Dizajn za novi svet / Design for a New World
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Dizajn za novi svet

Ivan Manojlović

Design for a New World
The title of this publication, namely, the title of the exhibition that it accompanies owes its origin to the book *Design for the Real World* by Victor Papanek, which according to the members of the younger generation of Yugoslav designers had a strong influence on them in the 1970s and 1980s. This well-known theoretician and initiator of many activist projects that re-examined the role of design in society caused shock and disbelief in the professional circles in the western world with the publication of his book. The book had the widest acceptance among designers in socialist Yugoslavia and its author was seen as a herald of all the thinking and attitudes that had been building for decades among the design professionals in the former country. Although the book dwells mostly on industrial design, Papanek stated his position that graphic design is an anti-evolutionary profession whose purpose in a world ruled by big businesses is to persuade people “to buy things they don’t need”, thus pointing to the crisis that hit design and to the big discrepancy between the ideology and practice of design. Finding the answers to the questions of what should be designed and for whom, the author highlighted “social and environmental responsibilities of designers”. Finally, as explained by Goroslav Keller in his foreword to the Yugoslav edition of the book, the notion of design for the real world refers to a design practice that comes up with solutions for real problems of the community, which, in turn, implies an activist attitude towards the profession.

2 Goroslav Keller, preface to the Yugoslav edition of the book *Design for the Real World*.
In the Archives of Yugoslavia, in the Union of Associations of Applied Artists and Designers of Yugoslavia collection, there is a document describing the preliminary design of a poster titled Yugoslavia whose intended purpose was to visually represent the participation of the Union at the joint conference of international associations for industrial design and visual communications held in Helsinki in 1981.

Apart from the technical requirements related to size and the printing technique to be used, the document contains the general idea as to what a poster aiming to showcase Yugoslavia should look like. Whether or not the poster was made remains unknown to this day, but the description of the preliminary design reveals that a raster mesh, namely a table showing the most important economic achievements of Yugoslavia was to occupy the main part of the poster. So we find that raw materials, cultural heritage and design are listed as the examples of the main fields. These elements, together with other fields that were to be added later were regarded as “facts describing life in Yugoslavia” and the plan was to use photographs of tri-dimensional objects to document the main idea. The document shows not only that the job of the poster was to paint a comprehensive picture of life in socialist Yugoslavia, but also reveals the opinion of the Zagreb-based Center for Industrial Design (CIO) team that in Yugoslavia there were no successful examples of graphic design able to represent the country in its entirety. Ultimately, the document emphasizes the need for an integrative nature of design that comes as a result of the development of the economic, social and cultural potential of the country. The above-mentioned archival document remains a rare example recording an intention to make a poster showcasing Yugoslavia as a brand, pointing to the links between the state
and graphic design. Besides, all the hopes, fears, advantages and weaknesses of Yugoslav graphic design are thus symbolically presented in a single document.

According to the fundamental theories of management, the state as a brand is a symbolic (trans)national identity construct intended for presentation in the international scene. In other words, a (trans)national brand is a set of ideas, opinions and impressions that one can have about a country.³

The awareness of the importance of promotion on the international stage developed very quickly in the Yugoslav political propaganda, as early as the second half of the 1940s. The period from the end of World War II until the mid-1950s in Yugoslavia was marked by turbulent and dramatic events. The newly established state, the People's Republic of Yugoslavia saw the very end of the war organized according to the Soviet economic and social model, with the complete abolishment of private property, an economic crisis and five-year economic plans, severe poverty and difficulties in supplying the population with food and clothes, while promoting socialist values and ideas. “Tito’s communist system was the most ambitious and comprehensive attempt to overcome the depravity of capitalism through industrial progress and social justice and thus establish modernism in the first place.”⁴ A new society for a new man was built with enthusiasm and optimism, on the wings of industrialization, technological advancement and faith in progress. By means of organizing voluntary activities...

