

MICKEY MOUSE IN A SOCIALIST COUNTRY OR THE YUGOSLAV YOUTH LOOKING THROUGH THE WESTERN WINDOW

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ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the United States of America as seen in the Yugoslav youth magazine „Politikin Zabavnik“ between 1952 and 1991, i.e. during the existence of the socialist Yugoslavia.

Key words: *Politikin zabavnik, USA, cultural influence*

„Politikin Zabavnik“ was the leading Yugoslav youth magazine. It was published by the largest Serbian and at the same time largest Yugoslav newspaper publishing house, „Politika“. It was started already before the WWII, on February 28, 1939, and was published until the German attack on Yugoslavia in April 1941. It was meant to be a youth magazine which would publish interesting stories, novels, notes, educational materials and to be sure, comics.¹ Although it targeted above all the young readership, it was by no means only meant for kids: indeed it's ambition was to become an entertainment and educational magazine for the whole family. Already at that time it was heavily suffused with American, particularly Disney's, comics.² Part of other materials were also taken over from American sources.³ Already in those days the impact of American popular culture was beginning to be felt in Yugoslavia. Being distant and disinterested in the

¹ Vasa Pavković, *Naš slatki strip*, Beograd (Narodna knjiga, Alfa) 2003, p. 109.

² Ž. Bogdanović, *Posle 50 godina: Junaci mnogih generacija*, *Politikin zabavnik* (henceforth: PZ), 1941, March 10, 1989, pp. 14–15.

³ Zoran Janjetović, *Ad usum delfini: istorijske teme u „Politikinom zabavniku“ 1952–1991*, in: *Petničke sveske*, 62, 2007, p. 237; Pavković, p. 109–110.

region, America, unlike the contending European powers (France, Great Britain, Germany, Soviet Union) was not politically disputed which made acceptance of its popular culture easier.⁴ Nevertheless, its hay-days would come only after WWII.

WWII in Yugoslavia ended with the victory of Tito's partisans, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. All segments of life under the new regime began to develop along the Soviet lines. The same was true of culture,⁵ which fell completely under the Soviet influence.⁶ However, Tito, a self-assertive communist dictator in his own right, was loath to remain a Stalin's pawn, so the first great split in the communist camp occurred in 1948 when Stalin tried to bring Yugoslavia to book on her too independent foreign policy in the Balkans.⁷ At first this did not affect the domestic policy of the Yugoslav communist regime. Indeed, in the beginning of the conflict, it became even more stringent, as an attempt to prove to other communist parties the Yugoslav Communists' orthodoxy. However, this phase was brief and after some three or four years more liberal tendencies in culture began to make themselves manifest.⁸ Although they were by no means aimed at relinquishing the „socialist values“ in the field of culture, reliance on the West for financial and military aid was coupled with an increasing cultural

⁴ On the eve of the WWII, two rivaling political blocs in Europe (Germany and Italy on the one, and France and Britain on the other side) were wooing Yugoslavia for their respective camps. After having been a de facto ally of France in 1920s, Yugoslavia started increasingly strengthening economic ties with Germany after France failed to help her out of economic difficulties during the Great Depression. With the weakening of the French influence and the rise of Germany on the European continent, economic ties were increasingly coupled with political rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the Third Reich. However, when WWII broke out, Yugoslavia tried to keep equidistance to both belligerent blocs. The Soviet Union loomed in the distance, aiding the local Communists, but its political and economic connections with the Third Reich and staunch anti-communism of the Yugoslav regime prevented closer ties with the first socialist country. (Cf. Jakob B. Hoptner, *Yugoslavia in Crisis 1934–1941*, New York, London 1963)

⁵ Cf. Ljubodrag Dimić, *Agitprop kultura*, Beograd (Nolit) 1989; Predrag J. Marković, *Od socijalističkog realizma do socijalističkog estetizma: čudnovati razvoj estetske ideologije jugoslovenskih komunista*, in: *Idem, Trajnost i promena. Društvena istorija socijalističke i postsocijalističke svakodnevice u Jugoslaviji i Srbiji*, Beograd (Službeni glasnik) 2007, 42–43; Branka Doknić, *Sovjetizacija i desovjetizacija jugoslovenske kulturne politike*, in: *Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog okruglog stola Tito–Staljin*, Beograd (Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore) 2007, 109–112.

⁶ Thus for instance, out of 78 films imported during 1945, 50 came from the Soviet Union. The same trend continued in the following three years. Almost 80% of the books translated between 1945 and 1948 were translated from Russian. (Doknić, p. 111.) According to another statistics, 539 books were translated from Russian, as opposed to 247 from other languages between May 1945 and July 1949. (Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore (henceforth: AJ – in keeping with the decades-long used name Arhiv Jugoslavije (Archives of Yugoslavia) (which will probably be its name again). F. 507, f. 24.)

⁷ *Yugoslav-Soviet Conflict 1948*, Beograd (Institut za savremenu istoriju) 1999; *Zbornik radova sa međunarodnog okruglog stola Tito–Staljin*, Beograd (Arhiv Srbije i Crne Gore) 2007; Tony Judt, *Postwar. A History of Europe Since 1945*, London (Pimlico) 2007, pp. 139–145.

⁸ Dimić, pp. 246–263; Doknić, pp. 114–117; Marković, pp. 43–44.

import from the West.⁹ As for the Yugoslavs, at that time they were starved for Western and particularly American cultural products, especially in the field of pop-culture.¹⁰

Under such changed political circumstances and milder cultural climate, the reappearance of „Politikin Zabavnik“ became possible.¹¹ Like its pre-war predecessor it had the same educational goals: it wanted to supply the pupils with additional information about various subjects and to entertain them at the same time. It targeted not only the young in the upper grades of primary schools (in Yugoslavia that meant ages 13-14) and in secondary schools (age 15-19), but also their parents and grandparents.¹² It was published in Cyrillic alphabet and, judging by the letters to the editor, it was therefore more widely read in Eastern parts of the country where Cyrillic is mainly used (Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina). However, it also had readers in Western parts of the country, and it would eventually get its versions in Latin alphabet and in the Slovenian language too.¹³ Its great advantage over other youth magazines

