until 1952; it was renamed into 'Prosvetena žena - Organ na ženskite društva na Makedonija' [Enlightened Woman - Organ of the Women's Societies of Macedonia in 1953: in 1990 the magazine was renamed again, this time into *Woman*; while in the period between 1997 and 2005, the magazine was published under the title *New Woman*; and for a short period afterwards the magazine was published under the name *Handsome*. Expressed in the terms of feminist hermeneutics, by following the changes in the title of this periodical, we can follow the changes in the women's emancipation idea, starting with socialism and ending with period of the transition in the nineteen nineties and the re-patriarchalization in the last couple of decades (Burcar 2020). For this reason, the magazine *Makedonka* is a rare, or even unique, historical source that allows us to follow various aspects of the

process of emancipation of women, its contradictions, the etatist and 'top to bottom' emancipation, the great fieldwork experiences, the women's 'mass organisation, the struggle for equality in all its forms, as well as the changes induced by the systemic approach of the state and its leadership with regards to the issues and the state priorities concerning the struggle for women's equality and the changes in the geopolitical coordinates both regionally and on a European level. To put it in a more refined manner with coherent phrases: the magazine *Makedonka* is a newspaper library of the most important processes of the modern women's history in Macedonia.

* * *

As editors and authors of this book, with the previous knowledge we have above, we realise that, if we want to enter this newspaper library of women's history and research it, we have to be very careful, applying the interdisciplinary approach of humanities. The collection in front of you contains the findings of our research of the magazine *Makedonka* – primarily as a source for women's history, and women's (in)visibility in the national narration about the past. We are certain in the potentials of the legacy of *Makedonka* that radiate from the archival and *historical-cum-documentary* dimension towards other cultural dimensions, and even reach the arena of the present political moment, but we have chosen the first as the basic direction that we followed in our research, starting from the premise that archiving is a salvation from oblivion, and from the understanding of the historiographical positioning of a source as its legitimising in the important discourses of cultural memory. Our epistemological concerns were not groundless. Still, this collection is the first of this kind, dedicated to the magazine *Makedonka* as a monograph, seventy years after the capital historiographic work of the historian Vera Vesković-Vangeli, dedicated to the documentation of women's participation in the National Liberation Struggle (Vesković-Vangeli and Jovanović 1976; Vesković-Vangeli 1982, Vesković-Vangeli and Manevski 1985; Vesković-Vangeli 1994). If we take into account our initial hermeneutics that was explicitly

interested in the gender aspects of the analysis of *Makedonka*, this collection is after all the first of its kind. Consequently, in the remaining part of our introduction we thought that it would be especially important for our readers to exhibit the design of the theoretical and methodological apparatus that we deemed most suitable for the research of *Makedonka* that we have endeavoured, as well as for the forms of the research process and for the summary of the findings.

2. The method and approach to the research of *Makedonka*

This collection is the second publication of the methodologically and theoretically devised project 'Invisible Archives'¹¹ whose goal is to research Macedonian women's history through the complex kaleidoscope of periodicals – understood primarily as a source that archives human social activities that are not always part of the official, anthologized and institutional narratives, but were crucial for the creation of the modern patterns in culture and politics. Considering the far-reaching potentials of the project 'Invisible Archives', we came to the conclusion that the research of the presence of women in the periodical in the period between the two world wars was the first step that we should take, before delving into the research of an actual 'women's magazine', which in the Macedonian context emerged as late as mid-20th century, when *Makedonka* was born.

The first study was conducted in the course of 2021 and focused on the women referred to in various publications printed and/or circulated on the territory of Vardar Macedonia between the two world wars. The findings of the research were presented in the collection *Invisible Archives: Women in the periodicals in Vardar*

¹¹ For more, see the official Internet page of the project: nevidliviarhivi.mk.

Macedonia between the two world wars, in which the expertise of authors from the field of humanities was accompanied by several elements that stressed and traced the future epistemological development of the study: through its Bibliography and Register that made the research of the sources more straightforward, and through the document with recommendations as regards the institutional, educational and digital future of the sources in focus. The specificity of that endeavour was in the fact that the women in the researched space, because of complex of historical reasons, had never started a specifically women's magazine, and even less a feminist magazine, and their (in)visibility we had to detect in several different periodical publications – an original source material that allowed us to reconstruct the history of women as participants in the public sphere (Hadjievska and Kocevaska 2021).

'Invisible Archives 2.0' aims to research a particular source and that is the magazine *Makedonka*. We see this press as a key source testifying to the emancipation of women and their participation in the processes of reconstruction of the society after the Second World War, as well as their participation in the processes of education, institution-building, and designing social policies. It also enabled us to observe the legal aspects of emancipation (as well as economic, social, healthcare, reproductive and political). In order to examine these aspects with scientific rigour, we believed that was necessary to apply a critical approach to the ideological aspects and the historical context in which the magazine was created.

Our research started from the premise that the analysis of the first Macedonian women's magazine *Makedonka* could broaden the knowledge about the developments in women's emancipation in the past on one hand, while on the other, the overall research could broaden the knowledge about the socialist period in general and the effects of that knowledge on the creation of the historical narratives as regards women's participation in the social and state-building processes, as well as on the culture of memory about the events from the period of socialism. At the same time, we could not arrive

at these theses without taking into account the marginalisation of *Makedonka* as the first women's magazine and/or its falling into oblivion, albeit it is a first-rate source for the examination of various aspects of women's history and the history of socialism in the Macedonian context.

As far as their approach was concerned, the researchers focused on previewing and targeting the narratives in the press that testified to the social and institutional processes of women's emancipation. The researches were conducted by four authors coming from different fields in humanities and they worked with the sources on individual themes, summing up their findings in expert texts. Their individual researches were placed in a synthetic framework, where cohesiveness was achieved by establishing two key perspectives in the treatment of the individual themes: the press as a source for women's participation in the establishment of the institutions of the society and of the social institutions (women as agents); and the press as a source for the effect of emancipation on women (women as receivers). The authorial texts are accompanied with relevant visual materials from the issues of the magazine. In order to capture the important visual and media segment of the magazine *Makedonka*, every text in the collection opens with a front page from the magazine that represents a visual subliminate of the researched subject. A constituent part of the study is the artistic articulation and communication of the research of the press in a form of an exhibition authored by the artist Hristina Ivanoska. Her work method is part of the content of the collection.

A key coordinate in the research process was the availability and accessibility of the magazine *Makedonka*, and the situation from that perspective is also indicative for the research. In this respect, in the Republic of North Macedonia today, the magazine *Makedonka* can be found and used for research and scientific purposes in institutions whose job description is to keep, preserve and protect rare periodicals. The magazine is not digitised, and owing to that fact, as well as the need to consult additional comparative sources,

the libraries and archives were the primary places where we started our research. Almost all issues of the magazine can be found in the National and University Library in Skopje, in the Department for rare periodicals. According to the publicly available data from COBISS, the search system for the library catalogues, the library does not have the following issues of the magazine: the issues 8, 9, 10 and 11 from 1945. It should be pointed out that the issues from 1944, 1945 and 1946 are part of the collection of rare serial publications, while the issues from 1947 until 1952 are catalogued as serial publications in the general collection. This institution also keeps copies of the other titles that stemmed directly from this magazine (*Enlightened Woman, Woman*), also in the general collection. The last two titles can also be found in the National institution and University Library St. Clement of Ohrid – Bitola.

In our search for data about the situation in the other institutions that keep and preserve collections of rare periodicals and similar material, we learnt that copies of the magazine can be found in the State Archive of the Republic of North Macedonia – Bitola division, where there is a copy from 1945 [Year 1, no. 3-4 (January-February 1945)] and three copies from 1947 [Year 4, no. 30-31 (April-May 1947), no.2 (June 1947) and No. 33-34 (July-August 1947)]. The first issue of the magazine can be found in the library Brakja Miladinovci in Skopje, and this institution has digitised the issue on its digital platform.¹² Another institution that keeps copies of the magazine is the Institute of National History in Skopje; it has only one issue in fact. Copies of the magazine are also owned by private persons and kept in their home libraries and personal collections, but it was difficult to find any precise data about the state of the magazines in the home libraries. For the purposes of this research, we paid a working visit to the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade, where the complete issues of the magazine *Makedonka* are kept. The research for this collection was conducted with the

¹² Makedonka, *Digital Library 'Brakja Miladinovci'*, accessed 14 July 2022, <https://digitalna.gbsk.mk/items/show/306>.

collection kept in the last institution following the Rulebook that regulates the use of the library material.

Another aspect that is important for the formulation of an appropriate methodological framework was the regional context. Women's periodicals in general and the WAF press in particular, belong to the broader Yugoslav legacy. In the last few decades this kind of periodicals have been in the focus of many institutional and independent research initiatives in the post-Yugoslav countries whose goal was a critical approach to the cultural and historical legacy of these sources, as well as examination of their position in the politics of memory of the contemporary societies, that is to say, they aimed to place the participation of women activists of WAF in the context of the present-day challenges for women's participation in politics and in the struggle for equality. In fact, we could say that these various regional initiatives are all inter-related through the starting premise in their research of these sources, according to which "oblivion had gender characteristic" (Slapšak 2007). In consequence, the initiative have another segment in common: they availed themselves of the digitalization of the archival material about the history of WAF, which has allowed for a much easier searching and sharing of these sources, and that has increased their accessibility to researchers, but it has also made them present and visible in public history and culture of memory in general.

In this respect, we should refer to the initiative of the collective 'Crvena' from Bosnia and Herzegovina from 2015 and the digitalization of the 'Archive of women's antifascist struggle in Bosnia and Herzegovina'.¹³ This digital archive is important because it unites the original material with more recent, as well older, theoretical literature that examines the past of WAF of Yugoslavia. Theoretical sublimates of this digital archive and the entire undertaking is the collection edited by Andreja Dugandžić and Tijana Okić (Dugandžić and Okić 2018).

¹³ 'Arhiv antifašističke borbe žena Bosne i Hercegovine i Jugoslavije', <https://afzarhiv.org/>.

In the domain of contemporary culture, the cultural and artistic initiatives of the artist Adela Jušić are very important for the re-visiting of the sources, testimonies, biographies and periodicals related to WAF, and especially her exhibition entitled 'What has our struggle given us?' from 2013. Jušić explores the position of the partisan biographies of women mobilised in World War Two, as well as their motivation for political emancipation against the mythologizing by the later political elites.

More intensive institutional and scientific processes towards digitalization and more profound study of women's modern periodicals we can also observe in Serbia, where the last realized project was 'Ženski pokret 2020' [Women's Movement 2020], on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first and longest surviving Yugoslav women's and feminist magazine *Ženski pokret* [Women's Movement].¹⁴ Prior to this, in 2011, an academic platform and the electronic academic journal *Knjiženstvo*¹⁵ was started. The potential of the research of periodicals as regards women's history are recognized by a wider circle of researchers, and we could say that there is an informal network that produces scientific literature in this field.¹⁶

In North Macedonia, a great contributor to the culture of memory about women's movement within the antifascist resistance is the independent cultural scene and the activities of the feminist festival 'First Born Girl' organized by the collective Tiiiit! Inc. from Skopje. As part of its activities lasting for over a decade, the collective has produced publications and provided a platform for activists and authors whose actions, art and research placed

14 'Ženski pokret 2020' (Uloga srpske periodike u formiranju književnih, kulturnih i nacionalnih obrazaca, Institut za književnost i umetnost), <https://www.zenskipokret.org/>.

15 Digital database Knjiženstvo, theory and history of women's literature in Serbian until 1915. <http://www.knjizenstvo.rs/#>.

16 The author of the last detailed study of periodicals and women's magazines through the lens of feminist hermeneutics is Ana Kolarić (Kolarić 2021). Other relevant authors are Stanislava Barać, Jelena Lalatović, Jelena Milinković, Slobodanka Peković, Zorana Simić, Žarka Svirčev, and others.

the legacy of women's history in the context of the contemporary problems of feminist activism, but also re-actualized the narratives about female resistance and made them more accessible (*Femoir* 2016; Hadjievaska, Dragšić and Kocevaska 2021)

Our editorial decision was to refuse to live on isolated islands of national reductionism, even when local sources and narratives are researched, because we believe in the scientific and cultural potential of exchange. Taking into account that *Makedonka* was under researched, as well as the relatively pioneering quality of our work on this collection, it was particularly important that we connected with the regional experiences. Collaborators on this collection, especially in the methodological domain, were Ivana Pantelić from the Institute for Recent History of Serbia, and Jelena Milinković from the Institute for Literature and Art at the University of Belgrade, representatives and participants in larger projects dedicated to the research of women's history in the Yugoslav context, including digitization projects and research of periodicals as a source.

In this part of the introduction we would like to express our gratitude to the collaborators we have met 'on the way'. We are very grateful to the researcher Ana Miškovska Kajevska for her comments on the concept of the research, as well as for her kindly pointing out to us some useful contents from the magazine *Enlightened Woman*. From the very beginning of our work and to the very end, we were inspired by Ana Kolarić's work and her last book dedicated to feminist hermeneutics in the research of women's periodicals, which we were kindly given as a present and it now occupies an important place in our library. We would like to thank Lina Kjostarova Unkovska – Veselinka Malinska's daughter, for sharing the first issue of the magazine *Makedonka* for the research of the artist Hristina Ivanoska, which is part of this project. We would also like to thank Borko Zafirovski – Liljana Maneva Saveljić's son, for the permit to use photographs from his family's archive, as well as for sharing other biographical references. We

express our gratitude to the team from the Museum of the Republic of North Macedonia for their opened doors and their collaboration. Finally, we would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to our colleagues and other members of CINI-K-Skopje, for their patience and kindness.

These project researches are in fact complex working processes that connect different authors, factors and activities. For this reason, we would like to express our gratitude to the office of Heinrich Böll Stiftung in Sarajevo and the Ministry of Culture of North Macedonia for recognizing the scientific, social and cultural value of our idea and work for the second year in a row.

2.1 The identity card of the magazine

In this part we would like to present a preview of the basic descriptive and normative characteristics of the magazine *Makedonka*. The 'identity card' of a serial publication includes its categorization and description for the purpose of identifying the program of the publication and the more important bibliographical data (Kolarić 2021, 113).

Makedonka - Organ of WAF - Macedonia belongs to the magazine type as a publication. The first issue was published on 7 November 1944 in Bitola. Judging by its title, it is clear that the magazine was an official propaganda medium of the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia, founded on 14 December 1944. This organisation was the publisher and owner of the magazine. The editor of the first issue (signed as the 'chief redactor') was Veselinka Malinska (editing the magazine from November 1944 until September 1947), and its regular contributors, starting with the first issue onwards, were: Nada Bogdanova-Ikonomova, Nada Ačkoska, Liljana Saveljić, Kevser Šukri, Vaska Duganova, Filimena Markovska, Desa Miljovska, Nevena Teoharova, Lenče Arsova, Lenče Jovanovska, Liljana Čalovska, Miriam Popović, Ruža Bak, Slavka Cevtkova and Rada Galeva. The magazine published the opinions and speeches of the contemporary women politicians at the time,

such as Vera Aceva, Kata Lahtova, Jolanda Klosi and Kerime Muča. In most cases, the authors and collaborators signed their texts with just initials, and a large number of texts were not even authorised. With respect to the biographical profiles of the regular contributors to the magazine, we can differentiate two major profiles: the editors were most commonly recruited from the higher echelons of the partisan military leadership, brigadiers turned functionaries after the war, working in various enterprises or public institutions, as well as in the party. The regular collaborators were mostly party cadres that improved their education after the war and specialised in certain areas (medicine, law, economy, teaching, etc.).

In charge of the drawings, graphical representations and the visual identity of the magazine was the painter and caricaturist Vasilie Popović-Cico, who remained a contributor to the magazine for many years. The technician in charge of the printing of the first issue was Bogdan Stojanovski, replaced later on by Vojislav Antić. The magazine was first printed in the 'State Printing House Goce Delčev', and later in the printing house 'Kultura', both in Skopje. In the first (postwar years) of the publication, the magazine did not have a stable editorial or literary board, and the editor-in-chief was in charge of all decisions. The other editors of the magazine were: Vera Nikolova (from October 1947 to December 1950), Blagojka Demnieva (January-September 1951); and Liljana Maneva (December 1952).

With regards to the gender balance, *Makedonka* was clearly a women's magazine both in the editorial and authorial sense. Still, men were not completely absent as collaborators and authors of texts, although in smaller numbers. As collaborators, men were most commonly listed as photo-reporters and authors of the front pages, or as technical editors of the magazine. As authors, it is interesting; they were most commonly published in the literature and poetry sections of the magazine. We often come across the names of renowned Macedonian writers such as Venko Markovski, Aco Šopov, Slavko Janevski, Vančo Nikoleski, Ilhami Emin, Shukri Ramo,

Ivan Točko, while Blaže Koneski authored a few theoretical literary contributions. The works of these writers that were published in *Makedonka* were most often with feminophile and heroic-patriotic content. The domestic women authors rarely signed their poetry or prose. This was left to the regionally established women writers, such as Desanka Maksimović. Many of the articles reporting from WAF rallies in different towns and villages throughout the country were often signed by Ilija Topalovski and the journalist Kiro Mukaetov. We came across names signed under articles in the magazine that only later in their careers became doyens in their respective academic fields, such as the historian Dančo Zografski and the literary historian Haralampie Polenaković. The chief reporter writing about the events of the period between 1948 and 1950 and about the events concerning the Macedonian population in the Greek civil war was the journalist Hristo Andonovski. Men were also authors in the rubrics dedicated to women's and children's health, where the texts were often signed by doctors and other medical workers.

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With respect to its frequency, the magazine was published once a month, but it was often published as a double issue (for more details see Appendix 1). The magazine was published regularly in the period between 1944 and 1951, that is, for a total of eight years, with an interruption of one year (1951): after the last issue published in the seventh year [Year 7, no. 81-82 (August-September 1951)], the magazine was discontinued until December 1952, when the last issue, no. 83, under the title *Makedonka* was published.

The magazine was published in A4 format (30 cm), with different graphic designs of the title and the front page and with an abundance of illustrations and photographs. It was printed on 24 pages. With respect to its script and language, *Makedonka* was written in Macedonian using the Cyrillic alphabet, and this was additionally emphasised in the first issues of the magazine because of the on-going process of codification of the Macedonian

language (5 May – 7 June 1945). Owing to challenges of grammatical and orthographic kinds, as well as owing to the lack of appropriate letter types and zincography at the time, the magazine was full of technical errors and various dialects could be seen on the same page, especially in the articles and information coming from different towns and villages in the country.¹⁷ With respect to the presence of other languages, passages in Russian were a common occurrence until 1948; poetic contributions by authors from the Serbo-Croatian linguistic area were published in the original (such as Branko Ćopić); while in 1946 [more precisely in the issues from Year 3, no. 17-18 (March-April 1946), until Year 3, no. 24 (October 1946)], the magazine was trilingual, because contributions in Albanian and Turkish were added, as part of the editorial policy that aimed to bring the magazine closer to the women from the minorities.

The price of the magazine, printed on the back page of the first issue, was 50 Bulgarian levs. The first issue where the price was expressed in Yugoslav dinars was Issue no. 7 from May 1945 and it amounted to 8 dinars for a single issue and 12 dinars for a double issue, but the price usually varied around these two amounts, most likely owing to the postwar price fluctuations. A monthly and yearly subscription was established later on. From the very beginning of the publication of the magazine the WAF boards practised collection of voluntary contributions for the purposes of the magazine, and the information about the collections was published on the pages of the magazine. It was always emphasised that the editorial board had great difficulties to collect enough funds because there was not enough interest.

A particularly important aspect of the ‘identity card’ of any publication is the program. The program of every magazine includes

¹⁷ It is important to say that *Makedonka* was not the only medium that suffered from unevenness when faced with the linguistic challenges, and they lasted well into the nineteen fifties. According to the Bulletin of the Department for South Slavonic Languages at the Philological faculty in Skopje 1950, the use of orthography and the situation with press language in general, especially in the local press, “was not as nearly as good as it could be”. According to the author of the article, some of the newspapers had as many as 600 errors of this kind (Vidoeski 1950).

its purpose and vision as a medium, as well as the social goals of the editors and authors, that is to say, whether the magazine is socially (dis)engaged. It is a common practice to have the program presented in the first issue, or in segments that contain ‘calls to action’ addressed at the targeted readers. In the first issue of *Makedonka*, we found a text that referred to concrete points in the program, but the analysis of the contents, together with some documents from the archival collections that were a product of WAF activities,¹⁸ clearly indicate its programmatic goals: public presentation of WAF’s tasks and establishing connections among all women in Macedonia for their active participation in the realisation of these tasks. During the war WAF had three main tasks: inclusion of all women with fighting capabilities in the battles on the fronts; reinforcement of the only women’s front organisation and activation of women of all nationalities in the organisation of the people’s democratic government.¹⁹ In the postwar issues, the main WAF tasks were concerned with the implementation of the mass campaigns for “cultural, educational and political advancement of women” and with the work with Muslim women.²⁰ The text that opened the magazine, entitled ‘Našiot pat’ [Our journey] was completely dedicated to the “historical role of the Macedonian woman in the resistance against fascism” and the clear determination of women to emancipate and attain equality with men in the socialist state. The text includes a description of the status of women in the past, which was dark and inferior, and women were enveloped in “the darkness of superstitions and primitiveness”. This text clearly

18 The first documentation study about the history of WAF (Vesković-Vangeli and Jovanović 1987) was based upon the documents from the Fund ‘Okoliski odbor na Antifašističkiot odbor na ženite (AFŽ) (1945-1955)’ (The District Board of the Women’s Antifascist Front (WAF)), which is kept in the State Archives of the Republic of North Macedonia – Skopje division. Smaller collections or individual archival units concerning the local activities of WAF can be found in the other division of this institution.

19 Veselinka Malinska, ‘Da go zajakneme Antifašističkiot front na ženite na Makedonija’, *Makedonka*, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), pp. 8-10.

20 ‘A program proposal for the work of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia and the magazine *Makedonka* for 1946 submitted to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia, 1945, December, Skopje, Fana Majkova’. From the Fund ‘Okoliski odbor na Antifašističkiot odbor na ženite (AFŽ) (1945-1955)’, box 1 (Vesković-Vangeli and Jovanović 1987, 481-490).

positioned the magazine within the framework of the socialist revolution and its authors as engaged revolutionaries formed by their practical experiences.

Throughout the issues, we recognized several regular segments and rubrics: the editorial, the political rubric (texts covering the realisation of the political line of the People's Front, with respect to the most important women's policies – laws concerning women and equality, women's participation in the 'actions for reconstruction', literacy campaigns and other agitation campaigns, etc.), a rubric about the organisational life of WAF (covering the work of the boards, and offering information about the more important achievements in the state and about the current WAF tasks), news from the interior (reporting about the situation and activities on the ground, especially in the villages), articles reporting about women's achievements in the factories and rural cooperatives, news from Yugoslavia and the world (the work of WAF in Yugoslavia and information about the women's movements in the world), news about the status of women in the "colonial and capitalist countries", news from the USSR and information about the achievements of Russian women in different areas (this rubric was active until 1948 and the conflict between the USSR and Yugoslavia, but in the two years following 1948, there were still occasional articles that lauded Soviet women), a culture and literature rubric, pages dedicated to science (articles dedicated to women's and children's healthcare and popular science natural science), a practical rubric ('Advice for housewives', instructions for handwork: 'For our children' and fashion). Later on, the magazine introduced an interactive rubric with questions and answers, mostly from the area of implementation of the new legal rights of women, such as the maternity leave in the cooperatives and other legal rights; the national holidays were also in focus, together with the important dates from Tito's, Lenin's and Stalin's life, regularly celebrated by the magazine, and sometimes even the entire issue was dedicated to an important date, such as 1 May, 8 March, the October Revolution, the Day of Victory against Fascism, the Day of

socialist Yugoslavia, the birthdays of the leaders of the revolution, etc.

Despite the purpose of the magazine to meet the information needs of women about the current political, economic and social issues, *Makedonka* rarely offered insights in the theoretical perceptions of women's equality as part of scientific Marxism. Only when transferring the integral speeches of the leaders of WAF of Yugoslavia, read at the Congresses of the organisation or at other more important party or front gatherings, we get a more profound ideological articulation of the contemporary theses and policies with regards to women's equality. Such were the speeches by Cana Babović, Vida Tomšič, Mitra Mitrović, Anka Berus and Veselinka Malinska, and in them, they very concretely articulate the ideological directions of gender equality in socialist Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the 'bourgeois feminism' was regularly criticized on the pages of *Makedonka*, as were the other women's movements from the socialist and capitalist countries with which WAF of Yugoslavia did not share the same political line. In most cases, the women's movement and the political struggle for equality was articulated on the pages of *Makedonka* through historicization of the heroic antifascist episodes from World War Two and by simple quoting of the party stances with regards to the "women's question as a class issue".

2.2 The findings

After the research stage and the authors' individual work with the sources, the working theses were formulated into four thematic units that followed the directions contained in the program of the researched press: political history, social aspects, educational aspects and linguistic-semantic aspects.

The first research text in the collection is Ivana Handjievska's, and in it, the magazine *Makedonka* is treated as a source of political history. This text analyses the rubric dedicated to the participation of women in political life. According to the findings presented in this

text, the chief political messages of the magazine *Makedonka* about women's participation in the society, epitomised in the formulation 'political advancement of women', had undergone changes in their meaning in the period between 1944 and 1953, and through them we can follow the consequences for the progress or regress of the state policies dedicated to gender equality. In this sense, in the first issues of the magazine there are more progressive ideas about the equality policies than in the issues published after 1947, that is, when the Five-year Plan for economic production was announced and the role and problems of women in the private sphere of the household and motherhood became the focus of the magazine's attention.

The text dedicated to the healthcare and social welfare policies covered by *Makedonka* was authored by Jana Kocevskaja. *Makedonka* is a rich source for contextualization of the healthcare and social welfare situation in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia when the state was focused on the socialist reconstruction of the country. Kocevskaja analyses the meaning of the media messages about the health and social wellbeing of the socialist man. She starts from Svetlana Slapšak's thesis about the "periodical improvised propaganda" whose aim was to eradicate the "backward" and old practices of Macedonian women and replace them with: a sanitary approach and more attention paid to hygiene and health. Explicit examples of the explorations of this thesis are the events related to the state campaigns for eradication of widespread epidemics and diseases that dominated the healthcare rubrics of the magazine. According to the conclusions of the author, this emancipatory agenda of WAF was especially politically engaged in the protection of the health of mothers and children, supported by the specially adopted laws and provisions on a federal level. This text also explored the way the magazine reported about the establishment of key healthcare and social welfare institutions for women and children, whose aim was to provide the most optimal care possible at the time. Thus, in parallel with the construction of the healthcare infrastructure, through the activities of WAF, material capacities

and human resources were also formed, whose domain of work included the education and nurturing care for children, old people and war invalids.

Darko Letner-Stojanov's text discusses another dominant theme in the media messages of the magazine *Makedonka*: education. The magazine played an important role in the dissemination of messages about literacy in general and literacy of women and this feature remained unchanged throughout the entire lifespan of the magazine. And yet, in his analysis of the dominant themes in the field of education, Darko Leitner Stojanov manages to detect changes in the messages with regards to the political mobilisation of women. The key finding here concerns the role of the magazine in the educational processes aimed at women, but also the educational policies managed by women, as part of WAF and the socialist educational campaigns aimed at women. The author observed a change of focus in the educational themes: from basic literacy, via regular school attendance to care for the preschool children. The gender aspect of the analysis is particularly interesting because it reveals the division between women (the readers) as s of the change (responsible for the successes and failure of the campaigns and the focus on the mothers as responsible for the education of their children); and women as torch bearers of change (through the propagandist enthusiasm of the activist teachers, which often translated into propagandist abstraction).

The last research text is by Manja Veličkovska and in it she analyses the literary aspects of the magazine *Makedonka*. More precisely, the author analyses the intertextual, subversive and propagandist narrative strategies in the literary contributions published in the magazine, both prose and poetry. The media messages of this magazine are perceived here through the relationship between politics and literature. The author applies the critical discursive method in her work that allows her to perceive the texts as social practices. This text offers a descriptive and explicit presentation of the interpellation of the magazine by the

public and the manners in which, through female editorship of the medium at a time of an almost completely male literary scene, the modern 'female reader' was created in the Macedonian context. The key findings of the author refer to the narrative strategies in the creation of female characters, that is, the communication of messages to women about their war experiences and their new social roles in the postwar period. Veličkovska discovers two key starting points of the narrative strategies: firstly, the creation of solidarity with the fallen women fighters as a strategy for articulation of women's participation in the national liberation struggle, as well as the narrative articulation of the culture shock that the new roles of women caused in the public sphere; and secondly, the promotion of women's emancipation through narratives that oppose different hegemonies (religion, patriarchal concepts and class inequality).

3. In the jaws of oblivion: how to attain public archives of women's lived experience

This year is the 78th anniversary of the first issue of the magazine that is in the focus of this research and it has been 31 years since the dissolution of the socialist order in which it emerged. The analysis of *Makedonka* has unavoidably led us to the ideas, motives and goals of the magazine's editors, as well as to the consequences of their social activism, especially as regards women's history. 'Women's history' is a completely appropriate and necessary term here, but we refute (categorically) the idea that women in and of themselves are not a subject of history. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to perceive women's history as a historiographic branch that has developed in order to recognize the fundamental-relational narratives in which women's history is always men's history as well. This stance implies that both genders are full

participants in the social and cultural developments. By focusing on the interdependence between the gender and sex differences and the different social and economic processes, women's history constantly refers us to the political opinion that equality (that is the struggle for equality) requires acceptance and inclusion of the different (Dibi and Pero 2018).

When we come across a source like *Makedonka*, and as researchers of women's history primarily, we cannot but feel overwhelmed by the epistemological and culturological potentials of this source. But when we approached the source from a researcher's point of view, the most urgent necessity was to fill the gaps with regards to the concrete circumstances, context and network of persons involved in the realisation of the magazine. The situation of 'factographic deficit', that is, an insufficiently broad historiographical polygon where we could perform the theoretical articulation of every next critical analysis, clearly indicates that *Makedonka* is today a source enveloped in oblivion. Therefore, the first question we asked ourselves when re-examining the status of the magazine *Makedonka* in the politics of memory²¹ was: why have the national institutions failed to show any interest in the rare remnants of women's history, where the critical approach and gender perspective would have proven productive? A short preview of the main features of the presence of the magazine *Makedonka* in the official narrative, as well as in the culture of memory around the magazine, might help us find the answer.

As we have already mentioned earlier in this text, the magazine was perceived as a source for the national history as early as the period in which it was still active (in the title of the successor magazine – *Enlightened Woman*). In 1952, WAF of Yugoslavia and

²¹ The term 'politics of memory' describes the social organisation of the collective memory by various factors in the community, either institutional or independent, with a different degree of influence; the political means used by the participants in the culture of memory can affect the manner in which some events are remembered, kept, archived, or, rejected. Sometimes, the politics of memory can have a crucial impact on the manner in which the history of one community is written and transmitted.

the organisation that succeeded it, the Women's Societies of Yugoslavia, engaged in the creation of a WAF archive. It was decided to start collecting documentation, sources, testimonies and memoir documents about women's participation in the National Liberation Struggle. This material was later systematised into archives and expert monographs were to be produced. In Macedonia, this process began in 1963 and historians from the Institute of National History were involved in it. It finished in 1976 when a collection of documents was published (Vesković-Vangeli and Jovanović 1976). Documents relevant to the magazine *Makedonka* were published in this collection. By the end of the 20th century, the magazine had been used mainly as a source in the studies of periodicals and journalism, as well as in its commemorative function in the formalised socialist culture of memory. After the change of the system in 1991, the oblivion of the magazine began in a dual sense: both as part of the culture of periodicals, and as a historical source. We could say that memories about the magazine existed in mnemonic corners, such as the organisations that succeeded the Union of War Veterans of the National Liberation Struggle that kept the antifascist tradition alive; or in the work of individual researchers from the milieu of academia (Hadjevska 2019, Mijakovska 2020, Mladenovska and Stamenković 2020, 7).

According to the anthropologist Renata Jambrešić Kirin, this phenomenon in the post-Yugoslav societies can be explained with the term 'crisis of the women's archive' (Jambrešić Kirin 2009, 67). This implies that the comprehensive collections of documents, as well as the countless volumes of literature published during the socialist period, with the change of the system "could no longer stimulate new historiographical researches, because the publications themselves have in the course of time become monuments of the historicist discourse, drowned among the other revolutionary paraphernalia" (Ibid. 69). She concludes that the consequence of this "exclusion of women from the sphere of power and (politically relevant) knowledge is the best proof

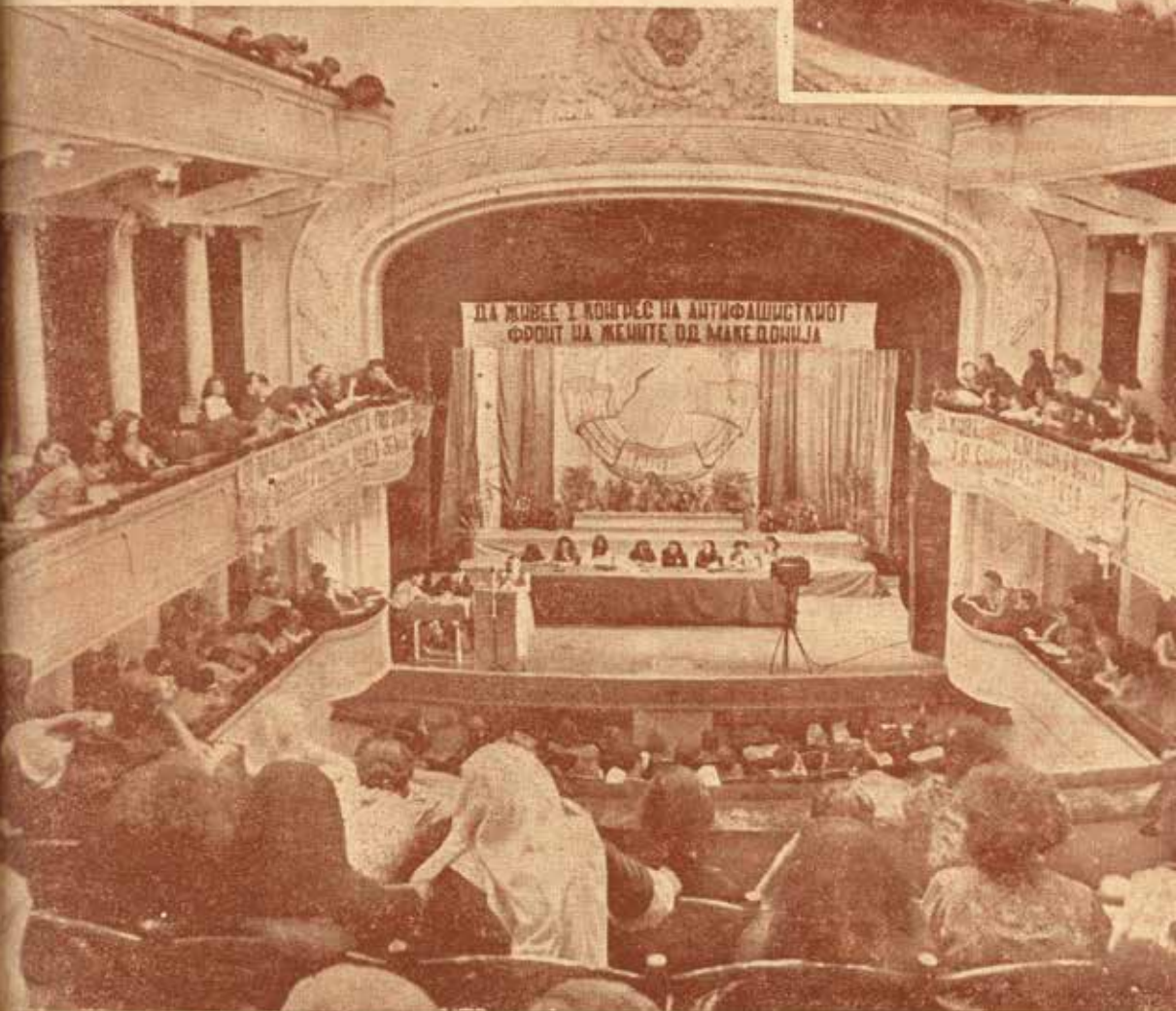
for the autocratic, controversial and unfinished modernization.” (Ibid.) To illustrate this consequence in the post-Yugoslav societies with examples, we could add that there is an evident ascendancy of macho-populism in the public history (Kocevaska 2020), and misogynous perceptions of women’s participation in the partisan movement and other historical events (minimization, ridiculing, oblivion). In fact, a devastating consequence of the oblivion in this case is the loss of all connection between the values of WAF of political, culturological and economic nature and the contemporary concepts of gender equality. To use a phrase from the vernacular, it seems that women’s journey to emancipation ‘has been taken for granted’, that is, we seem to have forgotten the almost subhuman status of women only a century ago. In this sense, we agree with the historian Gordana Stojaković that “historical memory is prerequisite to achieve social changes in the present” (Stojaković 2013, 70).

We believe that the phenomenological approach to the magazine *Makedonka* could resolve the problems with oblivion, because this approach underlines the most important aspect of the magazine: that it was centred on women’s lived experience, and for this reason it is a rare, if not unique source in the Macedonian context. In this sense, the fact that this important source for women’s lived experience was forgotten makes *Makedonka* exactly what in the title of our collection we have termed ‘invisible archives’. The visibility of the magazine would establish it in its conservational function. By conserving women’s lived experience, that is, by academic canonization of the contents of the magazine *Makedonka*, we create a ‘women’s archive’, where they will be recreated through time and the community will be reminded of their significance.

This collection is the first step in the realisation of the endeavour described in the previous paragraph. The next crucial step would be the stimulation of the process of digitization and enabling free access to the magazine *Makedonka*. Only thus we

could make any further more comprehensive scientific work possible. Other future steps would be to prepare the bibliography of the complete issues of the magazine, as well as organise academic conferences. This would open the magazine to broader academic and educational auditoriums, which would then lead to a critical analysis of its contents. The cooperation among the relevant institutions, organisations, researchers and other factors would only contribute toward final confrontation with the (damages of) oblivion, as well as to utilisation of the epistemological potential of the historical knowledge of different population groups. The capacities for development of cultural and democratic values of this approach to periodicals are yet to be discovered by researchers, who, we hope, will find inspiration in our collection.

Македонка



ОРГАН НА АНТИФАШИСТКИОТ
НА ЖЕНИТЕ ОД МАКЕД

Год. III јули - август 1946 Бр

Цена



Ivana Hadjievska

POLITICAL HISTORY

'Political
advancement
of women':
forms of
political
participation
of women
in socialist
Macedonia
(1944-1953)

Introduction

*The simple and strict historical narration*¹ about women in the 20th century is a 'weaving' of two threads: labour and wars. The mass employment in the nationalised or private sectors of industrial production, the two world wars, and the communist revolution² changed the social roles irreversibly, both in the private and public space. In the political space, in many parts of the world various women's equality movements and movements for economic emancipation of women intertwined their ideological platforms and political programs

1 In allusion of one of the most famous verses in Macedonian contemporary poetry: "*Vezlike* [Embroideress], tell me how to give birth to a simple and strict Macedonian song (...)" by Blaže Koneski. The poem 'Vezilka' ('Embroideress') begins with this verse and the poetic image in it refers to the authorial search for the answer of the 'burning questions' of the past - interwoven in the work of the embroideress.

2 Women bolsheviks and feminists were part of the October Revolution and they continued their political activities in the first years of the Soviet Union. This generation of women activists and politicians included Nadezhda Krupskaya, Inessa Armand, Alexandra Kollontai, Sofia Smidovich, Konkordiya Samoilova, Klavdiya Nikolayeva, Varvara Moirova and Anna Artykhova (Okić, 2016). Women in Russia had won the right to elect and to be elected in 1917, together with the following policies: liberal divorce proceedings, standardised and simplified procedure for a civil marriage, equality of the spouses with regard to inheritance, children and name adoption (Law on family from 20 December 1917). In 1919, Zhenotdel (Women's Department) was formed as part of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, charged with the strategic work and implementation of the policies related to the transformation of family. It offered advice and proposed amendments to the Central Committee decrees. It organized mass actions to eradicate illiteracy and prostitution among women and it oversaw the implementation of the quotas for equal employment of women in all sectors, while in Central Asia it implemented the measure of 'liberation from the veil' (Navaj, 2018). The Women's Antifascist Front of Yugoslavia was organised following the Zhenotdel model.

with their countries' nation-building processes – in the areas where empires fell apart or where they were seen as a threat to the patriarchal social order, in the conservative republican and monarchic societies. The different forms of women's association for a political and economic emancipation, the organized movements for the right to vote, as well as the feminist programs that crystalized during women's participation in the revolutionary, national and guerrilla movements of the Second World War functioned as basic polygons for women's participation in the creation of the political history of the world, and at the same time were a fascinating story about human struggle in general and about the urge towards a cultural leap forward.

In the Macedonian society of the 20th century, radical changes in the family structure occurred, as well as in the economic life, and consequently in the status of women, under the pressure of the global, but also local historical processes. In this text I examined the contents of the magazine *Makedonka – Organ of the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia*, as a source for political history. A clear and radical change can be observed in the magazine when the representations of women's social roles in the family and in the labour processes are concerned. For the first time in Macedonian history women were engaged in various sectors of industry, they were visible as shock workers and as representatives in the institutions of the state. Women of Macedonia had become 'part of history' through their organised movement. In actual fact, the chief ideological narrative upon which the program of the magazine was founded was the affirmation of women in the struggle and sacrifice for the 'people's socialist revolution' ['Našiot pat', Year 1. no. 1 (November 1944), pp. 1-3]. According to the extensive document collection from 1976 about women's participation in the National Liberation Struggle, there are 5.752 biographical entries about women partisans; 141 Macedonian women were awarded the Commemorative Medal of the Partisans of 1941; and 7 women were awarded the Order of the People's Hero of Yugoslavia: Mara Naceva, Olivera Jocić-Vera, Ibe Palikuqi, Estreja Ovadija-Mara,

Elpida Karamandi, Vera Aceva, Fana Kočovska (Vesković-Vangeli and Jovanović 1976)

The central research question of this text refers to the key formulation in the communication of the ideas and practices aimed at achieving equality and political emancipation of women in socialist Macedonia, and in the magazine *Makedonka* it was epitomised in the slogan 'political advancement of women'. This formulation was used for media communication of the most important state and party opinions concerning the ideological, but also institutional, significance of the concepts of women's participation in the trends and developments of the socialist state and its political and economic reconstruction in the broadest sense of the word. When detecting this formulation throughout different contents of the magazine, we came across texts dedicated to the forms, directions and changes in women's political participation in the society in the period between 1944 and 1953 and we could glean their historical consequences for the developments in women's emancipation and struggle for equality in the later socialist period.

My thesis is that the examination of the contents dedicated to women's participation in political life can reveal more about the actual forms of emancipation of women in socialist Macedonia, as well as about the degree to which women participated in the creation of policies and in the institutions. From the beginning to the end of the 1944 - 1953 period, the significance of the formula changed, moving from the postwar shock worker enthusiasm to the organisational and field work challenges and the eventual re-organization (dissolution) of the Women's Antifascist Front (WAF). If we examine this thesis, we can provide some depth and texture to the rectilinear historiographic tendency to date, which has outlined the process of emancipation of women in the socialist period, but has not delved deeper into the concrete historical experiences of women in Macedonia in the past, especially with respect to their organisation for mass activism; and/or their participation in the institutions of government.

In this introductory part, I also need to contextualise the theme of women's emancipation in the Macedonian past in order to define the lines of connection with the situations immediately before and after World War Two.

According to the censuses conducted in 1921 and 1931 in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 80% of the population living on the territory of Vardar Macedonia was engaged in agriculture. The census from 1953 registered a drastic change in the economic status of the population in comparison to the interwar period: there was 62.7% agricultural population, while the population engaged in non-agricultural activities rose to 37.3%. In 1948, there were 50.65% men and 49.35% women. The difference was almost the same in the censuses conducted in 1931 and 1953.³ The effect that the multiplication of factories and the consequent overflow of the 'agrarian proletariat' into the industrial occupations had on the industrial and modern transitions in the West in the 20th century, which led to the creation of the nuclear consumerist family, was commensurate with the effect of the dissolution of villages and agrarian cooperatives in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Changes in the family structure ensued and the status of women also changed, as the traditional shelter of the extended family was gradually lost and the family help it offered in the division of labour within the household; at the same time, women were exposed to urban environments and industrial labour where there were no protective regulations. Workers' families in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia transformed into consumerist families too, and the division between the reproductive and productive labour was radicalised, fixing the social roles of the sexes in this new and modern industrial context (Ler-Sofronić 1986, 75-94; Goševa 2008; Hadjievaska 2021, 225).

Women on the territory of Vardar Macedonia worked predominantly in the enterprises that processed tobacco and in

³ On the territory of Yugoslavia censuses were conducted in 1921, 1931, 1948, and 1953 (for detailed analyses, see: Sokolov, 1962; Ilievski, 2017; for a detailed analysis of the gender aspects of this statistical data, see Hadjievaska 2021).

the textile industry. Almost no women worked in the metal, leather and construction industry. According to the census from 1931, on the territory where the People's Republic of Macedonia would be established in 1945, 3,015 women were recorded as working in the 'industry and crafts'. In the period between 1927 and 1929, the average wage for men was around 37 dinars, and 20 dinars for women. The number of women employed in the industries grew in the period between 1921 and 1941, but the demographics of the working women was the following: they were mostly young women with no spouses, since they could not use any insurance support for their maternity leave, breastfeeding and looking after children. This was registered by the Labour Inspectorate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: there was no information and regulations in the existing workshops about protecting the new mothers among women workers, and the employers kept no records about them (Hadjievska 2021, 113, 226). The seasonal semi-migrations towards the industrial centres brought novelties among the religious rural population: according to a poll conducted by the Labour Market in Skopje, the working class families that were home-owners or renting usually took women wage workers as subtenants, mainly young unmarried women who came to the city for seasonal work (Ibid. 163). In the period between 1931 and 1953, the percentage of both male and female population engaged in non-agricultural work grew, mostly in the industry. In the period between 1948 and 1953, the female population in the non-agricultural branches increased to 87,409 or by 17,482 persons per year (Sokolov 1962).

In 1945 and onwards, radical political changes took place on the territory of Vardar Macedonia. The National Liberation Movement was led by partisans and left-leaning intellectuals dedicated to Macedonian nation-building in the interwar period, and who joined the partisan resistance led by Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. After the Second World War, they established the Macedonian state as part of the socialist Yugoslav federation. The new state, founded upon modern and communist principles and laws,

emerged in an environment with numerous Oriental remnants and economic forms typical for the Ottoman state, with a passive and nationally fluid local bourgeois elite, consisting mainly of families engaged in trade, amidst a multi-ethnic ‘ocean of peasants’, both Christian and Muslim (Boškowska 2017; Jovanović 2001, 56-62).

In the interwar period, three most important representations of women engaged in the public life crystalized in the press read by the Macedonian population in the interwar period: dedicated humanitarians, patriotic teachers and participants in the people’s resistance as couriers or komitadji (Hadjievska 2021a). These representations buoyed the dominant idea of the day about women as the *mothers of the nation*, whose emancipation or participation in the public sphere was mainly for the purpose of inculcating the new generations with patriotic feelings. After 1945, this dominant female image changed and a new propagandist ideal was established – the creation of the new ‘socialist woman’.

In this text I will first discuss the more important theoretical influences in my work on the periodical published by WAF, as well as the necessity to apply appropriate concepts concerning the critical approach to the contents of the magazine *Makedonka* as a source. In the part dedicated to the work method I will elaborate the ways in which the central research question was answered and the parameters for research of the entire collection of issues of the magazine *Makedonka*. In the central part I will focus on the development of the program of the magazine and the changes that occurred in the context of the internal political situation and through which the changes in the meaning of the principal political messages concerning women’s emancipation could be discerned. For a better and clearer view at the systematised sources and their analysis, the central part is divided into three smaller parts covering the different stages, if I can say so, in the development of the magazine: the heroic stage (1944-1946), a shock worker’s stage (1947-1951) and the stage of reorganisation of the Women’s Antifascist Front (1952). The findings of this research identified the

changes in the state policies concerning women's participation in the political space and the consequences for the idea of gender equality. They are elaborated in the conclusion.