³ P. Kotler, K. L. Keller, Marketing menadžment, Mate, Zagreb, 1997.
youth labour drives and also thanks to the considerable financial aid in the form of international loans, Yugoslavia laid the foundations for a country-wide reconstruction effort.\(^5\)

In the early stages of existence of the state, the Party devoted considerable attention to culture and art, actively creating its own aesthetic ideology, where cooperation and acceptance of western influences were a frequent occurrence.\(^6\) This is the reason why a false picture that socialist realism was the main tool of the communist system in the domain of culture is often presented. If we accept Dejan Kršić’s opinion that socialist realism should be thought of more as a model of institutional organization of cultural and artistic life\(^7\), a conclusion can be made that socialist realism was in fact a continuation of the revolutionary struggle using a different medium and that as far as form is concerned, it used the tools that it became familiar with via the pre-war historical avant-garde movements, among which the left-oriented Bauhaus, the Russian avant-garde experiment and also the Yugoslav artistic practice between the two World Wars were certainly very influential. After the conflict with the Soviet Union and Stalin flared up, it was necessary to develop “our own approach in the field of art”. Therefore, the

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5 Ibid. The author states that the railway connecting Belgrade and Zagreb, the Brotherhood and Unity motorway, fourteen industrial plants and a large number of housing estates were among the things built from 1945 to 1952.
appearance of modernism in culture was not the result of the “achievement of freedom” on the part of artists. Rather, it was a Party-backed project implemented as part of the breakup with the USSR, as well as the creation of the image of a “different socialism”.

"Not long after it had managed to win the right to its own existence, modernism itself became the dominant cultural form of the time in which it emerged, it also became the regular state of affairs in art that started causing resistance and conflicts within its own ranks, or on its fringes, precisely because of the syndrome of academization of modernity”."8 In his analyses of visual arts in Yugoslavia in the 1960s, Ješa Denegri remarked that “Yugoslav modernism, in fact, simultaneously with its emancipation ran the danger of political abuse and that it appeared to be a disguised version of art whose development was encouraged by the state and the society. He concludes, along these lines that the term “socialist aestheticism”, introduced by the literary critic and aesthetician, Sveta Lukić, aptly positions the modernism of the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s within a sociological frame of reference.9 In spite of Lukić’s negative opinion that socialist aestheticism took the edge of art criticism and suppressed “a more specific, further divergence, other critics, like Miodrag B. Protić, among others, emphasized the activist dimension of aestheticism, where the space for creating a new picture of the human world was made by distancing oneself from the reality of life."10

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10 Ješa Denegri, ibid, 105.
However, the fight for modernism was much more far-reaching than simple system-wide abuse of art by the ruling party that instrumentalized it so as to create a politically desirable image of Yugoslavia as a country. That was above all, an ideological fight for socialist emancipation. Designers (and architects) working on large projects funded by the state began fighting for modernism and the introduction of modernist values into visual arts expression as early as the late 1940s. Having experienced World War II, these artists were convinced modernists, anti-fascists and revolutionaries who believed that by practicing their profession they would participate in changing the world in such a way as to suit the needs of the new working man. Monolithic uniformity was by no means a trait of modernist design in Yugoslavia. Predrag J. Marković points out that the distinguishing feature of Yugoslav modernism lay in the fact that its aim was not just to create an image to be shown off abroad. Instead, it was also used for internal purposes. “Yugoslav communists are perhaps the only ones who built the cult of their Party and the revolution using modernist means the way they were used in the west.”

12 Dejan Kršić, Ibid., 225.
13 Predrag J. Marković, Ibid., 57.
According to one way of thinking, modernism was the aim that some brave architects and designers managed to achieve over time by overcoming the socialist realism imposed by the party, but paid a high price for their proactive position in the process. The other way of thinking emphasizes the (ab)use of abstract modernist tendencies by the political party, as they were viewed as a suitable means of creating an image of Yugoslavia as a modern, liberal state, which although a socialist country, differed considerably from the Soviet Union.

More recent interpretations of the works belonging to the field of graphic design are marked by the shift in position, from exploring purely visual expression to the broader social engagement of designers in the society and the ways in which dominant attitudes and ideologies influenced production. As early as the late 1940s, the state and political and party leadership began sponsoring and stimulating the development of academic modernism by commissioning large state-funded projects, via the construction of large exhibition venues serving the purpose of promoting the country abroad. In addition to creating a perception of Yugoslavia as a desirable brand, academic modernism had another task, namely, the development of the emancipatory potential of abstract modernism. Having in mind the demographic situation after World War II, as well as the educational level of the population that migrated to the towns in large numbers to work in industrial plants, the fight for modernism was a fight against middle-class culture. This is the reason why the role of posters was vitally important for communication in public. Posters, either political or serving the purpose of agitation or advertising, as stated by Mitja Velikonja, do not show what the society is like. Rather, they show
a projection of a set of values that the society intends to present as its own'.

