

Ivana Hadjievska
and Jana Kocevskva

INVISIBLE ARCHIVES

Makedonka

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

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*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
(1944–1952),
historical
experiences
and cultural
memory



Skopje,
2022

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Периодичност
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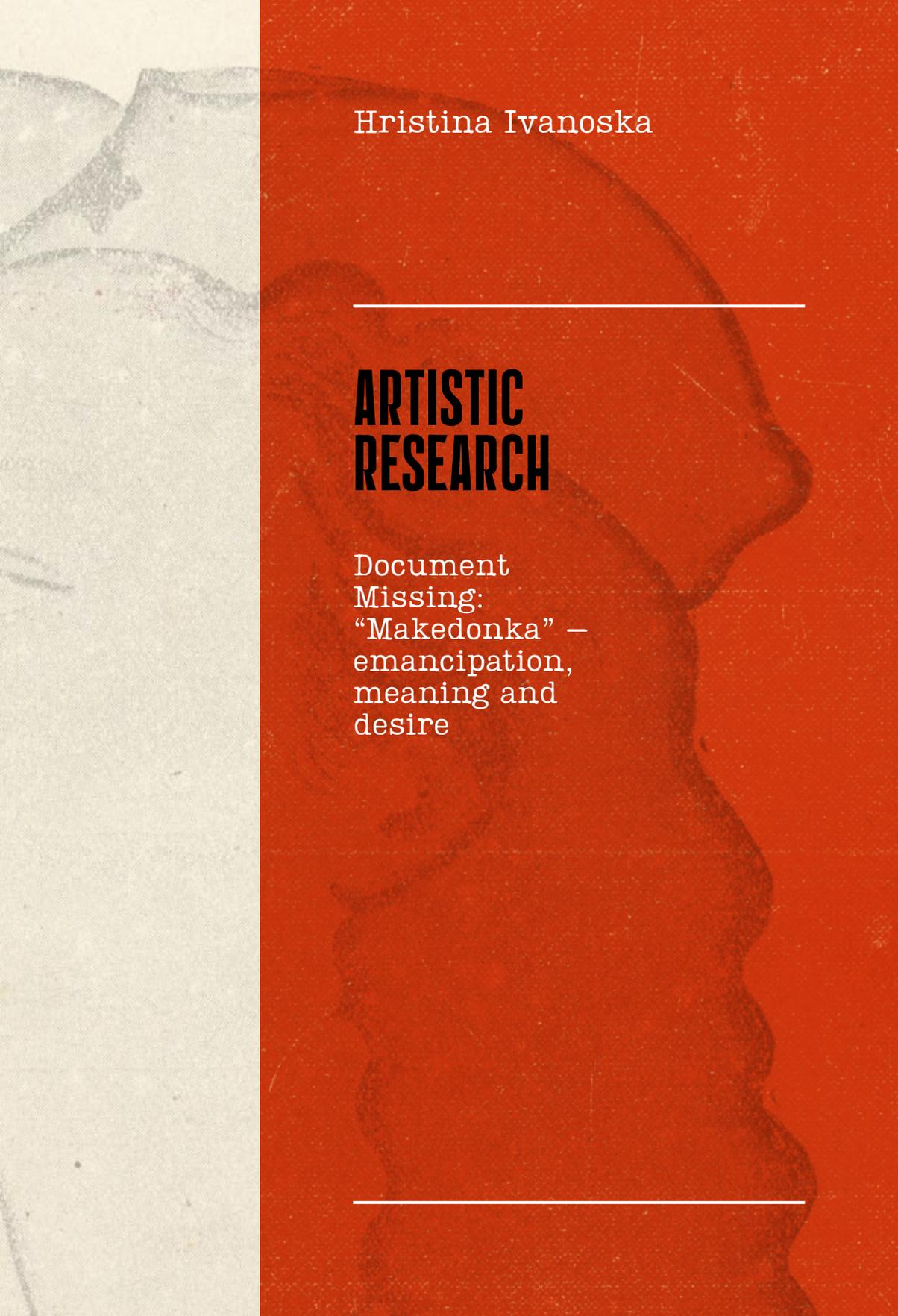
Македонка