Important theoretical postulates and the method of work

In this text, I believed that the analysis of the magazine *Makedonka* should begin by recognizing the magazine primarily as a source for political history. As a historical source, the magazine was included in the academic literature sources of the young Macedonian historiography, in the shape of published archival collections that, for the first time, demystified the image of Macedonian women as a faceless and nameless part of history. In the historiography of the socialist period, women were presented as activists, politicians, freedom fighters, authors, war victims, prisoners – as subjects with their own narrative. The more far-reaching aim was to push women and the forefront of Macedonian national historiography, as equal participants in the creation of the state – a firm guarantee for the future of their political, social and economic rights, acquired only recently.⁴

The magazine *Makedonka*, as an official organ of a state-building mass organisation the Women's Antifascist Front (WAF), was not part of the 'counter-public', but it served as a medium that transferred the standpoints of the party and the ideological concept of the state in the implementation of women's emancipation 'top down'. When the social order was changed, from socialism into liberal capitalism with a multi-party system on the periphery of Europe, the magazine was pushed to the margins and fell into oblivion, as part of the avoidance to face the unwanted socialist

⁴ An excellent example for this can be found in Vera Vesković-Vangeli's bibliography (Hadjievska 2021b).

legacy (Stojaković 2012, 49; Jambrešić Kirin 2009). This clearly affected this source as well, since it was part of the earlier political history of the former state.

In addition to this, in the socialist societies of the 20th century, the equality between men and women was ideologically positioned in advance, because the solution of the *women's question* was seen as possible only within the framework of class struggle and through state-sponsored policies. Hence the controversial attitude of many Yugoslav politicians towards the so-called 'bourgeois feminism' as a harmful and decadent form of organizing women (Ler-Sofronić 1986, 75-94; Despot 1987).⁵

The magazine *Makedonka* visibly reflected the changes that occurred in the state and their influence on the policies for gender equality and emancipation. The first part of this text deals with themes such as WAF's 'hard' basic tasks and with its commemorative political practices as an important part of the political ritual, and they make, sort of speak, the 'heroic stage' in the development of WAF and of the magazine's program; the second part deals with the interesting situation of equalising women's role in the economy and their 'shock workers' labour with political participation. This transformation followed the events related to the Five-Year Plan. The magazine issued calls for the rural women to come to the cities

5 With regards to the tendencies according to which 'feminism' was a negative phenomenon for the socialist society, the sociologist who was a contemporary of these processes in the nineteen seventies, Nada Ler Sofronić, wrote the following: 'The political theory of socialism is in fact incomplete without the women's liberation theory, and unable to encompass all necessary circumstances, leverages and parts of socialism. The neglect of the 'women's question', that is to say, its shifting from the centre to the margins becoming an epiphenomenon of the socialist processes (...) Socialism as practice (the workers' movement and the social and political revolutions led by that movement, the anti-colonial revolutions) and as theory of that practice, started within a human and social world in which women were mostly deprived of their political subject and of any independent activity in the collective social activity that made the political sphere.' In her sociological research, she started from the point of view that the world was in an ideological crisis in the nineteen seventies, observable in the involution in the practices leading toward women's emancipation. The 'new familism' and renewed clericalism in the liberal societies emerged in reaction to the reproductive rights of women. She called for acceptance and understanding for the feminist movements in the 'capitalist metropolises' all over the world on the part of the socialist ideologues, and suggested that they should see them as 'subjects of socialism'.

and find employment in the factories, and this was the 'shock-work stage' in the reconstruction and building of the state with women's participation; the third part is concerned with the culmination of the practical challenges of field work and the political challenges that WAF had to face in the period between 1951 and 1952, that is, the reorganisation of WAF into the Women's Societies of Yugoslavia, which on Macedonian level entailed the discontinuation of the magazine and its transformation into the magazine *Enlightened Woman*.

The research consisted of a detailed survey of the entire collection of published issues of the magazine *Makedonka*. In the examination, my focus was on the rubrics that were directly concerned with the questions related to the different forms of political participation of women or the rubrics where the formulation 'political advancement' was used. The rubrics we have selected as relevant for this research included editorials; political reviews; world news about women's movements; news about women's status in the colonial and capitalist countries; rubrics that covered the great WAF literacy and cultural enlightenment campaigns; WAF's coverage of political gatherings; speeches of WAF leaders and local politicians.

For the purposes of the text I composed a working bibliography of the contents from the complete collection of the magazine's issues, and following the principle of tabular thematic coding I managed to select 228 titles in total.⁶ With further selection I arrived at 85 titles relevant to the chief research question and the thesis of this text.

The sources are quoted in original, with no interventions in the linguistic, grammatical and dialect forms. They were left as they were found in the original texts.

The parameters used in the selection of the titles were determined by the decision to concentrate on the situation

6 Various textual units from the magazine.

with regards to the political status of women nationally and on ethnic Macedonian women exclusively. Considering WAF in an international context, as well as the relations among the women's front organisations in the socialist block is a broader theme that would require from me to elaborate these relations in an international context.⁷

The magazine addressed women from the ethnic minorities in a special and elaborate manner, especially the women from the Islamic communities, Turkish and Albanian women. In actual fact, WAF established this ethnic division when developing its basic political tasks, making their educational and cultural work among Muslim women a specific task, which was considered a greater challenge than the work on the enlightenment of ethnic Macedonian women.⁸ I believe that a special study is necessary to deal with the messages of the magazine addressed at women from the ethnic minorities, either an exclusive or comparative study, with a special focus on the four trilingual issues of the magazine from 1946 (Year 3, no. 17-18; 19; 20; 21-22), that were printed in Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish. This study should use several kinds of comparative sources in order to capture the context of the ethnic communities and their relations within socialist Macedonia – a research task that requires its own monograph.

7 The principal purpose of the contents of these rubrics is to present war as an enemy of women all over the world; the establishment of world peace with socialist pacifism emerged as the main task of the international women's organisations. The party line was also evident, which positioned WAF in line with the women's organisations from the Eastern Bloc. For instance, the awe-inspiring 'heroic Soviet woman' disappeared from the pages of the magazine in 1948 and new rubrics for exchange of slanders appeared after the confrontation of Yugoslavia and USSR in the Cominform.

8 This was especially present in the propagandist messages of the magazine during the implementation of the Law on removal of the veil from 1951, when sweeping comprehensive state campaigns for 'enlightenment of Muslim women' were implemented all over Yugoslavia were organized, as well as activities where Muslim women publicly removed their veils and made contemporary clothes from them. The role of local women from the communities where the Muslim population was predominant was overstated. In these texts, information can be found about many Albanian and Turkish women politicians, activists and shock-workers from the nineteen forties.

In this text, I worked with the sources from the magazine *Makedonka* through a discourse analysis. Relevant historiographical and journals research literature was used, and several expert monographs were especially influential with their critical approach to the history of WAF, to women's participation in the political life of socialist Yugoslavia and the concepts that clarify the policies on inclusion of women in the economy and production as the highest form of the socialist concept for the resolution of the women's question (Ler-Sofronić 1986; Jambrešić Kirin 2009; Stojaković 2012; Okić 2016).

1. The heroic stage of *Makedonka*: the formation of the new roles (1944-1946)

“How much do we know how to avail ourselves of this new and dear right – equality?” – Veselinka Malinska⁹

Two major goals can be identified in the first issue of the magazine *Makedonka*: a clear definition of the basic tasks of WAF¹⁰ and active commemoration and glorification of women participants in the National Liberation Struggle: the partisan woman, the girl that had affirmed herself by dying for her fatherland,¹¹ or the mother that stoically accepts her son's sacrifice (who fought as a partisan). In all these texts women were named, and the place where they got caught up in the war was identified, and they were allowed

9 Veselinka Malinska, '8 mart 1945 godina vo Makedonija', *Makedonka*, Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), pp. 8-10.

10 "... to strengthen the position that women won as builders of the state and reinforce the right to massive and active inclusion in all professions and in the government bodies, as well as to help connect women from all over Yugoslavia for a joint solution of the 'women's question'." Veselinka Malinska, 'Da go zajakneme Antifašističkiot front na ženite na Makedonija', *Makedonka*, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), pp. 9-10.

11 Eg.: "For a better, beautiful and pure life young girls fly in the arms of death", Liljana Saveljić, 'Za život svetel krase i čis...', Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 4.

their own *speech*. These were the parameters for the Macedonian women's entry into public life *via* the media – strictly defined by the war and WAF activities program. Judging by the tasks given to WAF during the war, the formulation 'political advancement of women' was central to its program, but it consisted of tasks such as organisation of literacy courses for women and their cultural and educational advancement (see Leitner-Stojanov in this collection).

The 'equality' issue was addressed as a political question as early as the second issue of the magazine, and, except for women's physical labour as part of the military efforts, it included the different forms of women's initiative, that is, the need for 'political advancement' of women so that they can have a "correct understanding of WAF tasks". The mass front organisations established active local boards and this was a non-institutional but a firm step towards participation in the socialist 'people's government'. During the war and after, it was these local organisational units that made their own autonomous decisions that were of great significance for the life of both the partisan units and the villages. Veselinka Malinska insisted on this participation in the local front organisations:

"Macedonian women are full citizens of this country and they are obliged to equal participation in all areas of the life of the state, just as men. It is incorrect, as it is often the case, to have a woman as a member of the people's liberation front just in order to have a woman on the board and formally fulfil the principle of equality. Macedonian women should be much braver and show greater initiative in the fulfilment of this task, which is very important for our future life and for the achievement of a truly happy and good life." [*Denešnite zadači na AFŽ vo Makeodnija - Od referat na drugarkata Veselinka Malinska*, Year 1, no. 2 (December 1944), pp. 16-19]

And although in the first postwar issues of the magazine the contents dedicated to WAF's literacy campaigns and cultural and educational work were dominant, in the editorials – the rubric that opened every issue, the constant focus of the discourse on WAF's field work is the first thing one notices, that is to say, there was

a deliberate and planned directing of women towards WAF as the only front organisation whose activity was dedicated to the equality policies, while the literacy courses and the other activities among women were not a goal in themselves, as it was pointed out literally in these texts. The common editorial interventions in direction of the 'correct understanding of WAF tasks' might be indicative of the greatest challenge in WAF's field work with women: the deeply rooted patriarchal social norms and the absence of any concept about gender equality. This would remain as one of the most persistent challenges for the organisation until its dissolution/reforming in 1952.

"In order to be able to protect the brotherhood and unity of our peoples, we will need to be better educated politically" (...) But this political knowledge that women in Macedonia do not need only to recognize our enemies and fight them. It is necessary (...) for a brave and informed participation in the new government... The task of political advancement of women in our country should be allocated a more extended period of time – and it should be planned: to determine the political and cultural level of women in every place and of every ethnicity (rural and urban women, Macedonian and Turkish women). And they should be approached through things familiar and understandable to them. In many places, unfortunately, we have to start from the bottom: literacy courses. We will have to teach women how to read and write. We will have to remove that blindness – and that will be the first and firmest step towards greater and broader political advancement of our women." [Veselinka Malinska, 'Pazenjeto na bratstvoto i edinstvoto na našite narodi, traži od nas pogolemo političko prosvetuvanje', Year 2, no. 3-4 (1945), pp. 1-2]

Another argument corroborating the fact that WAF'S literacy and cultural-educational campaigns were related to women's political participation aimed at equality was the growing number of reports about the resistance to literacy courses for women in the rural environments. While women's labour in the actions for production of clothes and other domestic products for the army was

welcome and acceptable,¹² the literacy courses and the meetings with political content¹³ were seen as an unknown danger lurking in the static rural patriarchal environments. In a report read at the WAF conference in Prilep in 1945 ‘the insufficient political advancement of women (...) and especially the eradication of illiteracy among women’ was cited as the major failure in WAF’s work in 1945.¹⁴

To improve this situation, WAF’s strategy envisaged an encoding of the communist discourse, according to which equality amongst sexes was guaranteed and given in advance, into the messages of *Makedonka*. For this purpose, in the texts that offered retrospectives of the historical status of women in the previous regimes on the territory of Yugoslavia, the fact that women being trapped in a position of political unawareness and their preclusion from the public sphere was cited as the greatest injustice. In the text entitled ‘For better education of our peasant women’, the author Sultana Apostolova pointed at the fact that: “She was not only prevented from participating in government, but she was also surrounded by ignorance, living a monotonous and awful life. (...). An enlightened mother will be able to show her child the right path, and politically advance it.” [Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946) p. 8].

In order to overcome the challenge of the failure to link WAF’s work with political awareness and activities, some local boards introduced a new form of work with women: theoretical classes for ‘political advancement’. From the text in the rubric ‘Through our country’ entitled ‘On the political advancement of women’ signed

12 Eg.: Divna, ‘Selankite od Umovo dadoa 70 rala čorapi’, Year 2, No, 3-4 (January-February 1945), p. 13; Zlata Mihajlović, ‘2.000 kebinja za gradežnite rabotnici’ Year 5, no. 55 (1949), pp. 14-15.

13 Eg.: ‘and the comrade started talking about equality’, Nada Bogdanova-Ikonoma, ‘Ženite vo Skopska Crna Gora’, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), pp. 11-12.

14 Eg.: *Niz našata zemja: problemi na analfabetskite kursevi vo Prilep. Izveštaj od konferencijata na AFŽ Prilep - za uspesite i neuspesite od 1945 godina*, Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), p. 5; Kiro Hadživasilev, ‘Za organiziranata i planska borba protiv nepismenosta’, *Ibid.*, p. 6.

by Antigona Paneva, we learn about the experiences with these classes in Kruševo in 1945:

“Because women in the past were not politically advanced, the District board of WAF for Kruševo organises Sunday classes where women can acquaint themselves with all questions, whether from the field of politics, or from the field of culture. These classes are attended by many antifascist women and the interest is great. Women can listen and at the same time spin their wool for the socks and other clothing for our army.” [Antigona Paneva, ‘Za političkoto izdignuenje na ženata’, Year 2, no. 12-13 (October – November 1945), p. 17]

In the discussion about the capacity building among women and their participation in the political sphere after World War Two, the contents published in *Makedonka* dedicated to the participation of women in the election processes and emphasising the importance of their right to vote are particularly important.¹⁵ The issues No 5-6 (March-April 1945); no. 12-13 (October-November 1945); no. 17-18 (March-April 1946); no. 30-31 (April-May 1947) are fully dedicated to the elections and WAF’s activities in them. These issues had a dramatic visual message because they began with a manifest that called for women’s mass participation in the elections, accompanied with a photographic material depicting mostly women from the

¹⁵ Women on the territory of Yugoslavia acquired the right to vote for the first time in the socialist state after World War Two. In the previous decades, the legal treatment of women in the social order of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was equal to that of minors and persons incarcerated in the correctional facilities and special health institutions, that is to say, they were denied the right to vote. The feminist organizations in the country organized numerous campaigns and activities demanding the right to vote for women, but although a law on women’s right to vote had been announced in the beginning of the nineteen forties, such law was never passed. On 11 August 1945, AVNOJ passed a resolution that recognized the women’s right to vote in Yugoslavia formally and politically. Women availed themselves of this right for the first time at the first postwar elections for the Constitutional Assembly in November 1945. All men and women above the age of 18 voted at these elections (the Official Gazette of the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia, 11 August 1945). According to Paragraph 1 of the ASNOM Declaration on the basic rights of the citizens of democratic Macedonia from 2 August 1944, all citizens of the federal Macedonian state were equal before the laws, regardless of their nationality, sex, race or religious affiliation; according to Paragraph 6: “The right to elect and be elected in all elective bodies of the people’s government will be enjoyed by each male or female citizen above the age of 18, unless they were prosecuted for a wrongdoing. For the duration of the National Liberation Struggle, ASNOM stipulates that the principles of secret and direct balloting can be waived.” The Constitution of Macedonia from 1946 guaranteed these rights in Article 21 and 23.

rural areas or women from the Islamic communities, voting for the first time dressed in their best clothes.

The issue no. 5-6 (March-April 1945) offered an insight into the participation of women in the first elections and in the pre-election activities (these were elections for the committees of the People's Front). The first text dedicated to this topic was signed by Lenče Jovanova and it was entitled 'The first free elections in Macedonia'. In the text she elaborated how women 'earned' that right, and why they were an important factor in the election processes:

"Women have gained their right to elect people that will protect the true interest of the people. What is even more important, this right was not simply given to them, it was earned and recognized by the highest legislative and executive body: the Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia at its session on 29 November 1943. During the pre-election conferences, women exhibited healthy political sense and vigilance. They were one of the factors that displayed, if we can say so, the greatest zeal to select the best people as candidates." [Lenče Jovanova, 'Prvite slobodni izbori vo Makedonija' Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), pp. 1-2: 2]

This issue of the magazine coincided with the celebration of the International Women's Day, 8 March, and the enthusiasm caused by the formal-political recognition of the right to vote was hyperbolized: the 'feistiness' of the activists from the past was used as the central association for the 8 March holiday.¹⁶ The articles by the local boards from different cities and smaller towns all over the country reported about 'mass turnout' of women at these elections.

The issue dedicated to the elections for the Constitutional Assembly on 11 October 1945¹⁷ published the first call for political mobilisation of women, divided into several categories, according

16 Veselinka Malinska, '8 mart 1945 godina vo Makedonija', Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), pp. 8-10; 'Da živee 8 mart - borbeniot praznik na site ženi'; 'Why is 8 March the International Women's Day?' (no author), *Ibid.* p. 24.

17 *Majki, ženi i sestri na Makedonija: rabotnički, selanki, domakjinki i činovnički, i ženi od malcinstvata (Turčinki, Albanski, Vlainski, Ciganski)*, Year 2, no. 12-13 (October-November, 1945), pp. 1-2.

to their work status: workers, peasants, housewives, and clerks.¹⁸ It is interesting that in this division the women from the minorities were treated as a special category. This was a Declaration of WAF that called for ‘full involvement of women’ in these elections. Further on in the research it became clear that this division was conducted so that, through WAF, the state could explain the different tasks for political work with different groups. This division demonstrated the capacities of WAF’s leadership to implement and bring to life various social policies relevant to the groups in question: equal pay for the workers, childcare for the working women, fighting against ‘speculators’¹⁹ for the housewives, legal provision concerning their maternity leave for the peasant women in the cooperatives...

By the end of 1946, the discourse about the legally ‘won’ and guaranteed equality was already established in the magazines, and its implementation in the society demanded that women take greater initiative. The text that listed WAF’s postwar tasks concluded as follows: “Everybody must work. Everyone in our country has equal rights, but also equal obligations.”²⁰ At the same time, we could observe, especially in the speeches of the leaders of WAF, a constant need to centre the discussions about WAF activities around the concept of ‘political advancement’, which worked as some kind of compass, but was not always obeyed, although the implementation of the formal rights depended on it,²¹ as well as the political advantages of the physical labour invested by women

¹⁸ This division continued in the following election cycles for the people’s fronts, see: *Proglas na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ po povod izborite za narodni odbori od 24.03.1947*, Year 4, no. 29 (March 1947), p. 1.

¹⁹ The ‘shadow’ economy when providing goods for the household. ‘Housewives’ as a category were especially affected by this postwar phenomenon. See examples: Kočo Bitoljanu, ‘Fighting against speculators’, Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), p. 10; *Da gi predademe site odvišoci žito na državata - taka kje gi sprečime špekulantite da go ograbuvaat seloto!*, Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), p. 4.

²⁰ *Našiot pat*, Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), pp. 1-2.

²¹ Special provisions in the Constitution guaranteed the equality of men and women and the principle of equal pay for equal work. The Constitution provided special protection to women – mother and children, so that they could avail themselves of their equality. These rights were already enjoyed by women and were turned into law by the Constitution. Therefore, we, as women, will make even greater efforts to implement the Constitution in life correctly.” Nada Bogdanova, ‘Donesen e Ustavot na NR Makedonija’, Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 4.

in the reconstruction of the state in the postwar years, both in the infrastructure and institutionally. Important rubrics of the magazine that testified to this phenomenon were the speeches from the WAF conferences printed by the magazine. The new principal tasks for WAF (after the war) can be summed up in the following activities: inclusion of women in the labour processes, cultural activities and literacy courses, social activity and providing for the war orphans.

With the onset of 1947, the political activity and awareness of women was increasingly equated with their inclusion in the labour processes and voluntary work actions. The conclusions of the First Congress of WAF of Macedonia as elaborated by its President Vaska Ciriviri, were mostly about women's participation in the 'reconstruction of the state'.²²

This stance was further affirmed in the speech of one of the most important politicians in the period, Vera Aceva:

"In the course of 1946, we could see women engage in all kind of work and activities: in the reconstruction of the roads, bridges, schools and other buildings, providing for the war orphans, helping the disabled, eradicating illiteracy, they are engaged in the cultural and political advancement of our women, in the building of our people's government, in its purification from the unhealthy and enemy elements and they strive to implement and bring to life the various Laws and provisions passed by the people's government. The voluntary work of our women had enormous results and saved the state large sums of money. Only the women from Debar had given the state 3 700 working days in the period from January to March, working on the reconstruction of roads, on building schools and other buildings (...) Our women will use every minute of their leisure time to try and persuade their illiterate neighbours, relatives, and even enemies to attend the literacy courses, because if we do not eradicate this evil, we cannot even think of any further cultural and other development of our nation." [Vera Aceva, 'Našata žena kje stori se da 1947 bidi godina na ušte pogolemi postizenija na našata zemja', Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 6]

²² Desa Miljovska, 'Pred prvot Kongres na AFŽ Makedonija', Year 3, no. 19 (May 1946), p. 7.

In the first issues of the magazine *Makedonka*, we could observe another form of women's participation in political life. In the postwar issues there was a regular practice of commemorating women partisans and their struggle as a guarantee for women's equality in the new state. Dramatic formulations were commonly used, such as in the text 'Their blood is our pledge!' that listed the names of killed partisan women and said the following: "The foundations of our young state were laid upon the bones of many of its daughters."²³ In many issues of the magazine, Tito's quote from the first WAF conference in Bosanski Petrovac in 1942 was published repeatedly: "I am proud to stand at the helm of an army that has an enormous number of women."²⁴

Women played an important role in the commemorative performances dedicated to the heroic memory of the fallen fighters, but also to the surviving women partisans. By doing this, they preserved both the memories and some material artefacts from the locations where women "affirmed themselves with their bravery for the fatherland".²⁵ Both locally and throughout the republic, evident continuity was established with respect to women's participation in the nation-building, that is to say, women were incorporated in the historical narratives with a great symbolic capital. In the Macedonian case, continuity was sought between the Ilinden Uprising and the struggle of the partisans.²⁶ The magazine published an abundance of texts dedicated to women participants in the Ilinden Uprising as komitadji's aides who had survived to help the partisan units as well.²⁷ These commemorative texts were often dedicated to figures of women komitadji or people's teachers and educators

²³ *Nivnata krv e našata kletva!*, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 13.

²⁴ *Naroden heroj - Radojka Lakić*, Year 7, no. 80 (July 1951), pp. 3-4.

²⁵ Nada Bogdanova, 'Bukovskata šuma ni prikažue', Year 2, no. 3-4 (January-February 1945), pp. 12-13.

²⁶ Eg.: Lj. Levkova, 'Ženite vo makedonskoto nacionalno-osloboditelno dviženje pred i vo Ilindenskoto vostanie', Year 5, no. 45 (July 1948), p. 3; Georgi Abadžiev, 'Srebra komitkata', Year 7, no. 81-82 (August-September 1951), pp. 1-2; T. Orovčanec, 'Ženi Makedonki i Ilinden 1903', Year 7, *ibid.* pp. 4-5; Angel Dinev, 'Ženite vo Ilindenskata epopeja', Year 6, no. 69 (August 1950), pp. 1-2.

²⁷ Ilija Topalovski, 'Baba Mara zborue', Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 19; Ilija M. Topalovski, 'Majka Ruža od Mavrovo', Year 2, no. 3-4 (January-February 1945), pp. 14-15.

from the Ilinden period, and often referred to Goce Delčev. Poetry and prose with heroic sentiments were also published. The women that participated in the armed struggle were often members of the medical units or aides in the rear of the front. But there were also many depictions and images of young partisan women with machine guns or grenades, of girls “performing their courier and medical duties in a self-sacrificing manner”. A true cult developed dedicated to the girls that lost their lives in partisan battles and ‘affirmed themselves with their death’.

The iconography that accompanied the magazine’s discourse in the period between 1941 and 1946 captured the new social roles of women in the society. On the front page of the second issue [Year 1, no. 2 (December 1942)] there was a presentation of women in five different roles: a mature peasant woman with a scarf spinning wool, a young partisan woman with a gun in her hands, a woman worker with a shovel in her hands and looking ahead. A teacher holds the hands of her pupils – a boy and a girl, and the central space was given to a middle-aged woman in mourning in front of a political lectern.



Мајка партизанка се враќа во град

2. The shock worker stage (1947-1951): equality through economic labour

“In circumstances of full legality, women participate in economic life to a much greater extent. We come across women in the factories, in enterprises, and we come across women builders” – Vera Nikolova²⁸

In 1947, planned production was introduced in Yugoslavia in the shape of the Five Year Plan for industrialization and electrification of the state (1947-1951). The implementation of this intensive postwar economic program affected the everyday life of the citizens to a great extent. All WAF activities were adapted to the state economic policy and the contents that dominated in the magazine were mostly covering the participation and experiences of women in the voluntary work actions on the infrastructure, in the competitions to exceed the factory quotas and in other measures that contributed towards successful fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. In the period between 1947 and 1951, a new female figure was in the centre of attention in the magazine *Makedonka*, and that is the woman *shock worker*.²⁹ During this period, women's political equality was equated with their ability and initiative to get involved in the economy and industry as workers. This concept of gender equality promulgated by the state was rightly identified by the philosopher Tijana Okić as a departure from the core of

²⁸ Vera Nikolova, 'Pred Vtoriot kongres na AFŽ Jugoslavija', Year 4, no. 38 (December 1947), p. 1.

²⁹ The terms 'udarnik' ('shock worker'), shock workers brigades, and shock working were part of the communist concept of community-building through selfless, enthusiastic and heroic labour, mostly in voluntary collective work actions on the construction of the infrastructure, or individually – when exceeding the daily quotas in the industrial production. The terms were most commonly used in the public discourse of the socialist states after World War Two, especially in the economic activities related to the planned economy. In socialist Yugoslavia, a shock worker was an eminent, highly productive worker or a 'hero of labour'. Within the individual enterprises or on a national level, workers' competitions were organised for these shock workers, especially to mark the holidays such as 1 May, (the May the First competition) or on 8 March (the Eight of March competition). The most productive workers were awarded medals or their work was recognized in a different way.

antifascism, that is to say, as a transformation of the narrative about the socialist woman, “from a revolutionary into a productive subject” (Okić 2016).

In the contents dedicated to women shock workers equality was often understood literally, through comparisons between female and male physical labour. At the same time, representations of women as workers in sectors and at workplaces that were not considered typical for women were deliberately introduced in the discourse.

“We cannot but remember those awful days when we, as women, had no rights, when we were only women, not people, when we were just exploited in the workforce, paid less than our male comrades (...). Look at women now, working side by side with men when repairing an embankment, never losing pace, never falling behind. Look at the fields, and you will see women, ploughing, digging, women driving tractors. Look at the homes and you will see women spinning and weaving. They all work with reinvigorated zeal, for the new country, for the new and free republic.” [*Nie ja gradime našata tatkovina*, Year 2, no. 14 (December 1945), pp. 22-24]

In these texts, the inclusion of women in the production was explicitly related to equality. The magazine gave additional political value to the economic activity of women by regularly using propagandist formulas about women shock workers in the role of ‘state-builders’:

“Next to the names of our comrade workers are the names of our female comrades whose work and love for work have demonstrated how much they love this country, and have proven that they are determined state-builders. In the Bitola district, women have given 14 587 working days, which translated in money is about 661 755 dinars.” [Blagojka Demnieva, ‘Nekoi rezultati od prvomajskoto natprevaruvanje’, Year 3, no. 19 (May 1946), pp. 4-5]

In 1947, Vera Aceva wrote ‘Let us include as many women as possible in the production’.³⁰ In her speech, the leader of WAF of

³⁰ Vera Aceva, ‘Da vklučime što povejke ženi vo proizvodstvoto’, Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), pp. 1-2.

Yugoslavia, Mitra Mitrović, said the following about the Five-Year Plan: “Above all, women’s equality here is not just words on paper. This equality must be reflected in the entire life of every woman, but first of all in her economic situation.” Further on in the speech she explained that the state had proved its democratic quality in the solution of the women’s question, and presented the planned economy as a new battle, in which, just like in the struggle against fascism, when women won their rights, they would have to win again, but this time in order to climb from the least paid positions in the factories to positions for qualified workers.³¹

Locally, in the environments with less developed industry, this entailed activation of women’s labour within the household, or its transferal outside, in the sphere of the state-run economy. The Governing board of WAF opened workshops for handicraft products in Bitola, Kruševo and Singjelić, “in order to produce folk handicraft products, but also to activate this extinct craft with the involvement of women”:

“The Five-Year Plan has posed some serious tasks for our people and for our women (...) at the same time, our women would be able to improve their economic status, because they will work and earn. One of the important conditions that need to be fulfilled to achieve women’s equality is their economic activity. This initiative of the Governing board of WAF should be supported by all, by the local and district boards and by every single one of our members and activists, by every woman in Macedonia, whether Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish or Vlach.” [R. Gjorgovska, ‘Ženski rabotilnici za domašna izработка’, Year 4, no. 35 (September 1947) p. 6]

In the issues from this period a new rubric appeared: articles reporting from various places in the country about women’s experiences when searching for employment in the economic sectors that used to employ only male workforce. These are texts whose titles used to begin with: “the first woman tractorist”, the

³¹ Izvadok od članakot na Mitra Mitrović: što dava petgodišniot plan na ženite i što traži od niv?, Year 4, no. 35 (September 1947), p. 8.

first woman digger driver”, “the first woman metal worker”, etc.³² Very common were articles reporting about women who had decided to get a job in a factory, or to leave the village and their village life to become industrial workers.³³ An excellent example is the article reporting about Lenče from the factory Macedonian Onyx in Skopje. At the age of 17 she found employment in the plant for milling marble:

“One beautiful day she went to the industrial area in our capital. Lenče had heard that the marble factory was looking for workers. But there was no mention that women could apply. Nonetheless, she crossed the threshold of the factory with firm determination that she would get a job.” [N.K., ‘Lenče’, Year 5, no. 46-47 (August-September 1948), pp. 10-11]

In addition to these articles reporting about young women workers and their successes in the factories, another rubric was introduced, dedicated to women managers of factories. These contents were given the central space in the magazine and presented the work of middle-aged women. Their work can be summed up by the phrase: a good worker, successful manager and mother.³⁴

The iconography of ‘a partisan women in battle’ from the first issues of the magazine was replaced by the iconography of the woman shock-worker. In the photo-rubric dedicated to brief reports about WAF activities in the Republic and entitled ‘We reinforce our equality through the reconstruction of our country and the building of our new state’ (*Nie ja zacvrstuvame našata ramnopravnost niz obnovata i izgradbata na našata država*, Year 3, no. 18, May 1946), the women shock worker was depicted as a young woman with a

32 Eg.: Angelina Dragutinović, ‘Traktoristka Milica Hristova’, No 18 (May 1946), 6; *Traktoristkata Olga Hristiovska stana brigadir*, Year 5, no. 40-41 (February-March 1948), p. 11; Nevena Teohareva, ‘Štefka stana mehaničar’, Year 5, no. 42 (April 1948), pp. 5-6.

33 Nevena Teohareva, ‘Videnka’, Year 5, no. 40-41 (February-March 1948), pp. 14-15; Nevena Teohareva, ‘Golema želba imav da rabotam vo fabrika – zborue Persa Stojanovska’, Ibid, p. 16. Nevena Teohareva, ‘Od ovčarka – električen varilec’, Year 5, no. 42 (April 1948), pp. 5-6.

34 B. B. ‘Bogdanka Georgievskaa - od obična rabotnička prerasna vo dobar rakovoditel na fermentacionite zavodi vo Skopje’, Year 6, no. 68 (July 1950), p. 10; and B. B. ‘Angelina Mihailova - pretседatel na rabotničkiot совет na fabrikata za proizvodstvo na cigari vo Skopje’, Year 6, no. 69 (August 1950), pp. 8-9.

broad smile and agricultural tools in her hands during a voluntary work action, standing beside agricultural mechanization. The front pages of the magazine were often reserved for women workers photographed in their factories engaged in exceeding the daily quota.

From the pages of the magazine *Makedonka* it is not possible to glean precise statistical data about women's labour participation in the fulfilment of the goals of the planned economy, but from an article that published the speech of the Vice President of the Government of the People's Republic of Macedonia, Vidoe Smilevski, we learn that in the course of 1947, engaged in various activities including voluntary shock work were about 118.568 women, while in 1948, 30.000 women attended various educational courses. In the course of the Five-Year Plan, the women attending the WAF meetings were more and more interested to debate the following social issue relevant to women workers: childcare organised in kindergartens and other forms of labour socialisation with regards to childcare (see Kocevskaja in this collection).

In 1949, the magazine informed that a new regulation was passed that broadened and elaborated the rights and protection of employed mothers and mothers of newborns.³⁵ These social policies were of great importance for women's equality, which was now defined as a product of the economic formula of planned economy, that is to say, women's participation in the society was seen as a participation of productive subjects primarily.



³⁵ *So novata uredba na sojuznata vlada im se dozvoluva na zaposlenite ženi pravilno odgleduvanje na decata*, Year 5, no. 55 (1949), p. 3.

3. The last year of the magazine: unclear tasks and the dissolution of WAF

“In many cases, it has been disregarded that WAF is an organisation for political education that was supposed to advance the political awareness among women. There are many members, antifascists and hard-working activist, that have not grasped the prerogatives of our development” – Veselinka Malinska³⁶

In the seventh year of its existence, the publication of the magazine *Makedonka* was interrupted and no reasons were offered for this interruption. After the double issue No 81-82 (August-September 1951), the magazine was not published in the period between September 1951 and December 1952, when the issue No 83 was published with a new visual format and a new editor – Liljana Maneva. Although the publication of the magazine was renewed, the issue No 83 was in fact the last issue of the magazine *Makedonka*, whose publication continued in 1953 under a new title – *Enlightened Woman*. This new magazine was a direct successor of the program of the magazine *Makedonka*, but its messages were enveloped in several layers of entertaining content and practical advice. In the last issue of *Makedonka*, the editor briefly referred to the reasons for the interruption in the publication of the magazine as related to the changes that ensued in the organisation of WAF and its interdependence with the People’s Front. In this editorial, indicatively entitled ‘To the readers of *Makedonka*’ [Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952)], the editorial board of the magazine wrote in a somewhat obscure manner that the “renewal of the magazine was stipulated by the developments in the organisation of WAF and the

³⁶ Plenaren sastanok na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ Makedonija, Year 4, no. 38 (December 1947), p. 2.

specific development of the women's organisations in the country", but no concrete reasons were offered for the change. The reasons can be gleaned from the content of some earlier issues of the magazine, especially in the following rubrics: the articles reporting about WAF's field work, the speeches of the leaders at WAF's political conferences and the speeches read at the congresses of the highest state institutions and party bodies.

In the period between 1951 and 1953 the work of the mass organisations of the People's Front took place such as the youth organisation, WAF and others underwent ideological reconsideration. For the state this was a period of great changes both in the internal and international politics: after the ideological and political disagreement between the leaders of the Eastern Block and Stalin and Tito in 1948, Yugoslavia proceeded to trace 'its own way to socialism', chiefly conceived as a system of self-management in the domestic economy and as adherence to the Non-Aligned Movement in the international politics. In this new geopolitical constellation in socialist Yugoslavia, all social relations were re-organized and consequently, the attitude of the state towards the policies of emancipation and women's equality changed. In 1953, WAF was discontinued and women's organisations were reorganised into the Women's Societies of Yugoslavia.

The reasons for this final resolution in the work of WAF can also be detected in the challenges that the chief organisation dedicated to women's issues in the Yugoslav society had to face from the very beginnings and which, although often publicly emphasised and criticised by the WAF leaders, were never resolved. These changes were mainly of an organisational kind and concerned the resources and cadres. In actual fact, the reports about WAF's field work that WAF leaders summed up in their conclusions about the achievements of the organisation in general were marked by an overall lack of direction and clear ideas of what the tasks of the organisation actually were. On one hand, one could observe the presence of latent fears of the so-called 'bourgeois feminism' as

a phenomenon which was a characteristic of capitalist societies, while on the other, there was no clear vision about what the gender equality of the modern socialist woman entailed. In the centre of the internal criticism of the work and future of WAF was this debate about the (insufficient) success in its work with women and in their political advancement. In the following passages I will try to make a preview of the contents that were explicit when referring to the changes in the attitudes of the state and in the concepts of emancipation and women's equality.

The greatest challenges in WAF's work with women on the ground were discussed as early as 1946. The leaders often pointed out that there was a discrepancy between the activities related to the literacy courses, the inclusion of female labour in the collective projects and the lack of "activities for political advancement". At a plenary meeting of the Governing Board of WAF for Macedonia, Liljana Čalovska said the following:

"But even if we have managed to elevate our women and improve their general and political insight, we cannot say that our political work, yes, our work on the political education of our women, has always been sufficient because we knew that we did not have a plan for continual and systematic political work with our women. We know that for a long time in our work, especially before the plenary meeting of the Governing Board of WAF, our organisations were doing mostly basic work. I don't want to imply that no political work was done. (...) During and before the elections, we managed to achieve a certain progress. We were forced by the actual situation to do political work. But that work was also marred by weaknesses, because in a large number of cases that work was not adjusted to the concrete circumstances on the ground, to the specific demands of every region, or even every village, while on the other hand, (...) when the elections were over we can say that all political work stopped. By doing this, we failed to make further use of the results we had achieved when we managed to stir women with our political work before the elections. Our women showed interest, greater than we could channel in the right direction. Thus, we can say that at a certain point after the elections we did not have a clear picture of what we needed to do."

This text gives a concrete description of the postwar challenges of WAF, including the lack of political cadres that could work with women and report their problems to the institutions of the state. The scarcity of political leaders with a clear idea about the gender equality issues led to the situation in which the “idea about the tasks and purpose of WAF remained unclear”, in Čalovska’s own words. She proceeded to discuss the issue of channelling all that female energy in the complex postwar circumstances:

“And thus, that pinnacle of our work among women during the election campaign was followed by a gap. This was evident in the actual actions we undertook. These actions were not accompanied with political elaborations, with propaganda that could explain matters to women. Hence the political weakness of our female cadres, hence the backwardness in this day and age, when the tasks have become more complex than they used to be, especially those necessary for the building of our new state. We cannot say that the enthusiasm has subsided. On the contrary (...) But it is a fact that our women have remained ignorant of many political issues even today, or they are not as familiar with them as they should be. The advancement of their political awareness has not kept pace with the development of our social and political reality. (...) Generally speaking, we will be able to achieve better results only with political work and by doing so, we will be able to provide continual and improved advancement of the political awareness of our women (...) we cannot envisage this political education of our women without their economic education.

Čalovska concluded that the impact of the public events such as the competitions organised to celebrate the holidays such as 1 May and 8 March³⁷ were reduced to a mere physical challenge between the sexes, without a clear vision of the political goal of women’s participation in these collective actions, and the political situation in the country was also insufficiently explained at the meetings of the WAF boards (such as the current issue with the city of Trieste and other military and economic issues, domestic or

³⁷ These were yearly commemorative shock work actions for the workers, organised both as local or federal competitions and dedicated to quantitative results in the industry and agriculture with the pretext of being ‘state-building collective and voluntary work’.

international): “[T]hese questions, so important for our peoples, are present in the minds of women just a shadow over their general enthusiasm.” In the end she admitted that the organisation of WAF had always suffered from insufficient statistical records, which then led to problems in the planning, organisation and management of the tasks.³⁸

At the same time, the magazine published texts written by the WAF leaders, in which they explicitly stated that women’s equality was a finished business in their opinion. In her speech at the plenary meeting of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia in 1947, Veselinka Malinska stated that the greatest weakness of WAF was its irregular organisational life and the neglect of the political and cultural and educational work.” She believed that the Five-Year Plan was reducing the space for the women’s activism dedicated to ‘political advancement’:

“In many cases, it has been disregarded that WAF is an organisation for political education that was supposed to advance the political awareness among women. There are many members, antifascists and hard-working activists that have not grasped the prerogatives of our development (...) It is necessary to acquaint both rural and urban women with scientific facts and general cultural achievements in order to eradicate their prejudices and primitive and backwards beliefs.” [*Plenaren sostanok na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ Makedonija*, Year 4, no. 38 (December 1947), p. 2]

The politicians relevant to the social policies aimed at specific groups and to the ideological messages addressed at them (such as women) had different attitudes about the task hierarchy in the policies of the state. At times, this affected the position of the organisations related to various social groups within the priorities of the state policies. In this sense, in 1948, in the Conclusions from the plenary meeting of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia, the most important of the planned tasks was the political advancement of women; while the same task occupied the third

³⁸ *Učastieto na našite ženi vo izgradbata na zemjata*, Year 3, no. 17-18 (March-April 1946), pp. 1-2.

place in the list of the priorities established at the First Congress of the Communist Party of Macedonia, the most important priority being “to increase the membership of the organisation [WAF] and to establish closer relations with the other mass organisations”.³⁹

In the period between 1951 and 1953, there was a general tendency in the way women’s emancipation was understood: it was viewed only through the lens of the policies about improvement of literacy and through the lens of the cultural-educational policies. This tendency that pushed the cultural and educational work with women at the forefront was deeply rooted in the Women’s Antifascist Front.⁴⁰ Its philosophy can be understood as a higher form of political inclusion. The society ‘Enlightened Woman’ was formed in Skopje in 1952. The name matched the future name of the magazine. Some of the activists became an integral part of this tendency, but some were critical of it and created new forms of work where ‘political advancement’ was the first priority.⁴¹ On the pages of the magazine some sort of resistance to this tendency can be observed in the rubric ‘Questions and answers’ that was mainly open for questions concerning infant illnesses, curing colds or agricultural advice. But in issue no. 80 (July 1951), this rubric was transformed into a ‘Legal Advice’ rubric. In the introduction to this rubric, the editorial board pointed that women should be more interested in the actual legal rights so that those laws could be brought to life in their everyday life: “In this issue the magazine *Makedonka* starts a new rubric ‘Legal Advice’ about women’s rights in the society and within the family. You can write to the magazine

³⁹ *Plenaren sastanok na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ Makedonija, Zaključoci* – The Task of political advancement of women is the first priority, Year 5, no. 51 (1949); Among the tasks of the Communist Party of Macedonia for 1948, the political advancement of women is only the third most important task: *Rezolucijata na osnovnite naredni zadači na KP na Makedonija za AFŽ*, Year 5, no. 49-50 (November-December 1948), p. 2.

⁴⁰ ‘Reading rooms and libraries are used for political and cultural advancement’, Blaga Demnieva, ‘Nekoi rezultati od prvomajskoto natprevaruvanje’, Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 7.

⁴¹ *Prašanja i odgovori: od teškotiite na ženite na AFŽ na teren*, Year 5, no. 59 (1949), p. 7; *Čas za ženata – Nova forma na rabota vo organizacijata na AFŽ*, Year 6, no. 65 (April 1950), pp. 12-13.

about all your problems with regards to your rights and you will receive your answer in one of the following issues”.⁴²

During the period in which the system of self-management was being introduced and enterprises were reorganised, there was a regression in the way the society experienced women’s equality, especially with regards to the “ideal vision of women as workers”, that was so strongly propagated in the previous period. This is corroborated by Tito’s speech at the Sixth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, accordingly entitled ‘The status and role of women in new Yugoslavia’. Tito talked about the change in the way women’s labour was valued in the economy and about the practice to fire women workers and employ only men with the pretext that they were more resilient, which was a practice established when the workers’ collectives took over the management of the factories. According to Tito, this was “an outdated and non-socialist view of women”.⁴³

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In the text written for the Seventh plenum of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia in 1952, Vera Aceva summarised the reasons and consequences of the new position of WAF in the society and she also talked about the pressures for reorganisation. The main points of debate at this plenum were: “women’s participation in the elections and in the political life; renewed publication of the magazine *Makedonka* and its distribution; health education for the young rural women”.⁴⁴ This text is important because it gives a direct insight into the reasons for the reorganisation of WAF:

“The reorganisation of WAF was conducted in order to stop WAF and the People’s Front doing the same political and other work and to rid ourselves of the rigid forms of work with women and find new and more interesting forms that would be more attractive to them. But how was this implemented in reality? In

42 *Pravno sovetovalište: Nie prašuvame za našite prava*, Year 7, no. 80 (July 1951), p. 5, 11.

43 *Položajot i ulogata na ženata vo nova Jugoslavija (Del od referatot na drugarot Tito) - Od Šestiot kongres na SKJ*, Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952), pp. 1-2.

44 *Sedmi plenum na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ na Makedonija. Našata rabota i našite zadači*, Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952), pp.3-4 (Vera Aceva’s speech, 24 November 1952).

practice, this reorganisation was understood as discontinuation of WAF by the comrades that worked in the WAF boards, and even by some boards of the People's Front. Hence the neglect for the WAF sections within the People's Front. They were left on their own after the dissolution of the Governing Board of WAF..”

This text reveals the lowly status that WAF had in the party politics and that the political activity with women was deficient throughout the entire state. The party “pilfered the able women activists for other functions and left WAF with a very limited cadre structure. There are almost no activities in the villages and among women from the minorities.” Aceva concluded that “the courses, societies and other forms of work with women have become rather apolitical.”

The magazine published an exhaustive list of the conclusions of the Seventh Plenum of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia held in 1952: “Major weakness that needs to be overcome: the deficient political work with women; the cultural and educational advancement of women; the series of tasks concerning childcare; WAF’s work in the villages must be intensified in new and more suitable forms – more accessible to rural women.”⁴⁵

With respect to the social policies advocated by WAF, the last issues of the magazine emphasised the social policies concerning mothers and children and the advice rubrics proliferated texts about “how to raise your children correctly”.⁴⁶ The iconography in this stage of the publication of the magazine followed the tendency described before: the front pages and photo rubrics were dominated by presentations of children, kindergarten coverage and mothers engaged in leisure activities with their children.

⁴⁵ *Zaključci od Sedmiot plenium na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ od Makedonija*, Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952), p. 5, 19.

⁴⁶ At the Third Congress of WAF Yugoslavia, top priority was given to the question about the role of women as mothers from a legal and sociological point of view. The speech of the Secretary of the Governing Board of WAF Yugoslavia, Mara Radić, was dedicated to mothers and motherhood: *Da gi vložime site napori za da gi izdigneme našite deca vo duhot na svetlite principi za koi se borat našite narodi*, Year 6, no. 72 (November 1950), pp. 15-17.

Nonetheless, analysing the last issues of the magazine *Makedonka* I could conclude that WAF at this time of political and economic transition to the system of socialist self-management had suffered more from contradictions in its “organisational life” than it had actually followed some simplified patterns and uniform tendencies toward one or another ideological model of gender equality and towards these or those forms of political inclusion and public agency of women. Interesting arguments in favour of this observation are the texts written by the leaders of WAF, which from a present-day point of view can be categorized as Marxist and feminist analysis. In these texts, the policies of the state were interpreted exclusively from the position of women’s political status, with minimal presence of the current tendencies, influenced by various geopolitical or internal political factors. A good example for this is the text (no author) entitled ‘The status of women in marriage in the past and the present’, with its important commentaries about property, agreements, divorce, marriage limitations, etc., as part of the modern marital union: “Our new law on marriage has revolutionised the history of married life by affirming the constitutional principle of equality between men and women (...)”⁴⁷

Another similar example was Veselinka Malinska’s text ‘The new character of family in our country’. In this text she said the following: “If we can talk about a crisis of family life in our country, then it is a crisis of the old and obsolete in it, something that now needs to free the space in which to build and further develop the socialist family relations.”⁴⁸ We cite this text because, although it was published in the later issues of the magazine, during the reorganisation of WAF when its significance for the society was greatly reduced, it echoes the avant-garde attitudes with regards to the ‘women’s question’, which were synonymous with WAF when

47 *Položbata i na ženata vo brakot vo minatoto i sega*, Year 7, no. 78 (May 1951), pp. 5-6.