⁹ This was also encouraged by the Western countries themselves. Thus the USA sponsored translation of 42 American books in Yugoslavia between 1952 and 1956. (Marković, p. 44.) Already in 1953 some communist officials complained that too many worthless American books were being translated – for commercial reasons. (Opšta karakteristika za planove izdavačke delatnosti za 1954. godinu, 1953. AJ, F. 507, VI/2 (k. 37)). There were complaints in 1952 that all publishing houses were publishing Hemingway (Zapisnik sa sastanka, Belgrade, March 5, 1952. AJ, f. 507, VIII, II/2 B (k. 4)), or Broomfield, the latter being labeled as „typical kitsch“. (Stenografske beleške sa sednice Ideološke komisije pri CK SKJ, Belgrade, May 8/9, 1956. AJ, AJ, f. 507, VIII, II/2 B (k. 5)). Yugoslavia was able to import American films at reduced prices through a scheme of „Technical Aid“ since 1951. However, the films thus obtained were not always those the Yugoslav authorities would have liked to show its audience. The US Information Agency didn't want to allow the Yugoslavs to buy films critical of American society. (Američki film na našem repertoaru, [1957]; Zaključci i predlozi grupe koja je radila na obradi problema filma, 1957. AJ, f. 507, VIII, II/4 A (k. 21)) Whereas only two American films were shown in Yugoslavia in 1947, the number gradually increased in the next years. In 1948 there were 17; 41 were shown in 1949, 61 in 1950, 102 in 1951, 134 in 1952, and 156 by mid-1953. (Ekspolatacija stranih filmova, AJ, F. 405, f. S-16.) The same trend continued until early 1960s when it was halted for a while. From 1958 through September 1963, 265 American, 142 Soviet, 141 Italian, 138 French, 59 British and 181 other films were imported. (Uporedni pregled uvoza dugometražnih filmova po godinama i zemljama uvoza [1963], AJ, 405, f. S-5.) On Western and particularly American economic aid in late 1940s and early 1950s cf. Ljubiša S. Adamović, Džon R. Lempi (John R. Lempe), Rasel O Priket (Russel O. Prickett), Američko-jugoslovenski ekonomski odnosi posle Drugog svetskog rata, Beograd (Radnička štampa) 1990, pp. 33–53.

¹⁰ Goran Tribuson, Rani dani. Kako smo odrastali uz filmove i televiziju, Zrenjanin (Gradska narodna biblioteka „Žarko Zrenjanin“)[2002], pp. 9, 11, 13, 15; Siniša Škarica, Kad je rock bio mlad. Priča s istočne strane, Zagreb (VBZ) 2005, pp.20, 24, 34.) As Škarica put it: „In the post-war times America seemed to us like a young and seductive teacher with whom more or less all pupils secretly and hopelessly fell in love.“ (Ibid., p. 34)

¹¹ The first number of the new series appeared on January 5, 1952.

¹² The magazine's advertising motto was: „for all between 7 and 77 years of age“.

¹³ „Politikin Zabavnik“ started appearing in Latin script on April 30, 1971, and in the Slovenian language on September 14, 1973. (Pavle Tokin, Jubilej „Politikinog Zabavnika“: Bilo je 34.988 kumova, PZ, 1417, February 23, 1979, p. 5.)

was that it was backed by the largest newspaper in the country, „Politika“, which was at the same time (together with the official newspaper of the Communist Party, „Borba“) the newspaper which had a directive role in Yugoslav journalism: „Politika’s“ tack and choice of subjects were mandatory for all other newspapers in the country. It and its various magazines also had the broadest distribution possibilities. Therefore „Politikin Zabavnik“ also had a broad circulation: it started with 100.000 copies in 1952, to reach 180.000 in 1964 and 230.000 in early 1970s, and as much as 300.000 in 1973.¹⁴ Due to Yugoslavia’s economic difficulties its circulation fell to some 200.000 copies in 1980s, which was nevertheless a respectable figure.¹⁵

From the very beginning „Politikin Zabavnik“ was conceived as a magazine that would cover a wide range of subjects: from sciences to technology, medicine, geography, arts and history. To be sure, there were numerous stories, novels in installments and comics which made up the entertainment section of the magazine. Publication of comics was a clear sign of changed times: from 1946 to 1950 they had been practically banned in Yugoslavia. They started reappearing bashfully first in youth magazines.¹⁶ However, although the comics were quite popular with broad reading public, their reappearance didn’t pass unopposed. Even years later, they were still frowned upon by a large segment of the communist cultural and political establishment.¹⁷ Texts published in „Politikin Za-

¹⁴ When considering the magazine’s circulation, one should keep in mind that Yugoslavia had 18.214.000 inhabitants in 1959, 20.209.000 in 1969 and 22.344.000 in 1980, and that 21% of the population was still illiterate in 1961 and 15.1% in 1971. (Cf. Statistički kalendar Jugoslavije 1981, Beograd (Savezni zavod za statistiku) 1981, pp. 33, 39.)

¹⁵ Janjetović, pp. 237–238.

¹⁶ Veljko Krulčić, Hrvatski poslijeratni strip, Pula (Istarska naklada) 1984, p. 9. According to Krulčić, the ban was triggered off by the article „Crnoberzijanska erzac-roba“ (he doesn’t adduce the title and the contents), published in the paper of the Communist Party „Borba“ on January 5 1946, pp. 2–3. The article vilifies comics as trash and spiritual poison made for commercial reasons. Comics are presented as unable to convey higher feelings and deeper thoughts, making people dumb and corrupting the language. The text has also an anti-American tinge. Although most of the article is so inimical toward comics, it nevertheless praises Walt Disney as a true artist and his comics as conducive to children’s development.

¹⁷ Zapisnik sa savetovanja sa sekretarima i organizacionim sekretarima Republičke konferencije i drugovima zaduženim za agitaciju i propagandu, Belgrade October 2, 1951. Istorijski arhiv Beograda (henceforth: IAB), Savez komunista Srbije, Organizacija Saveza komunista Beograda, Gradski komitet Beograd, 147; Zapisnik sa sastanka Uprave za agitaciju i propagandu CK KPJ, Belgrade, September 25, 1951; AJ, f. 507, VIII, II/2 B (k. 4.); Informacija o dečjoj literaturi i štampi, 1951, AJ, f. 507, VI/2 (k. 37.); Stenografski zapisnik sa proširene sjednice Gradskog komiteta Saveza komunista Zagreba, October 13, 1963, Hrvatski državni arhiv (henceforth: HDA), 1220, 8.3/82; Izvršni odbor Glavnog odbora Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Hrvatske, Mišljenja učesnika sastanka o problemima štampe za djecu, Zagreb, December 9, 1963, HDA, 1220, 8.75/285. It is interesting that bourgeois nationalists from the inter-war period also fulminated against comics, demanding that they be banned. (Cf. Strip, roman u slikama, Narodna odbrana, 27, July 7, 1935.)

bavnik“ varied from short notes of just a couple of lines, to longer articles which covered half a page (of newspaper format, in which the magazine was appearing until January 1, 1968), or several pages in 1970s and 1980s. For that reason it would be practically impossible to give the exact number of texts and articles published in the magazine during this period, although, as will be seen shortly, we tried to make a kind of statistics which would enable us to draw conclusions.