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



ОПШЕСТВЕН. КУЛТУРЕН. РАБОТНИК.
КУЛТУРЕН. НЕ. РАБОТНИК. ОСТВАРУВА.
ОПШЕСТВЕНИ. ДОБРА. ЗА. ДОБРО.
ОПШЕСТВО. ЗА. СИТЕ. ПРОПАГИРА.
ДЕМОКРАТИЗИРА. КОМПРОМИТИРА.
КОАЛИЦИРА. АПЛИЦИРА. КОРЕГИРА.
КОНТРОЛИРА. ОПШТО. ЗА. СИТЕ.
ОПШЕСТВО. 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 patriarchal archive, 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



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:

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

Dear Interrogator, I can only talk about what I witnessed in the State Archive in June 2016 while I was doing my research. ^{during} 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, how unprotected they seemed and so easily prone to manipulations. ^{and it seemed that} 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.

in 2004, when I was doing research on the life and work of Rosa Plaveva and Nakic 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 that once adorned the walls and the display shelves that probably once showcased the documents and publications from the Archive.

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.

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 ^{the} the twist already happened and it can never go back again?

I knew ^{this turning point had} 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, ^{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, ^{and himself} where the entire "Ilinden Dossier" ^{would} finally will be available to the public. ^{through} Not ^{Feeling} 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.



'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 познатији једини парти у Бе-
ограду. Можда са њом почиње идеологи-
фикација нове групе значајних жена
активних крајем XX и у XXI веку. Би-
ла је изузетна у свему што је радила –
колекционар балета Народног позори-
шта у Београду, хореограф, теоретичар
и критичар балета и, у току последњег
рата, једна од оснивачица Центра за ин-
тернате азијске. Групе 484 и других ду-
милитарних организација. Због њених
закажана, у Београду је 2003. године ве-
ликом појеном настанак Парк мара 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 напредовали су пре-
вене система и лидера, чак и њих са-
ме. На мази Београда познати су имена
нове надре уличне, *disappearance of public
space*.

Улица Ма-
рин се у насељу Е-
на Цераку.

Због лепоте и
матуру слави и
Веројатно је ма-
срећним година
иеративно је се
1913. године т-
у убиствоу бић
процитања, али
проконала до т-
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 Двесе.

Марина Цве-
тајеве убиствоу
пријавила дирек-
слободомуња и
церакума Церак

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 са

Коста Пећанац
свега у мислију и
Војводића и т-
и другога... Ш-
вом признавају,
да га узму у све
које циљевима,
неким врло лич-
каку авантуру! Л
надем, а јаје ба

Допустио је зна-
ди, све поново и
да се одлучи. Уг-
на после наређе-
че, зна да шаје и

Пучовина Кат-
делом, а затим
редом. Сутира се
техом. Примио С
до Курлукије,
самички крај. Т
се са пучином, и
ог се, преко Ру-
у саровишту,
примичу заједно
раме проба да пр-
нишом, да јој са

организује за че-
же са Архангел-
себи, да „сваки
скоро доћи“, А.
некху андују од
Бугаро 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 Белогрaдa. Због тога после револуције за њих више није било места у Русији. Сви њи је одузето па су живели у невољној бедности, због чега ни је убио ћерка Ирина. Напуштају се у Украју и преко Берлина и Прага 1922. године стижу у Париз. Показало се да је њихово емиграционо већ невољно изазвао тежак.

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. Крива Совјетског Савеза сип су евакуисани у андјарски градни I савезена, после дашила самоубиство.

После Стаљинове смрти је први пут и пола века изаша из за. ПUTOвала је у Заби примила награду оно што је створила годину дана преа ку у истом периоду на диктатој Марине II је већ одавно отиша Ако су Ана Акин Цветајева предавала шетњима, онда су Кија Лукембург суку другу страну историје Елена се при казне класе и дру То је било време на и уграђених интја. Роза Лукембурги

– социјалисти, револуционари, борци за женска права – бисте су у самој бици тих промена. Према мајци Београда, улица Кларе Цеткин се налази тамо где јој вероватно најавише и пријатељ – на Новом Београду, у урбаним насељу социјалиста. Улица Розе Лукембург се налази у предграђу Канарево брдо.