48 Veselinka Malinska, ‘Za noviot lik na semejstvoto kaj nas’, Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952), p. 8.

the organisation was founded and was establishing itself in the society.

Conclusion

In socialist Macedonia, in the period between 1945 and 1953, women's position in the society and in the family underwent radical changes. The concepts of gender equality, women's emancipation and the new iconography that represented women in the media in different social roles, all together played an important role in the building of the new society, founded upon communist principles. In the Constitution of the new state women's equality with men was for the first time guaranteed with special provisions, as was the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' and the protection of mothers and children. The other laws that were relevant for the fulfilment of the state's goal with respect to the 'solution of the women's question' were the Law on the removal of the veil (aimed at the women from the Islamic communities), the Law on abortions and the policies for socialization of care. WAF was a mass women's organisation that emerged in the war in order to mobilise women to join the National Liberation Struggle. The organisation worked with the female population on the ground, especially in the villages, in order to incite their initiative and direct it towards conquering equality, that is, towards bringing all these aforementioned laws to life in women's everyday life.

The magazine *Makedonka – Organ of WAF of Macedonia* was the only women's magazine with a political program and addressed the female population *in toto* in a propagandist manner (agitprop). The magazine treated themes and problems that concerned various groups of women, divided principally in accordance to their work status, but also in accordance with their most important social roles: women peasants, women workers, women clerks, mothers, housewives, young women, women from the ethnic minorities –

Albanian and Turkish women. Ideologically, as its title indicated and as its declarations manifested, the magazine addressed all ‘Macedonian sisters’, that is to say, the magazine’s goal was to unite all women in the realisation of the tasks of the Women’s Antifascist Front. This magazine formed the ideological picture of the Macedonian woman as a politically aware citizen, involved in the fatherland war and in the construction of the state, with a view to a modern future with no illiterate and superstitious women. In addition to this broad view to the ‘public sphere’, the magazine was equally busy offering contents aimed at the housewives in the small (rural) environments, publishing rubrics explaining how to organise the household, how to cook and sew better, etc. – advice typically applicable to the ‘private sphere’. At the same time, the magazine was a first-rate source of information and reports about the everyday life and problems of women from various cities and villages. In fact, one of the conclusions of this research is that these rubrics were the least affected by *agitprop* methods.

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The magazine *Makedonka* was a product of the editorial policies of the WAF leaders and of their political attitudes. In Macedonian history, the leaders of the Women’s Antifascist Front were the first political representatives of women in politics, and this in two different ways: as women that were part of the partisan narrative and later on part of the state authorities; and as politicians who participated in the creation of the social policies relevant to women’s emancipation, but also in the public promotion of these new policies among the patriarchal population. Most of them were awarded the Commemorative Medal of the Partisans 1941 for their engagement in the partisan units or were involved with the party from before the war, as members of SKOJ, versed in Marxist theory, press and literature about the ‘women’s question’ and class warfare. After the war they were included in the party cadre, with various degrees of influence in the structures of the Communist Party and in the state authorities. It was a common practice to have them manage enterprises and institutions. On the pages of

the magazine *Makedonka* several significant adherents to the gender equality concepts that were members of WAF were able to express their opinions: Veselinka Malinska, Liljana Čalovska, Blaga Demnieva, Vera Aceva and Nada Bogdanova. Their texts in the magazine *Makedonka*, where some of them were editors or regular contributors, mostly dealt with political themes and discussed the forms of women's participation in the major social developments.

This political women's magazine cannot be defined as feminist. Primarily because of the socialist context according to which the 'women's question' had to be resolved as part of the class struggle. This stance developed through several variations and was propagated more or less firmly in the different republics of Yugoslavia, depending of the feminist legacy and the women's movements that were active in them in the past. In the Macedonian case, the opinions of WAF were identical to those of the League of Communists. This entails that the gender equality and women's emancipation concepts were plastic and adaptable to the economic, geopolitical and internal political changes in the state. Consequently, the magazine *Makedonka* published only a few texts that discussed the equality concept theoretically, unlike the WAF magazines in Croatia and Slovenia, for instance. But, if we consider the activity of the editors and authors in this magazine in political categories, we could say that they had pro-feminist inclinations. This is especially true about Veselinka Malinska's texts, who authored some theoretical reviews about the changes in the family and about women's political participation.

When discussing the issues related to gender equality and women's emancipation, the magazine *Makedonka* often used the formulation 'political advancement of women'. Among all other WAF tasks, this formulation occupied the central position in the organisation's program and consisted of, and depended on, all the other priority tasks, such as the literacy courses and cultural and educational advancement of women. In actual fact, the language that WAF used in the magazine when discussing and writing about

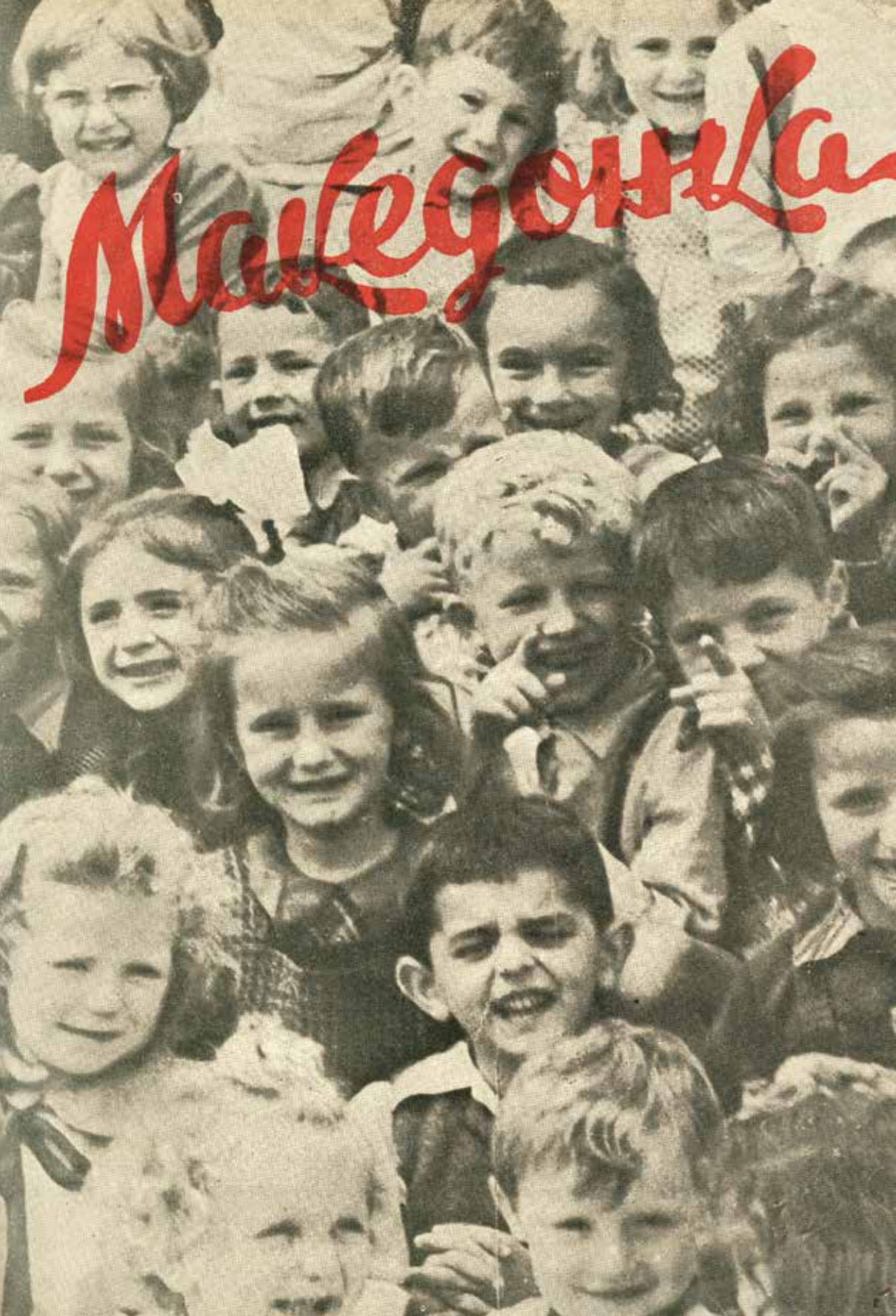
political inclusion of women consisted of the following several formulations: 'political advancement', 'equality', 'emancipation', 'women's liberation, 'removing the veil from over their eyes' and 'humanization of the gender relations'. The central messages of the magazine *Makedonka* referring to women's political participation often equated the terms 'emancipation' and 'equality'. But in the period between 1944 and 1953, the meanings of these terms changed, in dependence on the changes in the state. Carefully examining the complete collection of issues of the magazine, we could conclude that the meanings and messages of these terms were avant-garde in 1944, while in the nineteen fifties, and especially when the social order changed and the system of socialist self-management was introduced as part of the Yugoslavia's 'own way' to socialism, these terms were still used by women politicians with their avant-garde mannerism intact, but the situation on the ground was different since less and less women participated in the political life of the country, and the nineteen fifties also witnessed a drop in women's economic independence.

In the period between 1944 and 1946, the magazine linked the political emancipation of women with the heroism of their choice to join the National Liberation Struggle. In this 'heroic stage' of WAF, antifascism was presented as the major ideological predisposition of the politically aware women. In the issues of the magazine published in 1947 this 'heroic stage' was gradually deserted and the 'shock worker's stage' of WAF took centre stage – during which women's political emancipation was linked with women's mass participation in the voluntary work actions and the inclusion of women in different economic sectors was heavily stimulated. The chief political messages of the magazine in this stage, with respect to achieving equality, consisted of depictions of women as workers at workplaces that used to employ only men. This heavily propagated image of women shock workers and 'economically aware' women as synonymous with the idea of emancipated women were deserted in the nineteen fifties. In the issues of the magazine from this period, the leaders of WAF often criticised the

attitude towards the working women, who, in the reorganisation of the state enterprises, were often the first to lose their jobs, a problem addressed by Tito himself at the Seventh Plenum of WAF of Yugoslavia. The authors that were critical about WAF's work on the ground revealed that this period suffered from deficient political mobilisation of women too and this was often referred to every time the People's Front organisation failed to organise any work with women, and when they did, their field work was mostly educational, in the direction of women's advancement in the social sense and for the purpose of their better health care. This reflected in the reduced number of women candidates at the elections for the committees of the People's Front. This situation at the beginning of the 1950es resulted with an idea about emancipated women as 'enlightened' modern women, whose participation in the society was determined in the eyes of the public by their literacy, education and culture. In 1953, WAF was reorganised, its old name was deserted and a new mass organisation was created to work with women. It was called the Women's Societies of Yugoslavia. In 1953, the magazine *Makedonka* was also renamed to *Enlightened Woman*. The changes in the concept of political emancipation of women could be summed up as follows: if in 1944, the 'political advancement' was a requirement for every WAF's activity among women, in the nineteen fifties women's political participation in the society was preconditioned by the existing factors in the state – the errors in the literacy campaigns, the challenges in the socialisation of childcare and the disbandment of the WAF boards that did work on the ground.

The authors and politicians that wrote about the incomplete project of equality as a socialist project, criticised the literal equation of the physical labour of men and women and sought other forms of work with women. In this sense, an internal contradiction can be observed in the magazine: in parallel with the contents that were very plastic and adjusted to the state policies that regressed with respect to the idea of equality critical and pro-feminist texts and rubrics were also published.

This conclusion could be broadened additionally with other thematic researches of the aspects of political history observable in the magazine *Makedonka*. During the work on this research, one new direction became evident: the future research of the political careers and biographical and bibliographical profiles of the main contributors to the magazine. The research of the political slogans and messages of the magazine discovered a new 'public sphere' that existed in socialist Macedonia: the women politicians and institutional cadres that participated in the development of the process of emancipation. The level of their factorization in the party and society, as well as their political opinions, should be the next research stop within this broader theme.



Mailegonka





Jana Kocevska

SOCIAL ASPECTS

Healthcare
and nurturing
care policies
on the pages of
Makedonka

Introduction

The first women's magazine in Macedonia *Makedonka* was started at a time when the foundations of contemporary public healthcare were laid, especially in the domain of social welfare. The gender aspect of social and healthcare policies was also present in this period through the gender-sensitive policies passed, women's direct participation in the implementation of these policies and through the fundamental changes of the meanings and practices that occurred in the everyday of the 'new Yugoslav women'. *Makedonka* was a medium where the old and the new time clashed, and a medium that reported, taught and warned about the 'correct' development of the socialist society with a set of 'progressive' policies, made possible after the antifascist victory in the National Liberation Struggle.

There is a deficiency in studies dedicated to the social themes and public health in Macedonian historiography. The magazine *Makedonka* is a generous source that can contribute greatly in this sense because it offers a truly interesting body of information, which, when observed through the hermeneutic lens reveals a lot about the social context of this period in Yugoslavia. The textual units in this magazine dedicated to healthcare and social welfare themes assumed several different forms. Authors of these articles were authorities with a medical background, about whom the sources confirm that they were engaged as key players that led the postwar efforts to establish the new public health system and had

important strategic positions in the leadership of the republics or the federation. Yet another body of texts published in this magazine and dedicated to healthcare, especially the texts discussing the pedagogical principles in the education of the socialist youth were most commonly authored by Soviet writers and in the magazine we read their work translated into Macedonian.¹

On the basis of the editorial policy and authors' motivation, we could recognize several kinds of texts dedicated to social welfare and healthcare. Texts that were written as reports about the current situation – often in comparison to the situation before; educational and emancipatory texts written as different forms of advice (for the housewives, mothers, women cooperative workers, etc.); and texts that glorified the attributes and successes of socialist women who enjoyed the advantages of the new time – texts that used direct examples to promote the socialist way of life and the values that stimulated the socialist life practices of the active factors of the new socialist society.

The rubrics related to medicine were not regular and were published sporadically, but the issues related to healthcare and wellbeing, the skills necessary to raise a healthy newborn and prevention of diseases were discussed regularly without being organized into a specific rubric.² The regular rubrics that were printed in almost every issue of the magazine were those that managed to communicate the best with the interests of the magazine's readership and these were 'Questions and Answers' and 'Advice for Young Mothers/Advice for Mothers/Advice for

1 The most common name among the Soviet authors was that of the pedagogue Anton Semenovich Makarenko.

2 The rubric dedicated exclusively to medicine was published under several different titles: Dr. Mandilović, "Popularna medicina: Pegav tifus-Pegavec", Year 2, no. 7 (May 1945), p. 13; Dr. Mirjam Popadić, "Zošto umiraat našite deca?", Year 2, no. 10-11 (August-September 1945), p. 21-22; *Medicinski soveti: Prirodno hranenje na cicalčinjata*, Year 2, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), p. 15; Dr. T. Hristov, "Popularna medicina: Pegaviot tifus/Šarlah i difterija", Year 3, no. 25 (November 1946), p. 14; Dr. Kisličenko, "Medicina: Kožata - zaštitnik na našiot organizam", Year 5, no. 43 (May 1948), p. 14; Karabegovic- Osmic, "Od medicinata: Truenjeto na krvta može da se odstrani", Year 6, no. 63 (February 1950), p. 15; Dr. Volčeva, "Od medicinata: Od što se pojavuvaat žlezdi na vratot kaj decata (odgovor na prašanjeto na edna naša čitatelka)", Year 6, no. 72 (November 1950), p. 21-22.

Housewives/Cooking Advice and Preserves for the Winter/ About Our Children', especially important for women's emancipation and their acquiring knowledge and skills important in their everyday life.

The enthusiasm and communality during the building of the 'new socialist society' were notable on the pages of *Makedonka*. This text aims to extract those segments of the magazine that can clearly outline its role as a mediator in the care and nurture policies and healthcare policies whose aim was to improve public health and especially the reproductive and children's health. Using the magazine *Makedonka* as a main source for the activities of WAF as regards women's emancipation and healthcare, this text supports the thesis that the political awakening of women and their acquisition of political rights contributed towards the improvement of the public health and wellbeing (Kar 218). The text identifies the aspects of the chapters of this first magazine for women in this part of Federative Yugoslavia that were dedicated and concerned with the quality of life and building life skills and communality as the basic values upon which, in a certain sense, even the foundations of the feminist practices could be laid. This propagation of equality, solidarity, joint care for the public goods and development of the society occurred within the socialist ideological matrix, where *Makedonka* played an important role.

Despite the magazine's background, this text aims to locate the feminist potential in the women's activities as presented in the texts of the magazine, such as the gender-sensitive policies implemented by women, women's solidarity and overall improvement of women's rights. The focus of this text is to offer a preview of the articles on the pages of this agitation magazine that reported about women's voluntary work as medical aids and as a chief factors in the establishment of the new system of healthcare and nurturing care, about the improvements in the social status of women and in their reproductive health with the opening of new healthcare and social institutions. This text also raises the question

about the one-dimensional portraiture of women in *Makedonka* as mothers, guardians and educators of children, considered responsible for the hygiene in the home and in the institutions for childcare and summer camps, but also in the public spaces, which was an additional responsibility for the women workers in the cooperatives and women shock-workers,³ expected to proudly fulfil 130% of the production quotas (see Hadjievska in this collection). The text attempts to offer an answer to the question about the reasons for WAF's dissolution and starting from elements related to women's reproductive capacity establishes the thesis that, despite their victory in the battle for equality and social, economic and political rights, women's participation in the establishment of the legal framework that regulated the emancipatory potential of the antifascist movement, women in the socialist project of Yugoslavia did not fulfil their full socialist (feminist) potential. This text will attempt to prove that, through the implementation of these healthcare and social policies in parallel with the implementation of the systemic network for social welfare and accessible healthcare, the stereotypical roles of women were only reinforced instead of helping women's progress to liberation. This text will also try and answer the questions as to the reasons for this development.

By focusing on the contents in this magazine concerned with healthcare and nurturing care policies, the text aims to outline the healthcare and social welfare aspects of those segments of the magazine that registered the potential for emancipatory and fundamental change in the 'new socialist society', but also to recognize the disappointing moments of failure and defeat in women's attempt to truly free themselves from the hetero-patriarchal logic.

3 An awarded eminent worker in the socialist work competitions.

The historical context of healthcare in the period of transition from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia

“Macedonian women, whether young or old, will not stop helping and caring for their sons and daughters who spilled their blood for our freedom and will do their best to keep them alive and help their recovery.”

Lenče Ivanova⁴

The magazine *Makedonka* emerged in a key period for the women's rights issues and for women's social status in general. This was period when women's rights were for the first time politically and legally recognized in Article 23 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Macedonia from 1946, which guaranteed the equality of men and women in all areas of the legal, economic and social-political life of the state.⁵ The period from the beginning of the 20th century to the end of World War Two witnessed a series of historical events that greatly affected the social and political life on the territory of present-day North Macedonia. The most important were the two Balkan Wars, the two World Wars, the intensification of the processes of industrialization of the society and a series of other attempts at development. During this period some shy attempts were made at systematizing a certain healthcare policy – mostly on a local municipal level, and very selective with regards to the locations and types of healthcare, which was slowly centralized and special healthcare institutions were formed in the urban centres.⁶

4 Lenče Ivanova, “Našite raneni i bolni vojnici”, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 18.

5 Ustav na Narodna Republika Makedonija od 1946.

6 A detailed preview of the first health institutions in Bitola and Bitola district can be found Aleksandar Sterjovski's book (2016, 91-119)

In parallel with these sporadic developmental practices, certain awareness about civil participation in the improvement of the quality of life was slowly developed, especially as regards the assistance for the vulnerable (categories) of people that were reduced to their helpless state by the wars and dynamic changes in the political order in the area at the time. Humanitarian activities were undertaken and societies were founded that mobilized resources for aid and organized humanitarian actions to help the helpless citizens. In the northwest of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia these initiatives and the socialist movements later on, were much more present and active than on this territory. Nonetheless, the archives testify about women who were among the chief contributors and played the role of protagonists of these movements at their onset in Macedonia (De Haan, Daskalova, Loutfi 2006, 441-443).

Also at this time, a sizable percentage of the population suffered from diseases and epidemics, and the number of parentless children after the wars significantly increased, as did the number of disabled persons. And yet, these humanitarian associations emerged sporadically in some of the urban centres on this territory (Bitola, Skopje, Kumanovo, Tetovo, etc.) and were inconsistent, initiated by women with a privileged social status, with access to education, or by women who had arrived here from abroad to work in humanitarian missions (Hadjievska 2021)⁷ and were assisted by the organization of the Red Cross. These activities were organized as an attempt to alleviate the terror of the wars that left many casualties and orphans, especially after World War One.

In addition to the care given to the afflicted, these women organized literacy and educational courses and their activities were registered in the sources from this region. The women chronicled in these sources “organized humanitarian, charitable and social initiatives in the community” (Hadjievska 2021, 72-77). In the

7 Some of these women were cited in the last year's edition of the 'Invisible Archives', where the activities of the humanitarians such as Aspasia Miševa Kanevčeva and Zaharia Vasileva Šumljanska were discussed.

interwar period, there developed several currents in the women's movements, such as students' movements (the Belgrade case), union movements, as well as socialist initiatives (an important example for Macedonia is the case of Rosa Plaveva and Nakiye Bayram). Before the beginning of World War Two, out of all existing political and social movements of the youth, the most successful on the entire territory of former Yugoslavia were the organizations of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ). These movements were predecessors of the movement that organized the mass mobilization of women, which in the period between 1940 and 1941 intensified its activities and this resulted with the creation of the Women's Antifascist Organization and its officialization in 1942.

With the onset of World War Two, the existing trend in women's engagement in the struggle for realization of their civil rights, and especially in the care for the weak, children and the oppressed, continued during the National Liberation Struggle and in the period that followed – commonly known as the period of reconstruction of the society and building socialism. Because they were precluded from acquiring new professional qualifications before the war, the type and shape of women's aid during the National Liberation Struggle, that is, their voluntary work, consisted mostly of typical women's duties,⁸ such as washing, sewing, cooking, caring for the children and sick, while a smaller number of women opted for direct involvement in the armed struggle, or in the courier units and in the illegal actions. This involvement of women in the National Liberation Struggle was very much appreciated and had its important place in the memory of Yugoslavia. The role of women was enthusiastically present in the politics of memory.

⁸ In the first issues of *Makedonka*, many reports were published about the number of sewn clothes (socks, pillows, shirts, underwear, gloves, towels...). Eg.: *Hronika*, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 24.

The narratives about the health policies and practices of the new time – from old to new Yugoslavia

“Lice can infect you with typhus, and you can infect your entire family and most of the village. Your bed, comrade, is covered in dust and your room is infested by fleas, flies and lice. As a mother, you love your child and you should not complain about the extra work! No one was there to tell you before, but now we tell you to start from the beginning. Declare war to filth... Keep your children clean!”

N.Z.⁹

Reading the first issues of the magazine *Makedonka*, more precisely the articles dedicated to healthcare themes, the reader is under the impression that these were the beginnings of the public health system in this area. The texts always fully negated that there were any achievements in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia - the political order and government that preceded that of the Communists. These articles severely criticized the social and healthcare policies of the kingdom, considering them almost non-existent. Although not fully justified, this critical approach of the magazine was, nevertheless, well-founded, as corroborated by the sources about the public health and social policies in this social and historical context. In the nineteen twenties and thirties the Kingdom of Yugoslavia invested the least of its available funds and resources in the Vadar Banovina – the territory of present-day North Macedonia. Although a significant number of healthcare institutions were built (Sterjovski 2016), in 1939, malaria still had epidemic proportions in the Vardar Banovina, while in the other banovinas in the kingdom, the number of infected was significantly reduced (Boškovska 2019, 195-203).

9 N. Z. “Dali go držime vo čistokja našeto dete”, Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), p. 14.

The magazine often made comparisons of statistical data about this situation between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the period when *Makedonka* was published, dubbing these comparisons, 'the old and the new time'. Healthcare themes and everything health-related generally were often mixed and intertwined with a series of other social and political messages and narratives that the authors and editors of the magazine skilfully incorporated in the articles dedicated to this theme, insisting on legitimacy and significance. In them, they appeal for changes, often pointing at the protagonists of reckless practices with condemnations and moralizing, or at the speculators and the internal/external enemies. This only supports Mary Douglas's explanation that all disputes about dangers and risks are especially morally and politically charged. (Miškovska Kajevska 2020, 165-190). In the first issues of the magazine, but in the later issues too, this criticism was aimed at the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, while after June 1948, that is, when Yugoslavia was excommunicated from the Cominform, in a number of texts dedicated to healthcare policies, the USSR was also criticized, such as in the following example¹⁰ from Issue No. 64, 1950, in the text entitled 'With the new Law on social insurance the working class in Yugoslavia has gained more rights than the workers in the Cominform countries'.

The narrative that followed the 'old' and 'new' Yugoslavia line can be observed in the healthcare related texts that discussed the organization of the Red Cross, whose example was used to explain its transformation and make a parallel with the improvements in 'new' Yugoslavia in comparison to the 'old':

"The Red Cross as an organization was only an inactive institution in the past because it was led by people who did not have the people's best interests at heart, but saw only to it to serve their own interests. Today, in our democratic and federative Yugoslavia, the Red Cross has different goals and tasks than the eponymous

¹⁰ *So noviot zakon za socijalno osiguruvanje rabotničkata klasa vo Jugoslavija ima pogolemi prava otkolku rabotnicite vo kominformbirovskite zemji*, Year 4, no. 64 (March 1950), p. 10.

organization from the past. The Red Cross is now a people's organization that works towards the reconstruction of our fatherland and advancement of its peoples and its work will cancel the distrust that our people entertain against the Red Cross."¹¹

The manner in which the comparison between the 'old' and 'new' Yugoslavia was presented as a massive improvement of the situation in the new state, was chiefly quantitative in the majority of the healthcare related articles, comparing the nineteen thirties with the years of the implementation of the Five-Year Plan for reconstruction. In the competitive spirit, the numbers of the *old* Yugoslavia were compared to those of socialist Yugoslavia, such as the number of deceased in the epidemics, the number of health institutions, the number of hospital beds, the death rate among newborns, the total number of medical checks per year, the number of medical professionals, etc. This comparative narrative can be observed in all issues of the magazine *Makedonka* in various shapes and forms, either incorporated in the texts themselves or in tables with numbers per year,¹² or visual representations with photographs of the newly built healthcare institutions, freshly trained midwives, new kindergartens with many children – images that dominated in the magazine, especially in the later years, after 1948.



¹¹ *Crven krs na Federativna Jugoslavija*, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 22.

¹² A table that presents a comparison of the health institutions in 1939 and 1949, *Makedonka*, Year 6, no. 72 (November 1950), p. 9

One of the key aims in the development of the country was to compensate for the losses in population as a consequence of the wars. Numerous articles that emphasize the progress of the new state, and making parallels with the 'old' Yugoslavia, focus on the significant improvement in children's health. One such example is the following excerpt from Issue no. 51, published in 1949. The text was published under the title 'The status of women in old Yugoslavia', on page 6 and was authored by N. Bogdanova. She wrote:

"According to the official data submitted by Yugoslavia at the Balkan Congress held in Belgrade in October 1939 and dedicated to child protection, about 460 000 children were born in old Yugoslavia every year, but only 1/3 survived to the age of 20. In all Yugoslav cities the death rate among children was 35% higher than in the cities of Northern and Western Europe. In 1934, 459 808 children were born and 248 570 children died. According to this, in old Yugoslavia a child died every 5 minutes. 30 685 villages did not have midwives, and the existing maternity hospitals carried out only 1% of the deliveries."

In addition to these politically charged texts that compared the country with the enemy countries and criticized the social and political orders different than socialism, another group of health-related texts emphasized the importance of maintaining hygiene and identified the factor that was to bring about the key change of the desired prosperity in the public health (as well as in literacy and emancipation in general). The narratives constructed to suggest the desirable civil behaviour and departure from the old everyday practices – authored in most cases by medical experts – were commonly morally condemnatory of women. These narratives were concerned with the rural women and their 'backward' practices around birth, hygiene maintenance and raising and education children. Disregarding the context and the deprived living conditions of the peasants at the time, these authors constructed a narrative about the 'backward peasant women' that bore the brunt of the condemnations for the great mortality among the newborn

children and sons of Yugoslavia. One such example was published on page 21 in the double issue of the magazine no. 10-11 for August-September 1945. The text was entitled ‘Why do our children die?’¹³ Its author, Dr. Miriam Popadić¹⁴ wrote the following:

“Every mother knows very well that is less painful to give birth to even ten children than to bury a single one. But that loss is not only a loss for the mother and for the family, it is an even greater loss of the state, badly in need of young people, especially now when we lost so many young people in the liberation war, our dearest sons. The mother herself is to be blamed for the death of her children.”

In the same double issue, on page 19, a text was published under the title: ‘The significance and purpose of the Maternity Hospital and the Counselling Centre for Women’¹⁵ authored by the gynaecologist Dr. Marjanović-Ubavić – the President of the Maternity Hospital and the Counselling Centre for Women. In this text she reinforced the narrative about the ‘unclean’ rural women:

“We must not let old and unclean grannies deliver babies because with their ‘skills’ they cause fatal consequences for both mothers

¹³ Dr. Mirjam Popadić, “Zošto umiraat našite deca?”, Year 2, no. 10-11 (August-September 1945), p. 21-22.

¹⁴ Dr. Mirjam Popadić was born as Miriam Schönfeld on 12 May 1905 in the village of Igal (Hungary). She graduated from the Faculty of Medicine in Zagreb in 1930. She specialized pediatrics in 1936. She worked in Štip in the children’s dispensary in the period between 1933 and 1936. During the Bulgarian occupation of Bitola she worked in the Bitola District hygiene laboratory and in the Counselling Centre for Mothers and Children that operated until the end of 1941. On 5 May 1942, she was appointed a doctor at the Orphanage in Bitola. She was an active member of the Governing Board of the Women’s Consumers’ Cooperative, formed by the District Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Bitola in 1940. This cooperative organized an illegal course for nurses for the partisan units. The course was run by Dr. Popadić. In addition to this, she worked for the Healthcare Board formed in 1941 whose task was to collect medical supplies and medicines for the National Liberation Army and Partisan Detachments of Macedonia and to provide illegal medical treatment for the sick and wounded partisans. From 3 May 1944 until 30 December 1945 she was a military doctor and an Assistant-Chief of the Medical Unit of the Fifth Army. After the war she stayed with the Yugoslav Army for a while. She left the army as a medical major. Dr. Miriam Popadić was the only woman doctor that participated in the National Liberation Struggle in Macedonia (an excerpt from Dr. Verica Josimovska and Dr. Stojko Stojkov, 2010, *The Establishment of Illegal Medical Services on the Territory of Macedonia during the National Liberation Struggle*, Institute of History and Archaeology FON, Goce Delčev University).

¹⁵ Dr. Marjanović-Ubavić, “Značenje i cel na roditeliot dom i sovetujališteto za ženi”, Year 2, no. 10-11 (August-September 1945), p. 19.

and children. Let us fight against cutting the umbilical cord with an unclean knife or an axe; or giving newborns cornmeal only a day after their birth to protect them from 'evil eyes'."

Another example that reinforced the image of the 'backward peasant woman' whose practices WAF was trying to eradicate with this negative press is the text 'Do we keep our children clean?'¹⁶ The text was written as fiction and told the story about Auntie Radka's sick child – Nikle. It detailed all the bad hygienic habits of this family and recognized them as a reason for the deaths of all village children. The author of this text reiterated the moralizing narrative about rural women and found their 'ignorance' guilty for the high infant mortality.

"She [the doctor] could not believe that Nikle had a mother who loved him, but was unaware in her ignorance that she was leading him to his demise. The doctor was sad. It weighed upon her that our rural women were still ignorant and that filth and lack of hygiene filled the graveyards with the young lives of our children."

Sport was closely linked with the new policies for social welfare and healthcare in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia and was another domain in which a narrative was constructed about its importance, form and accessibility in comparison to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. An interesting model of the 'Macedonian Woman' was the woman-gymnast. Gymnastics and calisthenics were among the emancipatory practices for women – primarily because it meant participation in the public sphere. The magazine promoted an active female body in the public sphere and participation in the collective physical performances such as mass games (Slet), cross-country running, athletic sports, skiing, kayaking, etc. There are several examples in the magazine that stimulated women's active participation in sport activities by informing about the results that the more eminent women gymnasts had achieved. In an article from December 1946, sports were used to emphasize the fact that young Albanian and Turkish girls participated, which was also in

16 N. Z. "Dali go držime vo čistokja našeto dete", Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), p. 14.

support of the campaign against the veil (Mijatov 2019, 182-197), and the article continued by comparing the old and new Yugoslavia, underlining the different understanding of physical activity and the importance given to it in the 'new times':

“Although a number of young girls participated in this autumn’s cross-country running race, including some young Albanian and Turkish girls, the mass games (Slet) in Skopje, the calisthenics and the other sports activities are yet to be embraced by the broadest masses of our female population. This is owing to the fact that many women haven’t changed their opinions about sports since the times of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. No physical education and activities were available to the working classes then. They were seen as entertainment only for the rich and privileged. In the kingdom sport was seen as a character battle for champions’ titles and records, a battle for winning awards and making more money. This led to animosities among the sportsmen instead of friendship and camaraderie; (...) Our people are now developing their bodies and improving their health in the spirit of friendship, self-sacrifice and cheerfulness.”¹⁷

In this context, which was a replication of the Soviet model, the attempts to make as many people take up sports and physical activities as possible, were seen as contributing towards the strengthening of the defence power of the state (Mijatov 2019) that later own established an army (the Yugoslav People’s Army) – the armed forces of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia (later renamed into



Фискултурата и нашата жена

Илестрај учестване на сени да од илестрај младешки на оноеедини есенни мек и учестване на меките Албаниан и Туркички, на слетот во Скопје, физкултурата кој ние се уште не ги одобравме ширењето менис мие. Тоа доаѓа од току, што за физкултурата е старото менис кој го имал за време стар. Југославија. Фискултурата во минатите режими беше моќна на работот и нора, тоа беше жабна за богатите и привилегираните луѓе. Но неа спорот нивне марксисти брба на ирмично и илестрај. Борба за сподолете на повоина награда и пара. Пиради тоа и мису спортистите сподолете на илестрајста, што е не до разнине на другите.

Денес, кога евој чевир на нашата жена доаѓа над н’тот да го повои жамите на работот човек, физкултурата стануе доволна за оне луѓе кој имаша задоволство. Може евој да стани физкултурата биде материјална жаб оди биде одио повоина да се замине спорот. Прку физкултурата не ево што телесно и правително не се развила најмногу, туку физкултурата е важно средство за просветување на народот. Прку неа не се развила н’т нашето тело повоина да на другите, непроиванот и илестрај.

Но се уште, ниве нашите жени, физкултурата не е евоина жаб, спортиста, кои не може телесно и

духовно да го ојано нивниот организам, да го заповие нивниот здравје и ја повине н’т ниве работна сила. Многу жени мислат: „Ако работам н’т дин и се уште работам од работ.“ Трече да не мислат нив во фабриката трим жаб да работам во ја уште кујата. Значи не ми е толку важно спорот, жаме, јас време за тие работи.

Току затоа кито ние го проведувеме денот на работа, во фабриката или жаморачијата, жабаме е да одвоине баре доет минути на дин на да гој повоинаме со спорот. Спорот повоинаме да е евојна жаб. Дождоста, на евојна жаб да го воете своето здравје, да ги развила своите способности за да биде работна жабна жон. Само здравна жабна жон да одолава здравно дате. Тиа не биде ирмично илестрај и уште од жабаме во нии на работот на своето дате. Да биде во жабаме илестрај, н’т телесно здравна жон илестрај е жабаме жон жаме жонина дате да ги замине уште од младички да се бават со физкултура, а не да нив забрават, што н’т има, оуачи жаме нив.

Организацијата на АФЖ може да даде големо илестрај за разнине оди физкултурата меѓу жонине. Во градите и сел. АФЖ треба да повоине да се оживат оди физкултурата дакување ги мислатио групи и жонине за жонинае жонине спорот. Треба да се разнине меѓу жонине о н’т евоина на спорот, жон да се илестрај, кои не може телесно и

духовно и др. Спорот жониниот треба да ги повоине за спорот да се забави до жонина. Та тоа не се спорот жониниот, – и нашата жонина да се развила на другите и жонините жонне да го ојано своето здравје и сили на работ.

Фискултурата на крај не биде одио и жабаме жонина повоина работна на илестрајот жаб и д’жаме жонина.



17 R. Galeva, “Fiskulturata i našata žena”, Year 3, no. 26 (December 1946), p. 5.

the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia), which grew in size and power to become the fourth army in Europe. Although women's inclusion in the sports and physical activities was part of the agitprop in all the republics of the federation, WAF did not see it as an important enlightenment instrument and there were not many activities on the ground dedicated to this issue (Mijatov 2019, 182-197). Since the patriarchal norms were still dominant, especially in Macedonia, very few women took up sports and became active gymnasts.¹⁸

The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia had a clear idea and goal to improve the health of its people, as well as its health care and social welfare policies, and was especially interested to reduce the number of infant and newborn deaths by implementing regulations and provisions through the Five-Year Plan, as we will see further down in this text. But *Makedonka* as a medium of the mass organization of WAF, albeit for the noble purpose of improving the public health in the country, published moralizing and intimidating contents and condemned the population's cultural practices, calling them 'backward' behaviour. All the examples from above clearly indicate that one of WAF's propagandist mechanisms in the eradication of the infant mortality in the area was the narrative about the 'backward' and 'unclean' peasant women as the subject that it needed to change, insisting on a more hygienic way of life, and on the implementation of the practices of the new way of life of the socialist society. The magazine clearly and sharply divided the 'old' and 'new' Yugoslavia in order to accelerate the process of transition into a socialist society.

¹⁸ The doctoral dissertation of Nikola Mijatov, 'Sport in service of socialism: the Yugoslav experience 1945-1953' (the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy, 219) included some tables in the chapter 'Women in sport' that presented the statistics about women's participation in sport events, as well as about their occupying managerial positions in sports organization throughout the entire federation. Although the archival materials are scarce, judging by the existing archival sources, only 30% of women participated in sports. It is interesting that in Macedonia, out of the 2 374 active sportsmen and gymnasts only 498 were women workers or 36%. Of the total of 8 489 participants in the cross-country running race organized by the gymnasts association of Macedonia in 1948, 739 were women, or only 9%.

The healthcare and social welfare policies of the Five-Year Plan for reconstruction

“All this our peoples will achieve with tireless and selfless work to fulfil the plan, for which the people’s government has not spared and will not spare either efforts or means. Of course, all this will not be achieved this year. But in 1947 already, by fulfilling the plan, our peoples will make huge progress... We and our organization should help the people’s government and other mass organization, and for this purpose we will have to enable as many women and girls as possible to work and participate in the planned reconstruction. Lots and lots of women and girls are needed to work in the crafts, on the building sites, in the factories and mines, in the agriculture machine stations, in the hospitals and schools, etc. Our organization must help fill the ranks of the enormous army of workers with its own members and join the battle for fulfilment of the plan.” - Liljana Čalovska¹⁹

The healthcare policies of the Five-Year Plan for reconstruction were most concerned with the losses in population as a result of the wars which were particularly intensive and destructive in this part of the world in the first forty years of the 20th century. The two main reasons for the stagnation in the birth rate were the widespread epidemics and the poor conditions for maintenance of the reproductive health – the very high rate of infant mortality and deaths during births. The key points of the healthcare policies devised by the leadership of the Communist Party were the creation of optimal circumstances for reproduction and eradication of diseases and epidemics. The healthcare policies of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia were successful in dealing

¹⁹ Liljana Čalovska, “Planskoto stopanstvo i našite zadači”, Year 4, no. 28 (February 1947), p. 2.

with the challenges of the epidemics of tuberculosis, malaria, epidemic typhus, typhoid fever, and measles – diseases typical for underdeveloped countries (Tomšič 1981). Typical for this period in the development of Yugoslavia was the recognition of the necessity for good and efficient social policies for the improvement of the nations' wellbeing and prosperity, but also for the improvement of the nation's health, especially women's reproductive health.

The Slovenian Vida Tomšič played an important role in the creation of gender-sensitive social policies. She was a communist, partisan, antifascist, participant in the National Liberation Struggle and was awarded the Order of the People's Hero. In the postwar period Tomšič was an eminent and influential politician who occupied many important positions until the end of her career. She was the Minister of Social Affairs in the Slovenian government since May 1945,²⁰ but she was active in the party as well, where, among else, she was elected President of the Women's Antifascist Front twice, first in 1948, and then in 1950, which made her WAF's last President. This short introduction about Tomšič's career was necessary to determine her influence in the definition of the chief goals and tasks of the mass organization of WAF²¹ and more generally her contribution to the social policies of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia in the Five-Year Plan. In her book, Tomšič presented the state of the Yugoslav public health and social welfare through the well-known comparisons of numbers for the entire country, comparing the prewar years, which is 1939 to 1979, forty years later, when she wrote her book (Tomšič 1981).

In the chapter of her book entitled 'Social policy and healthcare', she placed particular emphasis on the radical change that healthcare of prewar Yugoslavia had undergone, with its very modest network of health institution, small number of doctors, underdeveloped system of health insurance and expensive medical services – a system that failed to deal with the poor health of

²⁰ Tea Hvala, 2021, *A Path of Their Own: 25 Excursions into Women's History*. Association for the Promotion of Women in Culture – City of Women, pp.13-14.

²¹ The estimated membership of WAF of Yugoslavia was about two million.

the population, with the high mortality rate (especially among newborns), with the widespread epidemics and people's short lifespan. At that time, about a million people had malaria, and many of the tuberculosis cases had fatal outcomes. In comparison, in 1973, all these diseases were almost eradicated, malaria completely, as well as many other diseases caused by malnourishment, while the number of tuberculosis cases was eight times lower than in 1939.

What we learn from *Makedonka* about the way the Five-Year Plan was implemented in the People's Republic of Macedonia is that there were many work actions that to a great extent depended on the voluntary and unpaid labour of the activists of the people's mass organizations (Women's Antifascist Front, the National Liberation Youth Alliance). WAF had a primary role in the actions related to healthcare, emancipation, nurturing care, that is, in the social welfare actions. The Five-Year Plan was announced by Tito in his New Year's speech, broadcast by the Belgrade radio on the Eve between 1945 and 1946, and his speech was fully transcribed and published in *Makedonka*.²²

Even before the official beginning of the activities that were part of the Five-Year Plan, WAF started its mission for fulfilment of the goals and tasks that this organization had set for itself at the First Congress of WAF of Yugoslavia, and this was the establishment of maternity hospitals and homes for protection of mothers and children.²³ Rubrics dedicated to social welfare and healthcare began emerging on the pages of the magazine in its second year of publication, that is, starting with the double issue no. 3-4 in January 1945, where a report about the "The daycare children's home in the first Skopje district"²⁴ with a capacity for 50 children was published on page 6. The article reported about childcare homes being opened

22 *Neka im e sreknja na site naši narodi 1947 godina!* Govor na maršal Tito preku belgradskoto radio sproti Nova godina, Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), pp. 1-3.

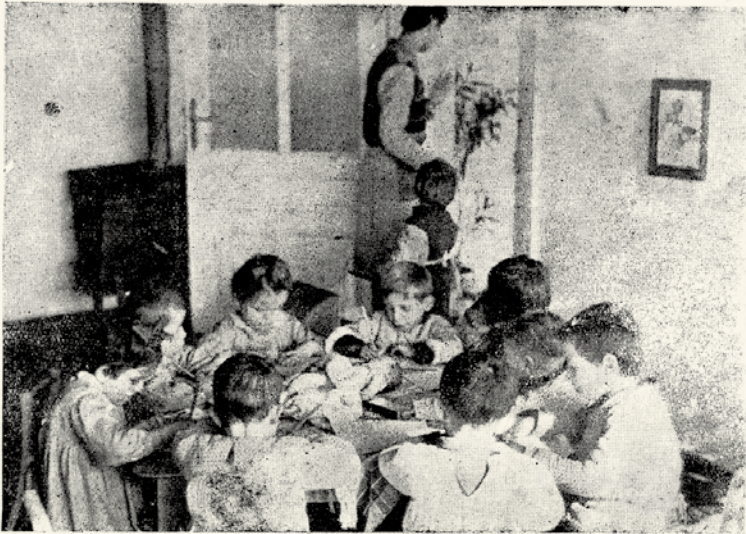
23 *Prvot kongres na Antifašističkiot front na ženite od Jugoslavija* - "Rabotata i zadačite na ženite na socijalnata izgranja", Year 2, no. 8-9 (June-July 1945), p. 5.

24 B.D. "Vo dnevniot detski dom na prvot reon vo Skopje", Year 3, no. 3-4 (January - February 1945), p. 6.

in several places all over Macedonia, and about the care they offered for the children whose parents were still on the front and about the pleasant atmosphere in them. The author of the text announced the WAF agenda concerning these childcare homes that were needed in even greater numbers:

“In order to take care of thousands and thousands of children, hundreds of new childcare homes need to be opened. For this reason our Women’s Antifascist Front will have to insist on their importance and do everything to have them opened in as great a number as possible.”

ВО ДНЕВНИОТ ДЕТСКИ ДОМ НА ПРВИОТ РЕОН ВО СКОПЈЕ



Starting with this issue, similar articles, reports, previews, but also critical reviews about the lack of support for these childcare homes, kindergartens,²⁵ and later on about nurseries, summer camps, pupils and high school students’ accommodation, etc., were published in every issue of the magazine with no exception. The rubrics dedicated to the healthcare and social welfare domain

²⁵ In the first issues of the magazines a Serbian term was used, but this changed in 1947.

were an essential part of this magazine. In 1945, the rubric 'Popular Medicine'²⁶ was established, where the characteristics of the epidemic typhus were described in detail, as was the treatment for it, and in the later issues of the magazine, similar texts were published that informed in detail about typhoid fever, tuberculosis, malaria, scarlet fever, diphtheria, etc.

From the first healthcare related texts about mothers and childcare in the issues of *Makedonka* in 1947 until the last in 1951, their frequency only increased. With the onset of the Five-Year plan, the measures and provisions about mothers and children protection only intensified as part of the policies that protected workers' rights. Reflected in the editorial policy of the magazine, these provisions were published as part of the magazine's reports about the newly built healthcare institutions and social welfare centres, as part of texts dedicated to childcare skills, such as swaddling babies, breastfeeding, advice about feeding babies and protection from diseases. These contents were commonly published under titles such as 'Advice for our/young mothers'.

On 22 September 1948, the government of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia issued the provision that regulated the establishment of nurseries and kindergartens in the public enterprises.²⁷ From January 1948 until December 1953, Ljupčo Arsov was the Minister of Labour in the federal Government of Yugoslavia. The *Makedonka* author writing about this provision said the following: "for the liberation of female workforce that was prevented to offer its full contribution in the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan because of motherhood."²⁸ This provision requested from all enterprises, institutions and organizational people's committees to organize

26 Doctors and authors that contributed articles to the magazine were Dr. Grozda Simitčieva, Dr. Mandilović, Fr. Miriam Popadić, Dr. Marjanović-Ubavić - a gynecologist, Rodna Nikova, Nada Bogdanova, Dr. Todor Hristov, A. Preobrazhensky, D. Veljković, Rada Galeva, Lj. Levkova, Nada Adži Mitreska (Mitrova), Dr. K. Krstić, Fr. Kisličenko, Dr. Nina Hadžselimović, R. Gjorgjovski, M. Feodorovskaya, A. S. Makarenko, Dr. Dimitar Smilev, Dr. A. Džekov.