Despite repeated endeavors of the editors, throughout the magazine's existence in the socialist times, the bulk of its materials came from the West.¹⁸ This was almost completely so when comics were in question.¹⁹ Indeed, except for very few Yugoslav comics which occasionally appeared,²⁰ all other comics were western-made. Apart from good quality British, French, Belgian, Spanish²¹ and Italian ones, most of the comics were American. Prominent among them were Disney's comics like Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck (which were staples) and many others.²² In a way, Disney's characters became a kind of trade-mark

¹⁸ Janjetović, p. 239. „Politikin Zabavnik“ was in no way the sole culprit. Indeed, the communist officials complained as early as 1949 that the entertainment materials in the Yugoslav press came almost exclusively from the West. (Neka pitanja sadržine i karaktera ilustrovanih listova zajednička za sve, January to March 1949. AJ, F. 507, f. VIII, VI/1 (k. 36)). This was also true in 1954 when the officials complained about the reliance on Western news agencies for supplying the Yugoslav press with various interesting, non-political, items. (O nekim pojavama u našoj štampi, AJ, f. 507, VIII, II/5 (k. 26)). This didn't change four years later (Analiza idejnih problema i problemi u oblasti kulture i umetnosti, Belgrade, February 21, 1958. AJ, f. 507, VIII, VI/2 (k. 37)), and the situation was pretty much the same in the 1960s. (O nekim vidovima stranog uticaja u našoj zemlji, Belgrade, June 20, 1962. AJ, f. 507, VIII, II/2 B (k. 10); Stenografske beleške sa sednice Komisije CK SKJ za idejna i društvena pitanja obrazovanja, nauke i kulture, Belgrade, May 26, 1967. AJ, f. 507, VIII, II/2 B (k. 18)). Unfortunately, there are no archival sources available for later periods, but judging by the contents of „Politikin Zabavnik“ and other magazines, there were no major changes in that respect. In mid-1975 the publishing board of „Politikin Zabavnik“ demanded of its editors that the bulk of the texts published in the magazine be of Yugoslav origin. (Godišnji izveštaj izdavačkog saveta „Politikinog zabavnika“, Politikin Zabavnik (henceforth: PZ), 1222, May 30, 1975, p. 31.) To be sure, „Zabavnik“ tried to bring in more Yugoslav items, particularly about Tito and the partisans in 1970s, but they remained a minority. The attempt was in keeping with the increased ideological orthodoxy and rigidity in 1970s.

¹⁹ Pavković, *Ibid.*, p. 110. In the very beginning of its existence „Politikin Zabavnik“ tried to encourage the Yugoslav comic-production by organizing a competition with prizes. (Poziv na saradnju, PZ, 7, February 16, 1952, p. 5.) Much later, it was tried again, this time not so much for ideological as for financial reasons: Yugoslav comics were encouraged so as to reduce the import of expensive foreign ones. (Održana sednica izdavačkog saveta »Politikinog zabavnika«, PZ, 1597, August 13, 1982, p. 7)

²⁰ It is interesting that one of them, by Mumić and Jović, had an American topic: the great fire in Chicago in 1871. (PZ, 1633, April 15, 1983, pp. 29–34.)

²¹ The fact that Spain was run by the „Fascist“ Franco, was no hindrance to publishing excellent Spanish comics from time to time.

²² The first number had a Mickey Mouse comic on its front page and Hiawatha and Pluto on the third. (PZ, 1, January 5, 1952.) Almost all major American comics were published in the magazine during 1952–1991 period.

of „Politikin Zabavnik“, and a small picture of Donald Duck selling newspapers featured on every front-page since 1970s. In that way Disney's characters made a most durable visual impact on the readers. But the presence of Disney-products was not confined to comics alone. In fact „Politikin Zabavnik“ regularly featured articles about Walt Disney, his films, characters, Disneyland and his company.²³ Larger number of these articles appeared in 1970s and particularly in 1980s. Walt Disney's political convictions which were not to the Yugoslav regime's liking, were quietly disregarded. Disney's characters appeared not only as comics or subjects of articles, but also in advertisements for numerous picture books featuring these characters or produced by the Disney company. Such advertisements were particularly frequent in 1970s. Another prominent visual feature of the magazine was Ripley's „Believe it or not“ which was also stock-in-trade from 1959.

In this way we have already touched upon the main items which spread American soft power, i.e. texts themselves. It has already been said that it would be practically impossible to come up an accurate statistics of all texts published in the magazine. However, this author made an attempt of making a rough survey of all articles with American topics longer than ordinary short notes. Between 1952 and mid-1991 (when Yugoslavia broke up) 2016 such items appeared ranging from larger notes to several pages of text and photos. As opposed to that, only such 412 items were published dealing with America's Cold War rival, the Soviet Union. The largest number of texts dealing with American topics, a little less than 800, could be labeled miscellanea. These were articles and shorter texts with all sorts of topics, ranging from inventions and discoveries by American scientists, to funny or unusual phenomena and habits in America. Most of them, particularly since 1960s were illustrated either by photographs or illustrations made by the

²³ Zemlja dečjih snova, PZ, 315, January 11, 1958, p. 7; Kako je sniman Diznjev film Peri, PZ, 348, August 30, 1958, p. 9; Miki Maus ima 40 godina, PZ 892, January 31, 1969, p. 10; Veoma bogata mačka: o novom filmu Diznija, PZ, 1007, April 16, 1971, p. 10; Svet Diznijeve mašte: miš koji je sagrađio carstvo, PZ, 1396, September 29, 1978, pp. 12–13; Volt Dizni u zemlji čuda, PZ, 1594, July 16, 1982, pp. 4–5; Pero Zlatar, 54. rođendan Miki Mause: najslavniji miš na svetu, PZ, 1601, September 3, 1982, pp. 4–5; Mina Ilić, Slavni prodavac „Politikinog zabavnika“ Paja Patak proslavio je pedeseti rođendan: uobražen, lenj i svima drag, PZ, 1719, December 7, 1984, pp. 4–5; Dušan Simić, Buna u kraljevstvu čarolija, PZ, 1719, December 7, 1984, p. 5; Pero Zlatar, Diznilendu je 30 godina: Zemlja u kojoj su svi deca, PZ, 1733, March 15, 1985, pp. 40–41; Aleksandar Žikić, Velikani stripa: otac najbogatijeg patka, PZ, 1788, April 4, 1986, p. 16; VES, Pre 50 godina Miki Maus se slušao, gledao, jeo, čitao...: Za dobro jutro i laku noć, PZ, 1744, May 31, 1985, pp. 6–7; M. Ilić, „Politikin zabavnik“ u najvećoj fabrici snova: šta bi rekao Dizni, PZ, 1907, July 15, 1988, pp. 12–13; Umetnost Volta Diznija, PZ, 1933, January 13, 1989, p. 46; S. Jovanović, Bajka u našim bioskopima: Najslavnija sirena na svetu, PZ, 2035, december 28, 1990, pp. 6–7. As we have seen, in its anti-comics article from early 1946, „Borba“ made Disney's comics an exception. On the other hand, Božo Novak claimed at a meeting in December 1963, the Americans had utilized Disney as the spearhead of their propaganda. (Izvršni odbor Glavnog odbora Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Hrvatske, Mišljenje učesnika sastanka o problemima štampe za djecu, Zagreb, December 9, 1963, HDA, 1220, 8.75/285.)

magazine's illustrators. As with almost all texts published in the „Politikin Zabavnik“, the sources of the texts were not revealed, except for rare instances when they were signed by some of the magazine's staff. Another exception were short stories by well-known American authors, among whom Ray Bradbury was one of the most often published in the magazine's science-fiction section.