Интерес Кларе Цеткин за женска права почео је да се развија још током школовања у Лајпцигу код госпође Аугусте Шмидт, која је већ била пријатељ истинита у тога домену. Кларе Цеткин је заслужила титу да су социјализам и феминизам уски 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 „правни“ комунисти не дискутују јер сматрају да се социјална равноправност жена, сматрао, постигла. 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 великом отвореношћу међу женама и мадама, нарочито у вези са посветом различитим. „Ја нисам могао да поврнем својим ушима кад сам оучио. [...] Они мисле да је њихова најважнија дужност просветити жену пролетеријата на ову тему. Верује да је интелектуални штафет једне од друге. Верује онај о сексуалним проблемима. Која штетна?“ Сматрао је да су сексуалне теорије укључујући и Фројдову, само случајне измишљотине „које су произване из личних потреба да би се отарали различита абнормалност или дисадретивна сексуалност живота преу браку или моралот.“ Наслањено 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

Коста Пећанац је при мишља, највише ко ри, то је требало да бу ког савета којим је з постао и Димитрије вени вога Мата Јово да био је текст прос савезаних њих члан менту је писало: „П нак против вековног је мучнос леђа напао

Том пошту треба вешити, да и без ору с рђивом пучинама, у Топличком. Ку 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 јн треба да прераси Отвор је био свако није и окупацији, не гарскио властима с да се у Топлици нем лично поудати обешуци и његовој ми

У том контексту је Ђорђа Бугарина, у егда Клефа Харду товође Радоша Рако да одреу о општине са Влаховићем и ви се да је он био иску поверовало у његово гла судбина убице



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.

ЛИСТАЉИ
ПОЛИТИКУ

22. фебруар

2007

УКАШЕН
ла је отро
Трибуна? :
говорни ју
ри, власни
творца, а
Георгијева

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 изворног достојног морала у приватном животу. Живела је у невенчајној 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 неуобичајено 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 петом Европи успи социјализма. Не стоји могућност (ваку националну касније је проузр Лењином).

На почетку XX писала о могућности у темне економске мањкој, јачину 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 узлазно поред Зоолошког врта „Либкекнеч је објавио да је убијен у Берлину“.



Исидора Секулић и Даница Марковић, скоро вршњациње, 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

Бугарске власти њих села; дагагау згено, али ипак не Који пут то наведе власти се често збу из Пећана још немаду већа појачања пазације. 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 кау путаки, изаш сваки овај ко ову

Пећанац на крај сти, „се јојоују р сена“. Каква је гај ице? Пећанац ут магловитом ошл одлако није веров ри учинили нама, не та до лавис, ии 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
далмет
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.