Velikonja warns that the understanding of the historical, social and political context is crucial when examining the production of graphic design and visual communications in socialist Yugoslavia. This makes it possible to avoid looking at posters as if they were simply objects that are a matter of aesthetic archelogy and that are fragmentarily present in museum and library collections today. Posters provided a confirmation of legitimacy of the ruling ideology, through which the authorities, communicating with people, reaffirmed and upheld ideas and values. Thus, posters as the principal means of communication, especially before, but also after television became a mass medium, maintained the faith in the national liberation struggle and the continuation of the revolution, brotherhood and unity, the unique cult of personality of Tito, urged people to take action, promoted prosperity, encouraged taking advantage of leisure time and (un)convincingly campaigned for buying Yugoslav products.

In the period when a “more liberal” form of self-management was introduced in the mid-1950s, the time that was also characterized by rapid industrialization of the country, there was a need for unique identifying marks of Yugoslav companies. Riding the wave of modernist abstraction, the complete visual identities of factories and company logos dropped workers, clogs and factory chimneys. They were the first to replace them with abstract symbols, recognizable identities and well-rounded promotional campaigns. However, these changes too could not take place without facing resistance and party debates pointing...
out that advertising and, by the same token, visual coding of the symbols and names of companies were regarded as a typical capitalist tool for stimulating otherwise non-existent desires in the minds of buyers and generating bigger profit. Professional activism that was the weapon that designers used when working at or for the biggest companies manifested itself in securing a broader systemic support for this line of work. One of the most important results of that fight was drawing the line between the notions of applied art and design and institutionalization of design by establishing new or strengthening the existing educational institutions training new professionals, as well as by popularizing the works of designers by holding exhibitions throughout Yugoslavia.

The position of graphic design and designers would remain unchanged until the disintegration of the federal state. The debates and round table discussions bringing together designers and focusing on what seemed to be the same unresolved issues related to the position of design were indicative of activism of the professional kind. One such debate hosted by Borba (Fight) daily newspaper and published there in 1981 deserves a special mention here. In the course of that round table, Predrag Stepanić put forward an opinion that a designer must possess a variety of skills: he must be an ergonomist, philosopher and an educator. In

addition to discussing the position of design in the socialist economy and industrial production, the designers emphasized the role of graphic design in the humanization of the society. They highlighted the fact that graphic design was the only profession “to have some kind of momentum in our circumstances”. The discussion brought to the fore the unfulfilled promise of design that it would be committed to meeting the actual needs of people. By educating not only consumers, but also designers, graphic design was supposed to fulfil its most important role – improving living conditions and the quality of life. In spite of all the examples, at the end of the debate, the participants agreed on a stance, similar to the one taken by Dejan Kršić in his conclusion, namely that the above-mentioned dichotomy between graphic and industrial design created a rift “in modernity itself, under the conditions of self-management socialism”.17

Instead of a conclusion, let us convey a description of the solution proposed in a flow chart appended at the end of the Yugoslav edition of Victor Papanek’s book Design for the Real World:

Exhibitions, open universities, changed communities, workshops and posters contribute to the acquisition of the necessary level of knowledge that stimulates creativity. Together with social planning and research, these elements create the conditions for a perpetual alternation of revolution and evolution.

Translated by Jelena Bajić

17 Dejan Kršić, Ibid., 280
Koraljka Vlajo

Svakodnevica
državnih simbola

Koraljka Vlajo

Everyday Life
of State Symbols
Quite a few times, over the last hundred years or so, in this part of the world we have had the weird luck of witnessing the processes of creation of new ideologies of new states: from the first Yugoslavia, the pro-fascist regimes, followed by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), through to the states created after the disintegration of the SFRY and to a degree the European Union as well. However, although, these regimes sometimes had entirely opposite ideologies, all of them used (and keep using) similar methods when creating their respective state mythologies. The actors and stage props change, but in every ideological play, there is the key myth of every human community – the Myth of Genesis, then the Fight against Outside Enemies as a unifying factor of the nation and ultimately the figure of the Saviour leading his people to a Better Future.¹

State symbols play an exceptionally important role in shaping the national identity: they define the nation in the eyes of the members of a group (the people) and also in relation to Others. With careful handling and a unified and repetitive application, symbols become a visual representation of myths. Their interpretability, as was shown by the Christian iconography long ago – comes out as particularly prominent in communication with illiterate and politically uneducated masses: symbols provide a rapid and simple channel transmitting a whole range of meanings at the time without television or radio.