Another very large group of texts dealt with the history of the USA – 460 – being practically 10% of all historical items published in 1952-1991 period.²⁴ As in most historical texts, they usually did not deal with great historical events or personages, but much more often with „small people“ in various historical situations. In other words, they dealt with (personal) events and adventures, rather than with processes and phenomena. This was more attuned to the journalist style of writing and the age of the bulk of the magazine's readers.²⁵ Among the items about American history, 196 dealt with WWII – which was in keeping with the general trend of historical items among which 1394 dealt with WWII.²⁶ 30 articles had topics from the American Civil War.

In a way historically tinged were also the items about Wild West, which were loved by the Yugoslav public.²⁷ As many as 323 texts dealing with various Wild West topics were published between 1952 and 1991. Large part of them were stories about the well-known heroes and anti-heroes of the Wild West. Many were stories about unknown characters and the lack of designation of sources from which they had been taken over prevents us from verifying their authenticity.

However, during this long period, several articles were published which demythologized Wild West and its heroes – above all the legendary cowboys. Six articles try to demolish the cowboy myth as created by Hollywood. They depicted them as rough, dirty, uneducated, hard-working and poor, and eventually socially not very important group of people who were mostly active between 1860 and 1880 when their trade was dealt a death blow by the development of railroads.²⁸ The persistence and relative frequency with which such articles appeared can be explained by two diverging reasons. On the one hand, there was the interest of the readers to learn „how it really was“; on the other, there was probably the wish of the powers-that-be to tone down the enthusiasm and admiration innumerable

²⁴ There were 4.576 historical items, 1.109 dealing with the history of one or several Yugoslav peoples (Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bosnians).

²⁵ Janjetović, *Ibid.*, p. 239.

²⁶ American articles not included. Among the rest, 657 items dealt with WWII in Yugoslavia.

²⁷ Tribuson, pp. 13–14.

²⁸ *Divlji zapad – istina i mit*, PZ, 142, September 18, 1954, p. 3; *Istina i priče o kaubojima*, PZ, 463, November 12, 1960, p. 10; *Junaci Divljeg zapada*, PZ, 808, June 24, 1967, p. 4; M. Todorović, *Gradovi iz „kaubojskih filmova“: Doći i preživeti*, PZ, 1677, February 17, 1984, pp. 6–7; *Ispravljač opšteprihvaćenih zabluda: Kauboji*, PZ, 1773, December 20, 1985, p. 3; S.S., *Kauboji – kakvi su stvarno bili: Dok su kravari jahali*, PZ, 1988, February 2, 1990, pp. 4–6.

horse operas had awoken among the Yugoslav youth, and to weaken in that way the impact of American soft power. However, by depicting cowboys in not very flattering true light, as *de facto* members of the working classes, the powers-that-be were inadvertently undermining their own ideology and world-view: if these members of the proletariat were so uncouth and illiterate, how could the class to which they belonged have been the most progressive one? It would be interesting to learn if some of the (young) readers had asked themselves the same question. One article which appeared in 1987 demythologized also American soldiers who also often featured in cowboy films. Their life was also depicted as very hard and they themselves as very poor and dirty.²⁹

It is interesting to note that two articles published within ten years depicted a real, albeit a minor historical event – the so-called Hoodoo-War between German settlers in Texas and bandits (supported by the local farmers) in 1870s.³⁰ Two articles were also devoted to a real hero of the Wild West and one of its symbols, Davy Crockett.³¹

The same degree of historical truth one finds in articles about the North-American Indians. These were also fairly numerous – 91. A large number of them were just Indian stories comparable with cowboy stories. Just like the latter, most of them were anonymous. Among the texts about Indians there were ten which depicted their history and their present situation in particularly bleak terms. The wish to dismantle Hollywood myths is also present in most of them: the Indians are depicted not as savages who were after plunder and white men's scalps, but as basically peace-loving people forced to fight for their freedom and survival. The treatment they received at the hands of the US government and the Army is clearly condemned as inhuman and their situation at the time of writing was painted in the darkest colors: they were shown as stripped of their land, their rights, of educational and work opportunities, a prey to alcoholism and extreme poverty.³²

²⁹ Milenko Todorović, „Plave bluže“ – istina i zablude: za 16 dolara i hranu, PZ, 1859, August 14, 1985, pp. 12–13.

³⁰ A.R., Rat kauboja s Rajne, PZ, 1357, December 30, 1977, pp. 20–21; D. Brandon, Kako su Nemci postali Amerikanci, PZ, 1859, August 14, 1987, pp. 36–37.

³¹ Kako su nastale SAD: Pobjeda poraženih, PZ, 1291, September 24, 1976, p. 16; D. Brandon, S nožem u Kongres, PZ, 1789, April 11, 1986, pp. 38–39.

³² Crvenokošci pored televizora, PZ, 468, December 17, 1960, p. 2; Labudova pesma indijanske slobode, PZ, 714, September 4, 1965, p. 4; Veliki Losos osvaja ratni brod, PZ, 827, November 4, 1967, p. 11; Branka Ivanović, O sadašnjim Apačima, PZ, 1057, March 31, 1972, pp. 4–5; Ratničke igre za šaku sitniša, PZ, 1253, January 2, 1976, pp. 26–27; M.I., Indijanci u borbi za opstanak: Blago zamlje Navaho, PZ, 1359, January 13, 1978, p. 21; Poslednji dani Divljeg zapada: poverilac mrtvih indijanaca, PZ, 1367, March 10, 1978, pp. 16–17; M. Todorović, Indijanci iz „kaubojskih filmova“: Ja sam rekao haug!, PZ, 1641, June 10, 1983, pp. 48–49; Milenko Todorović, Gospodari indijanskih duša: Generali, utemeljivači, istrebljivači, PZ, 1831, January

There were also other texts showing the seamy side of American life. Among the problems most often targeted by „Politikin Zabavnik“ were racism,³³ crime,³⁴ drugs³⁵ and murky activities of the CIA.³⁶ In some others, the topics like American ignorance of geography,³⁷ the ideological dislike of American establishment of Charley Chaplin³⁸ or covert Anti-Semitism are dealt with.³⁹ In mid-sixties an extremely critical article about New York City was published, depicting it as the dirtiest city in the world, full of poor neighborhoods, alcohol and drug addicts, lunatics and crime.⁴⁰

This last-mentioned article contrasts starkly with a series of articles about various American cities published in 1980s, which, although they don't gloss over their shortcomings, present these cities in generally favourable light, tickling the readers' curiosity to visit them.⁴¹ This goes to even greater degree for a

30, 1987, pp. 4–5; S.K., Šta hoće današnji indijanci: Druga bitka kod Ranjenog kolena, PZ, 1858, August 7, 1987, pp. 8–9.