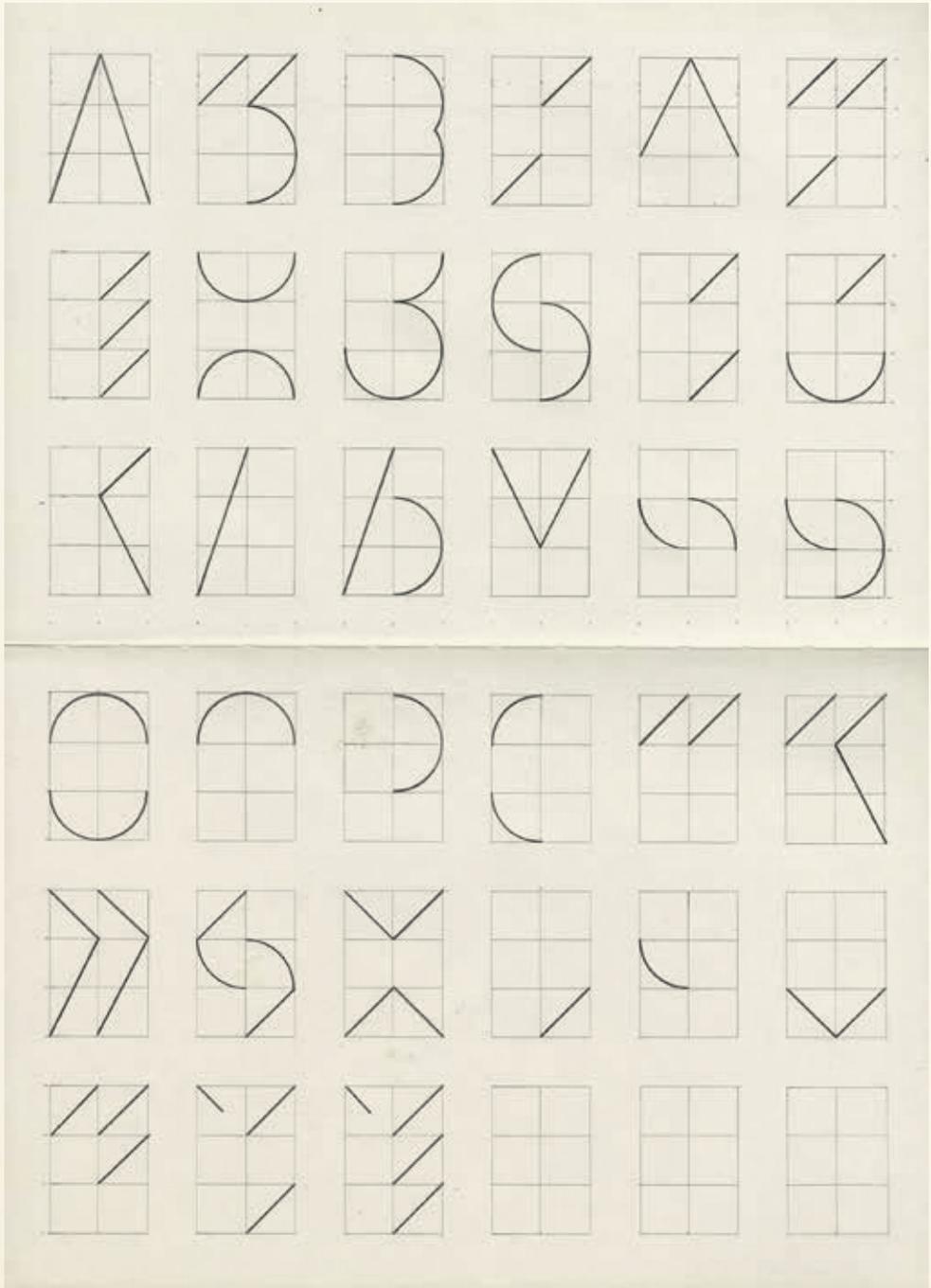


I am wearing a costume of woolen felt made in cooperation with Ludus Agender Label for the 'Document Missing: Performance no. 12 (Makedonka – emancipation, meaning and desire)', a photo by Iliana Petruševska, 2022. In my hands, I am holding my sketchbook from the period 2020-2022, opened on the pages 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)].





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.



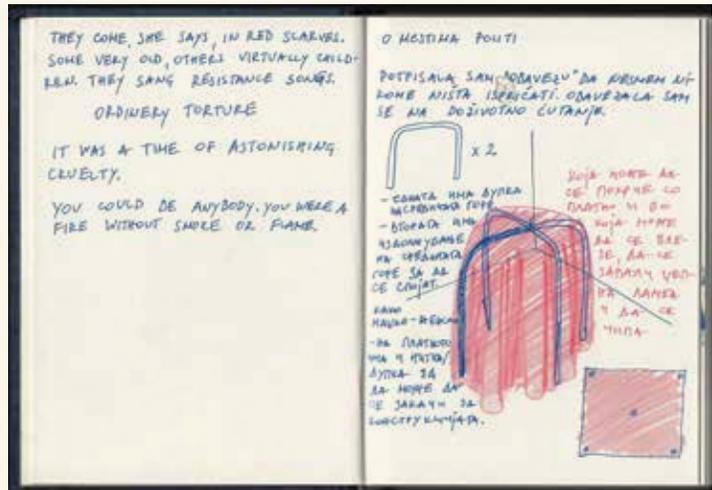
'Document Missing: Performance no. 9 (Attributes of Freedom)', digital photography, photo by Yane Calovski, 2020.





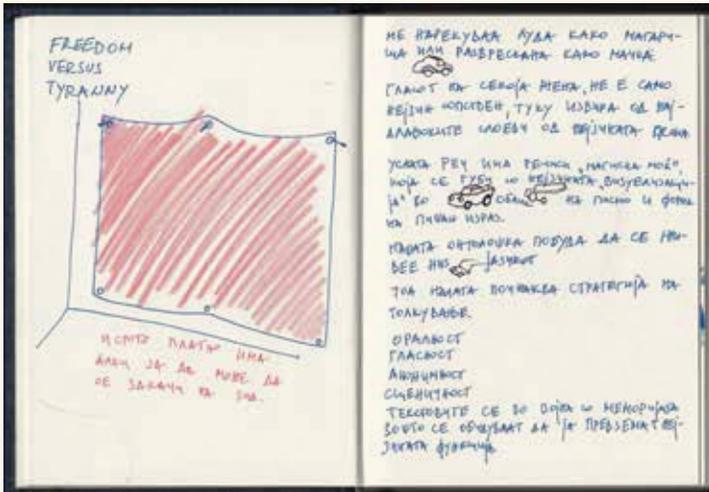
'Document Missing: Performance no. 7 (Cleaning)', documenting the meeting with one of the last surviving women partisans in the office of the Alliance of NOAVM fighters in Skopje, digital photography, photo by: Ana Lazarevska, 2017.