But symbols are not frozen in time - their meaning changes with the passage of time. Their daily presence in the mass media, on the one hand, strengthens the symbols of

power, but at the same time, it exposes them to public reassessment\(^2\). The attitude of the society (or parts of it) towards symbols can change and what was once an efficient tool of state propaganda becomes the most lethal means of resistance. In the fight against the system, the subversion of that which the system considers sacred is certainly the most shocking. Therefore, the health and survival of the state is also measured by the extent to which the state or the society are ready to embrace pluralism when interpreting their most sacred symbols\(^3\). Surely, between these two extremes, there exists the everyday life with symbols, so the question is what kind of messages are sent, even by the most benign derivations of symbols (used in advertising, for instance) to those in the positions of power. Even though state symbols are created as a proof of political power and used as an official seal of approval of sorts, it is only by being handled by the society on a daily basis that they become alive.

The “usual” things have, until recently, been passing under the radar of (design) historians, although the economic, political and social relations in a community are most clearly reflected precisely in the everyday life. The contemporary history and sociology have been discovering a rich source of material in advertising, for quite some time now. The attitude of the society (and its parts) towards the established symbols of power that can be discerned

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3 Mocking state symbols is a bitter pill to swallow, even in the most democratic systems; for example, playing the song *God Save the Queen* by the Sex Pistols was forbidden on the BBC in the 1970s.
from the diverse “everyday” material is equally informative. Despite the fact that this essay cannot provide an in-depth insight into the use of the state symbols of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, their more important mutations of application and meaning can be highlighted in the following pages.

**Official and unofficial state symbols in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia**

The development of key state symbols of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had been documented from the moment of their introduction into the political life, through to the accumulation of meanings over the years and it can be defined in a satisfactory way already by tapping into some of the communication channels which have not attracted the attention of historians of design until now. Although posters were undisputed kings of mass communication, especially before the advent of the mass media, during the research conducted for the purpose of this exhibition, matchboxes proved to have been a very popular, omnipresent medium (we refer to the products of the Osijek-based Drava match factory) along with business wall calendars (which transcended their business communication role: every family in Yugoslavia decorated a wall in their apartments with at least one such calendar).

The official state symbols in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – the tricolour flag, the red five-pointed star and the coat of arms of the state offered an interesting mixture of historical meanings. The tricolour flag featured pan-Slavic colours (blue, white and red) and its measures and the order of colours were taken from the flag of the Kingdom of...
Uz ove oficijalne državne oznake postojali su brojni drugi simboli koji su se tijekom godina razvijali (i nestajali) iz jugoslavenske mitologije, no kao najotporniji pokazali su se srp i čekić – simbol zajedništva proletarijata i Komunističke partije, lik (\textit{Spasitelj}) Josipa Broza Tita i žarko crvena boja revolucije.

**Promjene značenja**

Već spomenute promjene u značenju i tretmanu državnih simbola događale su se kao posljedica značajnih društvenopolitičkih potresa. Dramatičan prekid odnosa s SSSR-om i, nešto kasnije, prihvaćanje moderne apstrakcije kao dominantnog likovnog izraza donijele su odustajanje od soc-realističke estetike. Lik radnika / ratnika u herojskim pozama (koji se, istina, od prijeračnih prikaza razlikuje tek po ulozi glavnog lika i eventualnoj primjeni državnih simbola u pozadini slike) sve češće je zamijenjen dominantnim simbolom – zvjezdom i/ili srpom i čekićem. Titov lik možda se i najdramatičnije transformirao tijekom godina: od nimalo suptilnih pseudoreligijskih scena (primjerice, na kalendaru iz 1951., grafičkoj formi koja je tradicionalno bila namijenjena obavještavanju puka o datumima religijskih praznika i danima pojedinih svetaca) do kasnije uobičajenog, monarhističkog „numizmatičkog“ portreta. Puno kasnije, ovaj simbol doživljava još drastičniju izmjenu: Titov lik sveden je tek na ideju i – potpis.