27 Služben vesnik na FNRJ, Year 4, no. 81 (22 September 1948) <https://www.slvesnik.com.mk/Issues/482981BCC87046709658142A16E8CF90.pdf>

28 R. Gjorgjovski, "Donesena e uredba za osnivanje na detski jasli i detski gradini", Year 5, no. 48 (October 1948), p. 10.

nurseries or kindergartens if the enterprise had more than 20 children at the appropriate age, and if not, two or more enterprises could get together and establish joint nurseries. This provision provided that children up to the age of three were to be admitted in nurseries, while the pre-school children were to be admitted in kindergartens. This provision applied to a series of institutions that were held responsible for its implementation.²⁹ The magazine regularly published contents that explained this provision to the readers of *Makedonka*, together with the amendments to this provision passed by the Government of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1949 and 1952.³⁰

Only two years into the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the magazine published a table that presented the progress as “defined in the Constitution and elaborated in further laws and provision.” In comparison to 1939, a significant leap can be observed in the number of the so-called ‘institutions for protection of motherhood’, that is, in the number of healthcare institutions for mothers and children. The improvement of the situation in only a decade is fascinating and deserves to be part of this text, and for this purpose we copied the table:³¹

²⁹ In the *Official Gazette of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia/Služben vesnik na FNRJ*, Year 4, no. 81 (22 September 1948), Article 21 and Article 22 applies to the following institutions obliged to implement the provision for the establishment of nurseries and kindergartens: “The Provision about the establishment of nurseries and kindergartens: Article 21. The Minister of Constructions of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia in accordance with the Minister of Labour of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, the Committee for protection of the public health of the Government of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Committee for schools and science of the Government of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, will pass the regulations about the construction of nurseries and kindergartens; Article 22. More detailed regulations regarding the organization of the work of the nurseries will be passed by the Minister for Public Health of the People's Republic as part of the instruction prescribed by the Committee for protection of public health of the Government of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The more detailed regulations about the organization of work of the kindergartens will be passed by the Minister of Education of the People's Republic as part of the instructions prescribed by the Committee for schools and science of the Government of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia.”

³⁰ *So novata uredba na sojuznata vlada im se ovozmožuva na zaposlenite ženi pravilno odgleduvanje na decata*, Year 5, no. 55 (1949), p. 3; *Da gi znaeme svoite prava - UREDBA - Za izmenuvanjata i dopolnuvanjata na uredbata za zaštita na trudnite ženi i majkite-doilki vo raboten (službenički) odnos*, Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952), p. 15.

³¹ *Govorot na maršal Tito na Tretiot Kongres na Antifašističkiot front na ženite*, Year 6, no. 72 (November 1950), p. 9. A table that compares the number of healthcare institutions in 1939 and 1949.

The name of the institution	1939	Specification number of beds	1949	Specification number of beds
Children dispensaries	40		107	
Children Counselling Centres	50		373	
Children surgeries	72		72	
Children hospitals	/		10	
Counselling centres for pregnancies	2		337	
Maternity hospitals and wards	29	with 700 beds	240	with 2.070 beds
Nurseries	3	with 172 beds	147	with 1.949 beds
Kindergartens	116	with 6.845 beds	325	with 14.999 beds
Childcare centres for newborns and infants	5	with 240 beds	18	with 1.503 beds
Childcare centres for children between the ages of 3 and 14	43	with 2.177 beds	142	with 11.312 beds
High-school students' accommodation	54	with 6.229 beds	315	with 39.040 beds
Vocational students' accommodation	5	with 680 beds	357	with 33.988 beds
Professional high-school students' accommodation	9	with 740 beds	375	with 52.838 beds

Table 1:

Comparison of the healthcare institutions of 1939 with 1949.

As part of the Five-Year Plan, the Committee for protection of the public health of the Government of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia passed a resolution about mass vaccination of the young against tuberculosis³² with the BSG vaccine³³ on a voluntary basis. In the double issue no. 46-47 from August-September 1948, *Makednoka* informed about the vaccination plan according to which the entire young population was to be vaccinated by 1950, and the WAF organizations were to pay special attention and be responsible for the success of this action. The article detailed the characteristics of the disease, the situation with the diseased in country and then explained the measures for tackling tuberculosis as envisaged by the plan.



³² People had various names for this widespread disease.

³³ *Vakcinata Be-Se-Že e zaštitno sredstvo protiv tuberkulozata*, Year 5, no. 46-47 (August-September 1948), p. 22.

The actions undertaken by the mass organizations as part of the planned eradication of diseases and epidemics resulted with significant reduction in the number of cases of malaria and tuberculosis. The Five-Year Plan was being fulfilled through construction of health units, dispensaries against tuberculosis, sector health stations, rural people's surgeries and many other health institutions. With respect to the activities for eradication of malaria, where WAF and the Youth Association participated with labour, estimated at 63.617 voluntary working days,³⁴ Nada Adži Mitrova reported about the spraying or landfilling of water surfaces against mosquitoes and mosquito larvae, about residual spraying, about dugouts and ditches, cleaned waters and canals, landfilled swamps, dugouts for landfills – all these activities covered in detail with the exact number of square meters that have been done on the ground. The estimated reduction in malaria infections as a result of these work actions was about 50 % in the period 1946-1948, which was only second year of the Five-Year Plan.

The text continues with a report about the planned construction of 81 catchments, 100 hygienic wells with waterfall in the villages and 500 prototype toilets, of mineral baths with a hotel with 500 beds, children dispensaries, maternity hospitals, diet milk kitchens, surgeries and counselling centres, maternity wards in the hospitals, children wards, nurseries, and childcare centres for newborns and infants. This growth in the number of newly constructed institutions was to be followed by an appropriate increase in the professional cadre. The text claimed that by 1951, it was envisaged that 202 nurses in total would graduate, together with 146 midwives, and they were supposed to meet the needs of the pregnant women in the villages, not only in the urban centres, as it used to be the case before the onset of the Five-Year Plan. Courses for pharmacists, other auxiliary nurses, paediatric nurses, feldshers, dentists, dental technicians, microscopists, sanitization

³⁴ Nada Adži Mitrova, "Narodnoto zdravje vo Petgodišniot plan", Year 5, no. 39 (January 1948), p. 7-8.

workers, roentgen technicians were also to be organized. The author concluded that this cadre and the newly built institutions would bring the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan.

The role of WAF in the introduction of hygiene practices in every sphere of social life as part of the Five-Year plan included actions that improved the sewage infrastructure, dug septic tanks and toilets³⁵ in the villages, applied correct well-digging, including whitewashing actions and similar sanitation actions in the villages, but also in the public educational and social and healthcare buildings, such as schools, kindergartens and childcare centres and students' accommodation centres, hospitals, nurseries, etc.³⁶

“The organizations of WAF all over our republic should be the initiators behind these and similar actions for health education and cleaning of our villages, the most backward the first.”³⁷

These activities on the ground were initiated by *Makedonka* with announcements of ‘Hygiene Weeks’, ‘Cleaning Weeks’,³⁸ ‘Health Education Weeks’, ‘Better Health Weeks’, or the ‘Congress of hygienists of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia’, whose aim was to popularize the actions organized by WAF and to activate as large a number of women as possible to participate in the realization of the goals and tasks of the Five-Year Plan.³⁹

³⁵ *Važnosta na higienskite nužnici za namaluvanje na zaraznite bolesti*, Year 7, no. 76 (March 1951), p. 16.

³⁶ *Našata organizacija posle tretiot kongres na AFŽ na Jugoslavija*, Year 7, no. 74 (January 1951), p. 4-5.

³⁷ *Makedonka*, Year 7, no. 78 (May 1951), p. 6.

³⁸ *Rezultati od nedelata na čistotata*, Year 5, no. 46-47, (August-September 1948), p. 14.

³⁹ A. Dragutinova, “Nedelata na majkite i decata”, Year 3, no. 24 (October 1946), p. 7.

WAF and the economy of nurturing care: unaware feminism or a political agenda

“The editorial board of the magazine wishes to appeal to all women in our Republic and to all other readers to accept the magazine as their own and to send suggestions, letters, reviews and advice so that they can participate in its creation.”⁴⁰

All labour in the fields of care and nurturing care was still specifically gender defined and closely linked with the female population, particularly pre-determined by factors such as class and economic and social status. This traditional gender division of labour continued, and this so-called labour of love assigned to women (Mavrinac, 2015), or the invisible nurturing care labour, was not recognized as legitimate labour in the structure of labour policies and was susceptible to exploitative influences as such. In a large number of societies, even in those considered developed, the regulation of these policies is skilfully avoided. This burning issue cause alarm only in periods of crises such as wars and economic crises, and some more recent examples of such crises in Europe and the world were the refugee crisis and the Covid-19 pandemic in the last two and a half years, when the needs and demands for this kind of labour increased, making its feminization rather obvious.

The absence of systemic social welfare and healthcare is always complemented by unpaid female labour. This was also the case during the National Liberation Struggle, but also in the years that followed when, despite the fact that women had fought their revolutionary and political struggle for their equal status in legal terms, they were promptly fitted in the labour exploitation matrix of the communist society in construction and women revolutionaries

⁴⁰ *Od redakcijata*, “Do čitatelkite na ‘Makedonka’”, Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952), s.p.

transformed into potential productive subjects (Okić 2016), which can be easily corroborated with contents from the magazine *Makedonka*. The role of women in the National Liberation Struggle was closely related to the medical units and guerrilla actions, while most of the women in the villages were engaged in voluntary work, producing materials needed by the partisans, such as socks and warm clothes, shirts and washing and mending clothes, as part of the concerted war effort. Many of the reports celebrating the contribution of the Yugoslav women antifascists proudly emphasize the numbers of produced and washed clothing items. Partially changing its form, the practice of this feminized labour continued in the postwar period, but this time aimed at mothers and children, especially orphans, and their right to education, summer holidays⁴¹ and good quality leisure time – everything that was needed for the ‘advancement’ of the socialist man or woman.

The care and nurture theme is academically treated today – but in the late Yugoslav period it also received academic treatment, as a central theme related to the essence of the role of women in the National Liberation Struggle and WAF in favour of women’s mobilization, contribution to the voluntary work predominantly in the areas of social welfare, healthcare and women’s emancipation. This mobilization as part of the role of the Women’s Antifascist Front is explained by Gordana Stojanović as “economy of nurturing care of the voluntary and unpaid activities of women in socialist Yugoslavia that made care and nurturing care possible for all vulnerable categories of the society: children in nurseries and kindergartens, parentless children, students in boarding schools and students’ accommodation, old and disabled people.” According to Stojanović, “the body of voluntary activities” should be called economy because the mobilization of women through the organizations of WAF to meet the everyday needs for nurturing care

⁴¹ There is an abundance of textual and visual material in the magazine about WAF members’ engagement in the reconstruction and equipping of the summer camps in the country. A phenomenon typical for Yugoslavia was a social policy that envisaged a holiday for every citizen, male or female, and especially children, whether in the mountains, or by the sea or a lake, as an important contribution to their health.

and later on the needs in food production and production of clothes and footwear, contributed to the onset of the socialist transformation of the society (Stojanović 2013).

In actual fact, the magazine largely issued directions and offered advice for building skills and knowledge that were later presented as results through motivational examples that women were expected to replicate. With *Makedonka*, women had an official medium⁴² for the first time that could inform them about the dynamics of the new time and about the advantages of the new social order – especially with regards to the improvement in the policies that affected their lives and the acquisition of their workers', reproductive and emancipatory rights, but also much more than that. In the advice proffered by the editors, authors, and doctors, and in other articles published in the magazine, we recognize all the skills and practices of our predecessors – grandmothers and great grandmothers, who, in the postwar period were acquiring their knowledge about housekeeping, nutrition, personal hygiene and home hygiene with great speed. It is important to point out that these practices were based on sustainable principles, mostly natural preparations and ecological ways of running the household. There was an abundance of contents that offered practical solutions to the everyday challenges and women learned from this magazine, but were also given the opportunity to ask the editors, who, then, depending on the complexness of the question, offered suitable answers by experts. Examples illustrative of this kind of advice were the instructions how to deal with waste,⁴³ maintain hygiene⁴⁴ and good health⁴⁵, how to prepare winter preserves correctly⁴⁶ or cook food, etc.

42 WAF also began broadcasting radio shows on Radio Skopje on 14 February 1945. In the period between 1 April 1952 and 25 November 1961, Veselinka Malinska was the manager of Radio Skopje. *Našite emisii preku Radio Skopje*, Year 2, no. 3-4 (January-February 1945), p. 8.

43 *Prašanja i odgovori*, Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), p. 15; *Ziska vo inspekcija za održuvanje na higienata*, Year 7, no. 78 (May 1951), p. 11.

44 Dr. Kisličenko, "Medicina: Kožata - zaštitnik na našiot organizam", Year 5, no. 43 (May 1948), p. 14; N. Z. "Dali go držime vo čistokja našeto dete", Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), p. 14.

45 Mirjam Popadić, "Kako da gi zapazime malite deca od bolesti", Year 3, no. 26 (December 1946), p. 14; Dr. Popadić. "Zašto se pojavuvaat letnite detski prolivi?", Year 5, no. 45 (July 1948), p. 15-16.

46 *Za našite domakinki - Kako da si ja prigrotovime zimnicata*, Year 2, No 10-11 (August-September 1945), p. 18; *Soveti za gotvenje i zimnica*, Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946), p. 20.

Although *Makedonka* was in fact a political and institutionalized project, this communicational aspect of the magazine was invaluable in the creation of communities of women who formed the potential feminist cores, either through WAF, or at informal self-initiated meetings. The emancipatory range was not limited to the literacy courses (see Leitner-Stojanovski in this collection), but also included these seemingly simple contents that we find in the rubrics entitled 'We Would Like to Know', 'Advice for Housewives', 'Questions and Answers', 'Popular Medicine', 'Medicine', etc. The everyday policies seem to have worked as a powerful mobilizing factor that resulted with changes that were recognized as important, and at the same time, the magazine informed about them as about a successful transformation in the direction of a socialist way of life.

The texts in the magazine *Makedonka* that recorded these activities of WAF or of women in general encapsulated the very essence of the magazine: the reports about the successes achieved – measured with the number of knitted socks, shirts and jumpers for the soldiers, and later redirected at various emancipatory actions, childcare, improvements in the quality of life, equipping summer camps, etc. These actions organized by WAF only perfected the training of the nurturing woman, who, even in the socialist times, continued being an agent of care and nurturing care, both institutionally, in the outfits that offered it, and in the home. Most commonly this agency was realized through voluntary and unpaid labour and was gender determined. WAF organized the so-called 'Popular Lectures', and they covered medicine among other things, where expert doctors shared their knowledge with women so that they can improve theirs. Issue no. 65 from April 1950 wrote about the "new form of work in the organizations of WAF" in an article entitled 'An Hour for Women' – the new tactics of "WAF in order to come closer to the backward women from the minorities is to organize tea or coffee parties as forms that are more accessible and desirable."⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Čas za ženata – Nova forma na rabota vo organizacijata na AFŽ, Year 6, no. 65 (April 1950), p. 12-13.

This form of activity adopted by WAF was already much closer to the type of work undertaken by the women's organization that continued existing after its formal dissolution in 1953. The usual reading of speeches and lecturing was deserted since the WAF activists themselves had noticed that the insistence on political themes that emphasized the ideological and theoretical character of the social context (for more see Hadjievaska in this collection) did not communicate with all women equally and failed to achieve the desired effect. This new form of gatherings offered women a chance to ask questions directly and to get answers and advice about their problems. Moderators were selected from the City Board of WAF who moderated the sessions and the participants that were interested could learn about first aid and other skills necessary in their housekeeping.

In the last three or four years in the circulation of the magazine *Makedonka*, there developed a tendency to reinforce the role of mother and educator, slowly departing from the narrative about feisty women politically active in the society. It appears that what happened in the Bolshevik revolution was only repeated. The problem of oppression of women was completely neglected in the economic development, which, according to Eli Zaretsky, was a psychological legacy of male superiority, challenged by women's entry in the industrial production, while the reinforcement of the family encouraged the return to the traditional patriarchal ideals, such as the elevation of motherhood.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Eli Zaretsky in Adrienne Rich. 1986. *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. W. W. Norton & Company; New York, 122.

The new socialist motherhood in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia

"...mothers are the pillar of the family, and they are one of the most important foundations of the state and symbol of justice and love" - The Manager of the Maternity Hospital and Counselling Centre for Women, Dr. Marjanović-Ubavić-gynaecologist⁴⁹

The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia replicated the Soviet narrative about motherhood, family and raising children to a great extent, considering it a very important aspect of the socialist community. Several articles published in the magazine were reports from the Soviet Union and lauded the examples of 'mother heroines'. The families with many children were stimulated with various measures. In this context a 'Medal of motherhood' was instituted, awarded to the Soviet mothers with more than five or six children.⁵⁰ One of the examples published in the rubric 'From the Soviet Union' was the case of the Bulatov family with 12 children, which, despite the death of the so-called 'helmsman' of the family, Pavle Bulatov – a worker in a small enterprise in the Vyatka region, survived because of his wife Maria. The text emphasized the advantage that the families with many children enjoyed in the Soviet Union as the only country where no one was left behind, and where Maria's children had all become doctors, engineers, pedagogues and scientists, owing to the care and education provided by their fatherland.⁵¹ The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia recognized motherhood as an inseparable part of women's contribution to the society, since they contributed not only with their equal participation in the public sphere, but also with their reproductive abilities. In

49 Д-р Марјановиќ-Убавиќ, „Значење и цел на родилниот дом и советува-лиштето за жени“, год. 2, бр. 10-11 (август-септември 1945), стр. 19.

50 Dr. Grozda Simitčieva, "Za zdravjeto na rodilkite i novorodenite", Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), p. 26.

51 M. Železnova, "Sudbinata na semejstvoto Bulatovi", Year 5, no. 43 (May 1948), p. 13.

accordance to this, the state undertook measures to secure the wellbeing of mothers and children (Bonfiglioli 2012).⁵²

The idea about state-financed ‘insurance for mothers’ was for first promoted by the German feminist and socialist Lily Braun (1865 – 1916) as early as 1897 (Ghodsee 2018). She advocated paid maternity leave before and after the birth for all women workers and with their workplace preserved. In Macedonia these policies were introduced for the first time by the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia and they were regulated with the Constitution of the People’s Republic of Macedonia in December 1946 and were later amended several times with provisions and laws passed by the Government in the period 1947-1952 that provided ‘care for the mothers and children’, ‘protection for the employed pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers’ and ‘establishment of nurseries and kindergartens’.

“With special provisions, the Constitutions guarantee the equality of women and men, and the principle of equal pay for equal work. The Constitution also guarantees special protection for women – mothers and children, in order to enable them to avail themselves of their equality. These rights are already enjoyed by women and they were only made law by the Constitution. For this reason we will make every effort to implement the Constitution correctly in our everyday lives.”⁵³

The editorial interventions in *Makedonka* placed special emphasis on the informative contents of educational and emancipatory character dedicated to themes such as motherhood, its challenges and advantages, mostly in support of the new socialist reconstruction of the country. These textual examples testify to the building of a new culture of motherhood.⁵⁴ Reproduction

⁵² Chiara Bonfiglioli. 2012. *Becoming citizens: the politics of women’s emancipation in socialist Yugoslavia*. <http://www.citsee.eu> (last accessed on 28.09.2022).

⁵³ Nada Bogdanova, “Donesen e Ustavot na Nardona Republika Makedonija”, Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 4.

⁵⁴ The original source defines it as a ‘culture of parenthood’. In this text, where the main source for analysis was the magazine *Makedonka*, the concept was more suitably identified as ‘culture of motherhood’, bearing in mind the gender exclusion of men in the textual examples from the roles of carers and educators of their children.

occupied the central place in the process of 'reconstruction and building' of the country where women were expected to participate and demonstrate their solidarity. If we approach childhood as a notion that is socially constructed (Hays 1986) and from which the norms of appropriate motherhood were derived, during this period in Yugoslavia, the idea about care and nurture of children was propagated as never before, mostly by the press. Because it insisted on the assumption that there was a deficit of it, that is to say, that more mother care was needed.

This way of thinking engendered more or less explicit rules about motherhood and developed 'cultural instructions' that formed the identity and the identity patterns of mothers and fathers. Every mother was supposed to be a model of moral virtue. Following these practices, we could conclude that this was the crucial period when the 'culture of parenthood', or more appropriately the 'culture of motherhood' was created in Yugoslavia.⁵⁵ A specific characteristic of this newly developed culture of motherhood was the institutionalized motherhood (Rich 1986), which awarded prizes or punishment. And in the case of *Makedonka*, this institutionalized motherhood most commonly assumed the form of moralizing about the inappropriate and unconscientiously raising of children and sometimes it was a direct condemnation of mothers for the high infant and newborn mortality – which has already been discussed previously in this text.

This culture of motherhood was developed in the so-called period of construction of the socialist society with children as the focus or core of this developing culture. It was expected that the 'new' parents would stop learning from their ancestors and would learn this new culture or so-called reverse socialization,⁵⁶ typical for the phenomenon of 'intensive motherhood'. Hays explains this as a cultural form in which the adults – especially mothers – are

55 Ellie Lee. 2014. Presentation for "Kick Off" 'Parental Cultures and risk management in plural Norway'. Uni Research Rokkansenteret Bergen.

56 Or socialization in reverse.

expected to attend to the needs of the child in a way recommended by experts. In the case of *Makedonka*, those were the articles authored by doctors, or by Russian pedagogues, who elaborated the correct way of raising children with great precision: how to swaddle the baby, how to breastfeed and feed, and most importantly, how to raise children in the socialist spirit. According to Hays, the norms that define motherhood are characterized by three main features: the mother's intensive care and labour around the child, the expectation that the mothers will feel emotionally awarded for this labour and the financial burden.⁵⁷

The intensification of the healthcare policies with the Five-Year Plan for reconstruction introduced a new package of measures aimed at improving the wellbeing of mothers and children. A measure that was aimed at motivating families to increase their productivity and start families with many children was published in Issue no. 56 from April 1950, authored by Aleksandar Hristov.⁵⁸ Regular child benefit was paid to the amount of 500 dinars for every child if the parents had 9 children. In case they had between 6 and 8 children, the child benefit was 350 dinars per child. The out of wedlock children were completely equal to those born in marriage. The provision also envisaged a one-off financial aid for the families with many children and it could be anything between 3.000 and 9.000 dinars. Pregnant women were given products after the fifth month of pregnancy, such as 500 grams of lard, a kilogram of sugar, etc.

The intensity with which new institutions were established and new policies for protection of mothers and children were introduced is fascinating. This social policy encompassed all possible details of the protection of children and new institutions were opened that

⁵⁷ An advertisement for a savings account was published on the back cover of Year 5, no. 59 (October 1949), s. p., saying the following: "Mothers! Provide better future to your child!" (*Majki! Obezbedite mu poarna idnina na vašeto dete!*) and "Children need various props for sport, they need books, clothes, musical instruments and other things. You will provide all this if you open a SAVINGS ACCOUNT at the National Bank right away and regularly invest even the smallest sums in it."

⁵⁸ Aleksandar Hristov, "Zaštita na majkata i deteto vo našeto socijalističko zakonodavstvo", Year 6, no. 65 (April 1950), p. 8-9.

took care of children's diets, that is, of the feeding of newborns, and they were called diet milk kitchens. These institutions not only provided baby food prepared by experts, but also functioned as educational centres, where the young mothers could learn how to prepare good quality food for their children.⁵⁹

Another specific institution founded together with the diet milk kitchens was the warehouse that lent material for new mothers and their children and provided diapers, undershirts, coveralls (made of first class material, of course) and hygiene products, such as baby bath tubs, cots, baby carriages, etc. The warehouse worked on the basis of the principle of borrowing everything necessary for a baby and returning it afterwards. The materials could be used by all (a 'public good'), but the users were warned to take care of them because they were to be used again.

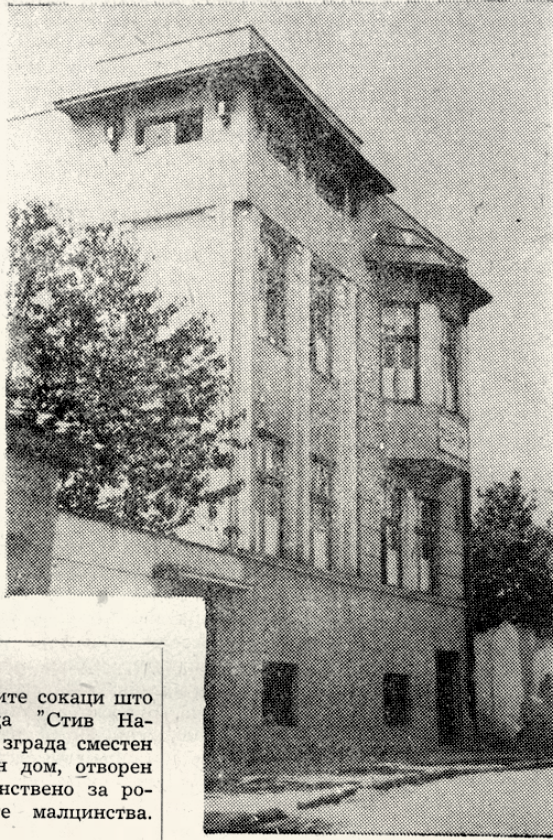
We can see the effect of these measures, or possibilities, that were aimed at preserving the health of mothers, first and foremost, in the provision of conditions for safe and decent childbirth for all pregnant women. The goal of the healthcare and social welfare policies was to reduce or completely stop childbirths at home and the state was to help with that by opening a sufficient number of maternity wards. In order to emphasize the fact that no one was excluded from these policies, *Makedonka* published an article about the opening of the new city maternity hospital, primarily for the mothers from the minorities.⁶⁰ In the article that covered the issue extensively, the chief midwife Milka Petrova shared details about the successes and challenges in the management of one such important institution. The author Kacavolu⁶¹ remarked that "Children have been fed in the nursery, embraced in twos, and they are now asleep. They are equal and different", suggesting that this was a society in which all citizens were equal.

⁵⁹ Mirjam Popadič, "Dve novi ustanovi za zaščita na decata vo Skopje", Year 4, no. 28 (February 1947), p. 16.

⁶⁰ N. Kacavolu, "Tie se radostni, sreknji...", Year 6, no. 67 (June 1950), p. 5, 7.

⁶¹ My guess is that she is a woman because she was allowed entry in the maternity ward, where new mothers did not mind the presence of a female journalist.

Во еден од попречните сокаци што ја сече правата улица "Стив Наумов", во нова, убава зграда сместен е Градаскиот родилен дом, отворен минатата година првенствено за родилки од националните малцинства.



Тие се радостни, среќ'ни...

The message about mothers' wellbeing and health was incorporated in the sports content in the magazine that was supposed to stimulate physical activity as part of the mother's care for her health in order to deliver healthy children:

"Sports are necessary for every woman. The duty of every mother is to take care of her health, and to develop her abilities to deliver healthy children. If we want to have spiritually and physically healthy women, it is necessary for the mothers with female children to teach them from a very early age to engage with

physical activities and sports, instead of forbidding it to them, as it is the case here.”⁶²

Makedonka is indeed a generous source that incorporated many aspects of motherhood that we cannot possibly discuss in their entirety in the given format. This section of the text we would like to conclude with the quotation with which we opened it, published in Issue No. 10-11 from August-September 1945. The gynaecologist Dr Marjanović-Ubavić, the author of the text, delved deeply into the ideological aspect of motherhood, offering a series of examples about mothers as symbols of family and their roles in the society and its reconstruction. The author accentuated the establishment of maternity wards as an “expression of the people’s will – the voice of freedom and democracy (...) The goal of healthcare and social welfare for women that are about to become mothers... that will deliver children... beings, healthy and able to build the new society.”⁶³

⁶² R. Galeva, “Fiskulturata i našata žena”, Year 3, no. 26 (December 1946), p. 5.

⁶³ Dr. Marjanović-Ubavić, “Značenje i cel na rodilniot dom i sovetujališteto za ženi”, Year 2, no. 10-11 (August-September 1945), p. 19.

Conclusion

The magazine *Makedonka* reveals a lot about the social and political context in which the ‘new socialist woman developed’. The themes dedicated to healthcare and social welfare, present in almost all issues of the magazine, offer us a good reading about the healthcare policies of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia from a gender point of view and reveal details about women’s active participation in the public life as they were implementing the goals and tasks of WAF. The healthcare policies significantly improved women’s health and wellbeing in this decade when Macedonia published its first printed media for women. Using the magazine *Makedonka* as the chief source for the activities of the Women’s Antifascist Front with regards to emancipation and healthcare, this text supports the thesis that the political awakening of women and their acquisition of rights contributed towards the improvement of the public wellbeing and public health.

And yet, the inequality between the sexes was not recognized as a problem that was to be addressed separately in the future. The ideas about feminism and “women’s feminist movement that seeks solution to the women’s question within the bourgeois system” were rejected and the ‘path of the revolutionary struggle against the class system’ was seen as the solution for the equality of women.⁶⁴ The agenda of WAF was always realized through improvements in the reproductive healthcare policies and the policies concerned with the workers’ rights and working conditions. This approach disabled women’s progress to key political and social positions, especially in the decade after the dissolution of WAF in 1953. Nonetheless, although the actual situation was far from the desired gender equality, many years after 1946, this political and legal change remained the foundation of the present-day – at least

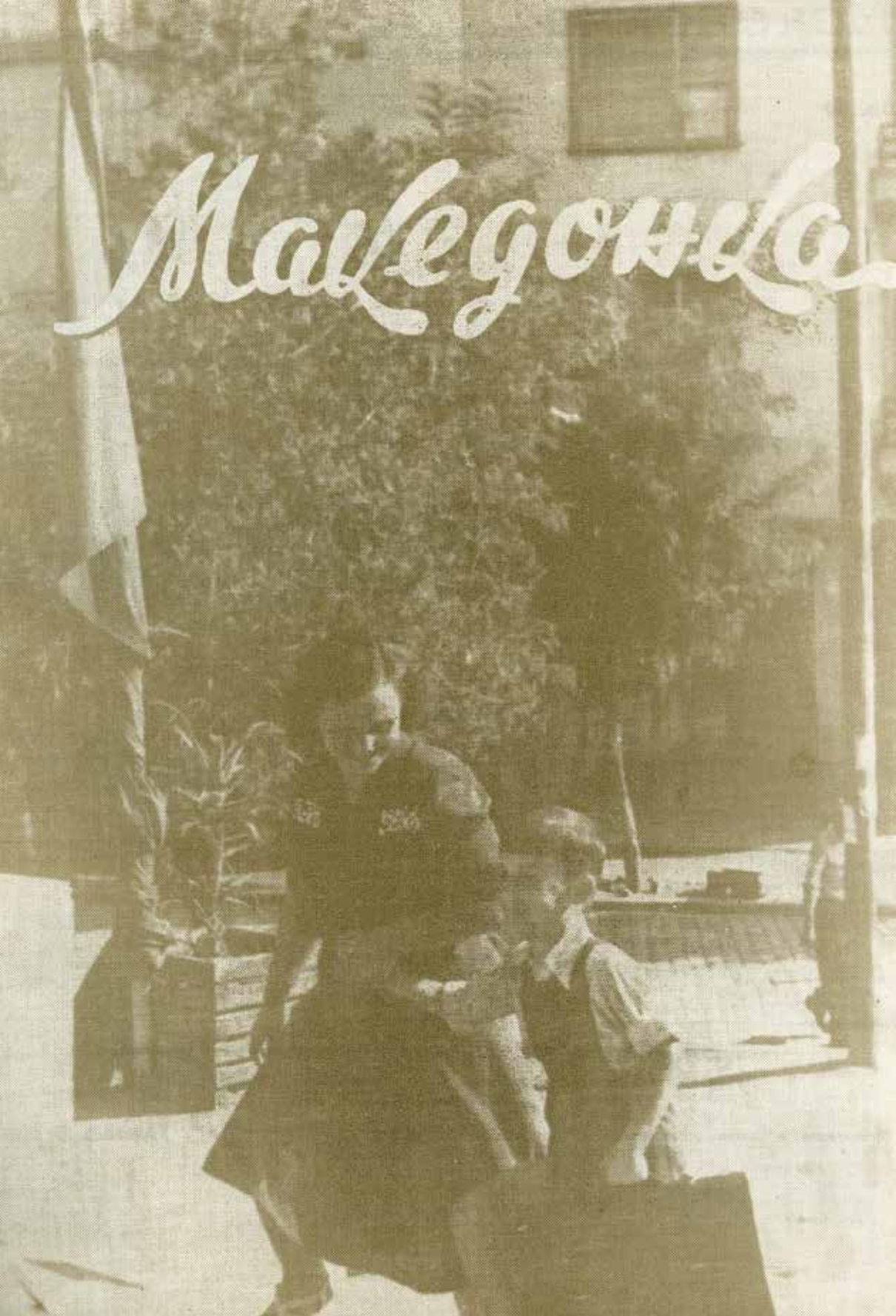
⁶⁴ Nada Bogdanova, “Položbata na ženite vo stara Jugoslavija”, Year 5, no. 51 (1949), p. 6.

declarative, recognition of women's victory, unlike the situation in 'old Yugoslavia', as one of the authors in *Makedonka*, N. Bogdanova, would remark.⁶⁵

The collection format and the limitations of this text as regards its length prevent us from offering a complete and detailed overview of the healthcare, social welfare and nurturing care theme as a socialist policy propagated through the magazine *Makedonka*. This magazine is an interesting and important source for a humanist and social articulation and offers a specific overview in the course of time and within the context of this period in Yugoslavia. This text is an attempt to open this archive and establish an initial communication with this periodical, more specifically with regards to the topics it treated. To stimulate further work, to open questions and other interpretations that this source potentially holds, as well as to consult with other archival sources that would support the findings from this magazine would constitute the future research tasks that this text tends to open.

65 *Ibid.*

Македонка





Darko Leitner-Stojanov

EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES

Literacy and
education in
the magazine
Makedonka
(1944–1952):
Between gender
emancipation
and political
mobilisation

Introduction

“Mother, Tito likes learned people, literate people, so that we can work, but with light in front of our eyes”¹ – says thirty-year-old Borika’s little son during the visit of the team of the magazine *Makedonka* to Štip in the winter of 1947. The sentence reflected the atmosphere of the intimate conversation in Borika’s home, that is, it reflected the journalist’s narrative, as well as the general discourse of the magazine. The formulation of the quoted sentence, attributed to the child, is certainly interesting and several of its elements demand answers: how was the choice of words made, why and in what context was Tito mentioned, to what measure are the used attributes (“learned”/“literate”) identical and interchangeable, what was the “light” used as a metaphor, are these the child’s words or were they put in his mouth by the author of the text? As a whole, the magazine *Makedonka* published a plethora of texts dedicated to literacy and education in postwar socialist Macedonia. In actual fact, until 1952, when the magazine was discontinued, almost every issue had published at least a few texts engaging with the aforementioned topic, directly or indirectly.

1 Ksenija Gavriš, “Bev neuka žena, no se trudev i sega sum pismena. Ke uçam i ponatamu, a i na drugite ke im pomognam”, veli Borika Manaskova od Štip”, Year 4, no. 28 (February 1947), p. 5-6.

In this case, we use the term *education* when referring to the texts in *Makedonka* that were dedicated to the process of organising literacy courses for adults, to the teaching process in the schools, to the political decisions and activities in the field of education, as well as referring to texts that reported the practical experiences of WAF's work on the ground and to popular science texts and published open calls for enrolment in high schools, etc. And among them, we have distinguished three major types in accordance with their function: a. (provisionally) programmatic, b. reporting, and c. suggestive-motivational. The texts of the first type were most commonly lengthy and communicated the political directives for action of the high party echelons or the state authorities. They often included quotations from speeches of the political elite, most commonly written by the leaders of the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia and were published on the first page. The second type of texts were either short or long articles that covered various educational events in Macedonia (and sometimes in Yugoslavia) that often informed about WAF activists' practical experience during their work on the ground or covered quantitative and qualitative data about the current educational processes. The third type of texts often shared personal stories brimming with emotions, as well as with a large measure of suggestiveness so that it is sometimes unclear to what extent the editors intervened. In addition to these, other types of texts were also published and the textual content was often accompanied with visuals, that is, with photographs from educational events.

As was the case with all other texts, the articles dedicated to education were often written by the WAF activists, including the organisation leaders, and often other people from the Communist Party of Macedonia. The most regular contributors and authors were Nada Ačkovska, Lenče Arsova, Desa Miljovska, Vera Nikolova, Vaska Duganova, Kevser Šukri, Kiro Hadjivasilev and Liljana Čalovska.

Makedonka was published during a very specific period in the history of Macedonia. It emerged at the end of World War Two and was published for several years after the war in a post-conflict society during its reconstruction and radical transformation. This was the time when the Macedonian alphabet was codified, when the first newspapers in Macedonian were published, when education was organised in Macedonian and when many educational and academic institutions were established, forming the foundations of the contemporary Macedonian culture and statehood.

Through content and discourse analysis in correlation with the historical context, this text aims to give answers to two questions: a. How did *Makedonka* inform about the educational processes in Macedonia? and b. How did *Makedonka* contribute to their development? Our approach was dual: we researched *Makedonka* as an observer of the social processes on one hand, and as an active participant in them on the other. Beyond these two broadly defined questions is the discussion about a more concrete dilemma – what is the relationship between the educational and political, that is, between the concept of emancipation and the concept of mobilisation?

1. *Makedonka* reports and informs about the educational events and processes

The educational narrative on the pages of *Makedonka* was closely related to several key notions, among which we would like to emphasise *emancipation* and *freedom*. This is corroborated by the first sentence in the first issue of the magazine: “Macedonian women, just as the women of all other nationalities of Yugoslavia, are today full and equal citizens in our country, the democratic and federal Yugoslavia. This means that women have the right to equal participation in the overall economic, social and cultural life of the

state.”² The idea about women’s emancipation in Macedonia, clearly expressed here, remained the leading discourse of the magazine until its end. And, as we shall see, the editorial board of *Makedonka* regularly pointed out that gender emancipation, with all its aspects (political, economic, social, cultural, etc.) was directly dependent on education, that is to say, on the improvement of literacy and education of women, hence the central place that education occupied in the magazine.

Events and processes

From the very start, the editorial board of *Makedonka* made significant efforts to keep its growing readership abreast with the educational processes in the country through regular coverage of decision-making, events, courses, advertised competitions and experiences. At the same time, it offered popular science rubrics, rubrics with housekeeping and everyday advice (about this see Kocevskaja in this collection).

As early as November 1944, the first issue of the magazine informed about the teaching process in the schools, that is, about the beginning of the new school year in Macedonia. In a long text, with little news, but with many explanations of the goals and character of the new ‘people’s’ school, N. Ačkoska³

2 Veselinka Malinska, “Našiot pat”, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), pp. 1-3.

3 Nada P. Ačkoska (born in 1913 in Prilep), she was a student in Belgrade before the war and worked in an educational group in Bitola during the war, where, following the directives of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia she formed groups of followers and provided logistic support for the resistance. In 1944, she joined the 7th Macedonian Brigade and was part of it until October the same year,



informed the readership that in the liberated areas (Kruševo, Veles, Prilep, Kavadarci and other regions), new schools started working and that they needed logistic and material aid.⁴ Several months later, the same author wrote a long text about the end of the school year, in which she summed up the results as follows:

“Our young people, organized in their own antifascist organization, demanded more truth and justness at school during the period of slavery and are now making their utmost efforts to make up for what they have lost, to expand and deepen their knowledge, and trying at the same time to help the state and the people’s school in their educational work. These young people have readily responded to the public calls for work actions and have completed all the tasks they were given with great love. They have done their part in the reconstruction of the country by dedicating working days to forestation, clearing of railways, filling ditches and cultural and educational work. The results of their cultural and educational work are the various performances and vocal concerts, as well as wall newspapers, conferences and many lectures given in front of the army.”⁵

On the other hand, the author indicated some problems and challenges – material problems (insufficient course books, teachers, buildings, equipment, etc.), but also problems of a different nature. The authorities came to the conclusion that some youths failed to understand the purpose of the freedom and the new schools and had become an obstacle in the teaching process, creating distrust between the students and teachers in the sense that they disrespected their teachers, undermined their authority, and they were also undisciplined and truant. There were also teachers that failed to adjust to their students.⁶ These observations were followed by instructions on how to

when she joined the Headquarters in the village of Gorno Vranovci as a member of the Initiative Committee of the Women’s Antifascist Front of Macedonia and the magazine *Makedonka*. After the war she was briefly the headmistress of the ‘Josip Bros Tito’ high school in Skopje (1945/1946). For more about her life, see Vesković-Vangeli and Jovanović 1976, 986.

4 Nada Ačkoska, “Novata učilišna godina vo slobodna Makedonija”, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 21.

5 Nada Ačkoska, “Prvata učilišna godina vo slobodna Makedonija”, Year 2, no. 8-9 (June-July 1945), pp. 17-18.

6 Ibid.

overcome these problems and develop the teaching process. It should be added that as early as in the first issue of *Makedonka* literacy courses for adults were announced, while in the following issue articles were published that reported about the first organised courses in several Bitola villages and in Kumanovo, and that Skopje made lists of future participants.⁷ The same issue announced forthcoming vocational courses for women, and in the following double issue for January and February 1945 we can read articles reporting about the start of the first vocational courses (in stenography and dactylography in Štip and in Russian in Skopje).⁸ These articles reporting about organised literacy and vocational courses would become a fixture on the pages of *Makedonka* over the years.⁹ Aside from these reports, information was published about especially important events in the cultural and educational life, such as the official proclamation of the Macedonian alphabet on 3 May 1945, the passing of the Law on the establishment of the Skopje University, as well as about the introduction of obligatory

7 *Glavna Konferencija na Antifašističkiot Front na Ženite od Makedonija*, Year 2, no. 2 (December 1944), pp. 9-13. The magazine published the data from the regional reports presented at the WAF conference (held on 14-15 December 1944 in Skopje).

8 (“*”), Year 2, no. 3-4 (January-February 1945), pp. 7 and 17 (“Some illustrations of our women’s activities” [Nekolku slike od aktivnosta na našite ženi]).

9 Literacy courses (preview) – *Makedonka* 3-4/1945, 17 (the Radoviš region); 5-6/1945, 14 (the Resen, Prilep, Bitola, Kavadarci and Debar region) and 15 (Skopje); 7/1945, 5 (Skopje); 10-11/1945, 17 (the Mariovo region); 15-16/1946, 5 (Štip) and 6 (Tetovo); 17-18/1946, 4 (the Kavadarci region), 7 (Berovo) and 9 (the Bitola region); 26/1946, 5 (Skopje); 20/1946, 3 (the Kičevo region) and 4 (Skopje, Kumanovo and the Kruševo region); 25/1946, 6 (the Bitola region); 26/1946, 4 (Kičevo and the Demir Hisar region); 27/1947, 10 (Kumanovo), 11 (Skopje) and 13 (Gostivar, Kičevo, Kratovo); 29/1947, 8-9 (the Strumica and Skopje region, Gostivar, Tetovo, Sveti Nikole, Kozjak); 29/1947, 7 (the Strumica region, Ohrid, Gostivar, Skopje, the Tetovo region, Pehčevo); 35/1947, 12 (Tetovo); 42/1948, 3 (the Bitola region) and 9 (Kičevo); 51/1949, 9 (the Štip, Kavadarci and Gostivar region); 53-54/1949, 9 (Prilep); 62/1950, 8-9 (the Struga, Skopje, Radoviš and Brod region); 63/1950, 9 (the Resen region); 64/1950, 7 (the villages of Babino and Kremenica); 65/1950, 13 (Tetovo and Singelić), and b. Vocational courses (preview) – *Makedonka* 8-9/1945, 11 (courses for radio-telegraphists, telephone operators, trade managers, organized by the Directorate of the State Railways in Skopje); 10-11/1945, 16 (a sewing course in the village of Živojno); 12-13/1945, 16 (sewing courses in Skopje and Prilep); 14/1945, 21 (a kindergarten teachers’ course); 17-18/1946, 4 and 7 (sewing courses in Kavadarci, Prilep and Skopje) and 9 (a midwife course in Skopje); 20/1946, 4 (a sewing course in Tetovo); 23/1946, 15 (sewing courses in Skopje); 28/1947 8-9 (sewing courses in Debar, Tetovo and Skopje); 33-34/1947, 8 (a sewing course in Prilep); 35/1947, 12 (sewing courses in Tetovo); 36-37/1947, 4-5 (a sewing course in Titov Veles); 38/1947, 12 (a course for managers of vocational courses for housewives); 42/1948, 9 (a healthcare course in Kumanovo); 52/1949, 15 (a pedagogical course for mothers); 62/1950, 10 (a vocational course for women in the village of Vevčani); 63/1950, 4 (vocational courses for housewives in the Ohrid region).

seven-year-long primary education, extended to eight years later on.¹⁰ And while brief articles that reported about such educational events can be found as early as the first issue of the magazine, only several months later, (in the issue no. 5-6 from March-April 1945) articles with more detailed coverage of events, courses and school classes visited by the authors were published. They discussed the activities and atmosphere conveying the statements of the participants, and were accompanied with photographs, etc.¹¹ At the same time, a popular science-educational page was introduced, which, under different titles and with short interruptions, would survive throughout the entire life of the magazine, informing about the scientific developments throughout the world.¹² Most of the published texts in this rubric

10 Information published in Blaže Koneski's text (Blaže Koneski, "The first Slavic educators" ["Privite slavjanski prosvetiteli", Year 2, no. 7 (May 1945), p. 4]), emphasizing the importance of the act for the development of the Macedonian education and culture: "Our literature will get an established and definitive Macedonian character. The work of our schools will develop and branch out properly." The decree about Macedonian alphabet passed by the Government of the People's Republic of Macedonia was published on 5 May 1945 in the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*. About the establishment of the university and the reforms in the primary education (the obligatory seven and eight years), see Kata Lahtova, 'Before the people's parliament elections in the People's Republic of Macedonia' ["Pred izborite za narodnoto sobranie i na Narodna Republika Makedonija", Year 6, no. 72 (November, 195), pp. 18-19]; and Blagoj Kondarko, 'The seven-year primary schools were replaced by eight-year primary schools' ["Dosegašnite sedmoletki gi zamenija osmoletkite", Year 6, no. 73 (December 1950), p. 7].

11 The magazine's reporting (preview) – *Makedonka* 5-6/1945, 15 ('At the literacy course in the Second Region' ["Na kursot za nepismeni vo II Reon"]); 8-9/1945, 15 (from the visit of the Turkish vocational school for women); 20/1946, 7 ('They are the first girl students in the technical high school' ["Tie se prvi učenički vo sredno-tehničkoto učilište"]); 24/1946, 8-9 (the Midwife School of Skopje' ["Akušerskoto učilište vo Skopje"]) and 14 ('They build for their children' ["Tie gradat za svoite deca"]) a reportage about the construction of the high school in Kriva Palanka); 32/1947, 7 ('From the life in the school for people's teachers' ["Od životot vo školoto za narodni učiteli"]); 68/1950, 4 ('Ružica Glavinić, research associate'; 74/1951, 10-11 ('Something about them...' ["Nešto i za niv..."], a story about the faculties and their students in Skopje).

12 Popular science-educational rubric (preview) – *Makedonka* 5-6/1945, 27 ('What is the universe?' ["Što e toa vselena?"]); 7/1945, 14-15 ('The sun, the earth, the moon' ["Solnce, zemja i mesečina"]); 8-9/1945, 27-28 ('How did life start on Earth?' ["Kako se pojavil životot na zemjata"]); 10-11/1945, 23-24 ('The origins of Man' ["Poteklo na čovekot"] by M. Plisetsky in sequels, Part 1); 12-13/1945, 23-24 ('The origins of Man' ["Poteklo na čovekot"], Part 2); 14/1945, 20 ('The origins of Man' ["Poteklo na čovekot"], Part 3); 15-16/1946, 14 ('The origins of Man' ["Poteklo na čovekot"], Part 4); 17-18/1946, 27 ('The origins of Man' ["Poteklo na čovekot"], Part 5), 19/1946, 19 ('The origins of Man' ["Poteklo na čovekot"], Part 6); 21-22/1946, 21 ('Science and superstition' ["Nauka i praznoverie"]); 25/1946, 14 ('Typhus' ["Pegaviot tifus"], 'Scarlet fever and diphtheria' ["Šarlah i difterija"]); 26/1946, 13 ('Rain, hail and snow' ["Dožd, grad i sneg"]); 69/1950, 15 ('What is a dream?' ["Što e son?"]); 73/1950, 16 ('What are radio waves?' ["Što se radio branovi?"]); 74/1951, 13-14 (On the invention of railway' ["Za nastanokot

were either copied from Soviet authors and publications or were originals written by Macedonian authors.