³³ Čovek i tri bombe, PZ, 468, December 17, 1960, p. 4; Crnci u SAD, PZ, 691, March 27, 1965, p. 2; Doktor koji je lečio od mržnje, PZ, 851, April 20, 1968, p. 5 (about M.L. King); Tajna teroristička organizacija, PZ, 1893, April 8, 1988, pp. 47–48 (about Ku Klux Klan).

³⁴ Boni i Klajd, priča stara 30 godina, PZ, 851, April 20, 1968, p. 26; D.B., Čovek bez morala: privatni detektiv, PZ, 911, June 13, 1969, p. 10; Prsti u novčaniku, PZ, 1130, August 24, 1973, pp. 44–45; Strašna noć u zalivu, PZ, 1210, March 7, 1975, pp. 20–21; T.M., Snajper na prozoru, PZ, 1290, September 17, 1976, p. 20; Krvavo proleće Koza nostre: Ko će postati Kum?, PZ, 1336, August 5, 1977, p. 20; M.K., Naličje američke pravde, PZ, 1351, November 18, 1977, pp. 10–11; D.P., Bestseller i podzemlje: Kum džepne knjige, PZ, 1462, January 4, 1980, pp. 6–7; M.I., Mafijaški raj: Ko pere prljave pare, PZ, 1484, June 6, 1980, pp. 16–17; M.I., Florida – raj za krijumčare: Kolumbijska veza, PZ, 1531, May 1, 1981, pp. 44–45; Z.J., Kad je Al Kapone vladao Čikagom: Grad bez kontrole, PZ, 1929, December 16, 1988, pp. 8–9.

³⁵ Ringo Star, PZ, 1233, August 15, 1975, p. 26; Pre 50 godina: Zaseda za Boni i Klajd, PZ, 1716, November 16, 1984, p. 39; D. Gregorić, Nova droga „broj jedan“ u Americi: Dete đavolje koke – Krak, PZ, 1825, December 19, 1986, pp. 11–12.

³⁶ Ubijte se molim, PZ, 1578, March 26, 1982, p. 58; Dejan Lučić, Politika prljavih ruku: Smrtonosna pasta za zube, PZ, 1831, January 30, 1987, pp. 38–39; Dejan Lučić, Če Gevarin put u legendu: Prenesi pozdrav Pepiju, PZ, 1832, February 6, 1987, pp. 4–5.

³⁷ Izgubljeni na planeti Zemlji, PZ, 1941, March 10, 1989, p. 11.

³⁸ Holivud u vosku, PZ, 565, October 27, 1962, p. 2.

³⁹ Zanimljiva imena: A kako ste se ranije zvali?, PZ, 1525, March 20, 1981, p. 13. The article deals with the change of Jewish and other „foreign“ names by various stars of show business.

⁴⁰ Grad bez starosedelaca, PZ, 730, December 25, 1965, p. 5.

⁴¹ Milča Manevska, Istorija i sadašnjost: Grad s pedigreeom – Čarlston, PZ, 1550, September 11, 1981, pp. 10–11; M. Todorović, Čikago – grad sa najburnijim razvitkom: Vatromet u garaži, PZ, 1556, October 23, 1981, pp. 10–11; M.K., Grad preteranosti: Nafta, zlato, revolveri, PZ, 1671, December 30, 1983, pp. 42–43 (about Dallas); M. Krstulović, Njujork, Njujork: Džinovska ljudolovka, PZ, 1515, January 9, 1981, pp. 26–27; M.M., Aspen – grad duhova i blagostanja: Pepeljuga u Koloradu, PZ, 1692, June 1, 1984, pp. 40–41; Dijego Varagić, Amerikanci mu tepaju Frisko: Požar ugašen šampanjcem, PZ, 1705, August 31, 1984, pp. 36–37; V. Milićević, I to je Amerika: Južnjačke tvrde glave, PZ, 1778, January 24, 1986, pp. 4–6 (about Louisiana and New Orleans); Miloš Vasić, Ko bdi nad Njujorkom: Policajci čuvaju jabuku od crva, PZ, 1755,

number of articles about big American universities, which were published as part of the series about great universities of the world. They are also predominantly written with admiration, with only occasional hints at the flip side, such as alleged haughtiness and aloofness of Americans at Berkeley or mentioning of 26 million illiterate and 46 million semi-illiterate Americans in the article about Austin.⁴² Similar data, complemented with information about racial and class differences in education and poor reading habits of American kids are given in an article about school attendance in the USA from 1985.⁴³

Not only many cities, but several other tourist-sites were also described in „Politikin Zabavnik“: Niagara Falls,⁴⁴ the Crazy Horse monument by Zilkovsky,⁴⁵ Hollywood,⁴⁶ Metropolitan Opera in New York City,⁴⁷ the building of Congress on Capitol Hill,⁴⁸ Empire State Building,⁴⁹ the Pentagon,⁵⁰ Broadway on Manhattan,⁵¹ Washington Memorial,⁵² the Library of Congress,⁵³ White Hou-

August 16, 1985, pp. 6–7 (an affirmative article about New York Police Department); M.I. Š., Las Vegas, prestonica igara na sreću: Krojač u kockarnici, PZ, October 10, 1986, pp. 38–39; S. Ivanović, Kad je zgrada kao četiri „Beograđanke“: Dobro jutro iznad oblaka, PZ, 1853, July 3, 1987, pp. 14–15 (about the Sears tower in Chicago and other sky-scrapers); Milenko Todorović, Žuti simbol Njujorka: Čeker nije bilo koji taksi, PZ, 1872, November 13, 1987, pp. 46–47 (about the New York yellow cabs); M.I., Atlantik Siti – nova kockarska prestonica sveta? Kazino od milijardu dolara, PZ, 2011, July 13, 1990, pp. 14–15; D.V., Hjuston – grad budućnosti: Pogled u nebo, PZ, 2042, February 15, 1991, p. 39.

⁴² Milčo Mančevski, Američki univerziteti: Plati pa uči!, PZ, 1574, February 26, 1982, pp. 56–57; V. Milićević, 350 godina Harvarda: ulaznica za visoko društvo, PZ, 1810, September 5, 1986, pp. 38–39; V. Milićević, MIT, univerzitet za žedne znanja: Oslušni mozak kako radi, PZ, 1811, September 12, 1986, pp. 14–15; M.V., Berkli se promenio: Zabranjeno pušenje, PZ, September 19, 1986, pp. 14–15; M.V., Ostin, najbogatiji u SAD: Drski, ponosni, radoznali, PZ, 1813, September 26, 1986, pp. 14–15; V.M., Boulder, zvezda Divljeg zapada, PZ, 1814, October 3, 1986, pp. 14–16.

⁴³ Slobodanka Ast, Biti đak u...Americi: Lovci na pametne glave, PZ, 1763, October 11, 1985, p. 11. (The article was part of a larger series about education in various countries of the world.)

⁴⁴ Opravka Nijagare, PZ, 899, March 21, 1969, p. 7;

⁴⁵ Ludi vajar Ludom Konju, PZ, 1572, February 12, 1982, p. 3.