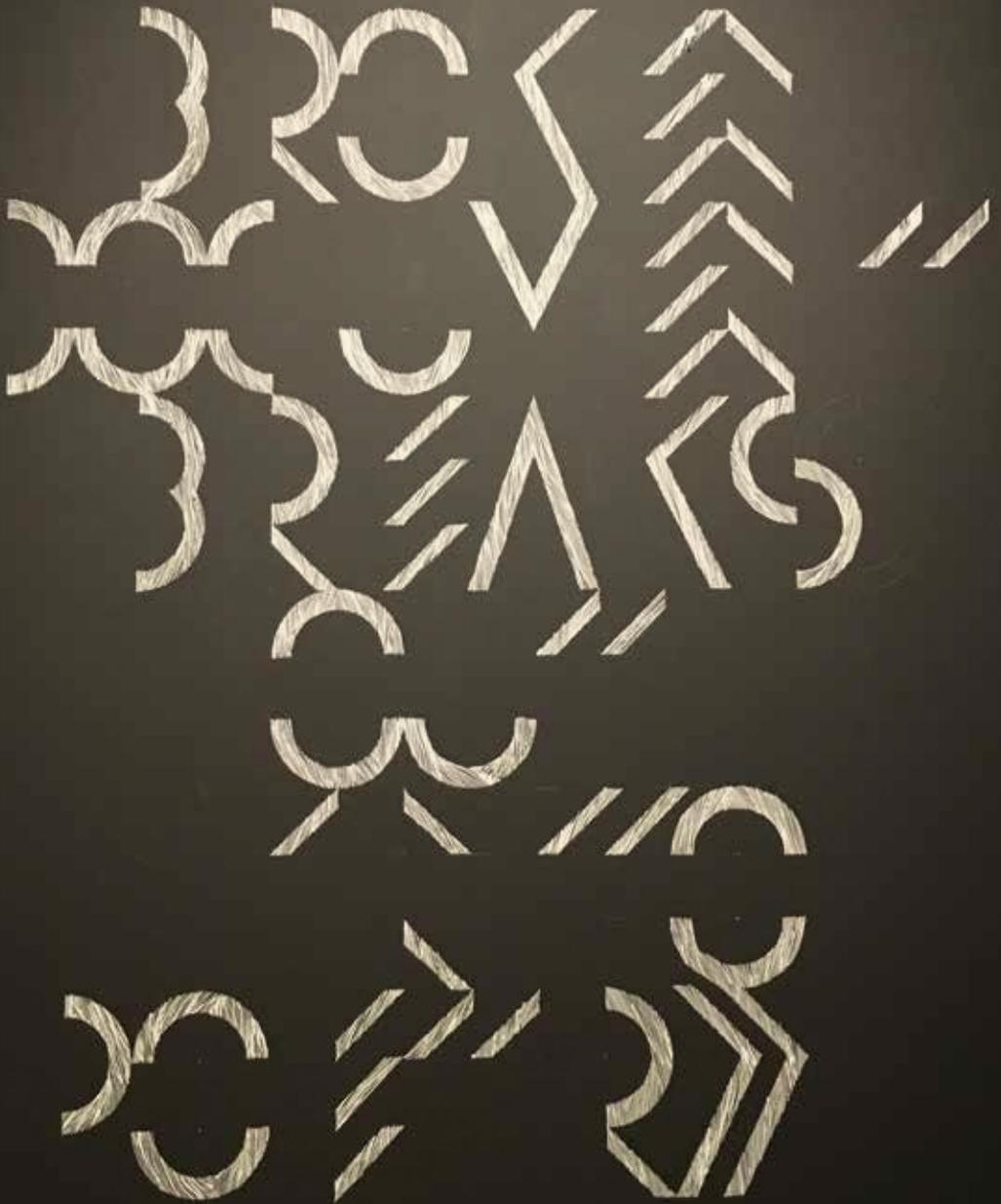
Pages from the sketchbook I used during 2022, while I was working on the preparations for 'Document Missing: Performance no. 6 (Daughter)', first performed on the 2nd June 2022 in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje, at the exhibition entitled "Ecstatic Bodies: Archive of Performative Queer Bodies 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.



V
A
K
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A



'Document Missing: Performance no. 12 (Makedonka – emancipation, meaning, and desire)', photo by Iliana Petruševska, 2022. (left) 'Archetype Open Form', typography, 2022.