Dominant themes

The magazine *Makedonka* informed about these processes and events of a very varied character that we discussed above because they were of great interest for the education processes in postwar Macedonia. They can be arranged into five dominant themes: a. adult literacy (or ‘war against illiteracy’), b. vocational training, c. keeping children in schools, d. developing awareness about the importance of education among parents, and e. care for the young. These leading and essential themes were often presented as part of the broader social context and political developments in the state, both in the Macedonian republic and in the federation. In February 1947, Liljana Čalovska presented to the *Makedonka* readership the new state strategy for reconstruction and development, that is, the Five-Year Plan, and she also elaborated on it in more detail in what manner the activities in the field of education would proceed in the following period. She stressed:

“Simultaneous with the implementation of fundamental measures in our economy for material enrichment of our people, the people’s government has envisaged huge investments (financial) in order to raise the general cultural level of our people. This year is supposed to see the beginning of the construction of the great buildings of our first Macedonian university in Skopje; a series of new schools will also be erected and especially high schools and vocational schools: a teachers’ college and agricultural and crafts vocational schools. Part of this plan is the war against illiteracy and the effort to recruit and educate as many expert cadres from the peoples as possible.”¹³

This new development and the discourse that accompanied it influenced the way in which the magazine *Makedonka* reported

na železnicata”]; 76/1951, 13 (‘On the origins of humans’ [“Kako e postanal čovekot”]); 80/1951, 10-11 (‘How did Man learn to speak?’ [“Kako naučil čovekot da zboruva”]).

13 Liljana Čalovska, “Planskoto stopanstvo i našite zadači”, Year 4, no. 28 (February 1947), p. 1.

about education on its pages, the Five-Year plan becoming a regular explanatory framework.¹⁴

Among the four dominant themes, quantitatively most represented was the adult literacy theme (with the special focus on women's literacy). Although texts dedicated to this topic were published as early as the first issues of the magazine *Makedonka*, they began occupying the prime space among the magazine's titles and slogans in the spring of 1945 with the text 'On overcoming illiteracy among women' ["Za premahnunenje na nepismenosta kaj ženite"] by Nada Ačkoska.¹⁵ From that moment onwards, the titles of the published texts worked as actual calls for action, such as: 'Let us compete in overcoming illiteracy - to all WAF boards in Macedonia ["Da se natprevarueme vo premahnuanjeto na nepismenosta - do site odbori na AFŽ vo Makedonija"] (Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), p. 15); 'This is how one fights illiteracy' ["Taka se bori protiv nepismenosta"] Year 2, no. 10-11 (August-September 1945), p. 17); 'Fighting illiteracy' ["Vo borba protiv nepismenosta"] (Year 2, no. 14 (December 1945), 16); 'For an organized and planned action against illiteracy' ["Za organizovana i planska borba protiv nepismenosta"] (Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), p. 6); 'Let us prepare for the new campaign against illiteracy' ["Da se prigotvime za novata kampanja protiv nepismenosta"] (Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946), 7); 'A week of war against illiteracy' ["Nedela na

14 Tito's speech about the Five-Year Plan was soon to be published and (among else) the stress was on the importance of vocational education, that is, on the creation of qualified professional cadre, needed for the reconstruction of the country (Year 4, no. 30-31 (April-May 1947), p.4). This speech was later followed by Lazar Koliševski's speech about the Law on the Five-Year Plan for development of the People's Republic of Macedonia (Year 4, no. 33-34 (July-August 1947), pp.1-3), in which he said that the Plan envisaged, among else, "... eradication of illiteracy and creation of numerous cadres with lower, middle and higher professional qualifications, as well as a network of scientific and cultural-educational institutions, which will then provide great incentive for the development of our national culture", and he also greatly emphasised the importance of the cultural-educational development, considering it equally significant as industrialization and electrification. Kiro Hadjivasilev's text from 1947 is also illustrative (Kiro Hadjivasilev, "Likvidacija na nepismenosta - edna od najvažnite zadači vo Petogodišniot plan: Vo školskata 1947/48 god. vo Makedonija treba da se opismenat 80.000 lugje i ženi", Year 4, no. 35 (September 1947), pp.3-4).

15 Nada Ačkoska, "Za premahnunenje na nepismenosta kaj ženite", Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), p. 14.

borba protiv nepismenosta“] (Year 3, no. 24 (October 1946), p. 4); ‘True equality demands from us to overcome illiteracy first’ [“Vistinska ravnopravnost - znači predi se premavnuenje na nepismenosta“](Year 3, no. 26 (December 1946), p. 1); ‘Let us continue with the education of the illiterate’ [“Da prodolžime so opismenuenje na nepismenite“] (Year 4, no. 30-31 (April-May 1947), p. 16); ‘WAF organizations forming brigades to help battle illiteracy’ [“Organizaciite na AFŽ formirat brigadi, koi što k’e pomognat za suzbivanje na nepismenosta“] (Year 4, no. 36-37 (October-November 1947), p. 6); ‘Let us fight against producing new illiterates!’ [“Vo borba protiv sozdavanje na novi nepismeni!“] (Year 5, no. 46-47 (August-September 1948), p. 5); ‘Let us boost our efforts against illiteracy’ [“Da e zasilime borbata protiv nepismenosta“] (Ibid. 6).



Within this literacy theme, that is to say, ‘the war against illiteracy’, special attention was paid to the issues of educating rural women and Muslim women since they were the category of population with the highest rate of illiteracy and least accessible, owing to many different factors, such as the patriarchal values and agricultural (work schedule). The magazine laid stress on the efforts to educate

these women and in this direction it covered many instances of field work, as well as personal experiences of women who learned how to read and write and concrete advice about developing more creative and efficient solutions. The text authored by Kevser Šukri stood out in the first issue of the magazine *Makedonka*,¹⁶ in which, through

¹⁶ Kefser Šukri, “Makedonskata muslimanka se razbudue”, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 20.

associations with the ideas of freedom, emancipation and education, it was indicated that a new time had dawned for Muslim women and that they would have opportunities to educate and emancipate themselves so that they could become free and equal citizens. In May 1947, the magazine wrote with admiration about the teacher Umasha Shaban when she volunteered to teach at literacy courses and to get involved in literacy agitation.¹⁷ In her speech in the Officers' Hall in Skopje during the celebrations of 8 March, the village woman Zvezda Nikolova would say the following about the rural context: "Some say that we are stupid, that we do not understand anything. But I would like to ask them: who has taught us anything about how to know and understand? Our eyes have been opened in this struggle."¹⁸

The coverage of the literacy campaign encompassed all WAF's activities on the ground for their entire duration and it reflected the significant changes throughout. After almost two years of intense but improvised activity, in September 1946, the government finally started a planned and organised action against illiteracy. The reform character of this action and its strategies were explained in detail on the pages of *Makedonka* during this period.¹⁹ The magazine would zealously report about this war against illiteracy until the early spring of 1949, when other themes slowly took precedence. After 55 issues of *Makedonka*, in issue no. 56 there were no articles dedicated to education in Macedonia. Several issues after this, education returned on the pages of *Makedonka* in autumn the same year, followed by several other articles after it. This return was nonetheless brief and it is indicative that, despite the calls for action, after June 1950, no other relevant texts dedicated to the war against illiteracy in Macedonia were published.

We have already mentioned that, in addition to the literacy courses, in the years after the liberation, special attention was paid to

¹⁷ *Rakovoditelka na kursot za ženite Muslimanki*, Year 4, no. 30-31 (April-May 1947), p. 16.

¹⁸ *8 mart 1945 godina vo Makedonija*, Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), p. 9.

¹⁹ Galeva, Rada, "Da se prigotvime za novata kampanja protiv nepismenosta", Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946), p. 7; and *Nedelata na borba protiv nepismenosta*, Year 3, no. 24 (October 1946), p. 4.

the vocational courses. The purpose for which these courses were organised in the period during which *Makedonka* was published was, of course, to educate the population for various vocations and improve their plight (with special focus on women), but also to meet the demands for workforce of the post-conflict society and improve the situation with qualified professional cadres. One of the main goals of this campaign was to enable women to join the labour market as soon as possible, and it was supposed to support the economy as much as to support women's emancipation. It is worth mentioning, however, that in the first issues of *Makedonka* the stress was on the necessity to organise medical, communication, driving and sewing courses. As the war for liberation of Macedonia, and then Yugoslavia, was not over, the most urgent activities were related with the practical support for the army. In other words, the leadership insisted on mass engagement of women in the military units to care for the wounded, or in the units for communication and transport, as well as in the workshops that produced clothes, socks and other textile products that the soldiers needed because the greater part of the male population was fighting on the fronts. This urgency is evident in Vaska Duganova's appeal to the young women in Macedonia in November 1944.²⁰ After this initial and short-lived stage, the vocational courses became more varied and related with different professions. They were more and more closely related to the industrialization of the country and to the Five-Year Plan. *Makedonka* occasionally published appeals for women to enrol in dactylography, radiotelegraphy, language and other types of courses. In the autumn 1947, Borka Rajić started her article with a quotation by Stalin - 'Cadres decide everything', and continued by explaining the government plans concerning the development of the necessary professional cadres in the country (courses, schools, boarding schools, scholarships) in order to fulfil the Five-Year Plan and unblock development.²¹ The appeals for vocational education of

20 Vaska Duganova, "Se bliži II-ot Kongres na Antifašističkata mladina na Makedonija", Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 22.

21 Among other things she related the information that the state could not open enough schools because of the shortage of teachers. In addition to this, with regards

women continued into 1948, and in this sense *Makedonka* informed that WAF had a double task to fulfil: a. qualified vocational support for the state, and b. Improvement of the economic status of women.²²

The issue of the necessity to make children stay in education was opened on the pages of *Makedonka* in November 1946 with the text 'Let us make it possible for children to attend school regularly' by Vera Nikolova.²³ It appears that after two years of peace and dedicated efforts to build schools and educate teachers; the government in Macedonia moved on and was now working on stabilising the educational process. The chief goal of this new activity, as emphasised in the magazine on several occasions, was to stop the production of more illiterate citizens, that is, to remove all the obstacles that prevented access to education for everyone, because if the government and mass organisations were engaged only with the literacy courses for adults while new children were born and growing up illiterate, then the process was still a failure and only created a vicious circle. The all-embracing idea was to educate the adult illiterate and at the same time have all school-age children attend school regularly. This was still an issue in the summer of 1948, when M. Ančeva appealed through *Makedonka* to send children to school regularly.²⁴

It was obvious that the key to the solution of this problem was in the hands of parents and for this reason *Makedonka* began publishing more and more texts dedicated to raising the parents' awareness about the importance of the educational process. And the

to the necessary vocational and higher education of women, she emphasized that "It is necessary to eradicate that dominant opinion among women that a little girl does not need more than a few years of primary school before marriage." Borka Rajić, 'Vocational high schools and courses and women's participation in them', ["Sredni stručni učilišta i kursevi i učastieto na ženite vo niv", Year 4, no. 35 (September 1947), p. 7].

22 Slavka Cvetkova, "Pogolemata izgradba koja ne čeka nas vo 1948 godina, bara se novi i novi kadrovi", Year 5, no. 39 (January 1948), p. 8. For more on the necessity of vocational education of women and their economic independence in Yugoslavia, see Dušanka Kovačević (1963, 14-19).

23 Vera Nikolova, "Da im ovozmožime na site deca redovno na odat vo školo", Year, no. 25 (November 1946), p. 5.

24 M. Ančeva, "Vo borba protiv sozdavanje na novi nepismeni!", Year 5, no. 46-47 (August-September 1948), p. 5.

goal of the campaign was not limited only to persuading parents to let children attend school, but was also broadened to include these parents as active factors in the education of their children. Many texts published between 1948 and 1951 advised parents to closely follow the progress and behaviour of their children, to attend the parents' meetings in their children's schools and to make sure that their children completed their homework, etc. Through a personal story, M. Ilieva described her experience when she visited a parents' meeting and the moral of the story that she shared with the readership was that the students' irregular school attendance, bad grades and unsuitable behaviour were to a certain extent caused by their parent's inattention.²⁵ When giving advice to the parents-readers, a text from the autumn of 1949, established a relationship between studying and labour: "What questions with regards to the preparation of your child for school are the most important? Above all, the child should be inculcated with deep respect for labour and for other people, who are also engaged in work, and it is crucial that children see studying as necessary labour."²⁶ Parents were given similar and much more practical advice by the magazine in the years that followed.²⁷

Having in a certain manner aided the laying of the basic foundation of the educational process (literate and engaged parents, children regularly attending school, new schools opened and equipped), in April 1950, *Makedonka* opened the last dominant theme dedicated to education on its pages, and that was childcare. In this case, the earlier years of childhood were addressed, concerning

25 M. Ilieva, "Od eden roditelski sostanok", Year 5, no. 44 (June 1948), pp. 13-14. It should be pointed out that the narration in this story has fictional overtones at places.

26 *Podgotvuvanje na decata vo semejstvoto za stapuvanje vo učilište*, Year 6, no. 59 (October 1949), pp. 15-16.

27 E.g.: *Helping the first grade pupils complete their homework*, [*Pomoš na učenikot od prvo oddelenie vo prigitvuvanjeto na domašnite zadači*, Year 6, no. 60 (November 1949), pp. 15-16]; *The role of the family in children's school skills*, [*Ulogata na semejstvoto vo učenjeto na deteto*, Year 6, no. 61 (December 1949), p. 16]; *I manage my children's studying skills*, [*Rakovodam so učenjeto na decata*, Year 6, no. 63 (1950), p. 16]; *The first year at school*, [*Prva godina na učilište*, Year 6, no. 70-71 (September-October 1950), pp. 14-15]; What should pupil's parents focus on, [*Na što treba da obrnat vnimanie roditelite na školskoto dete*, Year 7, no. 75 (February 1951), p. 7].



pre-school children. That is to say, the focus was now on the care for children that were entering or were about to enter the system of education in order to have them properly raised and prepared for school and their new challenges. In this sense, a text published in April 1950 was of particular importance. The Women's Antifascist Front used its magazine to offer many instructions for work, and explain its own role in the process at the same time.²⁸ In this article 'pre-school children' were divided into two groups: a. children at immediate preschool age (6-7-year-old) and b. children starting school in the first grade. The importance of out of school activities for the development of pre-school children was especially emphasised. Special commissions and neighbourhood activist groups were envisaged to conduct activities on the ground, as well as special work groups within the 'Mother and Child' sections of the WAF boards.²⁹ This theme, however, although relevant and related to the education theme, is somewhat removed from our focus, being much closer to childcare for infants (for more on that, see Kocevka in this collection).

And finally, before we move onto the next chapter, it is worth pointing out that these broad themes, that is, broad fields of action in education and culture, as reported by *Makedonka*, referred not only to the regional Macedonian context, but were also related to the broader Yugoslav political context. Some of the directives for work came from the Yugoslav leadership. Regarding the war against illiteracy, on 14 March 1945, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia issued a directive to all republic committees entitled 'Organizing agitation and propaganda'. It listed the 15 steps in the cultural transformation of the society

²⁸ D. Veljković, "Ulogata na AFŽ vo vospituvanje na podmladokot", Year 6, no. 65 (April 1950), pp. 1-2.

²⁹ Ibid.

and developing socialism in Yugoslavia. The first step was the 'eradication of illiteracy in the shortest time possible and obligatory education for all school-age children to prevent the influx of new illiterate' (Petrović Todosijević 2016, 32). The Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia, as one of the key mass organisations that cooperated with the government and as a publisher of the magazine *Makedonka*, was directly involved in the fulfilment of these political tasks.

2. *Makedonka* as an education mobilizer

Our complete survey of *Makedonka* indicated that, generally speaking, the aim of the magazine was not only to inform and report, but also to mobilise politically, to issue calls for action and to direct and channelize concrete activities (for more on the political aspect of the magazine, see Hadjievaska in this collection). These direct or indirect calls for action were aimed primarily at WAF's activists, but also at other women readers of the magazine. The active aspect of the educational activity of *Makedonka* can be summed up in the following points: a. agitation aimed at the readership and broader public, b. appeals, criticism and motivation of the membership, c. suggestibility through dramatic personal stories, d. calls for the youth to enrol in certain schools and faculties, e. mapping illiteracy. These activities and strategies, including others that we cannot discuss in this paper, were aimed at accelerating and intensifying the actions led by WAF and the authorities and at increasing the number of participants in them.

The word *persuasion* was one of the most common words in the texts published by *Makedonka*. The authors of the texts stressed the necessity of agitation, that is to say, the necessity to persuade

Macedonian women, at all levels, to join the war against illiteracy. Consequently, in the summer of 1945, Lj. Saveljić emphasised the importance of persuasion:

“The work on the cultural and educational advancement of our women should remain one of our basic and primary goals. Women in Macedonia, and especially our women in the villages, are very much backwards. The problem of illiteracy is still a problem. We should continue and reinforce our efforts to organise as many literacy courses as possible. We should strive to reduce the number of illiterate women to zero. We should persuade even older women that they need to learn how to read and write.”³⁰

In the course of several years, messages were sent to the readers of *Makedonka*, whether WAF activists or not, to make utmost efforts to persuade as many neighbours, relatives, other village women, and women in their environment in general, to attend literacy courses. Some of the programmatic texts in the magazine, that is, the texts that offered concrete instructions for action, also included criticism because of the activists' deficient agitation. It often transpired that the majority of the attendees of the literacy courses gradually deserted the course and stayed illiterate, slowing down greatly the progress of the war against illiteracy. In the patriarchal society that still dominated in the region, a certain percentage of women did not believe that education was something crucial in their lives. While many others that aspired to education, were prevented from attending the courses by their husbands or succumbed to the pressure of their environments. Hence, both WAF and *Makedonka* insisted on constant agitation, both via the magazine and on the ground, in order to attract as many women as possible in their war against illiteracy. The importance of intensive agitation was emphasised in particular during the reform of the campaign against illiteracy towards the end of the summer of 1946, when it was insisted on a more organised and better planned

³⁰ Lj. Saveljić, “Prvot kongres na Antifašističkiot front na ženite od Jugoslavija”, Year 2, no. 8-9 (June-July 1945), p. 6.

action.³¹ At the end of the first school term, in December the same year, the inconsistent agitation was seriously criticised and greater efforts in that direction were advised.³² Two specific pieces of concrete advice were offered to the activists-readers that were supposed to improve their agitating skills in the following year: a. to address individual women and to persuade them to attend courses (special attention was to be paid to their illiterate close relatives and neighbours and to have them enrol first and serve as an example), and b. to find women that wished to attend but were prevented, in order to help them.³³ In this sense, as early as January, Vera Aceva announced the transition into the Five-Year Plan and in the context of the necessity of agitation, she stressed that “Our women will use all their spare time to persuade and educate their illiterate neighbours, relatives and friends, because if we fail to eradicate this evil, we cannot even think about any further cultural and other improvement of our people.”³⁴ The same message was reiterated in a text authored by Blaga Demnieva and published in the same issue.³⁵ Similar messages we detected in a text written by Kiro Hadjivasilev from September 1947,³⁶ as well as in articles published throughout 1948.³⁷

Aside from these calls for intensified agitation, the magazine often published appeals and tried to motivate the membership

³¹ See, Rada Galeva: “Da se prigotovime za novata kampanja protiv nepismenosta”, Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946), p. 7.

³² *Vistinska ravnopravnost - znači predi se premavnuenje na nepismenosta*, Year 3, no. 26 (December 1946), p. 1.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Vera Aceva, “Našata žena ke stori se da 1947 godina bidi godina, na pogolemi postizenija vo izgradbata na našata zemja”, Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 6.

³⁵ “That is why it is not enough to say that a literacy course will start and that it should be attended. The illiterate should be persuaded that they will profit from being literate. It is necessary for the activists to engage in persistent persuasion and to insist on attending at any cost”. Blaga Demnieva, “Pred osmomartovskoto natprevaruenje”, Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 7.

³⁶ Kiro Hadjivasilev, “Likvidacija na nepismenosta - edna od najvažnite zadači vo Petogodišniot plan: Vo školskata 1947/48 god. vo Makedonija treba da se opismenat 80.000 lugje i ženi”, Year 4, no. 35 (September 1947), pp. 3-4.

³⁷ Mojsova, Lj., “Dosegašnite propusti na organizacijata na AFŽ vo analfabet-skata kampanja”, Year 5, no. 39 (January 1948), p. 2.

and its readership via speeches and articles. For instance, it often published appeals that demanded from their readers to support the government and the mass organisations' campaigns against illiteracy. The following words written by Kiro Hadjivasilev reflect the urgency of these appeals: "There is no time to lose, an urgent mobilisation against illiteracy is needed, both among women and minorities."³⁸ In the following double issue, Nada Ačkoska appealed to the readers to help in the creation of village libraries and suggested four concrete measures in the attainment of that goal: a. organisation of actions for collecting, b. collecting donations by organising performances, c. patronage for specific village libraries, d. searching for future subscribers.³⁹ Referring to the rural aspect as well, Vera Nikolova tried to incite the readers to be more active in the villages during the summer and offered instructions how to organise educational activities at the time of intensified summer agricultural labour (for instance, she suggested that the activists should advise village women to use their lunch breaks at noon to revise the covered material or to practise reading, and if a peasant woman was literate enough, to urge her to help and teach the others).⁴⁰ In March 1947, *Makedonka* published the Declaration of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia and appealed to women in general: "Intensify you battle against illiteracy and do not allow a single attendee of the literacy courses to remain illiterate or semi-literate."⁴¹ Several months later the appeal of Desa Miljovska and WAF addressed to young people was published: "Help your mothers and sisters even more to get literate. Let there be no literate young man or a woman that will not help teach his or her mother or sister how to read or write!"⁴²

³⁸ Kiro Hadjivasilev, "Za organizovana i planska borba protiv nepismenosta", Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), p. 6.

³⁹ Nada Ačkoska, "Za pomokj na selskite biblioteki", Year 3, no. 17-18 (March-April 1946), p. 8.

⁴⁰ Vera Nikolova, "Kako da ja sprovedeme prosvetnata rabota na seloto prez letoto", Year 3, no. 21-22 (June-July 1946), p. 16.

⁴¹ *Proglas na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ na Makedonija po povod izborite za narodni odbori*, Year 4, no. 29 (March 1947), p. 1.

⁴² Desa Miljovska, "III-iot kongres na Narodnata mladina na Makedonija: Raboten dogovor na našata mladina", Year 4, no. 33-34 (July-August 1947), p. 9.

Unlike these direct calls to action, often accompanied with instructions for work, many of *Makedonka*'s texts worked indirectly, influencing the readership with the emotional and suggestive character of their narrations.⁴³ Such were the many texts by *Makedonka* contributing reporters covering specific locations or persons. The strength of these texts will be lost if we try to give the readers their summary, but we would like to emphasise a few examples nonetheless. The following excerpt, about the efforts the teacher Milica Stojanova from the village of Rakotinci (the Skopje region) made to teach the women from the village to read and write, with a special emphasis on the case of Granny Kalina in the winter of 1947, can help the readers get a certain impression:

“One day, the teacher Milica approached Granny Kalina’s house. Fifty-year-old Kalina met her at the door. She was still a strong and ruddy peasant woman. With a smile on her face she led the teacher into the house and asked her to have a seat. Her grandchildren gathered around her. Granny Kalina started talking about her grandson and how glad she was when he recited a poem at an event.

“We are so happy”, she said, “that the child goes to school and that he won’t be like me... You know well, Mica, how many times I have come to you to read me the letters by my soldier son. It is hard, but there... nobody taught me, I grew old, unable to read... If I were literate, I would write to him myself, but when I can’t...”

“Well, Granny,” Mica replied, “that is why I’ve come here, to call you and all other women to come and learn.”⁴⁴

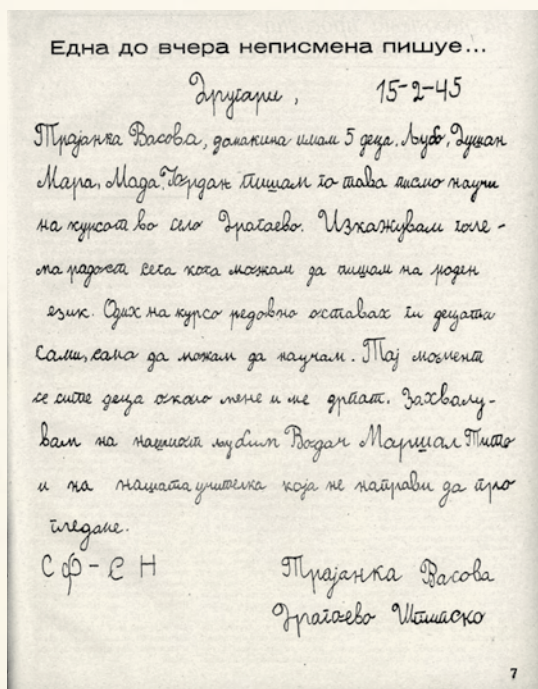
The example of Borika from Štip is similar (she was mentioned in the introduction to this text) or the example of Fatime Maaludi, a young woman from Tetovo, who was awarded with diplomas for her success in teaching Albanian women from the city to read and write.⁴⁵ The letter written by Trajanka Vasova from the village

43 For similar narrative strategies based on suggestibility that emphasise the personal engagement of some women in the war against illiteracy and cultural advancement of women in Vojvodina, see Gordana Stojaković (Stojaković 2012, 70)

44 *Sakam i jas da znajam da pišum*, Year 6, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 10.

45 Nevena Teohareva, “Šiptarkite se aktiviziraat”, Year 6, no. 52 (February 1949),

of Dragoevo (the Štip region) who had just learnt to write is very interesting. It was reproduced in the magazine in handwriting, like a copy of the original. In the letter, she said that she had to leave her children alone in order to learn how to read and write at the literacy course, but she stressed that it had been worth it and that she was very proud to be able to read and write in her mother tongue. She finished the letter by thanking Tito and her teacher and with the slogan Death to fascism – freedom to the people.



These are texts that were supposed to touch the readership on a personal level and motivate the readers-activists – *Be like Milica! Be like Fatime!*, that is to say, to suggest to the illiterate – *Be like Granny Kalina!* Unlike these texts, the articles covering the visits to the vocational schools tried to capture the enthusiasm about the new possibilities for a career offered by

education and at the same time they emphasise the important role given to young girls and women who had decided to participate in the future building of the country. In June 1946, a text was published describing a visit to the technical high school Zdravko Cvetkovski in Skopje, and the girls there were presented as models for the rest: brave, exceptional, proud, hard-working and with a vision.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Slavka Cvetkova, “Tie se prvi učenički vo sredno-tehničkoto učilište”, Year 3, no. 20 (June 1946), p. 7.

Makedonka contributed to the educational policies of the government not only through its coverage of events and persons, but also through appeals addressed at the young to enrol in certain schools and faculties. This was done in two different manners: indirectly (by sharing information about these schools' enrolment competitions and about the scholarships and accommodation that were offered) and directly (by offering advice in which specific school or faculty to enrol by pointing out the advantages that they would bring to the candidates' careers and life in general). In 1946 and 1947, the enrolment competitions of the School for midwives in Skopje were published on several occasions.⁴⁷ In July 1950, a long text tried to persuade young people to enrol in the Faculty of Philosophy and ideology was used as one of the chief arguments:

"In our high schools and vocational high schools our young socialist generation is often entrusted to people that still bear the mark of the old society imprinted on their conscience and they continue using old methods and incorrect interpretations when teaching. This is particularly true about the humanities and the national subjects such as history, literature and language. What causes this phenomenon is most commonly ignorance. These teachers have insufficient knowledge about these aspects of our nation's life, because the material was not studied much in the school systems of the capitalist regimes. Young people leaving high school at the moment need to choose their path in life and they need to know where their efforts will be most needed and where they can be most useful to their fatherland."⁴⁸

At the end of this chapter we would like to refer back to the omnipresent 'war against illiteracy'. In the autumn of 1946, the government and WAF started mapping illiteracy in Macedonia in order to gain a more precise idea about the magnitude of the problem and to find appropriate and creative solutions. This was the moment when the government decided to start a new literacy

⁴⁷ *Makedonka*: Year 3, no. 21-22 (July-August 1946), back page; Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946); Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), back page; Year 4, no. 35 (September 1947), 8.

⁴⁸ Cveta Organdjieva, "Maturanti zapišuvajte se na Filozofskiot fakultet" Year 6, no. 68 (July 1950), p. 9, 12.

campaign that, unlike all the activities to that date, was to have a planned and organized character. In September 1946, *Makedonka* shared the information that a census of illiterates was conducted for the first time in Kavadarci.⁴⁹ In the same issue, Rada Galeva presented the new campaign against illiteracy and explained why it was necessary to conduct a census of the illiterate population in the country.⁵⁰ The Ministry of education was in charge of this significant undertaking through its district and regional offices, in cooperation with mass organisations such as WAF. To secure the success of this operation on the ground, teams of teachers and young people were organised. These teams were to receive practical aid from WAF. The mapping was to highlight the special and sensitive cases that demanded special attention and creative solutions. Such were, for instance, the environments where parents refused to allow their children to attend school, some of the traditional Muslim communities, some of the more traditional Macedonian villages, the workers in the factories, etc. Special types of literacy actions were organized for every different group: agitation among the traditional parents, organizing individual teaching in the homes of Muslim women, agitation and cultural events for the peasants,⁵¹ classes held in the afternoon during the workers' rest hours or during their lunch breaks. Despite these efforts, three or four months into the campaign, critical opinions emerged that claimed that the census was not conducted precisely and consistently and this reflected negatively on the campaign.⁵²

49 *Predizbornata aktivnost na A.F.Ž.*, Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946), p. 4.

50 Rada Galeva, "Da se prigrtovimе za novata kampanja protiv nepismenosta", Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946), p. 7.

51 About the public presentations as an efficient form of approaching the rural population, see L. S., "The first Congress of the Women's Antifascist Front of Yugoslavia", [L. Saveljić, "Prvot kongres na Antifašističkiot front na ženite od Jugoslavija" Year 2, no. 8-9 (June-July 1945), p. 6].

52 *Vistinska ravnopravnost - znači predi se premavnuenje na nepismenosta*, Year 3, no. 26 (December 1946), p. 1.

3. Literacy campaigns: cultural and educational advancement and gender emancipation or a party-political mobilisation?

As we have already observed in the introduction, the term *emancipation*, in its cultural and educational sense, as well as in its gender and national meanings, was one of the most commonly used terms in *Makedonka's* narratives. The relationship between gender emancipation and education was very straightforwardly expressed in the following excerpt:

“Cultural and educational work among women emerged as one of the most important tasks for the WAF boards. We cannot envisage true women’s equality if women do not participate equally in all branches of our political, social and cultural life. Our Constitution guarantees women’s equality, but our women will be unable to avail themselves of that guarantee because of the enormous percentage of illiterate women.”⁵³

Further on, Mira Galiković pointed out that these literacy courses for women and the population in general were only the first step towards the ultimate goal – the cultural advancement of the people.⁵⁴

While she insisted that, according to the Constitution of the Federative People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, women were equal citizens of the Republic, but that the discrepancy between the ideal on paper and the situation on the ground was yet to go away, Kiro Hadjivasilev wrote about the ideal of women’s equality and about the importance of education in its attainment. According to him, the struggle for equality was not over:

⁵³ *Našite zadači*, Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁴ Mira Galiković, “Vo borba protiv nepismenosta”, Year 2, no. 14 (December 1945), p. 16.

“We cannot talk about full equality of women if masses of women do not join the industry and all other economic branches and if by doing so, by joining the economic life, they do not break through and assume their rightful positions in the social, political and cultural life. But in order to achieve this, in order for women to enter the economic life, and especially the higher forms of production, it is necessary for them to attain certain knowledge, certain qualifications. The first step in the improvement of the educational level of women is, of course, the eradication of that dark reality inherited from the past regimes that still works against the people, that enormous per cent of illiterate women, which is a serious obstacle on the path to free development for women, on the road to their social equality. Without a speedy and efficient completion of that basic task, the mass education of our women would be unimaginable.” And then he added that: “But we have to keep it constantly in mind that we must not envisage women in the future with spindles in their hands, or as prisoners of their own homes, but we must see them in the factory or driving a tractor instead, or in schools and hospitals, in all academic and art institutions where they will develop their stifled potentials for the good of their people. This future we must envisage and fight for it at any cost, to make it a reality as soon as possible.”⁵⁵

Makedonka promoted emancipation and cultural and educational advancement on its pages in an open and direct manner. However, we came across many texts in the magazine that correlated these ideas with the party-political. Therefore, we faced the dilemma: to what extent were the literacy campaigns and their treatment by the magazine aimed at the emancipation of the population and to what extent their aim was a party-political mobilisation?

This relationship is certainly evident in the Declaration of the Governing Board of WAF from March 1947: “By attending courses, lectures, and conferences you will advance culturally, politically and professionally, because that is the only way to avail yourselves

⁵⁵ Kiro Hadjivasilev, “Za organizovana i planska borba protiv nepismenosta”, Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February), p. 6.

fully of the equality guaranteed to women. Participate actively in the pre-election conferences and rallies!”⁵⁶ Much more directly, in a text published in the autumn of the same year, the author Davidova claimed, among other things, that once literate, people would be able to discover and denounce the internal enemies of the state much more easily.⁵⁷

In some of the narratives promoted by *Makedonka*, literacy courses and education were associated with the new ‘people’s’ government as something which was the exact opposite of the old ‘anti-people’ government that allegedly did not want educated citizens. The ‘new times’ were often promoted as a result of the just victory of the National Liberation Struggle and in this sense the education idea played a significant role. According to Mira Galiković: “Both young and old, men and women, felt that the partisans brought about a new spirit and new times that made it shameful to be blind, illiterate and ignorant. And just as this strong desire for freedom took hold of the broad masses, so did the desire to learn and know overcome them with unprecedented fervour.”⁵⁸ In a similar vein, Sultana Anastasova believed that the reason behind the difficult situation and illiteracy among women could be traced back to the neglect and oppression under the previous unpopular regimes and to the long tradition of treating women as lesser beings. She stressed that it was the National Liberation Struggle that brought about changes and that the new people’s government strived to push women forward and make them equal.⁵⁹

We should take a step further and point out that, according to many women authors, the educated and culturally advanced

56 *Proglas na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ na Makedonija po povod izborite za narodni odbori*, Year 4, no. 29, (March 1947), p. 1.

57 Davidova, “Organizaciite na AFŽ formiraat brigadi, koi što k’è pomognat za suzbivanje na nepismenosta”, Year 4, no. 36-37 (October-November 1947), p. 6.

58 Mira Galiković, “Vo borba protiv nepismenosta”, Year 2, no. 14 (December 1945), p. 16. The same contrast between the ‘old’ and the ‘new’, as we could see further above (footnote 56), was also made by Kiro Hadjivasilev.

59 Sultana Anastasova, “Za pogolema prosveta na našata selanka”, Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946), p. 8.

woman was not only a good worker and citizen, but also a good socialist. In the text entitled 'The organisations of WAF engaged in the education of women' by Vera Nikolova, it was clearly indicated that the literacy courses and cultural advancement of women had an important party-political dimension. When Nikolova referred to what had been achieved in the previous five years, she concluded that women started participating actively in the political conferences and rallies and that they understood how important the Party was.⁶⁰ In actual fact, many other texts also indicated that women (and children) should be educated so that they could become cognizant builders of socialism.⁶¹ The coverage of Vasa Georgieva Koceva's life in the issue of the magazine from February 1950 is very illustrative of this line of interpretation.⁶² Vasa was a poor woman with five children and a sick husband, but after the war she stirred and awakened (under the influence of the party propaganda and the emancipation idea). Over the course of five years she managed to learn how to read and write at a literacy course, to send all her children to school, to become a WAF activist and a diligent worker. Her efforts were recognized and she was awarded a 'Shock Worker's badge'. The slogan 'A literate worker is a good worker', which was allegedly hung on the wall behind her, is also suggestive. The author of the text described Vasa as an 'eminent participant in the building of socialism in our fatherland.'⁶³ In fact, the shock worker recognition and this description, both with political dimensions, were presented as a pinnacle of Vasa's journey with three major stages: literacy, work and emancipation.

Awards and recognitions aside, women that actively joined the campaigns for reconstruction of the state could sometimes avail

⁶⁰ Vera Nikolova, "Organizacijata na AFŽ vo prosvetuvanjeto na ženite", Year 6, no. 67 (June 1950), pp. 6-7.

⁶¹ *Plenaren sastanok na Glavniot odbor na AFŽ na Makedonija*, Year 6, no. 51 (1949), pp. 1-3, (with the conclusions of the meeting). Similar ideas were published in the issues from Year 5, no. 57 (1949), 6; no. 59 (1949), 7.

⁶² Z. Mihailović, "Pismen работник - dobar работник", Year 7, no. 63 (February 1950), p. 8.

⁶³ Ibid.

themselves of more practical opportunities in the hierarchy of the organisation, or the party, or the bodies of the state. This was the case with some of the WAF activists engaged in field work, either in the literacy campaigns or in the pre-election campaigns.⁶⁴ In the context of the forthcoming elections for the new leaderships of the WAF boards, the first text from April 1948 said that what was needed were hard-working, active and proven women and that: “We know which women work with dedication, either on the literacy courses, or with the reading groups, or in the production, or in the voluntary work actions.”⁶⁵ In the spring of 1949, the magazine wrote about the newly elected committee members as part of the government, among who was Ruhie Veli, a woman who had previously distinguished herself with her work on the literacy courses and reading groups.⁶⁶

The relationships with the hierarchies of the government were reflected in the manner in which the messages were communicated, that is, in the directions for action that were delivered ‘top down’. The first pages were often reserved for the speeches of the party leaders (Tito, Koliševski and many others). The opinions expressed in the speeches of the political leaders were sometimes quoted at length in the texts authored by the editorial board and by the contributing authors of *Makedonka*. They were sometimes repeated in several texts at once in order to lend these instructions greater weight and significance. The example of Vera Aceva’s text from January 1947 is particularly illustrative (‘Our women will do everything to make 1947 a year of even greater achievements in the construction of the country’), whose title, and conclusion, directly reflected Tito’s words from his New Year’s address to the nation *via* the Belgrade radio.⁶⁷

64 About the role of women as agitation tools for election victory, see: Liljana Čalovska, “Za pravilna politička rabota: Naša prva zadaća vo izbornata borba”, Year 2, no. 10-11 (August-September 1945), p. 9.

65 *Aktivno da učestvuvame vo izbiranjeto na novite rakovodstva na AFŽ*, Year 5, no. 42 (April 1948), p. 1.

66 *Pred novite izbori za mesni Narodni odbori: Zaslužni odbornički vo narodnata vlast*, Year 6, no. 53-54 (1949), p. 6.

67 Vera Aceva, “Našata žena ke stori se da 1947 godina bida godina, na pogolemi postiženija vo izgradbata na našata zemja”, Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947), p. 6. In com-

And finally, it is of particular importance to know that the cultural and educational activity of WAF was in a certain way related to the propaganda activities, both in its structure and in its field work. The existence of a propagandist-cultural-educational section as part of the Governing Board of WAF,⁶⁸ that is, of a body that at the same time engaged in party-political propaganda and in educational work, speaks volumes about the oneness of these two activities (Petrović Todosijević 2016, 36-37).⁶⁹ The situation was rather similar with the state and party bodies. To a certain extent, this was a reflection of the grouping of education and propaganda within the top structures of the Yugoslav leadership. Immediately after the war, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia charged its Committee for Schools, but also the Department for agitation and propaganda, to deal with the issues of the educational process. Unlike the Committee, which often had to deal with day to day practical problems, the Department for agitation and propaganda was in charge of the educational policy (considered part of the cultural policy), with a special focus on the ideological education.

Although the interlinking of the concepts of emancipation, education and political mobilisation is indeed complicated and demands a multi-layered research of the magazine *Makedonka*, and of WAF and the Communist Party of Macedonia, as well as of the policies of socialist Yugoslavia, this last point reveals the ideological background of the Yugoslav educational policies as one of the possible directions in which to search for the answer. In the postwar period, the educational policies in socialist Yugoslavia were part of the cultural policies. And it is necessary to emphasise that, according to some researchers, during that period, and in that

parison, on page 3, Tito was quoted: "Let 1947 be a year of even greater victories in the building of the country."

⁶⁸ *Od seminarot so rakovoditelkite na propagandno-kulturno-prosvetnite sekcii*, Year 5, no. 48 (1948), p. 10.

⁶⁹ This was to change after 1952. And bearing in mind that *Makedonka* was discontinued in the same year, we could not follow any possible changes in the narrative on the pages of the magazine.

context, the term *cultural policy* had two meanings: a. a state policy concerned with the development of culture, and b. a fundamental transformation of the society in the direction of communism through a process of mass education of the population, and especially peasants (an idea that has its roots in Lenin's concept of 'cultural revolution') (Ibid. 30-31).

Conclusion

The survey of the 83 issues of *Makedonka* has shown that education was one of the dominant themes addressed by the magazine. Although over the course of years and in dependence on the developments on the ground, the focus gradually shifted from one theme to another (from *literacy courses* to *regular school attendance* and *childcare*), education was never neglected. The reasons for that can be located in the priority given to the improvement of literacy and education during the era of construction of the new state after the war and in the support that the government needed from the mass organisations such as WAF in its field work, as well as in the ideas of emancipation/cultural and educational advancement and in the goal to create good socialists. Within the education theme, the improvement of literacy among adults occupied the attention of the magazine the most. In a country with insufficient professional cadres and with almost 75% illiterate population at the end of the war, to improve adult literacy was the first and unavoidable step, that is, it was the necessary foundation for all ensuing developmental processes. The discourse of the narratives of the magazine *Makedonka* dedicated to these processes went through several stages, and some partially overlapped – starting with the victorious euphoria and enthusiasm in the period 1944-1945, through criticism in the winter of 1945-1946, to relative hopefulness in the period following the autumn of 1946. The discourse was even accusatory on one occasion, when

women were accused for the failures in the process of eradication of illiteracy among adults – this criticism was limited, however, to a single text, that is to say, to an isolated case, from the autumn of 1949.⁷⁰ From 1950 onwards, education gradually lost priority and its place as a dominant theme on the pages of *Makedonka*. And in that same year, the magazine itself started losing its momentum and was less and less active, just like the organisation that published it, the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia. There ensued a long interruption in its publication (from September 1951 until December 1952) and only one more issue was published after that, the magazine's last. This was a result of the gradual dissolution of the Women's Antifascist Front all over Yugoslavia. According to Gordana Stojaković, in 1950 a political decision was made to suspend WAF, and it took the following two or three years to dissolve this mass organisation (Stojaković 2019, 152).

To understand the correlation between emancipation and political mobilisation, both in the educational campaigns undertaken by WAF and those by the government, as well as in the way they were treated on the pages of *Makedonka*, it is particularly important to focus on the ideological background of the educational policies in postwar socialist Yugoslavia. At the time of the circulation of *Makedonka*, they were largely aimed at building a communist society by uniting education and propaganda.

⁷⁰ This was emphasised in a direct address: "Illiterate comrades, you should know that a country with many illiterate people develops slowly and remains backward. Do not let yourselves be, inadvertently and owing to your illiteracy, an obstacle to its progress. You should also be aware that an illiterate mother is unable to raise her child properly." *Before the beginning of "The week of battle against illiteracy"* [*Pred otpočnuvanje-to na „Nedelata za borba protiv nepismenosta*, Year 6, no. 59 (1949), p. 7].



Mallegowela





Manja Velichkovska

LITERARY ASPECTS

The narrative
strategies in
the creation
of female
characters in
the literary
contributions
to the magazine
Makedonka
– Organ of
the Women's
Antifascist
Front of
Macedonia
(1944–1952)

Introduction

The aim of this research is to analyse the intertextual, subversive, but also propagandist narratives in the literary contributions published in the magazine *Makedonka - Organ of the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia* (1944-1952). The text explores the relationship between literature and politics and interprets the literary texts as polyvalent systems that establish interactions with the social power relations, maintained by culture and art. For this purpose, in our analysis we applied a critical discursive method whose lens allowed us to perceive the texts as part of the ideological and social practices. According to this critical method, language and power are fully related, which implies that the literary discourses can be interpreted as a constituent part of the creation and maintaining of political circumstances. It enabled us to explore the relations of causality between the representation of women and the various hegemonies, dominations, inequalities, traditions, customs and superstitions.

The literary texts published in *Makedonka* analysed in this text are engaged, subversive, informative/educational, emancipatory, but also propagandist. The profile of the magazine directly reflected: (1) the patriotic values that supported the people's resistance during World War Two and in its aftermath (1944-1946), (2) the ideological position of affirming Yugoslav socialism (1947-1951), and (3) the dilution of the women's

question at the time of reorganization and dissolution of WAF of Yugoslavia (1952-1953). The subversive character of the publication was in a particularly conflictual position in the periods close to the celebration of important dates (such as the International Women's Day – 8 March, The Day of the Uprising of the Macedonian people – 11 October, Tito's birthday – 7 May, The Day of the Victory against Fascism – 9 May, etc.) or after the passing of some important bills and introduction of the expected changes in the legislation by the People's Government (such as the Law on marriage or the Law on the removal of the veil), when the magazine's propagandist role came to the fore.

In the research process, all the published issues of the magazine were taken into account, as well as the context in which they were published; while for the purposes of this text 134 literary contributions were submitted to special analysis. Out of them, 76 are prose texts, 53 are forms of poetry, and 5 are in the epistolary format, that is to say, they are a series of letters and diaries. 19.1% of the texts were written by women, 71.9% were written by men, and 9% were folk creations without a known author. Some of the authors (both male and female) were published more than once, while some of the contributions were collages of selected poetry, and because of this, the number of authors exceeds the number of literary contributions. Many of the texts were excerpted from novels, or other magazines that were published simultaneously in the Soviet Union, or were translated from other women's magazines in Yugoslavia. Some of them (cited more than once) were: *Žena danas* – Organ of WAF of Yugoslavia, *Naša žena* – Organ of the Governing Board of WAF of Slovenia, *Zora* – Organ of the Governing board of WAF of Serbia, *Žena u borbi* – Organ of the Governing Board of WAF of Croatia, *Naša Žena* – Organ of the Governing Board of WAF of Montenegro, *Ukus* – the fashion magazine of the Central Committee of WAF of Yugoslavia, *Naša moda* – a publication of *Vjesnik* – organ of the People's Front of Croatia, *Moda* – a publication of the Governing Board of WAF of Slovenia, etc.

In addition to the potentials for international connection and geopolitical impact through literature, the existence of *Makedonka* was of enormous importance for the development of the young and modest Macedonian literary scene at the time. Many of the new literary contributions were published for the first time in the magazine, where the authors were given space for their debuts. Some authors even changed the style of their writing as the publication of the magazine progressed. Nevena Teoharova, who was a regular contributor, gained more courage as she continued writing and moved from writing articles that reported various events and portrayed various people onto writing short stories.

This research text is divided into two main chapters, the first being dedicated to the female characters in different 'arenas' of armed struggle, while the second analyses the female characters through their opposition to different hegemonies.

1. The female characters in different arenas of armed struggle

This first chapter is dedicated to the presence of female characters on different fronts of the military struggle, such as: the pre-journeying grounds for dialogical confrontations, (2) the heterotopic spaces of blockade, occupation, ambush and isolation, (3) the frontal districts of the battlefields of war, and (4) the treasuries of the people and people's memory. In the literary contributions that problematized the departure to war, as well as the course and consequences of wars, women were mostly playing the roles of mothers, wives, and sometime fighters on the front.

1.1. Pre-journeying grounds for dialogical confrontations

In the literary contributions whose focal point are the fighters leaving home and going to war, the female characters are always given the roles of mothers that have to see their sons off on a journey to join the National Liberation Struggle. In the analysed texts the mother-son relationship is depicted in several stages, the farewell, the waiting and the welcoming of the fighter's arrival from the war, as well as the reconciliation with his death. The female characters in the role of mothers in this context are characterized as resilient, fearless, self-sacrificing and revengeful.

Many of the researched materials include a special farewell scene with the characters of the mother and the son and taking place on the doorstep of the home. Without exception it involves a dialogue of mutual persuasion. This argumentative confrontation is part of the commonly used pattern in the development of the stories describing departures of fighters and in it the son is always the 'stronger' collocutor in the end. This narrative matrix is typical for the texts from the Antiquity, in which the physical confrontation is often preceded by a dialogue before the fight. As it is inherent to the propagandist role of the magazine, the dialogue has its purpose: to persuade the readers that the choice to leave and join the struggle is the only correct solution that transcends all other personal affects and emotions, and when the decision is reached it should incite a feeling of elation.