⁴⁶ Najveći filmski studio na svetu: Univerzal u Holivudu, PZ, 1532, May 8, 1981, pp. 54–55; M. Minčevski, Pisamce iz Holivuda: Bioskopska ulaznica 250 dinara, PZ, 1604, September 24, 1982, pp. 12–13. The first article dealt with the Universal Studio and the latter with cinema-going habits.

⁴⁷ Mina Ilić, Jubilej njujorškog Metropolitena: Metova burna prošlost, PZ, 1676, February 10, 1984, pp. 14–15.

⁴⁸ M. Todorović, Amerika s reke Potomak: Skupština pod kiriju, PZ, 1702, August 10, 1984, pp. 12–13.

⁴⁹ M.I. Empaer Steit Biding – od promašaja do simbola: Olovka sa 102 sprata, PZ, 1704, August 24, 1984, pp. 36–37.

⁵⁰ M.Š., Zagonetka Pentagon: Opasna kuća, PZ, 1795, May 23, 1986, pp. 42–43.

⁵¹ M. Krstulović, Ruši se mit broj jedan: Baj baj Brodvej, PZ, 1797, June 6, 1986, pp. 6–7. (The article describes alleged plans to tear down Broadway and rebuild it by 1991.)

⁵² Mina Ilić, Dužna pošta s vekom zakašnjenja: Rušite to ruglo, PZ, 1733, April 5, 1985, p. 6.

⁵³ B. Dožić, Najveća biblioteka na svetu: Knjige dugačke 860 kilometara, PZ, 2012, July 20, 1990, pp. 44–45.

se,⁵⁴ Williamsburg,⁵⁵ whereas the Statue of Liberty was dealt with as much as three times.⁵⁶

Staples of the American way of life were also described in the magazine. Some of them had already been „exported“, so the Yugoslavs knew them first-hand from their own country, such as chewing gums,⁵⁷ ice-creams,⁵⁸ turkeys,⁵⁹ Coca-Cola,⁶⁰ jeans⁶¹ or McDonald’s restaurants.⁶² Others, baseball,⁶³ like Hell’s Angels,⁶⁴ cowboy saloons,⁶⁵ cable TV,⁶⁶ rodeo,⁶⁷ Tiffany’s jewelry,⁶⁸ American

⁵⁴ M.K., Ovde stanuje predsednik SAD: Bela kuća, PZ, 1518, January 30, 1981, pp. 9–11.

⁵⁵ M. Todorović, Svratite kod Rolija, PZ, 1688, May 4, 1984, p. 38.

⁵⁶ Liftom kroz slobodu, PZ, 1289, September 10, 1976, p. 11; Poklon od 225 tona, PZ, 1359, September 22, 1978, p. 14; V.S., Stara dama iz njujorške luke se podmlađuje: Stepenice u glavi, PZ, 1710, October 5, 1984, pp. 10–11.

⁵⁷ Da li znate kako je postala guma za žvakanje, PZ, 311, December 14, 1957, p. 2. Chewing gums were produced in Yugoslavia since 1955. (Cf. O. Vukadinović, Žvaka o žvaki: Rastegljiva zabava miliona, PZ, 1849, June 5, 1987, 35.)

⁵⁸ D.G., Ledeni slatki sir: Sladoled od svega pa i sira, PZ, 1819, November 7, 1986, p. 38. To be sure, ice-cream did not come to Yugoslavia from the USA, but the text deals with ice-cream consumption in the USA, crediting the Americans with being its greatest consumers in the world.

⁵⁹ V.S., Simbol porodične trpeze: Turčin iz novog sveta, PZ, 2036, January 4, 1991, pp. 50–51.

⁶⁰ V.S., Sve teče, sve se menja: Hoće li Koka-Kola preživeti bez bola?, PZ, 1747, June 21, 1985, pp. 10–11. Coca Cola was produced in Yugoslavia since 1960s, after its Yugoslav ersatz failed to impress the consumers. (Cf. Leksikon jugoslovenske mitologije, Beograd (Rende) 2005, pp. 71–72)

⁶¹ Pantalone za svaku priliku: kako su postale farmerke, PZ, 1733, March 15, 1985, p. 44. Blue jeans were worn in Yugoslavia from the second half of 1950s. (Zoran Simjanović, Kako sam postao (i prestao) da budem roker, Beograd (Narodna knjiga, Alfa) 2004, pp. 41, 50)

⁶² M.L. Stručnjaci se bune, Mekdonalds zgrće dolare: Svetski zalogaj broj jedan, PZ, 1593, July 9, 1982, pp. 12–13; B. Dožić, Bedno jelo bogatog sveta: Hodaj, jedi, hodaj, PZ, 1760, September 20, 1985, p. 14; I.M. Tražili ste, čitajte: Magično kao Mekdonalds, PZ, 1937, February 10, 1989, p. 50; Politikin zabavnik kod Mekdonaldsa: Big mek sa Slavije, PZ, 1938, February 17, 1989, p. 50. The first two articles speak about the company with some critical remarks about its products. The latter two, written after the first McDonald’s restaurant in Eastern Europe had opened in Belgrade in late 1988, were completely affirmative, even so much so, that one is tempted to think they were inspired.

⁶³ M.I., Kako bezbol nije postao fudbal: Tri puta ura za Kalakaua, PZ, 1698, July 13, 1984, pp. 14–15.

⁶⁴ M.Š., Ko ne vozi Harleja taj je niko i ništa: Kad đavoli marširaju, PZ, 1866, October 2, 1987, pp. 46–47. The article describes a meeting of Hell’s Angels, almost with no critical tinge. The title, „When the Devils go Marching in“, inverts the title of a famous American tune – known to Yugoslav readers too.

⁶⁵ Zvonko Logar, Elvis Prisli iz kaubojskog saluna, PZ, 1857, July 31, 1987, p. 4. The text is about one of the few remaining cowboy saloons where an impersonator of Elvis Presly sings. The author contrasts the saloon with a modern shopping mall nearby.

⁶⁶ Milenko Todorović, Kablovska televizija, šta je to: 80 trkača na istoj stazi, PZ, 1852, June 26, 1987, pp. 6–7.

⁶⁷ Šejn, najveći američki rodeo: 8 paklenih sekundi, PZ, January 16, 1987, pp. 14–15.

⁶⁸ Tifani – priča o juvelirskom carstvu: Biser za gđu Guld, PZ, 1578, March 26, 1982, pp. 43–45; VES, Doručak za 175 miliona dolara: Dućan na 5. aveniji da imaš, PZ, 1716, November 16, 1984, p. 14.

car industry,⁶⁹ advertising,⁷⁰ space shuttle,⁷¹ ragtime,⁷² New York yellow cab,⁷³ or trailer-houses⁷⁴ were known to them thanks to movies and TV, which probably served to awaken the interest of the readers. The same was true of one of the most frequent phrases in American English (which penetrated the South Slavic languages too) – OK - about which „Zabavnik“ also wrote.⁷⁵

It is interesting to note that not only most of the articles dealing with American cities and universities, but also most of those dealing with various aspects of American way of life, appeared in 1980s. This was certainly no coincidence: with growing economic difficulties the Yugoslav communist regime relaxed its ideological grip at that time – since it had nothing creative to offer. This enabled a freer discussion of various social and historical topics, but also a larger leeway in popular culture.⁷⁶

Apart from the American way of life, cities, universities and tourist attractions in the USA, „Politikin Zabavnik“ also wrote about great American inventors, entrepreneurs and captains of industry who helped shape America’s economic might. Many of them were critical, since these men had been far from irreproachable.⁷⁷ On the whole, the texts tended to be less critical over time,

⁶⁹ Milenko Todorović, Ručak u Detroitu: Kako je Ford pojeo Lilenda, PZ, 1709, September 28, 1984, pp. 10–11.