This is most easily detectable in the poetry published in the magazine, on several occasions. In the first half of the poems, the mother mourns and lists a series of bad experiences, legends, superstitions and dangers, achieving gradation in her hyperbolization of the danger that is supposed to dissuade her son and prevent him from leaving. In the second half, the son replies with a negation, refuting all her arguments. He explains his expedition to her as an (inter)generational debt for the national

liberation, and the mother is mildly enlightened. Then she sends him away from home herself with a pledge to fulfil the bequeathed duties and outshine the successes of his ancestors and predecessors in the struggle against the fascist enemy. Lastly, when the son finally leaves home, the last image in the poem is the mother that allows herself to be vulnerable again, endlessly waiting for her son's return. This model of seeing off fighters is well illustrated in the poem 'Majka Ugra' [Mother Ugra] from the epic poem 'Partisans (Part 1)' by Venko Markovski:

Fearful Ugra threw herself and hung off his neck,
she held her heart back, pressed it quick and hard,
heavy lumps choked her in her throat
but she raised her head and said to him: - Go!
God be with you, son, to help you outshine
your father, be better than him in battle,
his head you carry on your back,
save and deliver your fatherland. -
The door creaked, Ugra clenched her teeth,
looking at her son as though through the dark mist,
the door slammed and sorrow took hold of Ugra,
and in the empty house the mother cried aloud."

[Venko Markovski, 'Majka Ugra: *Prtizani (1 del)*,
Year 1, no. 1 (December 1944), p. 23]

In certain cases, like in the poem 'Na kinisuenje' [While leave-taking] by Kole Nedelkovski, the voice of the mother is not heard, that is, only the son's speech is given, responding to her presupposed reasoning and worries:

Look, mother, look at me,
oh, look around and listen,
the birds have stopped
singing this cheerful spring:
(...)

And I will grab the gun, mother
and wave it above the village.
I will deliver you dear mother
from that bloody slavery.”

[Kole Nedelkovski, 'Na kinisuenje, Year 2,
no. 8-9 (June-July 1945) p. 12]

There are examples where the son is still young and unaware of the war and the character of the mother has to adopt her educational role, emancipating her children with regards to the meaning of war. This is the case with the poem 'Ropstvo' [Slavery] by Kole Nedelkovski and the fragment 'Giants and a snowflake' from the poem 'Egejska barutna bajka' [Aegean gunpowder fairy-tale] by Slavko Janevski. In both of these cases the mother assumes a protective role and raises the child to be a fighter and to continue the traditional duty bequeathed through generations:

“It is not a burning fire, dear son,
nor it is burning snakes screaming ,
nor it is thunders and lightning flashing,
nor it is the cursed earth quaking,

but it is even worse, dear son,
worse than either fire or water,
it is the famished tyrant, my dear,
scorching our cursed black soil”

[Kole Nedelkovski, 'Ropstv', Year 2,
no. 8-9 (June-July 1945), p. 12]

“In spring –
hear me...
Can you hear?...
Your son will be born in this world...
Tears of sorrow choke me inside
Tears... But I am not crying, no.

I have to stay strong,
breastfeed my son in the woods,
to raise the gun high up in his hand –
the one left to him by you.”

[Slavko Janevski, 'Djinovi i snegulka: fragment od poemata Egejskata barutna bajka', Year 6, no. 64 (March 1950), p. 14]

In his short story 'Surovoto srce' [The Cruel Heart] Branko Ćopić relates a pre-departure dialogue between the mother and her son Nikola, but with a different dynamics and tone than the other examples. The farewell dialogue does not accomplish the necessary confrontation between the two characters, but the literary structure of the story enforces the need for a dialogical confrontation that consists of two elements: a clash and (dis)agreement. The character of the mother does not dare look her son in the eyes in order to keep her composure, while the son does not let himself be vulnerable and become all emotional in the face of his mother's love and just blurts out curt and dry replies to her questions. This is 'resolved further on in the story when the mother embarks on a quest for her son's partisan unit to take him some food. This literary intervention to get the two characters meet again is palpably staged so that the unrealized conflict can transpire. The narrative strategy that testifies to the female resoluteness becomes transparent at the moment when the mother says that she has found her son following the rumble of his machine gun and the second encounter then unfolds with great speed. The mother shares the food she has brought with her son and with the other fighters, but is scolded by Nikola for taking such great risks only to see him. Immediately after this conversation, the plot accelerates and the unit is directly threatened by enemy fire and the mother has to depart and go home. The story ends only after it fulfils all the elements necessary for confrontation, even at the cost of the mother's life.

“At the steep edge above the road, which at that point descended and curved towards the village, stood Nidza’s mother. She trembled barely noticeably, not hearing the bullets that sang high over her head, holding the wet hazel twig and following the two dark figures with tearful eyes. One larger, the other smaller, the figures moved quickly along the distant snow-covered slope, and she shouted at them, her voice weak, although they could not hear her from there: - Hurry, Nidzo, hurry, my apple! Here I am, I escaped unscathed! Don’t worry about me, don’t you worry, my dove!...” [Branko Ćopić, ‘Surovoto srce’, Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947), p. 13]

Lastly, in a great number of short stories we have the character of the mother waiting for her son to come back from his partisan unit. These literary texts are focused on the reintegration of women in the society, that is to say, on their repeated adaptation to the new political situation. The authors achieve this in the narrative by postponing the fighters’ return, thus creating the phenomenon of the perpetual ‘Beckettian’ waiting. The mother in these examples is strategically activated because of the feeling of anxiety caused by her not knowing anything about the situation, which then forces her to reconnect with the community and its institutions. In the short story ‘Mother Sauvage’ by Guy de Maupassant, for instance, the stereotypical character of the mother that is steadfastly waiting for the ‘better times’ is juxtaposed with the character of the ‘new’ awakened woman that takes matters into her own hands:

“The women of the fields laugh but little in any case, that is men’s business. But they themselves have sad and narrowed hearts, leading a melancholy, gloomy life. The peasants imbibe a little noisy merriment at the tavern, but their helpmates always have grave, stern countenances. The muscles of their faces have never learned the motions of laughter.”[Guy de Maupassant, ‘Mother Sauvage’, Year 7, no. 80 (July 1951), p. 13]

In this example, the ‘vegetative’ role of the mother is cancelled with her introduction into the world of information, which then allows her to vent her accumulated anger and hatred towards the enemy. Set in 1871. During the Franco-Prussian War, the narrator

presents the story about Victoire Simon, Mother Sauvage, who lives in a large and isolated house in rural France. At the beginning, four Prussians are billeted upon her and the author falsely guides us to believe that the woman replicates her role of a mother by taking care about other fighters, even about those that fight for the other side. And yet, this line of development of the character is not undertaken in the name of reanimation of women: “They would be seen cleaning the kitchen, rubbing the tiles, splitting wood, peeling potatoes, doing up all the housework like four good sons around their mother. But the old woman thought always of her own son ...” [Guy de Maupassant, ‘Mother Sauvage’, Year 7, no. 80 (July 1951), p. 14]. While the four soldiers were still billeted in her house, Mother Sauvage receives a letter informing her about the death of her son, killed by the Prussians, and she decides to take her revenge. Collecting their names and addresses first, she makes their beds before they go sleep and then sets them on fire together with her house, watching them burn from afar. Then, Mother Sauvage fires a single bullet from her son’s rifle to announce her deed. The character of the mother in this example has the role of a conservator of memory and of an enforcer of revenge. What she failed to communicate to her son, she declares in front of other people, reconnecting herself with her environment.



“That is for the death of Victor. (...) Here are their names, so that you can write home. (...) You must write how it happened, and you must say to their mothers that it was I who did that, Victoire Simone, La Sauvage. Do not forget! [Guy de Maupassant, ‘Mother Sauvage’, Year 7, no. 80 (July 1951), p. 14]

1.2. In the heterotopic spaces of blockade, occupation, ambush and isolation

In the analysis of the literary contributions, the spaces of blockade, occupation, ambush and isolation distinguish themselves as typical heterotopies. According to Michel Foucault, they are defined as cultural, institutional and discursive spaces that are ‘Othered’ and perceived as deviant/strange and transformative worlds inside worlds that reflect the outside world and disturb that what is external to them (Foucault 1967, 6). He cites six principles of creation different heterotopies: of crisis, deviation, juxtaposition of spaces, time, isolation, and through a ritual or purification and illusion. The spaces that can be identified as heterotopic in *Makedonka* are the home, the concentration camps and the forest.

In the examples where we come across blockades or occupation of certain inhabited places, the characters of women are limited in their roles of wives and their territory of their agency is reduced and narrowed. The home where they operate in a time of a blockade transforms into a heterotopy of time, that is to say, it becomes an area “linked with cross-sections of time” (Ibid.). This space starts functioning like a heterotopy when the people in it ‘break up’ with traditional time and start living in a “quasi-eternity, whose permanent fate is dissolution and disappearance” (Ibid.). These spaces have the ability to accumulate immeasurable time, and memory and because of this, they retain, remember and perpetuate war violence. Thus, the female stories often develop in reaction to acts undertaken by their marital spouses, and fall into the cumulative stage of silent tolerance and endurance of the

experiences. After the usual removal of the male characters from the home and their transferal to a situation of danger far away from it, the focus of the texts also transfers onto the precarious status of the woman whose knowledge about the events is limited by physical boundaries. She has insufficient knowledge about the external circumstances, which then automatically defines her as character without a real understanding of the 'true problems'. The depiction of the alienated relationship between the spouses in these heterotopies is aimed at problematizing the necessary reflection and interdependence between the public and the private.

In this sense, the short story 'Blokada' [Blockade] by Jovan Boškovski is one of the rare texts where we come across a male character in the role of a spouse and parent, who transfers the external circumstances to his home. The story is set during World War Two, when the city in which Niko and Cana's family lives is under a blockade imposed by the Germans. Niko's character is marked by his forced transferal to a place where he witnesses violence, which he later tries to forget and 'neutralize' by getting drunk. Returning home under the influence of alcohol, he abuses Cana and becomes the main artery through which the terror of the war nestles in the family. In addition to this, Niko is also depicted as a victim of the system that undergoes a 'crisis of masculinity',¹ because he cannot fulfil the social role expected of him as a chief provider for the family. In fact, the central part of the story is Niko's difficult position, with whom we are expected to empathize, not with the wife on whom he inflicts his violence and abuse. In this sense, the home in the story is seen as an environment that is more disturbing and more problematic than the rest of the world, and not as its reflection and consequence.

"The wine burned inside his chest and that anguish that overran him on the day of the blockade. (...) That heavy nuisance that

1 The term 'crisis of masculinity' was developed in the late nineteen sixties, when it was directly linked with the social idea about the difficult life after the American Civil War (1861-1865). The term was coined by G. M. Fredrickson (1965), James R. McGovern (1966), John Higham (1970) and Gerald Franklin Roberts (1970).

troubled him like an open wound was now eating at him more than ever. It'd been two years since the occupation and it weighed upon his life like lead. The Germans took away his car and his livelihood. He did not want to serve them. And Niko started drinking like there was no tomorrow, he alienated himself, he and Cena and the children grew apart, she was a quiet and obedient woman and she put up with all his slaps in silence... (...) And thus, day by day, Niko deteriorated further, he got completely lost and nothing could bring him back on the right path, or restore his erstwhile calmness in his own home..." [Jovan Boškovski, 'Blokada', Year 4, no. 30-31 (April-May, 1947), p. 20]

Another example of alienation between the spouses caused by the transformation of the home into a heterotopic space can be found in the short story 'Debarmaalkata' [The Woman from Debar Maalo] by Ivan Točko. Just like in 'Blokada', the inability of the husband to support his family financially contributes to the alienation between the character of Cvetan and his wife Rosa, and to his becoming depressed and uncommunicative.

"Occupation... The occupying forces took all the wool and people had nothing to comb. Cvetan could not take even his small wages back home and Rosa could not buy even that small chunk of corn bread that they were used to. She could see how, day by day, life was becoming ever so hard... No sweet words ever escaped Cvetan's mouth. Deep in thoughts, he seemed not to notice her now." [Ivan Točko, 'Debarmaalkata', Year 5, no. 59 (1949), p. 14]

Cvetan's withdrawal grew proportionally to Rosa's growing distant from the people from the new socialist movement, which is interpreted as the key challenge for the success of their marriage. Rosa's growing independent is the key prerequisite for the achievement of trusting partnership between the spouses and marital bliss. The happy marriage is thus preconditioned by the spouses' agency on the same side of the ideological axis, which the wife finds difficult to cross.

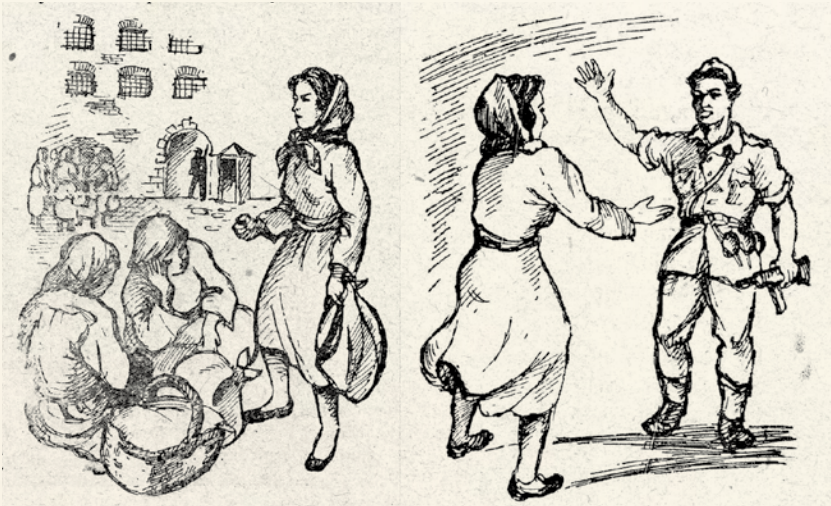
"Cvetan bit his lips. That same evening, when the comrades from the Party suggested that he should hide an illegal activist at his house, he bowed his head in shame. He refused. He could not trust

Rosa... (...) He tried several times, to draw his wife in and involve her in the general flow of the struggle, but she always refused, with the following words: - You'd better think about how to bring something home then to waste your time on things beyond your understanding... Whose understanding, then? Who is going to think about us, if we don't? Who is going to liberate this land from the villains, if not I, you, all of us?... he replied to her, saddened by her words. He felt all this like a great weight upon his shoulders, how was he to help her, lead her to the right path?" [Ivan Točko, 'Debarmaalo', Year 5, no. 59 (1949), p. 14]

In this sense, the character of Rosa is crucial in the construction of the collective image of women as backward, uninformed and untrustworthy. The propagandist character of the short story is evident in the self-reproach and guilt of the female character for failing to join the antifascist circles on time. Also problematic are the scenes that describe the internal conflict of the woman who is sceptical and fearful, observing the war from a distance, having a problem to see herself as part of the collective. Her joining the antifascist movement is described throughout the text as an initiation process in which Rosa is introduced to the 'partisans' way of life' step by step, learning the secrets one by one, and is given challenges that she has to meet in order to prove her faith in the socialist principle. Her gaining her independence through her opposition to fascism is slow, owing to the woman-to-woman transfer that happens within the only women's circles. The moment she becomes part of that process, the heterochromatic home disappears, and is followed by the cooperative as a new type of heterotopy of crisis, reserved only for the selected and privileged individuals. In order to satisfy this logic of development of the characters, Rosa and Cvetan meet again in the narrative only when both of them have become part of the same (exclusive) heterotopy, and only this new encounter implies that they might live peacefully and in harmony.

"From that day, when Rada told her that Cvetan was with the partisans, Rosa withdrew even more. Somewhere deep in her consciousness there lived the vague thought that she was guilty

more than anyone else. (...) She saw them all... She just could not see herself among them. (...) – But time passed... And the new days awakened new feelings in Rosa. Rada came by more often and helped her melt the heavy lump in her chest. (...) One day, when Rada asked her to take – for the comrades – a packet of medicine to Vodno, Rosa swelled with tears of joy. It seemed to her as if the entire has world had revealed itself in front her and as if she had started living again. Deep in her soul, a powerful feeling for Cvetan quivered like a new flame...” [Ivan Točko, ‘Debarmaalo’, Year 5, no. 59 (1949), p. 14]



Further on, another heterotopy in the contents of the researched subject is the Nazi concentration camps, where time has its own logic. These places with their literal seclusion from the rest of the world are characterized in the literary texts as heterotopies of isolation or heterotopies that are not publicly accessible. Only certain individuals are permitted entry and exit, something that remains obligatory for the rest. They work like hermetically sealed vessels that accumulate experiences, where the memories echo for a long time after the events. Such heterochrony can be observed in the short stories ‘Drago’ and ‘The Memory of Ganimet’. The effect of slowing down time occurs in them to a degree of repetitiveness of a single crucial moment in the existence of the characters. In ‘Drago’ this is achieved when the character of the mother Mara experiences

endless sleepless nights watching over the ill son, while in 'Spomen na Ganimet' [The Memory of Ganimet] – the historical deafness of women is symbolically transferred into the slow death of the character of Ganimet.

“... Mara entered the first of her countless sleepless nights, and the first of the countless days dawned filled with voices, torments, and insults. (...) After the long and uniform day, into the night that seemed like that it would never give birth to light and in which the past drowns in a sea of sad destinies, Mara began telling the story of her life” [N., 'Drago', Year 5, no. 45 (July 1948), p. 13]

“To make death even more difficult, to scare others, in front of the gallows, the executioner threw over Ganimet the black veil she hated so much. She died in pain, because that veil, which had for centuries stifled the life and youth of Albanian and Turkish women, prolonged her dying on the gallows for full fifteen minutes.” [‘Spomen na Ganimet’, Year 7, no. 76 (March 1951), p. 7]

Lastly, the forests are recognized as heterotopies of crisis, but also as heterotopies of isolation, absorbing and remembering all events according to folk beliefs. The beech forests are described as places that keep all the secrets, but also have anthropomorphic features, that is to say, they are able to receive all emotions and then replicate the feeling of the fighters and the people after the loss of their comrades.

“The bosom of the Bukovska Forest hides an abundance of stories about times past, about battles fought. But the Bukovska rocks, the Bukovska beeches, will always and for a very long time tell us stories about the first partisan units that hid in their bosom, behind the beech trunks. They will tell stories about the first partisans, about the first people's fighters...” [Nada Bogdanova, 'Bukovata šuma ni prikažue...', Year 2, no. 3-4 (January-February 1945), pp. 12-13]

“And again

Like that night...

Darkness of a tomb, darkness of hell

lies strewn over Kara-Dag like a dead body.

A tired forest is frozen amidst secrets.
not a single bird chirping weakly,
not a leaf rustling in the autumn's mud.
(...)

And then the fearful rumble of the forest storm,
the shrieking of the soil soaked with green blood,
and the faithful comrades
clenched their weapons,
and took an oath over dead Cena.”

[Aco Šopov, 'Na Kara - Dag - Na Viktorija Pop-
Jordanova - Cena', Year 2, no. 7 (May 1945), p. 12]

1.3. The frontal districts of the battlefields of war

“You had a daughter... it'd been better if you had delivered a stone.”

[*Prva žrtva*, Year 7, no. 76 (March 1951), p. 5]

The analysed literary contributions include exceptional examples of female heroism on the fronts and around the fronts of battlefields of war. These instances of heroism are often eclipsed when people's struggle is concerned. The dominant narrative strategy in the texts about the fallen female fighters is the inclusion of their statement or gesture before their demise with which they address the enemies, telling them that the power of the entire nation is accumulated in them. At this dramatic turn when the female characters, that is, women partisans, become aware of the life-endangering threat that approaches them, they become braver, tenser and exceptionally resilient before the looming attack. They never fail to surprise the enemy, even when they are in an invidious position.

“Nada grasped her weapon firmly and defended herself bravely. But she could feel terrible pain in her leg. She lunged forward and fell. The coarse hands of the enemy grabbed her roughly. Her wound hurt terribly. But she lifted up her head proudly. A scornful smile could be seen on her pale face. – Nada was her sister's best

student and she knew how to hold herself in front of the enemy. A sadistic beast approached her with a knife in his hand, looked for her wound and buried his knife in it and turned. (...) – The enemy was bewildered. Nada was lying there half-alive, but no plea for her life escaped her lips. She used the last ounces of her strength to breathe. Her eyes were wide open. A single shot, and Nada was dead, with her eyes half-opened, her hair messed up around her young and beautiful face.” [Liljana Saveljić, ‘Za život svetel krasen i čis...’, Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944) p. 4]

The female characters lying half-dead on the ground still manage to pull their last and scornful smile that enrages the opponent even more. Their struggle is described as something bequeathed through generations, and their battle skills as a sisterly legacy transmitted from the older to the younger members of the family and community. They find inspiration in their predecessor to continue the people’s struggle and they do not even let their fighting comrades show their emotions and mourn their death, which they see as a contribution to the attainment of the collective liberation. In the short story, ‘Prva žrtva’ [The First Sacrifice], the female character is the partisan Magdalena Antevska, a member of the Kumanovo detachment, killed at the beginning of the National liberation Struggle and proclaimed the first sacrifice in the name of the people. Before her death in the short story, she says: “It is not so hard to die, mother, when you know the reason for which you have sacrificed your life.” Magdalena was all consumed in her thoughts about struggle, blood, hunger, cold and victory.” [*Prva žrtva*, Year 7, no. 76 (March 1951), p. 5]

Female bodies are often disposable bodies, that is, they are the usual victims. In death they become part of the war ‘landscape’, which they defamiliarize with their appearance reminiscent of everything that used to be and is going to be. But, even in those cases, when female characters are not actively engaged on the frontlines of the National Liberation Struggle, we learn that they have sacrificed their lives in defence of their children, partners and the people, refusing to talk to the very end, to betray or expose others to danger.

“Behind the small station once, where a broken train composition was deserted and where the Germans used to be only a while ago, on the green and wet meadow, we found a young women lying on the grass that was not mowed. One of her arms was above her head, while the other pressed her wounded bosom – she looked asleep, her eyes closed, the wind playing with her dark hair, only a thick stream of blood running down from her pale mouth.” [Alexei Nikolayevitch Tolstoy, ‘Nina’, Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945), p. 21]



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“Women bowed over their children to protect them from the blows, they fell into the currents, some of them rose again wet, with their hairs messy, while other floated down the water unconscious, and somewhere some of them must have been dead. Because even those that had not been hit and killed by a brick were later drowned unconscious in the water, bodies, scarves and children’s caps swam down the river, red at places from all those wounds.” [Angja, Year 6, no. 64 (March 1950), p. 15]

“In the chaos of things, weapons and corpses, she was sitting against the wall, as though deep in thought. A bloody streak seeped out of her forehead and descended towards her eyebrows, past her nose and her slightly opened lips and rained upon her chest. She was shot in the forehead.” [Dobrica Ćosić, ‘Daleku e slonceto’, Year 8, no. 83 (December 1952). p. 16]



But in the short stories, women do not turn into 'stone' even after death. Their bodies continue emitting fearful energy that the enemies believe lies in wait for them. They keep on hurting the female characters again and again, so that they can be sure that they will not come back to life in some mythical-magical manner and take revenge on them.

"Killers, foes..." - shouted Magdalena, but could not finish her thought. Bang-bang, and another bullet hit her in the back. Without a cry, she just propped herself against the ground as if wishing to stop this river of young and hot blood by force. Hot blood filled her mouth and dripped down her cheeks, throat. (...) What was that weird light that lit her face? Magdalena's hair was burning. When she fell next to the fire, her hair burst into flames. The first sacrifice. (...) Magdalena was not left in peace even in her death. They stabbed her with their knives. As if they were scared by her shadow. So that it would not survive, and talk about their barbarity." [*Prva žrtva*, Year 7, no. 76 (March 1951), p. 7]

And the fascist are right to fear partisan women. Several important examples can be selected from the magazine that tells about women who, despite taking inordinate risks in their struggle against the opponent, manage to survive. Such characters are Nada from the short story 'Nada and Zagorka' by Jovan Popović and Agrippina from the novel *Bread* by Alexei Nikolayevich Tolstoy. At

one moment, the partisan Nada even says: “And I am here, this is my third life already.” [Jovan Popović, ‘Partizankata Nada: Izvadok od raskazot Nada i Zagorka’, Year 5, no. 49-50 (1948), p. 19] They are not allowed by the narrative to come back the same as before. Both come back to the company of their fighting comrades physically changed, wearing the uniforms of their rivals as a camouflage and carrying their weapons as medals.

“Nada approached a wounded comrade in order to bandage his wounds quickly and take him with her. The enemy surprised them: retreat was impossible. (...) They overcame her bitter resistance and with gross swearwords that reeked of mutton, garlic and rakija, they took her away with them. (...) But ten days later, though they had already mourned her death, Nada showed up again with a rifle and two bombs. We looked at her as though she was an apparition.” [Jovan Popović, ‘Partizankata Nada: Izvadok od raskazot Nada i Zagorka’, Year 5, no. 49-50 (1948), p. 14].

And especially Agrippina, who engages in a physical fight with a Cossak, refuses to be seen as a fighter from the rear because she arrives at the battlefield with no uniform, with a Ukrainian-style scarf on her head and in a dress. She has no other choice but to take the dead Cossak’s clothes and be ridiculed by the other fighters and comrades, who rush to judge her appearance first, and only then her heroism.

“There was a slash across her skirt at her thigh – her shirt hung in shreds, swollen and bloody scratch marks from the Cossak’s nails were visible on her waist... (...) Agrippina went straight for the tumbled horse carriage, where the dead Cossak lay on his stomach. – Are you going to take something from him? – asked Ivan. – The commander ordered that I have to find it by myself. I will now wash the clothes in the spring.” [Alexei Nikolayevich Tolstoy, ‘Agrippina: an excerpt from the novel *Bread*’, Year 3, no. 25 (November 1946), p. 13]



1.4. In the treasuries of the people and people's memory

It is important to remark that when they are caught by the enemy 'on home ground'; the female characters that survive remain hidden behind the 'people', while those that die remain preserved in national memory. Their bodies in the narrative are identical to the national and are inseparable from it. The heroines of the collective are offered unbending protection by their compatriots and a sense of solidarity, sisterhood and unity is interwoven in these texts. Even on a linguistic level, this is expressed by using phrases such as: "Brave blood has boiled, the city has darkened/the nation was stabbed with a knife". [Venko Markovski, 'Vera Ciriviri-Trena', Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944), p. 10]. This is present in the examples where the female characters mystically disappear and hide from the enemy. Their depiction is merged with the domain of folk tradition, which is described as something deep that can keep and protect the women fighters within itself:

“The girls that had escaped were hidden in the depth of the people’s soul and the police could not find them at all.” [B. Blagoeski, ‘The path to the partisans’, Year 7, no. 79 (June 1951), p. 6]

“The honour of the girl was the honour of everybody in Lerin. And they decided to protect it. Srebra remained hidden in the village houses, as if she had simply evaporated.” [Gjorgji Abadžiev, ‘Srebra Komitkata’, Year 7, no. 81-82 (August-September 1951), p. 1]

2. The female characters against different hegemonies

In this second part of the research text, we will analyse the female characters that appear as opponents of different hegemonies expressed through: (1) patriarchal concepts of marriage and family, (2) religion and state authorities, and (3) class inequality. Here women appear in the roles of: mothers, daughters, sisters, friends, etc.

2.1. Women and the patriarchal concepts of marriage and family

The literary contents that problematize marriage are mainly about female characters that run away from home when they become: objects of bargains and transactions following previous agreements by their parents. Forced marriage is used further on in the narrative to help underscore the newly acquired power of women to resist patriarchy, and the impossibility of choice is presented as something that women in socialism have already overcome. In the focus of the stories are the old customs, according to which selling the female body is seen as a way to support the family and acquire a certain status in the society through arranged marriages with already renowned ‘successful’ families. These prearranged social contracts usually happen in the stories when the daughters are

still minors and no one shares this knowledge with them until the 'fateful moment', when the parents decide that it is economically advantageous for them to stick to the promised exchange. Having no other choice, the female characters in such situations decide to run away from home and stop all contact with their parents, which results with a long-term alienation from the family.

The special narrative strategy developed in this type of texts aims to reinforce the feeling of revolt and the desire for greater resistance against these practices that have no place in the socialist order. Examples from the magazine *Makedonka* that are illustrative of the female resistance against the out-dated marriage concepts are the following: 'Begalka' by Sus Cunj and 'Spogodba' by Nevena Teoharova. The two texts were published in the magazine in the period immediately after the passing of the bill on marriage in 1946 and the articles published in *Makedonka* were busy making parallels between the treatment of women in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and in the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. They also had a promotional role and spoke about the new tendencies and trends that the Republic was trying to follow in order to achieve equality between men and women. And still, these literary texts did not concentrate on the attitude towards women that existed within the marriages at the moment of their publication and, and even though these were socially engaged texts, they did not engage in deeper moralizing about the current ways and possibilities of concluding partnerships.

"Listen! Before your father died, he promised he will give you to the Din family. With the money we got for you, we managed to bury your father. (...) [But]... our rich man Sanj Lao has taken a shining on you and wants to make you his fourth wife. He has just visited me and informed me about his decision. (...) He has promised us 500 dollars to break the Arrangement with the Dins. (...) Then I will be able to stay with you and the old relatives and I will be provided for. (...) Just think about it: isn't that just like grace from Heaven? (...) To be the fourth wife of such an important and dignified man, to have tasty food to eat, to have nice clothes to

wear, to live in full pleasure, not having to worry about a thing...”
[Sus Cunj, ‘Begalka’, Year 5, no. 42 (April 1948), p. 10]

“They concluded the bargaining and were now quietly chatting about unimportant things. Zumbula entered and served them coffee. She could sense that some bargaining had been going on and that an agreement had been reached. She thought that it must have been about the old blind mare. Her father had said that he wanted to sell it. ‘The poor animal’ – thought Zumbula. Five weeks passed after the agreement. Zumbula did not have the faintest idea that it was not the mare that her father had sold, but herself.” [Nevena Teharova, ‘Spogodba’, Year 6, no. 63 (February 1950), p. 12]

In addition to the line of examination of the female experiences in arranged marriages, in the literary contributions we researched, there is a parallel line of examination of the function of the female characters within the family and their reproductive role (for more about the politics of care during the period in which the magazine *Makedonka* was published, see Kocevaska in this collection). In the context of the patriarchal family concept, the female characters in the analysed texts always fulfil their role as mothers, continuing the family line linearly by producing as much offspring as possible. Most of the analysed examples go further than just creating female characters reduced to their postwar role of renewing and replenishing the state, often historically seen as nothing more but ‘reproductive wombs’. But still, whenever this role is present in the texts, women are represented as the chief victims of superstitions. These texts have an openly educational dimension, realized on the basis of the principle of intimidation. Some of them tell us about the life experiences of rural women, taken as a universal example of inappropriate motherhood owing to these women’s beliefs in supernatural forces in the hard and harsh working conditions at the time and in the circumstances of single parenthood. The magazine aimed to educate his potential readers with intimidating stories whose message was that the only way to sustain the family is to believe in science.

One such illustrative example is the short story ‘Gorpina’ by the Ukrainian writer of Russian descent Maria Alexandrovna Vilinska, known under her pseudonym Marko Vovchok (1834-1907), taken from the book *Folk Stories* (1857). Vilinska greatly influenced the development of the Ukrainian short prose and enriched its genres, especially the socially engaged short story. In her book *Folk Stories*, she depicted the “tribulations of the peasants under the landowners” and “fomented a feeling of anger and protest against serfdom among her readers” [Marko Vovchok, ‘Gorpina’, Year 4, no. 36-37 (1947), p. 15], which made her the voice of the people. ‘Gorpina’ is a folktale that describes a rural woman’s life, the challenges in it and the way she dealt with the difficulties of childcare during the time of “great social changes – the end of the semi-feudal society and the rise of capitalism and bourgeoisie” (Bukia-Peters 2020). In this sense, the inclusion of this short story in *Makedonka* was for the purpose of propagating women’s emancipation and women’s workers’ rights and the right to maternity leave.

“Gorpina remembered that she had heard before that if the child did not sleep it should be fed some milk in which poppy capsules had been soaked. (...) And she did that – the child calmed down and fell asleep, and slept so soundly that it did not move at all when the corporal yelled through the window at the top of his lungs: >Back to work!< Gorpina dropped her daughter in the cradle, crossed herself and cried before leaving. It was a very hard day. (...) She ran back to the house. Everything was quiet and dark. Straight to the cradle, to the child. The child was just lying in there, cold, immobile, not breathing. (...) Gorpina stood petrified in the middle of the room, all darkened and looking in horror, her dead child in her hands. (...) She was very ill for three weeks. But God took pity on her, and restored her health, but not her mind.” [Marko Vovchok, ‘Gorpina’, Year 4, no. 36-37 (1947), p. 15]

The magazine *Makedonka* published texts about traditional families with many children at the time when the mothers had to experience losing their babies more than once, partly owing to unsanitary and unhealthy practices when raising their infants. The short story ‘Prokletstvo’ [Curse] discusses the social stigma of the

women who were unfortunate to have a child die. Their houses were considered cursed, and their other (surviving) children were seen as carriers of the curse onto the next generation.

“Spasena’s house seemed to be cursed. She could not keep a child alive and she had given birth many times, as people used to say, ‘she dropped a baby every year’. She obeyed all the customs, but they died, and kept dying... Only one survived out of thirteen. The christened him Trajčo, so that he would last. (...) She comforted herself, but her neighbor Paca’s words hit her hard: “Your house is stained; Ristana’s curses have worked...” (...) Spasena called a priest to bless her house with holy water, and prayed a lot, she even went to see an imam, to see if he can break the curse. Many terrible stories were told around the village about the ghost that strangled Spasena’s children. (...). People went past her house in fear and crossed themselves – to keep the devil away... The explanation that it was not only her children that died was not of much help to her.” [Nevena Teoharova, ‘Prokletstvo’, Year 6, no. 70-71 (September-October 1950), p. 10]

212 But still, what is obvious in all these examples is that mothers are always judged as the chief unreasonable opponents to scientific knowledge and progress. Dialogues with them seem like dialogues of deaf, and despite them they insist on certain rituals that their narrowest environment sees as the only solution. These female characters stubbornly oppose the interventions coming from outside, and then something tragic happens to their children and they are told for the last time that they are wrong.

The magazine *Makedonka* was also critical of the customs that allowed only male progeny to inherit the economic activity and assets of the family, something that is evidently present even today, as corroborated by the fact that a great percentage of women still do not own any property. What we find in these texts is the historical displeasure with female children, often considered “merely a piece of base coin that couldn’t be invested – a bad Boy – nothing more” [Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son*, Year 6, no. 70-71 (September-October 1950), p. 17]. The female characters were in

this sense representatives of generations of uncared for children, just like their mothers. A perfect example with authorial irony is the description of the male character in the novel *Dombey and Son* by Charles Dickens, when the death of the wife while giving birth recedes in the background, leaving Mr. Dombey, exhilarated about the birth of his son and successor, in the spotlight.

“The House will once again, Mrs Dombey,’ said Mr Dombey, ‘be not only in name but in fact Dombey and Son! (...)’ And again he said ‘Dombey and Son, in exactly the same tone as before. Those three words conveyed the one idea of Mr Dombey’s life. The earth was made for Dombey and Son to trade in, and the sun and moon were made to give them light.” [Charles Dickens, *Dombey and Son*, Year 6, no. 70-71 (September-October 1950), p. 16]

2.2. Women and religion

The relationship between women and religion has a strong presence in the magazine *Makedonka*, especially the issue about Muslim women and the (removal of the) veil within the cultural and political context of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. Literary texts with this topic were mainly published in the period between 1948 and 1951 and were socially engaged as part of the activities supporting the passing of the bill on removal of the veil. This legislative change happened when the Law on the removal of the veil was introduced in February 1951 and the magazine claimed that most Muslim women had demanded such law themselves.

The act of removing the veil that this law enforced on women in those historical circumstances was interpreted through the socialist policies of brotherhood and unity as a way of coming closer, becoming friends and cultivating limitless mutual trust with fully revealed faces and hairs. In fact, at one point, an article in the magazine claimed that local Muslims had “an old custom to let their women reveal themselves in front of a good friend, regardless of his religious affiliation” in order to “show their full trust in their friend” [J. V. ‘Muslimanskata žena se bori za osloboduenjeto od

mrakot' [Muslim women fight for liberation from the dark], Year 4, no. 33-34 (July-August 1947), p. 6]. In this sense, the passing of the law was interpreted as another step forward in the attainment of greater equality among the different peoples.

In the examples where the veil is the main topic of the text, it is described as a dark custom, a curse and spiritual slavery. It is used as the central leitmotif in the definition of the concept of freedom for women of different backgrounds, of different ages and with different levels of education.

“Learn the letters, gain knowledge
join the battles of life,
the battle against the veil
is a battle against black darkness,
a battle for a happier life!

Veil, the damned veil,
I've run out of words to curse it,
But I do curse it, with the worst curse,
with a curse stronger than fire,
with a curse heavier than a rock,
with a curse scarier than death!”

[Vančo Nikoleski, 'Feredje pusto feredje',
Year 5, no. 39 (January 1948), p. 9]

In the analysed examples, being forced to wear the veil if you are female was seen as an attempt to control female sexuality. Covering girls' heads and faces was practiced by the Muslim families as a preventative mechanism that defended the girls' 'innocence' and was commonly exercised in the period of puberty, that is, when girls transformed into women. In some of the literary examples, female beauty is seen as a taboo attribute that creates danger from within, and for this reason female beauty has to make itself less visible in public. This way of thinking seriously endangered the concept of women's safety and contributed to internalization of

guilt and double victimization among women who were exposed to sexual harassment and sexual violence.

“ – If Allah has said so, this summer, at Kodza-Bayram, I will have her veiled. She’s a female child. The sooner you have her under the veil, the lesser the worries– thought the old hunchbacked Emin, Zumbula’s father. A whole army of aunts and other closer or more distant female relatives prodded and nudged Emin to have the child veiled as early as possible: “What are looking at, Emin? Why do you hesitate? Yes... she’s young... but look at her, what a beauty she has become...” – they were trying to convince him.” [Nevena Teoharova, ‘Spogodba’, Year 6, no. 63 (February 1950), p. 11]



In the various texts in which the fictional time is far removed from the actual time of the introduction of the Law, the practice of wearing the veil occurs only under multiple pressures by many of the girl’s relatives, by her parents, partners and the extended family. The rejection of this custom by the girls is seen by their families as madness, shame, and even as a result of evil magic whose effect might be undone. In the texts about the period that was much closer to the introduction of the law, the female characters of different generations are regularly described as jointly deserting the custom of wearing the veil with support of their husbands.

“Congratulations, sure... are you getting ready for a wedding? – What wedding... there, we are sewing... making something new out of something old... And this evening we will go to the cinema with our husbands, bareheaded like this, no veils.” [*Prerodba*. Year 7, no. 75 (February 1951), p. 4]

“You see them cutting, sewing, making beautiful blouses, entire dresses even, from their black veils. They are putting an end to something heavy and dark that was part of their lives until now. Look at these revived faces, happy like children that this evening they will be able walk freely, without fear from men. For them this day is a truly great and important day... To be free to enjoy light, air, life...” [*Prerodba*, Year 7, no. 75 (February 1951), p. 4]

In the magazine *Makedonka* we come across different female points of view as regards the removal of the veil, including the predictable reserve and fear to make the decision, for which women were given a month’s time to reach when the Law was enforced in January 1951. But on the pages of the magazine no female characters were presented that opposed this change decisively. In reality, many of the women that were used to wearing the veil experienced their going out on the street without it as an utterly unpleasant act. They interpreted the Law as a “special form of attack on their community, which only deepened the breach between the Muslim women and the WAF activists from the other ethnic groups” (Bonfiglioli 2016, 26). In any case, “the veiled woman [was] snatched from under the authority of her father, brother, husband and imam as a symbolic representative of the community and [was] now placed under the authority of the state and its ideology, together with all other women”, and the female body was once again turned into a “screen on which certain ideological messages were projected” (Slapšak 2003).

Although very progressive, the new reforms and the accelerated modernization failed to predict that some women needed time to adjust to the changes and were therefore victims of a law that did not allow for exceptions. Despite the many campaigns and activities organized by the state for ‘enlightenment’ of the Muslim women,

some of the communities were still unprepared, and perhaps a separate research should be conducted dedicated to the (success of) the implementation of the law. Finally, one of the unfortunate results of the propagandist dimension of *Makedonka*, mostly in sync with the policies of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, was that the female characters that experienced problems with the removal of the veil were absent from the published texts and were thus sentenced to political and cultural oblivion.

2.3. Women and class inequality

One of the more powerful aspects of the creation of female characters, particularly evident in the articles that reported various events and in the other stories of documentarist character, was the potential for female fellowship and association aimed at a more universal triumph over class inequality. The cooperatives, shock work and partisan struggle in this sense are interwoven in the analysed contributions as political networks created to overcome the hardships experienced by workers during and after the war, often forced to move their entire families to the cities or have them fall apart and alienate over the decades. Vlado Malevski's short story 'Frosina's Best Years' for example, tells us the story of Jane and Frosina, forced to separate for so long that they cannot recognize each other when they finally meet again.

"Since their wedding day, he was aware of the bottomless chasm that kept them away from each other. Fifteen years stood between them." [Vlado Maleski, 'Mladosta na Frosina', Year 7, no. 76 (March 1951), p. 10]

Many of the analysed short stories emphasize the collective advantages of the workers' cooperativeness and affiliation, such as the acquisition of worker's rights and the prevention of the abuse of children as workforce, which used to be allowed in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, especially in the period of the nineteen twenties and thirties. This is illustrated in the excerpt from the novel 'Kajin pat' [Kaya's Path] (1934) by Milica Žicina, a writer of great renown among

the working classes, whose works described the life of the servant girls and of children that worked for the rich families in different European cities.

“Really, you should be spanked! Evil should be crushed early on! She went past her as one would go past a pile of dirt and then returned to remedy what she had missed: she kicked in her back with the tip of her shoe! (...) And do you know, you little black puppy? – You don’t – do you! When that man of mine comes back... I think that you haven’t learnt that he uses his belt.” [Milka Žicina, ‘Kajin Pat: izvadok od romanot Kajin Pat’, Year 7, no. 79 (June 1951), p. 12]

Conclusions

The literary contributions in the magazine *Makedonka* – Organ of the Women’s Antifascist Front of Macedonia (1944-1952) are of an explicitly interdiscursive character and establish a constant dialogue with reality, and though it they identify the relations between the female characters and various sociological phenomena. Faced with the dilemma whether these characters are a subject of narrative strategies that push them programmatically in a given direction, we undertook a preview and analysis of the main points of the armed conflicts, but also of the points of resistance where they can be found. Our goal was to discover the reasons behind their acts and to see where their development stopped although it could have continued in a more progressive direction.

In the examples discussed above we see that female characters can be ambivalent and complex. But, even when they occupy their rightful place in a hegemonic sphere, they fail elsewhere, that is to say, they fail to meet the other social expectations. They are allowed to be successful only in one field, that which is of interest of the current political events. Their agency is typologized and they

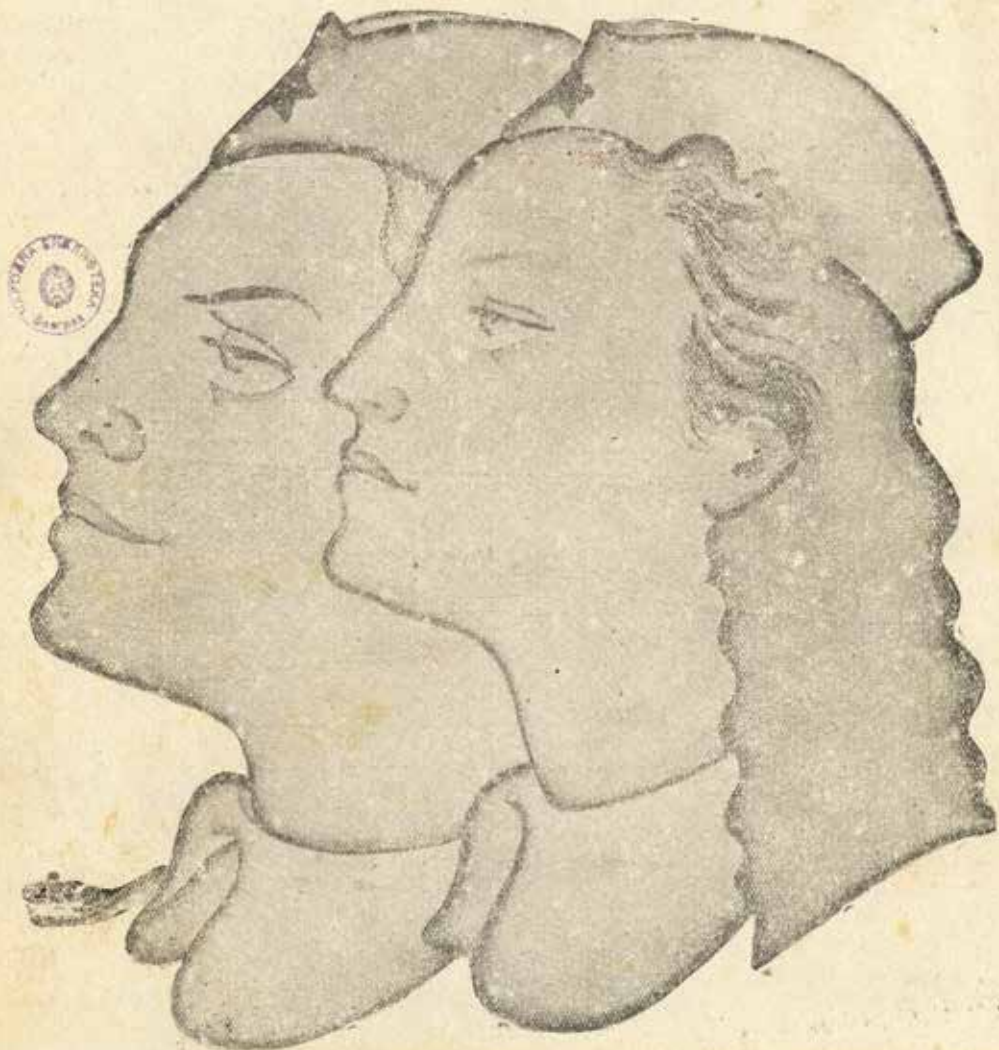
always wage only one battle. That overshadows the intersection of class, gender and ethnic inequalities and oppressions within the texts themselves, and at the expense of that, their other ambitions and actions remain untold.

Although the female characters are not depicted as absolute losers when they experience some failure, some of the literary texts cannot resist making their defeat absolute. In these texts we come across characters that develop their female resistance and disobedience, but also exhibit tendencies towards other types of hegemonies or fail to extend their defiance in other spheres of human existence. Consequently, these literary contributions reflect the editorial policies of the magazine, which in turn followed the policies of the state that, at a given moment in the realization of certain rights, had given up on the idea about their continual improvement and amendment. The magazine *Makedonka* is exceedingly progressive and many of its literary texts are subversive, and the significance of this fact must not be forgotten and underestimated, but when reading these texts, one should always have in mind the propagandist role of the magazine, which was a fixture from the very beginnings of the magazine to its dissolution.

775/5

Периодичност
I Пример

Македонка



Орган на Антифашистскиот фронт на жените од Македонија

Број 1 Ноември 1944 Год. 1





Hristina Ivanoska

ARTISTIC RESEARCH

Document
Missing:
“Makedonka” –
emancipation,
meaning and
desire

Македонски





THESE ARE THE NAMES OF THE
PLANTS WHICH GROW IN THE
MOUNTAINS OF THE STATE OF
NEW YORK. THEY ARE
ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY
AND THE NAMES ARE
GIVEN IN FULL. THE
SCIENTIFIC NAMES ARE
GIVEN IN SMALL LETTERS
AND THE COMMON NAMES
IN CAPITAL LETTERS. THE
PLANTS ARE DIVIDED INTO
TWO CLASSES, THE
TERRIBLE AND THE
MILD. THE TERRIBLE
PLANTS ARE THOSE WHICH
GROW IN THE MOUNTAINS
AND THE MILD PLANTS
ARE THOSE WHICH GROW
IN THE VALLEYS. THE
TERRIBLE PLANTS ARE
THE MOST COMMON AND
THE MILD PLANTS ARE
THE MOST RARE. THE
TERRIBLE PLANTS ARE
THE MOST DANGEROUS
AND THE MILD PLANTS
ARE THE MOST BENEFICIAL.

ОПШТЕСТВЕН. КУЛТУРЕН. РАБОТНИК.
КУЛТУРЕН. НЕ. РАБОТНИК. ОСТВАРУВА.
ОПШТЕСТВЕНИ. ДОБРА. ЗА. ДОБРО.
ОПШТЕСТВО. ЗА. СИТЕ. ПРОПАГИРА.
ДЕМОКРАТИЗИРА. КОМПРОМИТИРА.
КОАЛИЦИРА. АПЛИЦИРА. КОРЕГИРА.
КОНТРОЛИРА. ОПШТО. ЗА. СИТЕ.
ОПШТЕСТВО. ЗА. СИТЕ. НЕ. ОПШТИМЕ. СИТЕ.
ЕДНА. ДВА. ПДА. ПОЛИТИКОН. КУРТОН.
БЕСПОЛЕЗЕН. БЕС. СОВЕСТ. СОВЕТ.
СОВЕТУВА. ВЕТУВА. НЕ. ОСТВАРУВА.
ЗА. ОПШТО. НАШЕ. НЕ. ЛИЧНО. МОЕ.
ИНТИМНО. БЛИСКО. НИМ. ДАЛЕЧНО.
НИЦЕ. ТУГО. НЕ. ЗАУШУВА. ЗА.
УМ. УМУВА. УМЕТНИКУВА. УМИРА.

(centrally) 'Glagolenje/Speaking', 2018, ink on paper, 20 x 28,5 cm. (left) A computer-enhanced student linocut print that simulates a detail of a topographic map, 1993, 50 x 35 cm. At the end of the Second World War, all printers in Macedonia suffered from 'chronic deficiency of printing paper'. As part of his personal testimony, Aleksandar Sterjovski wrote, 'on one occasion a pile of Italian topographic maps were discovered in a warehouse, and they could be used for printing because their underside was white and clean, and therefore they were used for that purpose very soon, in the course of 1944.' Aleksandar Sterjovski 'Publishing and printing in Bitola after the liberation (1944-1945)' in *Development* (Year XXIV, No. 1 January 1986).

WE SHOULD LOOK FOR THE ROOTS OF OUR EMANCIPATION IN OUR PAST, IN THE VOICES OF ALL THE KNOWN AND UNKNOWN WOMEN AND MEN WHO CONTRIBUTED TO US BENEFITING FROM THAT SELF-SAME EMANCIPATION IN THE PRESENT, BUT WE SHOULD ALSO NEVER STOP DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION, THE RIGHT TO ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE, CREATIVE FREEDOM, THE RIGHT TO EMANCIPATED MOTHERHOOD AND CONTROL OVER ONE'S OWN BODY. UNFORTUNATELY, WE ARE UNABLE TO SAY THAT WE HAVE AN EXHAUSTIVE KNOWLEDGE OF THE STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE OF WOMEN IN MACEDONIA, NOR DO WE HAVE A COMPLETE INSIGHT INTO THE NAMES OF THOSE WOMEN WHO STIRRED THEIR ENVIRONMENTS IN THE PAST, AND CONTRIBUTED TO THE PROCESSES OF EMANCIPATION. MOREOVER, IT IS UNDENIABLE THAT WE OFTEN INTERPRET OURSELVES BY APPLYING FOREIGN REFERENCES. THIS IS EXACTLY WHY I AM URGING AND APPEALING FOR US TO OVERCOME THIS SITUATION AS SOON AS POSSIBLE BECAUSE THE MEMORIES KEEP FADING AND THE DOCUMENTS KEEP DISAPPEARING. OUR ANCESTORS' PROCESSES OF EMANCIPATION AND THE STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE MAY FURTHER DEFINE AND STRENGTHEN OUR OWN NEEDS, BUT ALSO THE NEED FOR INEVITABLE AND NECESSARY EQUALITY OF OUR CHILDREN.

A scan of printed pages from my text 'Document Missing: Performance no. 4 (Interrogation)' from 2016, with my additions, changes, and corrections inserted directly with ink.

law, the relations between the secret and the nonsecret, or, and this is not the same thing, between the private and the public, whether they involve property or access rights, publication or reproduction rights, whether they involve classification and putting *into order*: What comes under theory or under private correspondence, for example? What comes under system? under biography or autobiography? under personal or intellectual anamnesis? In works said to be *theoretical*, what is worthy of this name and what is not? Should one rely on what Freud says about this to classify his works? Should one for example take him at his word when he presents his *Moses* as a "historical novel"? In each of these cases, the limits, the borders, and the distinctions have been shaken by an earthquake from which no classificational concept and no implementation of the archive can be sheltered. Order is no longer assured.

I dream now of having the time to submit for your discussion more than one thesis, three at least. This time will never be given to me. Above all, I will never have the right to take your time so as to impose upon you, rapid-fire, these three + *n* essays. Submitted to the test of your discussion, these theses thus remain, for the time being, hypotheses. Incapable of supporting their demonstration, constrained to posit them along the way in a mode which will appear at times dogmatic, I will recall them in a more critical and formal manner in conclusion.

The hypotheses have a common trait. They all concern the *impression* left, in my opinion, by the *Freudian signature* on its own archive, on the concept of the archive and of archivization, that is to say also, inversely and as an indirect consequence, on historiography. Not only on historiography in general, not only on the history of the concept of the archive, but perhaps also on the history of the formation of a *concept in general*. We are saying for the time being *Freudian signature* so as not to have to decide yet between Sigmund Freud, the proper name, on the one hand, and, on the other, the invention of psychoanalysis: project of knowledge, of practice and of institution, community, family, domiciliation, consignment, "house" or "museum," in the present state of its archivization. What is in question is situated precisely *between the two*.

Having thus announced my intentions, and promised to collect them so as to conclude in a more organized fashion, I ask your permission to take the time and the liberty to enter upon several lengthy preliminary excursions.

never be determined as one political question among others. It runs through the whole of the field and in truth determines politics from top to bottom as res publica. There is no political power without control of the archive, if not of memory. Effective democratization can always be measured by this essential criterion: the participation in and the access to the archive, its constitution, and its interpretation. A contrario, the breaches of democracy can be measured by what a recent and in so many ways remarkable work entitles *Forbidden Archives* (Archives interdites: Les peurs françaises face à l'histoire contemporaine). Under this title, which we cite as the metonymy of all that is important here, *Sonia Combe* does not only gather a considerable collection of material, to illuminate and interpret it; she asks numerous essential questions about the writing of history, about the "repression" of the archive [318], about the "repressed" archive" as "power... of the state over the historian" [321]. Among all of these questions, and in referring the reader to this book, let us isolate here the one that is consonant, in a way, with the low tone of our hypothesis, even if this fundamental note, the *pairiarchive*, never covers all the others. As if in passing, *Sonia Combe* asks in effect: "I hope to be pardoned for granting some credit to the following observation, but it does not seem to me to be due to pure chance that the corporation of well-known historians of contemporary France is essentially, apart from a few exceptions, masculine... But I hope to be understood also..." [315].

- own archive
- concept of the archive
- archivisation
- historiography

(below) Yane Calovski and Hristina Ivanoska, 'A Form of an Answer', digital photography, 2017. (right) A portrait of Rosa Plaveva by an unknown author, a scan of a photograph from the archive of the Museum of the City of Skopje that I made in 2005 as part of the research for the project entitled 'Naming the Bridge: Rosa Plaveva and Nakie Bajram', 2006.





Interrogator: Excuse me comrade Plaveva. I have to point out that we need proof, so be more precise. At the end of this interrogation, we need to create a document.

What you are saying here and now, about then and there, is ephemeral information.

Rosa Plaveva: My narrative is based on my experience and that reported by others. The witness is "my other".

Excerpt from "Document Missing: Performance no. 6 (Interrogation)"
The Witness:

Dear Interrogator, I can only talk about what I witnessed in the State Archive in June 2016 while I was doing my research. ^{during} ^{for the first time} I visited the State Archive and the Institute of National History twelve years ago for similar research. This is when I saw the cardboard clusters filled with collected memories typed on paper and multiplied into a few copies. The handwritten corrections done with pencil directly on the documents were still visible. ^{Due to the damage caused over} the ravages of time made the papers parched, yellowish, and thinner, like a sun-dried tobacco leaf that can easily be crumbled in pieces. I was thinking how fragile those priceless sources of information are, ^{and it seemed that} how unprotected they seemed and so easily prone to manipulations. Over the years something was haunting me back to the building. I was afraid that what I saw there will disappear one day and it will be gone forever.

It was then that for the first time, the leaves had become dry,

in 2004, when I was doing research on the life and work of Rosa Plaveva and Nakić Bayram.

My second visit ^{took place} happened this year ⁱⁿ during the month of June. But the moment I entered the two-floor modernist building that was built during the 1960s, I sensed that something is different. The main entrance was open but there was nobody at the information desk. Only muffled sound from a portable television, or a radio, was coming out behind the counter. I could only hear the echo of my voice unsuccessfully looking for the guard, and the echo of my steps climbing up the stairs. While I was reaching the first floor with the offices of the Archive, I could see the empty corridors and their off-white walls, shadowed with vertical and horizontal, rectangular grey marks. Those unintended ghostly wall drawings were made by layers of dust collected around and behind the paintings, the posters, and the cabinets that were hanging or leaning on the walls for a very long time. It was obvious the floor was empty, and something felt uncanny about the space. As I found out later from an employee at the Institute a floor above, the Archive was recently relocated to the top floor in one of the neoclassical newly built administrative buildings in the city center, at a barely two-kilometre distance from the old one. Overnight, the attic had been divided with plasterboard into offices to house the employees and I thought moving an archive is not a simple thing. If I compare it with my logic of moving from one home to another, I would probably clean the space of the unwanted and unused things, re-organize the ones I will keep, and make a free space for the ones that will come, like making a new order of the past, the present and the future. If the archivists worked with a similar logic, I am sure

visible gray - large and small, vertical and

the only other thing I could hear echoing through the space was my voice asking for the guard, in vain, some of the archival documentation.

that once adorned the walls and the display shelves that probably once showcased the documents and publications from the Archive.

similar to mine

than this would consequently lead to

~~that~~ they would cause a ^{ruptious} disturbance in the previous order, [↑] and ~~create~~ a different interpretation of the past.

Then I ^{began to} started wondering: ^{Would} How my research will be affected by ^{the ing} this movement of the Archive if ^{this turning point had} the twist already happened and it can never go back again?

I knew that the only way to find out what happened ^{was to head} was to reach the top floor of the new building and enter the Archive. ^{upon} On my request to see Rosa Plaveva's file, as part of the "Ilinden Dossier", ^{I was given} they gave me only four photocopies of unimportant bureaucratic correspondence. Her ^{original testimony} autobiographical statement and the statements of her ^{the three} pointed witnesses were not there. ^{As I stood there} While I was standing in shock, I was also informed that the Archive ^{was} is working on a series of publications, ^{through} where the entire "Ilinden Dossier" ^{would} finally will be available to the public. ^{Not Feeling} Not knowing what to say, I thought I could only wait and see what ^{would} will be published under the name "Plaveva Ilieva, Rosa" ^{once} when the publications ^{were} will finally come out. released.

which completely speechless

[...]

Interrogator: Thank you, this testimony will be taken into consideration as we proceed.

Rosa Plaveva: Respected comrades and Committee members, where do I stand now? After this statement, it seems the interpretation of my life during 1903 and beyond can go in any direction. It can be a collage made from other people's memories or a completely invented story. All the options are possible.

Interrogator: This is entirely plausible and probable. You will be informed timely of our decision. Interrogation adjourned.

Смрт на фашизмот - слобода на народот!

The end.

EPILOGUE

In the several-volume edition titled "Ilinden Testimonies" published by the State Archive of the Republic of Macedonia, Rosa Plaveva's does not exist, her name is not to be found at all. Although there is clear and irrefutable evidence that she was a beneficiary of an Ilinden pension and was decorated with the "Ilinden Monument" which she proudly wore until the end of her life, the Archive "excluded" her from the list of witnesses and participants in the Ilinden Uprising from 1903, as there was no insight into whether her original testimony has been lost, destroyed, or not returned to the institution by an irresponsible and negligent researcher.

У СВЕТОЈ
БЕЉТОНСКОЈ ВЕШТАЧКОЈ

Еманципација жена

Христина Ивановић

Фотомонтажа „Еманципација у јужној Србији“ (десно), Христина Ивановић, Република Српска, Београд, 2011. илегално издати у Београду. Десно: Христина Ивановић, Република Српска, Београд, 2011. илегално издати у Београду. Десно: Христина Ивановић, Република Српска, Београд, 2011. илегално издати у Београду.

Према листи Центра за демографску културу од 3.783 београдске улице, укључујући и приватна насеља, само 355 улица је истакао поименом жена! Изражени у процентима то је 4,1 одсто!

Од 155 улица истакао поименом жена улица се налази на периферији града. Основни образовни ниво од двадесетак жена, родоначиница професија (спортисткиње, научнице, уметнице, глумице...), политички и социјално-друштвених одређења (револуционарке, феминисткиње, националисткиње...).

Оно што на први поглед повезује жене по којима су улице Београда добиле имена јесте историјски период у којем су живеле и стварале, имајући у виду и готови немогући промене „Илханског“ империјализма и муштрајући процес стварања и пријављивања улица. Рођене претежно у току XIX века, оне директно свесно о експанзије социјализма и осећањама родничке класе, рађају феминистичку и потребе за еманципационом женом, првене анимирани „дућуна“ муслиманске жене, Октобарској револуцији у Русији, Балканским ратовима и Другом светском рату, као и припадњу социјализма у Источној Европи. Иле и оне личности које чине доо савремене историје која обухвата период од распада Југославије и транзиције, и промене система из социјализма у капитализам и земљама касет демократије.

Историјско је показало да разлог и промена устур друштвене-политичке животна јесте средина истакао промене на сила иницијата тог друштва. Према томе, могуће је да у одређеном тренутку иницијативама укажу на имену улица буду замишљена друга. Нажалост, овакве промене се најчешће дешавају код уштаким догласи власти тако да именована „јавни простора“ углавном не представља избор јамости, већ „женице“ која је вода, и представља више политичку него грађанску одлуку.

Прихватање капитализма краће иницијата у еманципацији жена. Оно што је социјализам претходно спроводило као једнакост – јавар и законима, оно не променило менталитета – не сме бити изгубљено, увек важеће тежине сопствене историје је много каванице од прихватања тежине



Београд. Фото Д. Јерковић

историје доминантног запада. Београд је донекле и показало да потврду је овај став. Наиме, последње именоване јавног простора у Београду према истакаој жени досада су 2005. године! У питању иницијата, неког парка посвећен Јелени Шапчић, истакаој припадницима београдског балета, историјарна балета и једно од водећих активности истакаој кокету у Србији двадесетих година XX века.

Ио сакупљених података пре свега и женама Србије, симатној оне величину њиховог утицаја и значаја за српску историју и националну идентитет, као и културни, социјални, политички и научни развој ове земље.

Катерина Ивановић је била прва истраживачка, а Милица Стојанковић Српкиња синтетичкица и једна од најзначајнијих личности међу српским породицама; обе су стварале средином XIX века. Петој деценије, крајем XIX и у првој половина XX века, у време највећих промена и сукоба на Балкану и у Европи уопште, жене су и стварале друге две савремене: Мислара Савулић и Надажда Петровић. И гад иле јавног постала ка су се питања о различитим идентитетима и припадности (национални – лични, женски – мушки). То су била времена када жене биле дозвољено само стварати у области уметности, него је требало уштаким иницијата од тога – себе.

Оно што на први поглед повезује жене по којима су улице Београда добиле имена јесте историјски период којем су живеле и стварале



Коста Војиновић. Фото: Еманципација „Политика“

ДЕВЕДЕСЕТ ГОДИНА ОД ТОПЛИЧКОГ УСТАКА

Нови казнени поход

Радомир Ковачевић

Може се Србија обновити, може Србија да се после рата и повећа, али у Србији више неће бити Срба – изјавио је председник бугарске владе Радославов

Није било више никакве личне иницијативе ситуацији. Српске казне могли су издати за извршу официри, али и обични војници и полицајци! У Софији је, после јачег притиска међународне јавности, суђено пуковнику Калкицију због зверства које је починио – убио је једног Језаревића. Не трепнувши је изјавио да је побио „једног светогривца, народних прилика и осталих грађана“, али да никада није размислио ко су они – Срби, Језареји, Циганци, или Турци. „Јер, је сам имао олакшање од моје власти да убијем свакога ко може бити шетан, или само сузијати за Бугарску!“

Бугарски суд га је ослободио. Зар окупаторска управа није могла да буде у складу са таквим решењем?! Ипак, за фетва устанка као да је пресудно нест да су пред крај 1916. бугарске власти у Топлици објавиле призивну регрутацију. Мушкарци треба да се јаве одмах одређеним војним центрима; ко се не одазове – зна се. Био је то „новин казнени поход на Србију“!

Који је био циљ? О томе говори изјава Радославов, председника бугарске владе: „Може се Србија обновити, може Србија да се после рата и повећа, али у Србији више неће бити Срба!“

Топличани су реаговали: зар да генерације млађања, које су у две године – 1915. и 1916. – стасали за оружје, треба да буду изручени ка

фронт, против својколичка и браће! Наредба и регрутација намерици је спровођена жени, да стапоницијативе не може да се склопи у шуми. Била је то груба повреда међународног ратног права и Таински киницијата о заштити цивилна на окупираној територији.

Нашамо, Бугари су намерили да регрутацију радни снагу за војне раднике у Софији и ограда, дамо оци ратних стражара. Али ко ће им веровати! Две године касније, у ослобођеној Београду, Народна влада није осмисла да Анкетни одбор у пролима Топличког устанка, једног од случајка је био „Мара“ је устало на оружје тек онда кад су ил од Бугара потерати на регрутацију“!

Један од млађања који су званично изгубили војне српске војске на Косову био је резервни потпоручник Коста Војиновић. У Топлици 1916. нише је само двадесет година и – већ истаперицијату биографију!

Рођен је 1898. у фамилији која је, по неким истраживачима, чинила кореници од старег српског племићства; била је у могућности да му обезбеди авеницијата илито образовање – извршио је Трговачку академију у Бечу...

Пред Војиновићим су биле ситуације економике, некада извршица београдска Ава, избио је Први светски рат, и он је 1915. хтео да се прикључи четницима одреду Војина Танковића. Танковић га је, међутим, одбио уз примамбу – бу – нејак!

ЛИСТАЈУЋИ ПОЛИТИКУ

17. фебруар

1907.

ТРГОВАЧКИ РЕД: У једној већинској расуди у Либеу намењила нов излог па је у китин декоратор погрешно метрио на један пролећни врхусти, да му је цена 10 пара. Пређе ту да неки београдски сваба па кад сремичи га, дозове позорница, увед га у дућан, изводи из цела 10 пара и затржи, да му даду нов напога онај врхусти. Устаду су и гласи и колде укавале београдског муштерицијату.

1932.

СМРТ НАЈСТARIЈЕ ЖЕНЕ У ЈУГОСЛАВИЈИ: Јуче је уз велико учешће грађана у Илоку сахрањена несрећно најстарија жена не само у Војводини, већ и у целој Југославији, Јелисавица Вагра, популарна младица на пијаци у Илоку. Она је умрла у својој сто двадесетој години. Рођена је 1820. одмах после Неполононеки ратова, и наплатила је скоро све велике догађаје и ратове у току једног века.

1957.

ТОП КОЈИ ИСПРАЉУЈЕ АУТОМОБИЛЕ: Да би се очигледан начин показала издржљивост својих кола, конструктори фабрике аутомобила „Дои“ дали су наред за израду нарочито „топа“ Аутомобил, нејак издржљиво купци треба да увозима, ставља се у „топ“. А иже ваљано точило привлази се покретног ракета која се плави алтернативни мотори. Чим се створи услови, иницијатива иницијатива иницијатива



'Untitled (Rosa Luxemburg)', linen, thread, textile paint and graphite, 2013. The linen canvass was worked on both sides. On this side, two Luxemburg's famous statements are intertwined: 'I was, I am, I shall be.' and 'Freedom is always and only freedom for those who think differently.'

T **SUN** **D** **A** **Y**
T **H** **E** **D** **E** **A** **D**
L **I** **E** **S** **T** **O** **F**
D **A** **Y** **S** **F** **O** **R**
P **R** **I** **Z** **O** **N** **E** **R** **S**
A **N** **D** **S** **O** **L** **I** **T** **A** **R** **I** **E** **S**

On the other side of the canvass is a sentence from her diary that she kept while serving one of her prison sentences: 'Sunday, the deadliest of days for prisoners and solitaries.'

О СЛОБОДИ
И УЛИЦАМА БЕОГРАДАПловећи
против струје

Христијана Навоска

Јелена Швентћ је најстарија од шест дево-
ки које је поменом јединица у Бе-
ограду. Можда са њом почиње иденти-
фикација нове групе значајних жена
активних крајем XX и у XXI веку. Би-
ла је изузетна у свему што је радила –
класична балета Народног позори-
шта у Београду, кореограф, теоретичар
и критичар балета и, у току последњег
рата, једна од оснивача Центра за ин-
тернате азијске. Групе 484 и других ду-
милитарних организација. Због њених
закажана, у Београду је 2003. године ве-
ликом појавом направи Парк мира у оп-
штини Марин – Хелерсдорф, а од сеп-
тембра 2005. Немарска парк у
Београду носи њено име.

Фрагментне су сличности у биогра-
фијама Ане Ахматове и Марине Цве-
тајеве, две од највећих поета руске ли-
тературе XX века. После победе
социјализма у Русији доживеле су ве-
лике животне трагедије. Ипак, ови
што су стварали напредно је све про-
мене система и лидера, чак и њих са-
ме. На мази Београда постоји имена
нове надре уличне, између осталог Бе-
оград. Улица Ма-
рије се у наслоу Е-
на Цераку.

Због лепоте и
матуру слави и
Вероватно је ма-
срећним године
иеративно је се
1913. године су
у убиству бић
процитана, али
проконала до ту-
гла предивности

На почетку X
групе Ахматове
поставља у ко-
лања. Писала је и
равној жубани, и
Године 1910. у
милова, коју о
године касније
казати Двост.

Марина Цве-
тајеве убиство
пријавила дирек-
слободуљива и
иература Београ

Долазак Нове 1917.
године означио је за
Ахматову
и Цветајеву почетак
великих трагедија,
изолације,
компромиса,
емиграције

ДЕВЕДЕСЕТ ГОДИНА ОД
ТОПЛИЧКОГ УСТАНКАПуне шуме
одметника

Радован Ковачевић

Пећанац брзо
успоставља везе са
људима из околине,
затим из даљих
крајева. Бира
пратиоце, хитро се
креће, проналази
расуте комитске
групе које најчешће
делују без плана
и самотњачки

Чим се чуло за
акција у Солуну
лар извој потпо-
рудишном нашо
тако показује се

Коста Пећанац
свега у мислију и
Војводића и т
и другога... Шр-
вом признавају,
да га узму у све
коме циљевима,
неким врло лич-
каку авантуру! Л
надем, а јаде ба

Допустило је зна-
ди, све поново и
да се одлучи. Уг
на после наређе-
че, зна да шаће и

Пучовина Кат-
делом, а затим
редом. Сутира се
техом. Примио С
до Куранизије,
самички крај. Т
се са пучином, и
ог се, преко Ру-
у саровишту,
примич задржи
раме проба да пр-
нишом, да јој са
организује за че-
же са Архангел
себи, да „глави
скоро доћи“, А.
некху андују од
Бугари одлучи

ЛИСТАЈУЋИ
ПОЛИТИКУ

21. фебруар

191

ШТРАЈ
хтела ј
и су се
тило б
сар, ђ
цртаје



FEUILLETON

On Freedom and the Streets of Belgrade

Two republished texts from the project "On Freedom and the Streets of Belgrade", were first published in the Serbian daily "Politika" in the form of a feuilleton between February and March 2007. The project included research and production of 13 texts focusing on 20 streets in Belgrade named after women and on the women's life stories and was an attempt to make a cross-section of the period from the end of the 19th until the end of the 20th century, a period of tremendous political, social and cultural changes in Europe, including the unavoidable processes of women's awakening, emancipation and political organization for action. I undertook this project at the invitation of the curator Goran Petrović and in cooperation with the theatre OMEN from Belgrade. The project was part of the international art project "Inquiry into Reality: Disappearance of Public Space" in 2007.

The similarities between the biographies of Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetaeva, two of the greatest Russian poets of the 20th century, are astonishing. After the victory of socialism in Russia, they both suffered enormous personal tragedies. Nevertheless, their creative work outlived all changes in political systems and leaders, even the poets themselves. Two small streets in the southern suburbs of Belgrade have their names. Marina Tsvetaeva Street is in the Borča district, and Anna Akhmatova Street is in Cerak.

Due to the beauty of her poetry, she is highly praised. She might not have had a particularly happy youth and might have dreamt of fame of some sort when, in 1913, she wrote: "[...] Someday, I hope, in textbooks / A page on me to be read [...]". But she could not have predicted what she was about to experience, before becoming well-known.

In the early 20th century she became a member of the Acmeists, who followed a simple and compact form of writing. She wrote about tragic and frustrated love, about God, about feelings. In 1910 she married Nikolay Gumilyov, the leader of the group. Two years later, her first book, *The Evening*, was published.

Tsvetaeva lived according to her own convictions, even when rules were imposed by others. She was candid and free-spirited. She grew up traveling around Europe, under the watchful eye of her father, an art historian and founder of the Museum of Modern Art in Moscow. When she was twenty, she married Sergei Efron and stayed with him for the rest of her life. They had three children. Nevertheless, her nature kept seeking new physical and spiritual thrills, so she led an intense extra-marital life.

Akhmatova and Tsvetaeva celebrated the New Year of 1917 together. The pleasure was mutual since they had already been familiar with each other's work. The Acmeists were an inspiration for Tsvetaeva, and Gumilyov positively reviewed her first published book.

But, the beginning of the New Year also meant the beginning of big changes. It was not just a period of new social changes in Russia, but a period of victory for Bolshevism as well. That period was the beginning of tragedies, isolation, compromises, emigration, and creative work for both Akhmatova and Tsvetaeva.

Akhmatova's all too intimate poetry did not deal with the big social changes, the revolution, and Bolshevism. On that account, Soviet critics labeled her poetry as bourgeois. Her situation got even worse when in 1921 her former husband Gumilyov, was shot without a trial

О СЛОБОДИ
И У ЛИЦИМА БЕОГРАДАБорба
за једнакост

Христијана Нвалоска

Супруг Марине Цветајеве борба се на страни Белогорца. Због тога после револуције за њих више није било места у Русији. Сви су је одуцали па су живели у невољној бедности, због чега ни је убио ћерка Ирина. Напуштају се у Украјну и преко Берлина и Праге 1922. године стижу у Париз. Показало се да је и животно емиграција био невољно изабран пут.

Цветајева је писала: „Из света у којем су моји стокови немале биле потребни као што је потребан хлеб дошла сам у свет у којем стокови нису никоме потребни, ни моји стокови, ни стокови опште, али су потребни само још десерт – ако уостале неко има потребу за десертот.“

Цветајева се 1938. клинчио вратиола у Русију. Подратак је био врхунац њене трагедије. Њена сестра је већ две године била у затвору, а у августу је под лажном оптужбом ухапшена и њена ћерка Ава која је тада имала 27 година, ослобођена је тек у летој деценији живота. Супруг Марине Цветајеве, након тежког болестан, ухапшен је и стрељан 1941. Клепа Совјетски Савез они су евакуисани у андјански градни I саопштена, после дошла самоубиство.

После Стаљиновог матава је први пут и пола века изашла из затвора. ПUTOвала је у Заби примила награду оно што је створила годину дана преа ку у истом периоду на диктовању Марине II је већ одавно отиша. Ако су Ана Акин Цветајева предавала шепетима, онда су Кија Лукембургер још другу страну историје Еларета се при казне класне и дру. То је било време на и уграђивању истраја. Роза Лукембургер

– социјалисти, револуционари, борци за женска права – бисте су у самој бици тих промена. Преко мајки Београда, улица Кларе Цеткин се налази тако гато јој вероватно најважније и пријатељ – на Новом Београду, у урбаним насељу социјализма. Улица Розе Лукембургер се налази у предграђу Канарево брдо.

Интерес Кларе Цеткин за женска права почео је да се развија још током школовања у Лајпцигу код госпође Августе Шмидт, која је већ била пријатељ истинита у том домену. Кларе Цеткин је заснувала тету да су социјализам и феминизам уско повезани. Заглавља се за постигање економске независности жена, и писала: „Уколико је циљ да жена поста-

не слободно аутономна биће, онда женама не треба одузимати рад, нити скраћивати њихово радно време, а ни ограничавати области у којима желе моћи радити, осим у неким сасвим ретким случајевима.“

У јесен 1920. Кларе Цеткин је отишла у Кремљ. Први пут Леван је оловно дозвољено време да са њом поговори о женском питању јер, како је Кларе Цеткин записала о овом разговору, то је тема о којој „правилно“ комунисти не дискутују јер сматрају да се социјална равноправност жена, економика, партиципација. Ова тема укључивала је и питања о равноправности жена у сексу (право на избор партнера, право на слободну љубав) и браку, што је Кларе нарочито подржавала.

Леван је отворено признао да је не пријатељ изненађен великим интересовањем међу женама и мадама, нарочито у вези са партиципацијом у разговору. „Ја нисам могао да поврнуjem својим ушима кад сам оучу. [...] Они мисле да је њихова најважнија дужност просветити жену пролетеријата на ову тему. Верујем да је партиципација штафет једне од друге. Верујем овај о сексуелним проблемима. Која штетна?“ Сматрао је да су сексуелне теорије укључујући и Фројдову, само случајне измишљотине „које су произвеле из личних потреба да би се отарали лична информалност или дисперзија сексуелног живота према буржоаским моралом.“ Навластоје с

Уколико је циљ да жена постане слободно људско биће, онда женама не треба одузимати рад, нити скраћивати њихово радно време, ни ограничавати области у којима жене могу радити, осим у неким сасвим ретким случајевима – писала је Кларе Цеткин

ДЕВЕДЕСЕТ ГОДИНА ОД
ТОПЛИЧКОГ УСТАНАКАШирење
герилског покрета

Радован Ковачевић

Позивам све вас на општи устанак против вековног и подлог непријатеља, који нас је мучки с леђа напао у најтежим тренуцима по нас – писало је у прогласу о дизању устанка

ЛИСТАЈУБИ
ПОЛИТИКУ

22. фебруар

Коста Пећанац је при мишља, најважније ко ри, то је требало да бу кол савета којем је з постао и Димитрије вени вога Мата Јово да био је текст прос савезника неки члан менту је писало: „П нак против вековно је змочас леђа напао

Том пошту треба вешити, да и без орс рђивом пуцањима, у Топличком. Кј ском и Нишком свр ју бугарске окупације Посебна је одреда мобилности је нуће спорно оно „де“ у заједно Пећанац и Е основни услови за ј ју треба да прераси Отвор је био свак није и окупацији, не гарски властима с да се у Топлици нем лично поудати обешуци и његовој ми

У том контексту је Ђорђа Бугарина, у егда Кнежева Харду товође Радоша Рако да одреу о општине са Влаховићем и ви се да је он био иску поверовало у његов гла судбина убиство

2007

УКАШЕН
ла је отро
Трибуна? у
говорни ју
ра, власни
творца, а
Георгијева

on suspicions of a conspiracy. She lived in complete creative silence until 1940 when she finally sees the opportunity to write freely but not for long. Andrei Zhdanov, a member of the Politburo and the director of Stalin's program for cultural restrictions, deemed her work unsuitable for Russian culture and banned the publication of her new book. Finally, in the early 50s, Stalin and the Soviet Union got the poetry they wanted. The reason for Akhmatova's capitulation was the imprisonment of her son Leo Gumilyov who was taken to Siberia. So she began writing patriotic poems in order to please Stalin and have her son released.

Tsvetaeva's husband had fought on the side of the White Guards, so they could not stay in Russia after the revolution. Everything they owned was confiscated, and they started living in unbearable poverty, which is why their daughter Irina died. They left Russia, and through Berlin and Prague came to Paris in 1922. It turned out that life in emigration was unendurably difficult. She wrote: "From the world where my verses were as essential as bread, I came to a world where nobody needs verses, my own or anybody else's, or they are taken as mere dessert – if anybody even needs dessert."

In 1939 Tsvetaeva finally came back home. The return, however, was the high point of her tragedy. Her sister has already been in prison for two years and in August her daughter, who was twenty-seven, was arrested on false charges. Only when she was in the fifth decade of her life was set free. Tsvetaeva's husband, although seriously ill, was arrested and shot in 1941. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, Tsvetaeva and her son were evacuated and taken to the small town of Yelabuga. Ten days later, utterly crushed, she committed suicide.

After Stalin's death in 1965, Akhmatova left the Soviet Union for the first time, after fifty years of isolation. She traveled to Western Europe to receive awards for her work. This was just one year before her death. In that same period, the rehabilitation of Marina Tsvetaeva's work began, but she had long been gone.

If Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetaeva, whom I wrote about in the previous text, were the victims of Bolshevism, then Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg certainly represented the other side of history. At the beginning of the 20th century, Europe was prepared for radical class and social changes. Those were the days of ideals and heroes, internal intrigues, and liquidations. Luxemburg and Zetkin – socialists, revolutionaries, and fighters for women's rights – were at the very center of these changes. According to the map of Belgrade, Clara Zetkin Street is located, at most suitable, in Novi Beograd (New Belgrade), the urban socialist district. Rosa Luxemburg Street is in the Kanarevo Brdo district.

Zetkin's interest in women's rights began developing during her studies in Leipzig with Mrs. Augusta Schmidt, an already recognized activist in that domain. Zetkin pushed forward the thesis that socialism and feminism were closely connected. She fought for the economic independence of women and wrote: "If our aim is to make the woman a free human being, then women should not be deprived of work or given fewer working hours, and fields in which they could work should not be limited, with certain rare exceptions."

In the autumn of 1920, Zetkin went to Kremlin for the first time. Lenin apparently took plenty of time to discuss the female issues with her, since, as she wrote, it was an issue real communists did not talk about, taking the social equality of women for granted. This issue, however, also included questions on women's equality in sex (their right to choose their partners, and right to love freely) and marriage, which Clara especially supported.

О СЛОБОДИ
И УЛИЦИМА БЕОГРАДАСрпска
орхидеја

Христина Ивановска

За Лењина је питање сексуалних слобода било буржујска тема о којој не сме бити простора ни у пролетеријату, ни у Партији. Клара Цеткин се није слагала са тим. Сматрала је да је питање положаја жена једнако важно колико и питање класних и друштвено-политичких промена. Ово је била њена историјска прилика да од инфериорног људског бића начини равноправног члана друштва и породице. Клара Цеткин је и сама била пример изворнага достојног морала у приватном животу. Живела је у невенчајој вези са Осипом Цеткинском са којим је имала двоје деце, а после његове смрти се удала за 18 година млађег песника и сликара Георга Фридриха Зундела од ког се касније развела.

Роза Луксембург, пријатељица и сарадница Кларе Цеткин, остала је инубеђено марксистички револуционар све до краја живота. Веома рано је трансформисала свој живот када је са 16 година постала члан Пољске радикалне партије. Њено име је послужило за оснивање Социјалдемократске партије Краљевине Пољске и Литванске.

Кралевине Пољске и Литванске партије. Не да је слобода увек била али она је што је потражила.

Није веровала у нацију и национи. Знала је да се тако не може која ће јој бити Европски усти капитализма. Не стоји могућност (ваку национални касније је проузр Лењином).

На почетку XX писала о могућности у темне економске мањкој, јачању марксизма, земља социјалиста које су да рале на про је. Први светски у Европи. Аутор објављивао рат Срби

перија рат Русији. Немачки парламент, укључујући и социјалдемократе, изгласао је финансирање рата. Роза Луксембург је ову одлуку доживела као личну катастрофу. Заједно са истомимењеницама укључујући и Клару Цеткин, формирала је револуционери групу *Spartacus*. Под псеудонимом *Junius*, док је две године лежала у затвору, писала је текстове тј. критике *Болшевичког* модела социјализма због отисности „диктатуре пролетеријата“ и текстове о кризама социјалдемократије. Касније је, заједно са Карлом Либкекнечом, изашла из Социјалдемократске партије због разлика у ставовима, да би формирала Комунистичку партију Немачке.

Историја се понавља. Слобода друштва је мишљења још се плаћала главом. Накoliko месеци касније Роза Луксембург је на мистериозан начин убијена пошто је учествовала у току берлинских демонстрација почетком 1919. Њено тело је пронађено узлазну путању Зоолошког врта „Либкекнеч“ на обалима реке Шпрее у Берлину.



Исидора Секулић и Даница Марковић, скоро вршњакиње, рођене крајем седамдесетих година XIX века, стварале су и објављивале у истом периоду али су једна другу познавале само преко својих радова

ДЕВЕДЕСЕТ ГОДИНА ОД
ТОПЛИЧКОГ УСТАНКАЕнергија
гнева

Радомир Ковачевић

На југу Србије нико више неће и не сме да се одазове бугарским позивима за регрутацију – тако су наредиле војводе Пећанац и Војиновић

Три месеца после руковођа групе ставили германски мишљење преко њих учинику, бугарски је ја пали куће, иерулу и Трну, изаша ле! На југу Србије се одазове бугарски – тако су наредили

Бугарски власти њих села; дагагау з гато, али ипак не Који пут то наведе власти се често збу из Пеша још нема ду већа појачања павације. Тој релу хопине допринос јавни обавезници ион и Крушевачко ник, војини, ион и Доо ове наредби којим случајем су диктате се се са на Бугари отворе вац кул путаки, изав сваки овај ко ову

Пећанац на крај сти, „сево јоосује р сена“. Каква је гај ицеје? Пећанац ут магловитом ошл одлако није веров ри учинили нама, не та до лавис, ил и даље чине!“

Lenin openly admitted to being unpleasantly surprised at the extent of this interest among women and youth, especially considering the conversation in question. "I could scarcely believe my ears when I heard it. [...] They think it is their most important duty to enlighten proletarian women on these subjects. The most widely read brochure is, I believe, the pamphlet of a young Viennese woman comrade on the sexual problem. What a waste!" He considered sexual theories, including Freud's, to be only random hypotheses "arise from the personal need to justify personal abnormality or hypertrophy in sexual life before bourgeois morality". He found the question of sexual freedom still a very bourgeois topic that must not be discussed either among the proletariat or in the Communist Party.

But Zetkin did not agree. She considered the question of the position of women to be as important as the question of class and socio-political changes. This was her historical opportunity to transform an inferior human being into an equal member of the family and society. She herself was exemplary for ignoring false morality in her private life. She lived in an extra-marital relationship with Ossip Zetkin, whom she had two children with, and after his death, she married Georg Friedrich Zundel, a poet, and a painter, eighteen years her junior, whom she later divorced.

Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin's friend, and associate remained a staunch Marxist revolutionary till the end of her life. She defined her life at the early age of sixteen when she became a member of the Proletariat, a left-wing Polish party. She was one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and the German Social Democratic Party. She believed that freedom was always on the side of the dissident or the one with different ideas. She confirmed this in practice.

She did not believe in strengthening and emphasis on nation and nationality. She knew that this weakened the power of the working class, which could only succeed in its struggle against capitalism if united throughout Europe. She rejected the possibility of declaring one's own nationality in socialism, which later caused tensions between her and Lenin.

In the early 20th century, she openly wrote about the possibility of war as a result of the difficult economic situation in Germany and the reinforcement of militarism and imperialism in the country. She asked the Socialists in the Parliament to work on changing this situation. But, the First World War was about to break out in Europe. In 1914 the Austro-Hungarian Empire declared war against Serbia and the German Empire against Russia. The German Parliament, including the Social Democrats, voted in favor of financing the war. Luxemburg considered this decision as her own personal catastrophe. With her supporters, Clara Zetkin included, she formed a revolutionary group called *Spartacus*. In prison, under the pseudonym of *Junius*, she wrote texts criticizing the Bolshevik model of socialism due to the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, and texts on the crises of social democracy. Later, together with Karl Liebknecht, she left the Social Democratic Party due to obvious differences in opinion in order to form the German Communist Party.

History, however, keeps repeating itself. The price of the freedom of different opinions is still too high. A few months later, Luxemburg was mysteriously killed after she had been arrested during the demonstrations in Berlin at the beginning of 1919. Her dead body was found in a channel next to the Zoo. Liebknecht was killed on the same day when trying to escape.

ЛИСТАЈУЋИ
ПОЛИТИКУ

23. фебруар

190

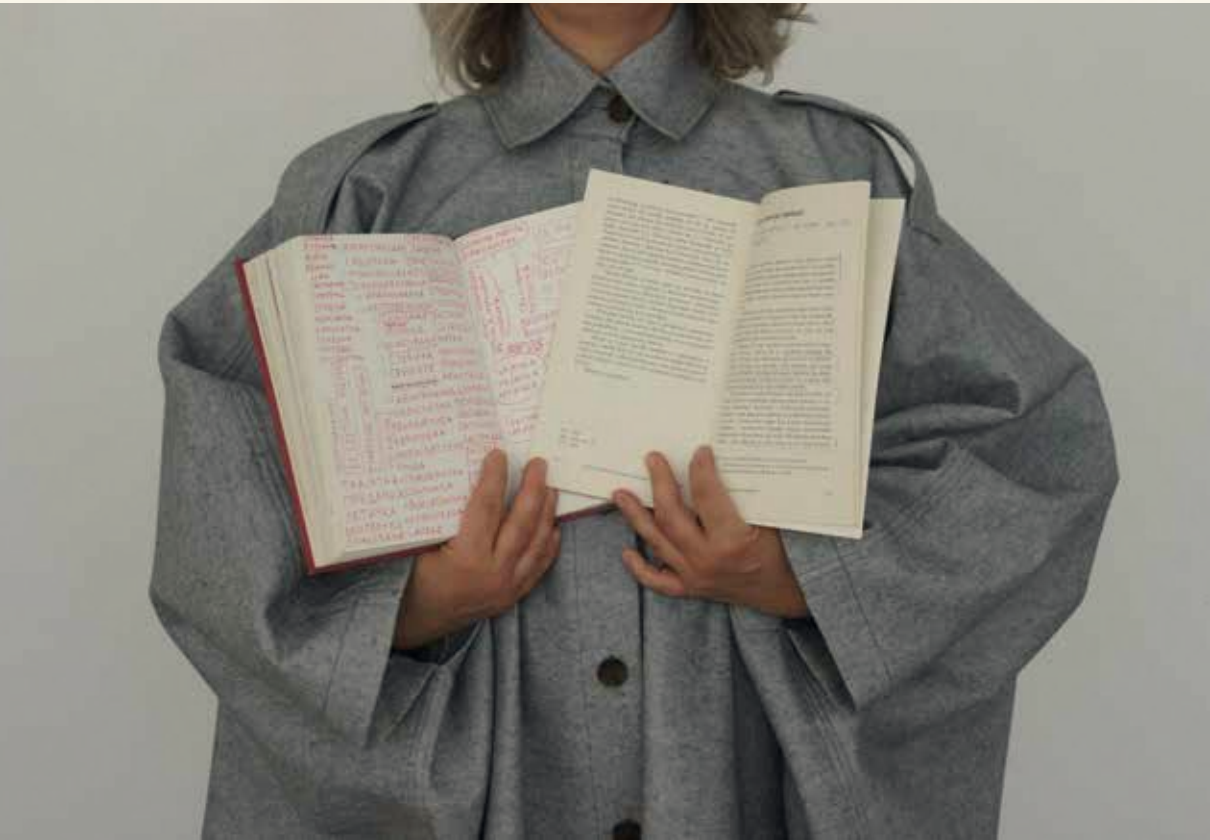
БЕСАРС
Хрватск
кућ реџ
др Богд
фом. Ца
на рад С
је Сабор
далметн
ре за гл

(below) 'Document Missing: Performance no. 9 (Attributes of Freedom)', digital photography, a photo by Yane Calovski, 2020 (right) A photographic reference with a presentation of Italian women partisans at the end of the Second World War, a photograph by Valentino Petrelli, public domain, Wikimedia Commons.





I am wearing a costume of woolen felt made in cooperation with Ludus Agender Label for the 'Document Missing: Performance no. 12 (Makedonka – emancipation, meaning and desire)', a photo by Iliana Petruševska, 2022. In my hands, I am holding my sketchbook from the period 2020-2022, opened on the pages with my notes on the female body and sexuality, and about the emancipatory forms of women's organization and their actions. I am also holding another opened book, a book that was a true revelation and inspiration for me along the lines of my aforementioned interests, Catherine Malabou Pleasure Erased: The Clitoris Unthout [„Izbrisano uživanje: klitoris i mišljenje“, Beograd: Fakultet za medije i komunikacije; Zagreb: Multimedijalni institute, 2021 (Novi Sad, Artprint)].



neodoljivog, pozitivnog instanciranja".¹⁹³ Ali istovremeno dolazi da postoji studium (ili da ga razbije na komade). Taj element je intencijalno ići u sukob, ne samo pobedu za sebe kao sreda i ubuduće. [...] Naravno ga, dakle, pamtiti [...] Postava je kao fotografije je neka shvatnost na svoj koji ne običe (ali ne i rani, potvrdi).¹⁹⁴

"Klimax Amerike" definisan kao koncentrat moći, ili na pamtiti. Ako je isto Amerike studium, Kalifornija-Klimax bila je ta sreda koja pogoda, postava, postiče veliki pozitivni "svetlog abstrak" teorije i pobuduje instanciranje, ali ova više od toga.

Mada Klimax, ili radije postiti ga da moći, za mene podrazumeva spravo istakanje iz društva studium-pamtiti koji nas vraća na dikotomiju postvost i aktivnosti i na njihovu silaznu dejstva, koliko zbog logike moćna vidimosti koja konotira, otkriva i obog promatranja ka vaj-nalnom i Klimaxom koje pobuduje.

Klimaxni situak nije dejstvo postvost, postvost, ili uboda. To uboda moći da otkriva se zove ekstaza stvarnog podjednako i zove straznja smisla, on se neprimeno ispostavlja, a svim analitičnom teorijom.

Otkaz se odnosi između studiuma i pamtiti-a, a razmaka između njih, on nije ni jedan ni drugi. Klimax je - kao i freudov - odnosi prava moći a ne odnosi iz moći. U svakom slučaju, spravo a tim terminima razmišlja moć moć.

Klimax je anarhija.

193 Ibid.
194 Ibid., str. 35.
197 Ibid.

Klimax, anarhija i ženskost

CO RANTOPLOT NEHORE ZA-CE
BNAEE

Anarhija se grčkom bukvalno znači odnosi naleta (anarchi, to jest, nemir, bez nametne moći i bez poroka. Anarhija diktatorstva nametnuta jednako diktatorstvu otkazuje ili dolazi preko, a postvost moći kao i u postvost bezvlastnosti. Moderno vreme, anarhija moći bez vlasti i bez poroka. Anarhija diktatorstva i postvost straznja i diktatorstva.

Anarhija je otkrivena otkrivena samo kroz i kao. Anarhija je definicija kao situacija onako kao postvost. Vojka koja se odnosi na rat, se otkriva više ni otkriva dolazi se kada ide. Vojka se otkriva i ne više više svog zapovednika, primenjuje jedino pravilo.

Sedmoj 19, reka anarhija se postvostu ova negativna analitička, ističući da je "anarhija postvost bez vlasti".¹⁹⁵ Vojka bez otkriva da nametne da se organizira je sami. Postvost bez nametne i bez poroka nije anarhija, dakle, ali nametne, već drugički nametne, nametne bez nametne, koje zapoveduje iskjučivo od sebe i ne otkriva nika izvan sebe. Postvost situak bez zadatih nametne.