⁷⁰ V.S., Kupac, osoba sa više nepoznatih: Kosa od milion dolara, PZ, 1770, November 29, 1985, p. 11.

⁷¹ M. Todorović, Korak bliže zvezdama: Prtljažnik u svemiru, PZ, 1608, October 22, 1982, pp. 38–39.

⁷² M.I., Regtajm, stariji brat džeza: jeste li već čuli takvu muziku, PZ, 1707, September 14, 1984, p. 6.

⁷³ Milenko Todorović, Žuti simbol Njujorka: Čeker nije bilo koji taksi, PZ, 1872, November 13, 1987, pp. 46–47.

⁷⁴ Kuće na točkovima, PZ, 1544, July 31, 1981, pp. 50–51.

⁷⁵ Mina Ilić, OK je sasvim OK, PZ, 1737, April 12, 1985, p. 3.

⁷⁶ Igor Mirković, Sretno dijete, [Zagreb] (Fraktura) [2005] 3rd ed., pp. 21, 46–47. However, freedom in popular culture was far from total, as Mirković shows in many places in his book.

⁷⁷ Priča o skuvanom zečiću, PZ, 799, April 22, 1967, p. 11 (about J. Rockefeller and Dupont Copland); Omrznuti kralj nafte: Džon D. Rokfeler, PZ, 869, August 24, 1968, pp. 4–5; Kako su zgrtana velika svetska bogatstva: Henri Ford – kralj automobila, PZ, 875, September 28, 1968, pp. 4–5; M.J., Ovsena kaša za milionerku, PZ, 1338, August 19, 1977, p. 21; V.S., Tragom jedne fotografije: Snimak iz Sing-Singa, PZ, 1620, January 14, 1983, pp. 16–17 (about Pulitzer); B. Dožić, Tehnička nezanalica, poslovna sveznalica: gospodin vagon li, PZ, 1685, April 13, 1984, pp. 4–5 (about Pullman); M.I., Ožalošćena porodica Vanderbilt: Tata je bio lud, PZ, 1719, December 7, 1984, p. 35; Upoznajte dr. Šola, PZ, 1775, January 3, 1986, p. (about the founder of the famous shoe firm); Mina Ilić, Sprava koja nas uzdiže: Orman ide gore, PZ, 1739, April 26, 1985, p. 6 (about I. G. Otis and his elevators); M. Todorović, Izumi siromašnog farmera: Dug otkaćen zihernadlom, PZ, 1745, June 7, 1985, p. 37 (about the unlucky inventor Walter Hunt); Mirjana Krstulović, Bogataško jevanđelje Endrjua Karnegija: Napoleon čelične industrije, PZ, 2058, June 7, 1991, pp. 4–5 (a rather laudatory article about A. Carnegie, showing how the official attitude toward entrepreneurs has changed in Yugoslavia since 1950s).

depicting in 1980s even unsavory personages just as interesting celebrities. However, a critical article dealt with the poet Ezra Pound who had made propaganda for Italian Fascist regime during WWII.⁷⁸

A large group of items did not deal with the well-known American places, persons or institutions, but depicted an interesting,⁷⁹ or even more often, bizarre side of American life. The latter were particularly propitious for journalist treatment and they were sure to attract the attention of the readers.⁸⁰ They clearly belonged

⁷⁸ Mina Ilić, Kad se pesnik uprlja propagandom: Ludilo kao kazna, PZ, 1711, October 12, 1984, pp. 10–11.

⁷⁹ Ploveći grad, PZ, September 6, 1952, p. 4 (about a huge new ship, with a library of 24.000 volumes); Vi dolazite iz Naklonosti? – Da, a kako je u Odanosti?, PZ, 176, May 14, 1955, p. 4; Zanimljiva geografija: U čast..., PZ, 1634, April 22, 1983, p. 7 (both about unusual town names in the USA); Sestrić iz supertvrđave, PZ, 1139, October 26, 1973, p. 7 (about the USAF pilot of Yugoslav origin who saved the Yugoslav town of Zrenjanin from being bombed in WWII); Kako tajna služba čuva američkog predsednika: Klopka za ubicu, PZ, 1342, September 16, 1977, pp. 10–11 (about security measures surrounding the US president); D.V. Oko sveta za 60 dana: Ukradena slava, PZ, 1389, August 11, 1978, p. 17 (about an American adventurer who was the model for Phileas Fogg, the chief character of Jules Verne's novel „Around the World in 80 Days“); M.Š., Bež – sport ludaka, PZ, 1611, November 12, 1982, pp. 16–17 (about bungee jumping); U ime kompjutera: uhapšeni ste, PZ, 1629, March 18, 1983, pp. 38–39 (about the use of computers by the police in the USA); M.I., Kako su u SAD uskladili časovnike: Lopto, lopto, koliko je sati?, PZ, 1682, March 23, 1984, pp. 46–47 (about time measuring in the USA); Iz Evrope su poneli samo Bibliju, PZ, 1800, June 27, 1986, p. 48 (about the Amish); Mina Ilić, Novo američko ludilo: Bum, bum, mrtav si!, PZ, 1814, October 3, 1986, pp. 6–7 (about reenactment of great battles); V.M. 100 godina „Nešnel Džioğrafika“: Album nenadmašnih fotografija, PZ, 1929, December 16, 1988, pp. 5–7 (About the „National Geographic“); V. Sofrenović, Prve dame Amerike – poziv ili počast: Male i velike lisice, PZ, 1973, October 20, 1988, pp. 8–9 (about American First Ladies); M. Todorović, I to je Amerika: Predsednik u donjem vešu, PZ, 1982, PZ, 1982, December 22, 1989, pp. 8–9 (anecdotes about American presidents).

⁸⁰ Novi Akropolj, PZ, 472, January 14, 1961, p. 6; M.I., Arhitektura, biznis ili nešto treće: Ko to gradi ruševine?, PZ, 1688, May 4, 1984, pp. 36–37; M.Š., Keopsov dvojnik u Čikagu: Kad Ramzes čuva kuću, PZ, 1856, July 24, 1987, p. 39 (all about bizarre buildings); Skupština američkih klošara, PZ, 500, July 28, 1961, p. 5 (a note about the 52nd assembly of American bums); M.I., Svada koja je odnela 200 života: Šta sve može jedno prase, PZ, 1400, October 27, 1978, pp. 30–31 (about the quarrel of two families which took 200 lives in Kentucky in 1860s); Neobični kolekcionari: Da je Smit samo znao..., PZ, 1410, January 5, 1979, p. (about collectors of barbed wire); Nek se zna: Kakvi su nosevi američkih stjuardesa, PZ, 1566, January 1, 1982, pp. 16–17 (about a competition in squandering); M. Todorović, Hobi ili besmislenost: Kuću za kadilak, PZ, 1585, May 14, 1982, pp. 56–57 (about huge American cars); Milenko Todorović, I to je zanimanje: Lovac na glave, PZ, 1509, November 28, 1980, pp. 16–17 (about an American head-hunter); Niman Markus – najluđi pokloni: Nema nema i ne može, PZ, 1625, February 18, 1983, pp. 10–11 (about a company which fulfills the most weird wishes of its clients); Kuća lude Sare: Krive su vinčesterke, PZ, 1627, March 4, 1983, p. 39 (about Oliver Winchester's widow who spent \$ 20 million on building a house, because „ghosts“ allegedly demanded it); M.I., Džordž Feris – od slave do propasti: zaseñiću g. Ajfela, PZ, 1694, June 15, 1984, pp. 6–7 (about George Ferris and his gigantic wheel); M.Š., Strip: debeo, lenj i ponosan na to, PZ, 1701, August 3, 1984, p. 35 (about Garfield the cat); Nova manija – gicomanija: Svinjo, mi te volimo, PZ, 1783, February 28, 1986, pp. 4–5 (about pigs as pets in the USA); Američka krunisana glava: Samozvani car Norton I, PZ, 1788, April 4, 1986, p. 17 (about the self-proclaimed emperor of

to entertaining part of the magazine's mission. The same was true of another large group of articles (330), exciting true stories from the lives of ordinary people. Although most of these stories were not signed, and although in many of them no open statement as to their origin can be found, with reliance on personal and place names, one can ascribe them, with a great degree of certainty, to American sources. Even if not all of the 330 stories we had put into that category belonged there, their number would certainly not be significantly smaller. In any case, these stories have no ideological meaning whatsoever and were published in a series with similar stories from Yugoslavia and many other countries.

As we have seen, American topics and items were extremely numerous in „Politikin Zabavnik“, so much so, that one communist official angrily called it the „Voice of America“ at a conference dealing with youth press in Yugoslavia in 1963.⁸¹ Although this was certainly an exaggeration, there can be no doubt that, with the choice of its materials, the magazine, inadvertently helped spread American soft power. It enabled its readers to learn much about USA, offering a mixed picture: many things which were fascinating or interesting were presented to the readers alongside the negative and bizarre ones. The latter articles not only enabled the readers to get a realistic picture of the USA, but certainly served to help the editors defend themselves from accusations that the magazine was pro-western. The majority of the items were actually ideologically neutral: they presented the achievements of American scientists or engineers, reproduced exciting short stories from the lives of ordinary Americans in war and peace, or works of American fiction. American comics which made up the largest share of comics in the magazine, were commercial and not ideological in their nature. On the whole, it can be said that the readers of „Politikin Zabavnik“ could learn more about the USA than about any other country with the exception of Yugoslavia itself. This was not part of deliberate indoctrination, but rather of the general wave of Americanization which swept over non-communist Europe after WWII. Thanks to its break with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia was the only socialist country which came under the influence of American popular culture. „Politikin Zabavnik“ was one of the channels through which that pop culture was penetrating Yugoslavia, acquainting its inhabitants with the American way of life and connecting them, on the level of everyday life, with the West in general. As we have seen, „Politikin Zabavnik“ was by no means the only magazine

the USA, Norton I); M. Todorović, *Dogodilo se – I to je Amerika: Poglavica sa dva lica*, PZ, 1822, November 28, 1986, p. 37 (about a leader of a religious sect who possessed 85 expensive cars); B.D., *Tradicija po svaku cenu: Dragi, kupi mi Bakingemsku palatu*, PZ, 2034, December 21, 1990, pp. 16–17 (about rich Americans buying, dismantling and transferring to USA old British houses).

⁸¹ Božo Novak, at the meeting dealing with the children's press. (Izvršni odbor Gradskog odbora Socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda Hrvatske, *Mišljenja učesnika sastanka o problemima štampe za djecu*, Zagreb December 9, 1963, HDA, 1220, 8.75/285)

through which the Yugoslav readers could acquire knowledge about America. However, thanks to its good quality, great reputation and broad circulation, its role in spreading American popular culture, particularly among the young, was significant.

Rezime

Miki Maus u socijalističkoj zemlji, ili jugoslovenska omladina gleda kroz zapadni prozor

Ključne reči: Politikin zabavnik, kulturni uticaj, SAD

Tekst govori o priložima vezanim za SAD koji su u doba socijalizma izlazili u (prvenstveno) omladinskom listu *Politikin zabavnik*. Iako je on počeo da izlazi još pre Drugog svetskog rata, rat je prekinuo njegovo objavljivanje. List je obnovljen tek 1952. kada je Jugoslavija, posle sukoba sa SSSR-om i nekoliko godina traženja novih puteva u politici, ekonomiji i kulturi, počela da se snažnije otvara prema Zapadu. List je od početka donosio Diznijeve stripove i druge priloge preuzete iz američke štampe. Do 1991. objavio je više od 2.000 različitih priloga o SAD-u. Nasuprot tome, pojavilo se svega 412 priloga o SSSR-u.

Najveći broj priloga o SAD-u (oko 800) činili su kraći i duži tekstovi o raznim zanimljivostima preko kojih su čitaoci mogli da saznaju o otkrićima američkih naučnika, neobičnim fenomenima i američkim običajima. Pored toga, u listu su objavljivane i priče poznatih američkih pisaca i biografije značajnih Amerikanaca. Oko 460 priloga se bavi temama iz istorije SAD-a – najčešće na primerima pojedinaca i pojedinih životnih sudbina. Gotovo 200 priloga govori o Amerikancima u Drugom svetskom ratu, dok je o američkom građanskom ratu objavljeno 30 priloga. Neki od istorijskih priloga demitologizuju Divlji zapad – što je bilo u skladu sa prosvetiteljskim ciljevima lista. Veliki broj priloga slikom i rečju predstavlja velike američke gradove, znamenitosti i univerzitete. Primetno je da su oni osamdesetih godina postali afirmativniji. Pored toga, pojavilo se i nekoliko tekstova o simbolima „američkog načina života“ kao što su koka-kola, Mekdonalds, Tifanijev nakit, rodeo, kablovska televizija itd.

Pišući o SAD-u tokom više decenija, *Zabavnik* je svojim čitaocima omogućio da saznaju dosta o toj zemlji. Budući da je velika većina priloga bila pozitivno ili neutralno intonirana, list je i nesvesno doprinosa širenju američke kulturne propagande – što je uostalom bio deo svetskog procesa.