Anarhija između studiuma i pamtiti predvodi pre svega iz njihove analitičke analitičke slepih postvost, iz njihovog tajanstvenog, skrivene i nepostvost postvost. Klimax je i sam slabo bio otkriva za postvostka nametne, za nametne i bezvlastnosti nametne koji pokazuju nametne, postvostka i diktatorstva postvostka svojim ključevima nametne i diktatorstva nametne, nametne od nametne nametne i sila. Klimax je nametne i ne nametne vlasti.

195 Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Les Confessions d'un individualiste, pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de France*, Hachette 1978 B50, Paris 2012.



Uprkos svim pokušajima da ona se pronađe gospodari - patrijarhalni autoritet, patrijarhalni dikrat, moćno imperativ, lozinc običaj, pravnici žig - on se opire. Opije se dominaciji zbog svoje svemoćnosti prema vlasti i prema moći.

Moć nije sila bez svog izvođenja i postignuća, kako o tome govori primena nekog zakona, akta, odluka, pa čak i saveta. Moć je uvik u sticavanju svoje aktivnosti. Akta, presude, zakoni, dekreti, i sama razina od postulatno - i dobre volje svih koji ih sprečavaju u delu. Aktivnosti i potencijalnost koja nezavisno planu podvednosti. Klitoris zapravo nije ni potencijal ni aktivna. Ona nije nikada simulacija u sticavanju vaginalne aktivnosti. Niti se peškoma modela emulacije i uplavljanja. Klitoris preki - da logike nametne i podalosti. Ona se opireta. Zbog toga postavlja pitanje.

Emancipacija izlazi da se nađe prethodna tačka u kojoj moć i dominacija sami sebe subvertiraju. Pisanje subvertiraje jedan je od determiniranih postupaka anarhističke mašt. Dominacija ne može biti zbačena jedino spolja. Ona postavlja unutrašnje linije otpora, podložnih svoje mogućoj preopti. Svaka ženina koja ispolji svemoćnost prema spolni aktivnosti i potencijalnosti razjareta svom dominaciju i automatski otkriva njihove unutrašnje napredke. Klitoris se otvara u svom moći - materijalno, ideološki - da bi otkrio krak koji joj neprestano puzi.

Klitoris, anarhija i feministički se nameće nezadrživo postojati, feminizirajući svom otpora koji je svom unutrašnjih sklonosti svom otporu. Poraz dominacije jedan je od najvećih izazova našeg vremena. Feminizam je očigledno jedna od najboljih i najprometnijih figura svog vremena, upravo zato što je bez araha.

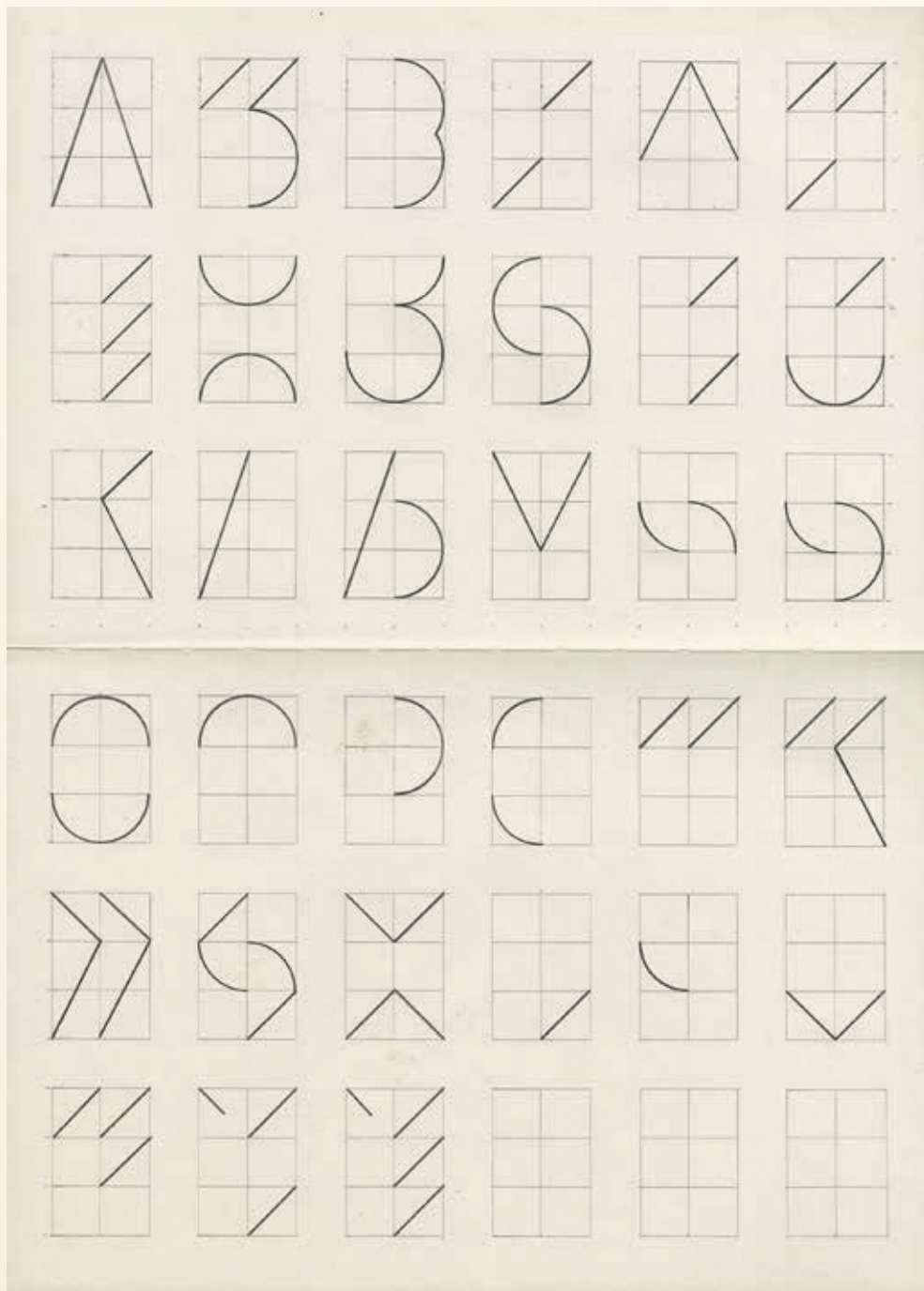
Ali biti bez araha ne znači biti bez uticaja. Bilo bih da je samo od životnog značaja da feministički se neprestano od ženstvenosti. Ženstvenost je prevarena produkcija, produkcija sa nasleđem nad ženama, seksualno i seksualno, sa seksualnom, sklonosti, unutrašnjosti, sa feminiziraju. Klitoris očigledno, i u mnogim pogledima, jeste lozinc tog

РЕТРОСПЕКТИВА

postavlja, i u autonomiji ženskog uticaja u isti mah simbolizuje i otkriva svoje uticaje što se imamo nepodložnosti. Inzistentno, kao što sam red reka, feministički manifestira ženu, determinirajući je, da bi projektovala, istovremeno velikih ili malih dostignuća, politički protiv svemoćnosti prema moći i prema vlasti.

Ženstvenost obuhvataje ne samo i tu budućnost.

A drawing from my sketchbook taken from my Cyrillic typography 'Archetype Open Form' that I developed in the period between 2016 and 2022. I was inspired by Joseph Albers and his typography, known today as 'Archetype Albers', and by Oscar and Zofia Hansen's 'Open Form' theory. The step forward I made by erasing the horizontals and verticals in the shapes of the letters as dominant forms of hierarchy, created a feeling of a liberated space for new interpretations of the great narratives by including the voices of the marginalized and forgotten.



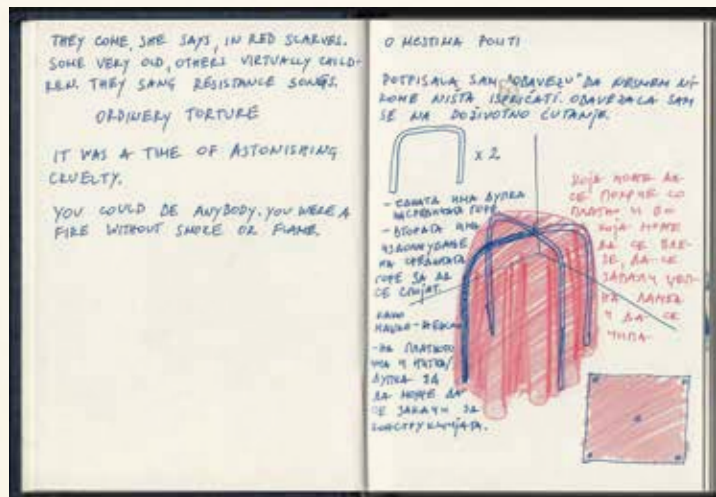
'Document Missing: Performance no. 9 (Attributes of Freedom)', digital photography, photo by Yane Calovski, 2020.





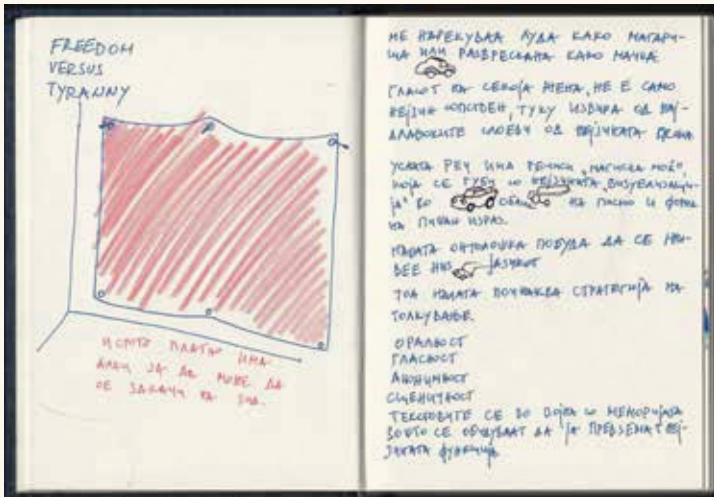
'Document Missing: Performance no. 7 (Cleaning)', documenting the meeting with one of the last surviving women partisans in the office of the Alliance of NOAVM fighters in Skopje, digital photography, photo by: Ana Lazarevska, 2017.





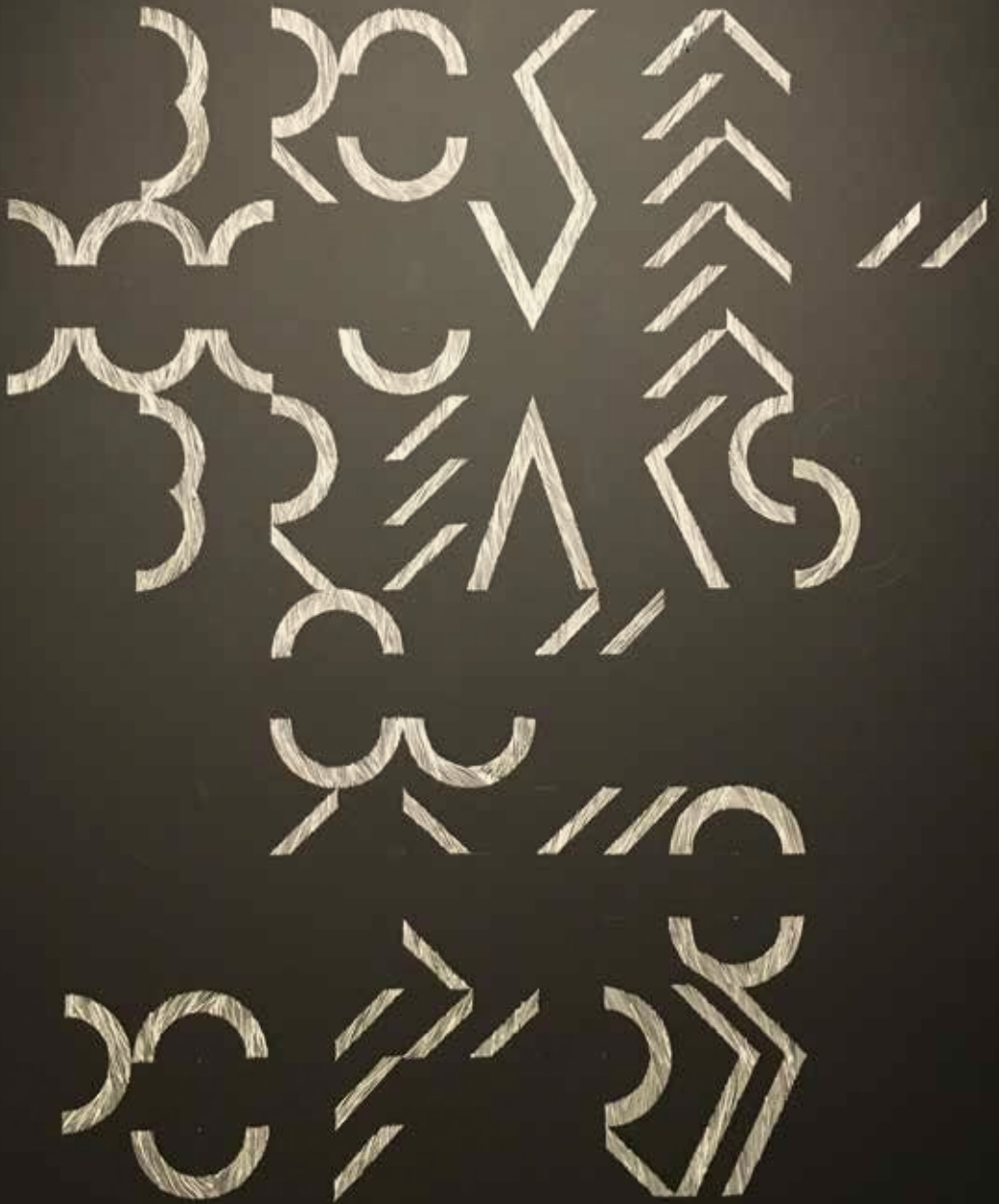
Pages from the sketchbook I used during 2022, while I was working on the preparations for 'Document Missing: Performance no. 6 (Daughter)', first performed on the 2nd June 2022 in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje, at the exhibition entitled "Ecstatic Bodies: Archive of Performative Queer Bodies in Macedonia", curated by Slavčo Dimitrov and Biljana Tanurovska-Kjulavkovski, as part of the Skopje Pride Weekend 2022. Photo by Sonja Stavreva.





The same performance at the Manifesta 14 Prishtina – the European Nomadic Biennial, curated by Catherine Nichols, the creative mediator of the biennial's 14th edition. Photo by: © Manifesta 14 Prishtina / Atdhe Mulla. I am wearing a linen costume made in cooperation with Ludus Agender, with the text in Cyrillic typography written on the dress with textile paint.





'Document Missing: Performance No. 11 (Mural)', wall carving with a variable dimension that was part of my installation 'Broken Document Breaks out into Poetry', at the exhibition "Whiteness as Property. Racism and Ownership", Künstlerhaus Vienna, curated by Ana Hoffner ex-Prvulovic*, 2022. Photo by MNagl.



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'Document Missing: Performance no. 12 (Makedonka – emancipation, meaning, and desire)', photo by Iliana Petruševska, 2022. (left) 'Archetype Open Form', typography, 2022.

Malegozina



45





Jelena Milinković

EPILOGUE

Makedonka
(1944–1952)
and the
contemporary
study of
periodicals

In the last few years, or even in the last decade, we can witness an increased interest for the research and study periodicals on the territory of former Yugoslavia. These researches primarily occur in the circles of literary researchers, and researchers are most commonly motivated to discover not sufficiently known texts, authors and cultural phenomena in general. The interest in periodicals is stimulated by the awareness about the limitations of the customary (literary) historical syntheses and narratives and by the desire to expand their scope. The restrictiveness of the official canonical conceptions appears particularly limiting and it is believed that their re-composition, expansion and amendment is necessary and for this purpose researches should be conducted that will not rely on the canonical structures and established conventions of a given culture. The interest in studying periodicals is also stimulated by the methodological shift towards those ideological/theoretical concepts that are not focused exclusively on the hermeneutical interpretations of the text, but include and show equal respect for the extra-textual and contextual interpretations. These tendencies in the Yugoslav humanities, and above all in Serbian literary studies (which is the scope of my research), led to multiplication and grouping of texts that are classified as part of the field of study of periodicals. These researches are to a great extent related to feminist research and in that sense, we can talk about feminist studies of periodicals (Green 2009, Kolarić

2017), that are mostly conducted at the Philological Faculty and at the Institute for Literature and Art in Belgrade, and have resulted in numerous projects, monographs, anthologies and individual studies, and have strengthened regional academic connections. The relationship between the study of women's history and the forms of representation of women's experiences in the form of literary, artistic and other cultural practices is also strongly linked with the study of periodicals. Throughout history, magazines have proven to be institutions of literature/culture closely related to women's (everyday) life (Green 2017). Therefore, the study of (history) periodicals can yield significant knowledge about women's history. More concretely, we can acquire knowledge about the desired models of female behaviour, about women's social roles and forms of public presentation, as well as about the diversity of cultural, artistic, political and activist practices they undertook.

When talking about the stages in the establishment of women's magazines on the territory of former Yugoslavia, they have all undergone a very similar development in most of the former republics, now independent states. The establishment of women's culture of magazines was directly related to the development of the emancipatory feminist movement in this area. Their 'development' and multiplication was also crucially related to the expansion of women's education, as well as with the improvement of social standards and the emergence of the middle classes. The first magazines aimed at women (in the Serbian/Yugoslav cultural space) emerged in the middle of the 19th century. Because of the regulations, men's names were signed as editors of these magazines, although they were in fact shaped by women, who constituted the majority of these magazines' regular contributors. These were women's magazines whose attitude towards feminism was dialectical, but their emancipatory potential is doubtless. For this reason we can define these periodicals as emancipatory, that is, (proto)feminist. These periodicals experienced a certain degree of expansion at the turn of the century. At the end of World War

One, women's status in the society in general changed and in the interwar period the first organized feminist movements emerged that engaged in different activities, but the magazines were the central institutions of this newly formed feminist (counter)public. (Barać 2015). During this period, the first magazines that can be described as feminist were published on the territory of Yugoslavia, including the first Yugoslav and longest lasting magazine *Ženski pokret* (1920-1938).¹ The design of the magazines aimed at women was submitted to the influence of a world war again, and after World War Two and the revolutionary change of the entire social order and system, women's status was also regulated differently. The attitude of socialist Yugoslavia towards feminism was controversial, especially where its nominal attitude and concrete action crossed: nominal feminism was declared part of the undesirable bourgeois past, while Yugoslav socialism and especially its legislation were expressly feminist. The most important laws in the area of female civil and other rights were adopted after World War Two and the legal constitutions of the former republics are inherited from these legal regulations.

In principle, women's magazine (those produced in the period up to World War Two) can be divided into three groups of periodicals: 1) magazines aimed at women, 2) women's magazines, and 3) feminist magazines (Todorović 1987, Peković 2003, Barać 2015). The magazines aimed at women were the endeavours that counted on female readership and were of advisory and illustrative nature. These magazines are of the oldest type. Women's magazines were most commonly produced by women, and feminist traits could be traced to a greater or lesser extent. As I have already mentioned, these magazines were most common at the turn of the century. Owing to the specific social and political circumstances in which they were published, these magazines on the territory of Yugoslavia contained the emancipation of women within the national concepts. However,

¹ For more on the magazine *Ženski pokret* see at www.zenskipokret.org. All the issues of the magazine are accessible via the link.

when we discern nationalist tendencies in these magazines, we must always bear in mind the nature and concept of the national movements in those decades: nationalism was then articulated as an emancipatory, anticolonial and anti-imperialist avant-garde project that was supposed to lead to liberation and to creation of an independent (national) state after World War One. The feminist magazines, the youngest among these three groups, belonged to the so-called militant media that called for a replacement of the patriarchal concept and for a creation of a different figure of the new woman. Not pretending to elaborate on this systematisation, we would just like to add that the categories in this division were in fact the steps taken in the development of the periodicals in the period up to the beginning of World War Two. They follow the exact stages, that is, the development of the emancipatory and (proto)feminist concepts. With the intensification of feminism, the periodicals became more and more militant. Women's periodicals 'had travelled the road' from advisory - maintaining the established female roles in the society and culture, to emancipatory - including the usual female patriarchal roles (wife, mother, housewife, member of the nation), but also elevating women through the attempt to emphasize the importance of education, emancipation and (economic) independence, and eventually to openly feminist, unequivocally challenging the fundamental of patriarchy and calling for its reform, or even its abolition. After World War Two, women's magazines in Yugoslavia were mostly a mixture of all these types of periodicals, but the feminist revolt in them was, nonetheless, the quietest, since the general attitude was that the women's question was solved, that is to say, its solution was related to the solution of the class issue. Women's press after World War Two, and especially in the late nineteen forties and in the nineteen fifties, was not part of any (counter)public, but its organisation was instead supported and managed by the state, and women's press was considered one of the public institutions of early socialism. Women's press in the second half of the 20th century was under the decisive influence of commercialization, consumerism, and pop culture and, later on, of

the liberal economy and corporate publishing. And owing to all this, in the world of women's magazines, and in society in general, the trend of quiet re-patriarchalization was in ascendance.

Why is it important to link the research of feminism with the research of periodicals? From the perspective of researching female culture, the research of periodicals is advantageous for the historical phenomena, processes, concepts and syntheses in multiple ways. Firstly, periodicals are an un-researched 'treasury' or a 'mine' of all forms of women's representation, where it is possible to find a great number of authors, texts and phenomena from various areas of life, culture and art that are not preserved anywhere else. Secondly, in periodicals, the principles of female action can be observed in a broader context, because the magazines were polygons where different historical, political, sociological and other processes crossed. Thirdly, because periodicals were introduced yet another way of interpreting the world and they were a 'cultural institution', while at the same time they also served as a mirror held to the society and functioned as a means of creating the public opinion and the overall atmosphere in the society, and they identified the role of women within this context. Therefore, all periodicals, and especially the magazines with a wide-ranging thematic scope, are very good indicators of the broader social, ideological and political developments and the female culture in them are placed in the context of more comprehensive social structures. Because of all this, the research of periodicals can provide us with a different view on the national concepts and can serve as their corrective (Miliniković 2022).

Makedonka, the magazine published by the Women's Antifascist Front of Macedonia, inherited most of the characteristics of its own time. It was a wartime and postwar magazine started in 1944 by a female military and revolutionary organisation. Because of this women-revolutionary connection, this magazine is a hiatus combination of female culture and the achievements of the revolution. In its contents, the magazine is related to both

prewar feminist and postwar antifascist revolutionary magazines. *Makedonka* is in some respect very similar to *Žena danas* (*Women Today*) (1936-1941) from Belgrade, while, at the same time being very similar, thematically and in its iconography to the *pioneer* press, established also at the end of the war and immediately afterwards.

*Žena danas*² was a magazine of the communist women, members of the League of Communist Youth, started in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia at a time when it was forbidden to promulgate communist ideas. Because of the legal ban, the communist women used the youth section of the Women's Movement to found and edit a magazine that used a feminist platform to articulate their critique of capitalism, to propagate the ideas of social justice and to identify the problems of the marginalized groups: women, children, the unemployed, and the poor. This magazine managed to achieve a union of socialism and feminism of sorts, which proves the extent to which these two concepts were related in the interwar period. An additional characteristic of *Žena danas*, and at the same time another direct similarity to *Makedonka*, was its visual aspect, and the advice and fashion rubric. Except for its primary advisory function, this 'lighter' content in the magazine also had some commercial value, and we guess that, because of it, both magazines had a considerable audience and solid distribution.

Makedonka was even more directly related to the pioneer press. The pioneer press had its origins in the National Liberation Struggle. These were magazines that followed the model of the Soviet press and were started in order to establish a new children/pioneers' culture and to build the model child figure of the pioneer (Milinković 2019). *Makedonka* aimed to build the most desirable figure of the Macedonian-Yugoslav woman upon the foundations laid the National Liberation Struggle and in the context of the new socialist state and its progressive policies. Because of the chronotope

2 The contents of *Žena danas* can be gleaned from the bibliography prepared by Kostić and Malić (Kostić and Malić 2021). A collection of texts dedicated to the magazine is in preparation, edited by Stanislava Barać, and it is expected to be published by the end of 2022 by the Institute for Literature and Art in Belgrade.

in which it was started, *Makedonka* belongs to the agitprop period, and in this context, it is yet another example of the socialist cultural modelling, that is, it is an implementation of the politics of agitprop, based on the belief that there cannot be any progress for the country without culture. Because the magazine was founded before the end of the war, one of its first goals was to reinforce and preserve the legacy of the National Liberation Struggle, and because the magazine was aimed at women, women's merits were particularly emphasised. Therefore, in addition to their preservation of the legacy of the revolution and their building personality cults around the socialist and communist leaders, especially the cult of Josip Broz Tito, the magazine covered many key points of this politics, such as the Five-Year Plan for the construction of the country (1947-1952), the technological progress, the construction of the railways, etc. It also very clearly reflected the most important political events of that time, such as the Resolution of the Cominform and the split between Tito and Stalin, by changing the focus in its editorial policy as required. The relationship between the pioneer press that inherited the same body of themes and ideas and the female culture is multi-layered. Regardless of the fact that the pioneer magazines were primarily aimed at children/pioneers, they were like some sort of continuation of women's/feminist activism from the prewar years because of the fact that some of them were edited by women, but also because most of their contributors were also women. With regards to *Makedonka*, bearing in mind the political context and chronotope, as well as some examples of the pioneer press ('*Poletarac*' - '*Fledgeling*'), we can ask various questions about the characteristics and the degree of freedom that women in early socialism had. Because the war experiences were still recent, and because of the agitation and propagandist cultural model and the influence of the Communist Party on this segment of culture and publishing, it was not of particular importance who performed the role of the editor formally. This too was a limiting element with respect to the quality and independence of the editorial policy. The editorial concept could not diverge much from the official state

politics, but when we look at the published content that was based on the antifascist ideas and made efforts to defend education, social justice and equality, then this stage in women's managing and editing magazines cannot and must not be neglected, just as women's activism in general. Phenomenologically, the editorial policies in women's magazines are important from the point of view of history of periodicals. They are primarily related to the general progress of the society, to the accelerated industrialization and construction of the country, which then brought changes to both education and culture. The project of building a new state demanded serious investment in education and culture. For this reason, we can say that *Makedonka*, and the pioneer press, and all other newspapers and magazines at the time, were part of the comprehensive social modernization. And in this sense, the emancipatory segment of the magazine was very important, which mostly reflected in those segments of the magazine that addressed the illiteracy and ignorance of Macedonian women. This editorial policy was in sync with the ideas of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which believed that no economic progress was possible without progress in the field of education and the improvements in basic literacy, and that women, just like workers and pioneers, have to be politically educated and culturally enlightened. And because illiteracy in Macedonia (among women) was one of the worst, in comparison to the other Yugoslav republics, this was one of the key segments of the magazine. In this context, the fact that the magazine published literary contributions should also be noted. The works of some of the most important Yugoslav writers were published (such as Branko Ćopić). This concept reveals faith in the power of magazines. Bearing in mind that these magazines were the chief media space at the end of the nineteen forties and in the course of the nineteen fifties, it is very important that Macedonian women had a publication with which they could identify because of its title, and where they could find content that concerned them and had emancipatory influence. And because this was a collage magazine with illustrations, we can guess that its receptivity was

significant and that women could absorb its content quickly and easily.

The project 'Invisible Archives' dedicated to *Makedonka* is of exceptional importance. The activities of this project are part of the latest scientific research of periodicals on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and for this reason, it is of crucial importance not 'only' to realise its current stage, but also to continue the project, above all in the direction of digitalization of the sources. Thus, in addition to the initial interdisciplinary interpretation of the magazine that this collection offers, the magazine itself could be offered. It is of particular importance to emphasise not only the advantages, but also the necessity, of digitising *Makedonka*, bearing in mind the state of the collection of issues of this magazine, the fact that this magazine was a victim of the social and economic transformations and that not a single Macedonian cultural institution owns all of the issues together. The fact that the complete collection of the issues of *Makedonka* is in Belgrade, in the National Library of Serbia, is an extremely limiting factor for its research and study. *Makedonka* is a monument of the National liberation Struggle, antifascism, feminism, female culture and early socialism. Therefore, to make it accessible goes beyond the local, Macedonian, context and concerns the entire Yugoslav space. Its digitalization would allow for further comparative interdisciplinary and trans disciplinary research and it would enrich both Yugoslav studies and the studies of periodicals.

Македонка







APPENDIX

1. Periodicity

2. Biographies
of the editors
of the magazine
Makedonka



Appendix 1.

***Makedonka* – Organ of WAF**

Periodicity (1944-1952)

Year 1:

Editor Veselinka Malinska

1. Year 1, no. 1 (November 1944)
2. Year 1, no. 2 (December 1944)

Year 2:

Editor Veselinka Malinska

3. Year 2, no. 3-4 (January-February 1945)
4. Year 2, no. 5-6 (March-April 1945)
5. Year 2, no. 7 (May 1945)
6. Year. 2, no. 8-9 (јуни-јули 1945)
7. Year 2, no. 10-11 (August-September 1945)
8. Year 2, no. 12-13 (October-November 1945)
9. Year 2, no. 14 (December 1945)

Year 3:

Editor Veselinka Malinska

10. Year 3, no. 15-16 (January-February 1946)
11. Year 3, no. 17-18 (March-April 1946)
12. Year 3, no. 19 (May 1946)
13. Year 3, no. 20 (June 1946)
14. Year 3, no. 21-22 (July-August 1946)
15. Year 3, no. 23 (September 1946)
16. Year 3, no. 24 (October 1946)
17. Year 3, no. 25 (November 1946)
18. Year 3, no. 26 (December 1946)

Year 4:

Editor Veselinka Malinska (until no. 35);
Vera Nikolova (from no. 36-37)

19. Year 4, no. 27 (January 1947)
20. Year 4, no. 28 (February 1947)
21. Year 4, no. 29 (March 1947)
22. Year 4, no. 30-31 (April-May 1947)
23. Year 4, no. 32 (June 1947)
24. Year 4, no. 33-34 (July-August 1947)
25. Year 4, no. 35 (September 1947)
26. Year 4, no. 36-37 (October-November 1947)
27. Year 4, no. 38 (December 1947)

Year 5:

Editor-in-chief Vera Nikolova

28. Year 5, no. 39 (January 1948)
29. Year 5, no. 40-41 (February-March 1948)
30. Year 5, no. 42 (April 1948)

31. Year 5, no. 43 (May 1948)
32. Year 5, no. 44 (June 1948)
33. Year 5, no. 45 (July 1948)
34. Year 5, no. 46-47 (August-September 1948)
35. Year 5, no. 48 (October 1948)
36. Year 5, no. 49-50 (November-December 1948)
37. Year 5, no. 51 (1949)
38. Year. 5, no. 52 (1949)
39. Year 5, no. 53-54 (1949)
40. Year 5, no. 55 (1949)
41. Year 5, no. 56 (1949)
42. Year 5, no. 57 (1949)
43. Year 5, no. 58 (1949)
44. Year 5, no. 59 (1949)
45. Year 5, no. 60 (1949)
46. Year 5, no. 61 (1949)

Year 6:

Editor-in-chief Vera Nikolova, Blagojka Demnieva

47. Year 6, no. 62 (1950)
48. Year 6, no. 63 (February 1950)
49. Year 6, No 64 (March 1950)
50. Year 6, no. 65 (April 1950)
51. Year 6, no. 66 (May 1951)
52. Year 6, no. 67 (June 1950)
53. Year 6, no. 68 (July 1950)
54. Year 6, no. 69 (August 1950)
55. Year 6, no. 70-71 (September-October 1950) –
Editor-in-chief Blagojka Demnieva
56. Year 6, no. 72 (Novemembr 1950)
57. Year 6, no. 73 (December 1950)

Year 7:

Editor Blagojka Demnieva

- 58. Year 7, no. 74 (January 1951)
- 59. Year 7, no. 75 (February 1951)
- 60. Year 7, no. 76 (March 1951)
- 61. Year 7, no. 77 (April 1951)
- 62. Year 7, no. 78 (May 1951)
- 63. Year 7, no. 79 (June 1951)
- 64. Year 7, no. 80 (July 1951)
- 65. Year 7, no. 81-82 (August-September 1951)

Year 8:

Editor Liljana Maneva

- 66. Year. 8, no. 83 (December 1952)

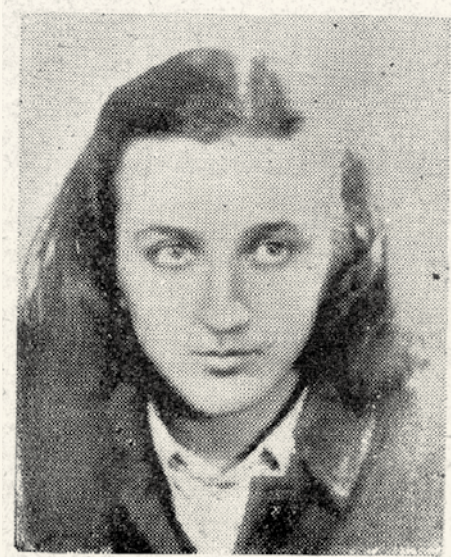
Appendix 2

Biographies of the editors of the magazine *Makedonka*

In this appendix we present the biographies of the editors-in-chief of the magazine *Makedonka*, accompanied with bibliographical notes, about them as authors of contents in the magazine, during the period when they were editors-in-chief, or beyond it, that is to say, a bibliographical selection of their authorship for the magazine *Makedonka*. During the research, we felt the need to introduce another research (auxiliary) process, whose name we chose on the basis of the applied methodology – re-examination of the biographies through the bibliographies', whose aim was to find and compare different sources and documents that reveal new data about the views of women as participants in political and historical processes through an analysis of their authorship of various contents. And of course, what we would like to do in this collection in the first places is to present that new direction in the research, but for its complete development more comprehensive research is required. One of the challenges in this direction is the oblivion affecting the authors from the socialist period in general and the obscurity of women in Macedonian modern history in particular. What makes it a challenge is the fact that it refers to the socialist and mainly taboo, or methodologically incomplete, narratives about this part of our national

history. Consequently, we could not find complete biographical data or photographs of some of the authors we profiled, although, ironically – they spent most of their professional life in the media, or on the political and cultural scene, that is to say, they were part of the public life. We believe that the biographies of the editors of *Makedonka* can serve as a pattern, which does not only fulfil its primary purpose – to inform about the managers and executives behind *Makedonka*, but also to point at the places and sources for further analysis. These researches can clarify more about the factors that prevented, or stimulated, the factorization of women or their political participation in the period in which they lived.

1. VESELINKA MALINSKA



Веселинка Малинска

Veselinka Malinska (Kumanovo, 1917 – Skopje 1987), a communist, partisan and politician, one of the most eminent participants in the National Liberation Struggle and a delegate at the Antifascist Assembly for the National Liberation of Macedonia, as well as a member of WAF. She was awarded the Commemorative Medal of the Partisans 191 and other Yugoslav decorations - Order

of Merit for the People with a Golden Star and Order of Brotherhood and Unity with a Silver Star. Her political activism began in the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (SKOJ) and continued with her performing various party functions in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia on the territory of Kumanovo and Skopje in the nineteen thirties. During World War Two, as a member of the partisan movement, she was in charge of the most important courier's tasks between the Provincial Committees and the Serbian partisan units. By 1945, she was the Secretary of the District Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in Skopje, a fighter in the Second Skopje Partisan Detachment, and in charge of the agitprop of the General Headquarters of the National Liberation Army and the Partisan Detachments of Macedonia. Near the end of the war she became a member of the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of Macedonia, she was also elected a delegate for the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), and she was a member of the Governing Board of the People's Liberation Front, a delegate and the second secretary of the working Presidency of the First Session of the Antifascist Assembly of the National Liberation of Macedonia (ASNOM), as well as a clerk at the Subcommittee for information. After the liberation she was appointed the Secretary of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia. In socialist Macedonia, after the war, Malinska had a successful political career and held managerial positions in cultural institutions and in the media. She was the editor of several new media important for the state. She was the editor of some party newspapers during and after the war, such as *Vesnik* and *Ilindenski pat* (*The Ilinden Path*); she also edited several issues of the newspaper *Nova Makedonija*; she was the head of Radio Skopje (from 1 April 1952 until November 1961), the President of the Association of Journalists of Macedonia, a member of the University Council of the Sts Cyril and Methodius University in Skopje. As a politician, she participated in important historical events, both locally and regionally. During the wars she was a close associate of Tito during the partisan diversions in Užice (1941); she was a delegate of ASNOM; leader of the Women's Antifascist Front and member of the councils of high-ranking state bodies.

Malinska was the first editor-in-chief of the magazine and stayed in that position longer than any other editor [from Year 1, No. 1 (November 1944) until Year 4, No. 35 (September 1947)]. During this period, the magazine *Makedonka* gradually developed from

the postwar medium for the women that joined the antifascist struggle into a political medium of agitation whose task was to persuade women to participate in all spheres of life in the society and published diverse textual and illustrated contents. When she stopped being the editor-in-chief, Malinska continued working like a regular collaborator of the magazine, especially as an author of texts with political analysis of the policies about family and texts about political participation of women.

7 Noemvri / Veselinka Malinska // Year 1, No. 1
(November 1944), p. 3.

Da go zajakneme Antifašističkiot front na ženite
na Makedonija / Veselinka Malinska // Year 1, No. 1
(November 1944), pp. 9-10.

Pazenjeto na bratstvoto i edinstvoto na našite narodi,
traži od nas pogolemo političko prosvetuvanje /
Veselinka Malinska // Year 2, No. 3-4 (January-
February 1945), pp. 1-2.

8 mart 1945 godina vo Makedonija / Veselinka
Malinska // Year 2, No. 5-6 (March-April 1945), pp.
8-10.

Izbori za narodna skupština - važen nastan za životot
na našite narodi / Veselinka Malinska // Year 6, No.
64 (March 1950), pp. 1-2.

Za noviot lik na semejstvoto kaj nas / Veselinka
Malinska // Year 8, No. 83 (December 1952), p. 8.

2. VERA NIKOLOVA



Vera Nikolova was a communist activist, part of the partisan movement and active member of WAF. In the postwar period, she built a career in the media, culture and education. She was a regular collaborator and author for the magazine *Makedonka* from its beginnings and later she continued working for the *Prosvetena žena*. Her professional career after the war was synonymous

with the notion of 'public figure/public worker', used in the socialist period for those who worked in the fields of culture and education, but were also active in other areas, such as journalism, literature and local activism within the existing socialist organisations. As a WAF activist she was a regular columnist and journalist for women's magazines, writing mostly about education; Nikolova was the editor-in-chief of the magazine *Makedonka* in the period between 1947 and 1950 [from Year 4, No. 36-37 (October-November 1947) until Year 6, No. 69 (August 1950)]. In this period, the messages of the magazine were primarily focused on the importance of the inclusion of women in the planned economy (the Five-Year Plan).

In the labour cooperative in Brvenica / Vera Nikolva
// Year 3, No. 23 (September 1946), p. 8.

Kako da ja sprovedeme prosvetnata rabota na seloto
prez letoto / Vera Nikolova // Year 3, No. 21-22 (July-
August 1946), p. 16.

Da im ovozmožime na site deca redovno na odat vo
školo / Vera Nikolova // Year 3, No. 25 (November
1946), p. 5.

Organizacijata na AFŽ vo prosvetuvanje na ženite /
Vera Nikolova // Year 6, No; 67 (June 1950), pp. 6-7.

Na dalečen pat / Vera Nikolova // Year 7, No. 77 (April
1951), pp. 1-4.

3. BLAGOJKA DEMNIEVA-KUZMANOVSKA

Blagojka Demnieva-Kuzmanovska (Veles 1920 – Skopje 1999) was a participant in the National Liberation Struggle and educator. In 1940, while a student in Belgrade, she became an activist of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. In 1941, she was active in the League of Communist Youth (SKOJ) in her native city of Veles. During World War Two, she was interned as a political prisoner in Bulgaria because of her involvement with the communist party. In 1944, she was released from internment and joined the partisan units in Veles. She was a member of the First Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Macedonia. Her memoirs about her experiences during the war were published in 1981 in the book *Okovani vo prangi: Sekavanje na politički zatvorenici, internirci i deportirci - pripadnici na NOV i revolucijata na Makedonija, koi vo Vtorata svetska vojna bea vo zatvorite i logorite pod bugarska fašistička okupacija - Zbornik (Chained in Fetters: the memories of the imprisoned interned and deported – members of the National Liberation Struggle and the Macedonian Revolution, imprisoned during the Second World War in the prisons and camps under Bulgarian fascist occupation – collection.)* After the war she was active in the political life of the society. In 1964 she became the head of the Pedagogical Academy in Skopje and was also a director of the Social Workers College in Skopje. As far as her activism for emancipation of women is concerned, she was one of the first members of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia and a regular contributor to the magazines *Makedonka* and *Prosvetena žena*. She was the editor-in-chief in the period between 195 and 1951 [from Year 6, No. 70-71 (September-October 1950) until Year 7, No. 81-82 (August-September 1951)]. This period was crucial for the magazine because it was decided that the activities of WAF overlapped with those of the People's Front and the magazine was paused.

Mladinata na Makedonija ja proslavi svetskata nedela na mladite / Blagojka Demnieva // year 2, No. 5-6 (March-April 1945), p. 25.

Pred osmomartovskoto natprevaruenje / Blaga Demnieva // Year 4, No. 27 (January 1947), p. 7.1947), стр. 7.

4. LILJANA MANEVA SAVELJIĆ



Liljana Maneva Saveljić (Skopje, 1917 – Skopje, 2012) was a communist activist, participant in the National Liberation Struggle and socialist politician. She graduated from high school in Skopje and then studied at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade. In the nineteen forties she joined the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During World

War Two, as a communist activist, she was interned in Bulgaria. When she returned on Macedonian territory, near the end of 1943, her political career began, first as the Political Commissar of the Partisan Battalion 'Jordan Nikolov' and of the Third Macedonian Brigade. She performed other duties and functions in other partisan bodies. After the liberation she was the Secretary of the District and County Committee in Skopje, an assistant in the Embassy of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia in Sofia, Deputy-Minister for Agriculture, an MP in the Macedonian and Yugoslav Parliament, the Secretary of the Council for Public Health of the People's Republic of Macedonia, member of the Central Committee of the Organizational-Political Secretariat of the Central Committee of the League of Communist of Macedonia. She was also an important

political figure in WAF. She was the President of the Governing Board of WAF of Macedonia and the editor of the last issue of the magazine *Makedonka* [Year 8, No. 83 (December 1952)], and then the editor of the successor-magazine *Prosvetena žena*. When the Women's Antifascist Front reformed into the Women's Societies of Yugoslavia, she was elected member of the Governing Board of the Women's Societies of Yugoslavia. Owing to her high political ranking she was at the helm of many important institutions during the socialist period: the President of the Board for domestic policy of the Social-Political Council of the Federal Parliament, editor-in-chief of Radio Skopje and the first director of the Macedonian Television (appointed on 1 June 1962). She was awarded the Commemorative Medal of the Partisans of 1941.

Za život svetel krasen i čis... / Ljiljana Saveljić // Year 1, No. 1, p. 4.

13 i 15 juni 1944 - dva pametni dena na Tretata brigada / Liljana Savelić // Year 2, No. 8-9 (June-July 1945), pp. 10-11.

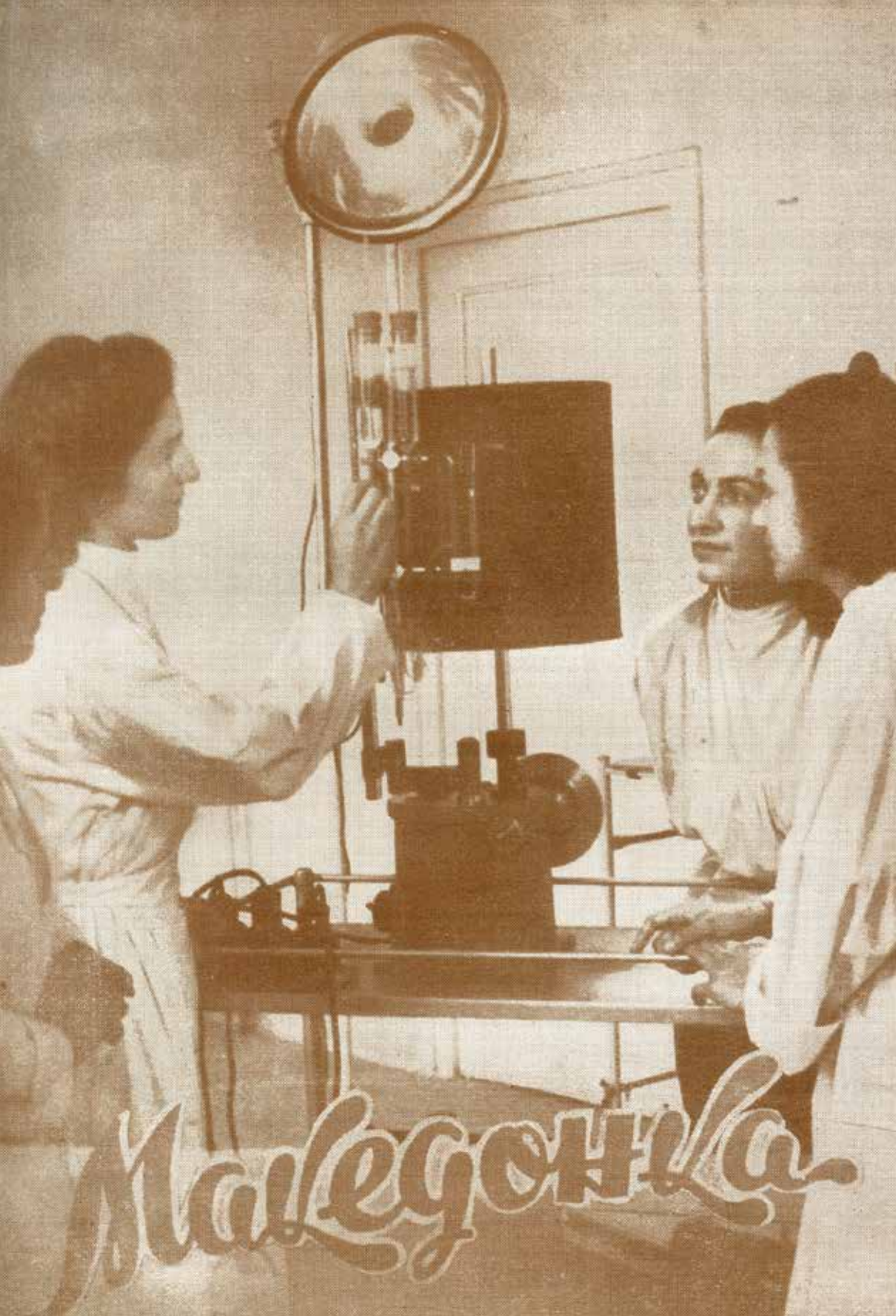
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Čekorime smelo (AFŽ od Egejska Makedonija) / Lj. Maneva // Year 5, No. 45 (July 1948), p. 7.

Bitkata na Crnook - fragment od Majskata ofanziva 1944 / L. Maneva // Year 6, No. 70-71 (September-October 1950), pp. 2-3.

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ОКТОБРИ
НОЕМВРИ



Македонка

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The project 'Invisible Archives' dedicated to Makedonka is of exceptional importance. The activities of this project are part of the latest scientific research of periodicals on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and for this reason, it is of crucial importance not 'only' to realise its current stage, but also to continue the project, above all in the direction of digitalization of the sources. Thus, in addition to the initial interdisciplinary interpretation of the magazine that this collection offers, the magazine itself could be offered. It is of particular importance to emphasise not only the advantages, but also the necessity, of digitising Makedonka, bearing in mind the state of the collection of issues of this magazine, the fact that this magazine was a victim of the social and economic transformations and that not a single Macedonian cultural institution owns all of the issues together. The fact that the complete collection of the issues of Makedonka is in Belgrade, in the National Library of Serbia, is an extremely limiting factor for its research and study. Makedonka is a monument of the National liberation Struggle, antifascism, feminism, female culture and early socialism. Therefore, to make it accessible goes beyond the local, Macedonian, context and concerns the entire Yugoslav space. Its digitalization would allow for further comparative interdisciplinary and trans disciplinary research and it would enrich both Yugoslav studies and the studies of periodicals.

Jelena Milinković