Yugoslavia. The red five-pointed star was, of course, a symbol of communism and above all a strong and evocative symbol of the antifascist struggle (that established itself as a popular symbol of resistance to fascism in some Western European countries as well).

The coat of arms of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (co-designed by Antun Augustinčić and Đorđe Andrejević Kun in 1943) was a genuine treasure trove of figurative meanings. Like the coats of arms of many other socialist countries, it was obviously inspired by the coat of arms of the USSR. Thus the Yugoslav coat of arms too included the usual sheaves of wheat forming a circle, the above-mentioned five-pointed star, sun’s rays (a feature heralding a better future was obligatory) and the “date of birth” of the state (the myth of Genesis). The torches were its distinguishing feature (at first five and from the 1960s onward, six torches) representing the country’s republics fusing into a single flame, making for easily readable symbolism of brotherhood and unity. The coat of arms was ubiquitous in the most official sphere of public affairs: it graced the official state documents, personal identification documents, the official state-issued printed matter (such as state securities) and naturally money.

In addition to these official state insignia, there existed numerous symbols forming part of the Yugoslav mythology that had developed (and disappeared) over the years, but the hammer and sickle – the symbol of unity of the proletariat and the Communist Party, the figure of Josip Broz Tito (the Saviour) and bright red colour of the revolution proved to be the most resilient.
The changes of meaning

The already mentioned changes of meaning of state symbols and the attitude towards them were a consequence of significant turmoils in the society and in the domain of politics. The dramatic severance of relations with the USSR and some time later, acceptance of modernist abstraction as the dominant form of artistic expression resulted in abandoning the aesthetics of socialist realism. The figures of workers/warriors in heroic poses (which, in truth, differ from the pre-war representations only in the role of the main protagonist and the possible application of state symbols in the background of the picture) more and more often got replaced by the dominant symbol – the star or the hammer and sickle. It is the likeness of Tito that may have undergone the most dramatic transformation over the years: from the everything but subtle pseudo-religious scenes (for example on the 1951 calendar, with calendar itself being a graphics form traditionally meant to inform the masses about the dates marking religious holidays and days dedicated to certain saints) to the monarchical “numismatic” portrait that became customary later on. Much later, this symbol underwent an even more drastic change: Tito’s likeness was reduced to a pure idea and a signature.

The shift to a market economy after the 1964 economic reform and gradual professionalization of design led to an attempt to treat symbols as elements of the in-house style of certain companies. In the domain of culture, the opening of the country to the West brought
about relativization even of the previously undisputed symbolism and communist pedigree of the five-pointed star (the visual identities of Atelje 212, Bitef and Fest are impressive examples of that).

Finally, the signs of disagreement in the 1970s and 1980s, critical reassessment of the direction in which Yugoslav society was heading and, to an extent, the liberty to pose such questions were reflected in gradual deformation of symbols and even the previously unthinkable disappearance of state symbols from the realm of public communication.

The use of state symbols

The universally accepted and mainly respected state symbols provided a solid basis for building the national identity and forging ties between the nations that had until then been divided in many respects (from religion to the writing system).

The way of using state symbols was surely the most tightly controlled in the domain of politics where precious little was left to chance and personal interpretations. The state exercised tight control of the image it wanted to communicate to its citizens, especially in the beginning. Said state symbols were used in the official distribution channels, as a proof of the official nature of different regulations, personal documents and money.\(^5\) As elsewhere

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5 In relation to the recent fierce debates about the possibility of reducing the graphically complex Croatian coat of arms on licence plates to a much more fitting sign consisting of two squares, it’s worth remembering the curious fact that the country sign on licence plates at the time of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was simply a red star.
in the world, postage stamps\(^\text{6}\) and postcards that used to be a very widespread (nowadays almost extinct) communication channel also offered a great opportunity for mass dissemination of desirable symbols and myths: from the portraits of Josip Broz, through to the legendary battles fought in the National Liberation War, glorifying the working class and the like.

The state promoted its symbols when it addressed the people: in the calls to the polls, to fulfill five-year plans, to take part in youth voluntary labour drives or participate in celebrating state holidays. The visual identities of party congresses in the country’s republics were a very important element of creating the identity of the state. The congresses were carefully orchestrated spectacles with big budget and big ambitions and the authors of visual identities in the 1980s were mostly chosen in competitions where the awards and the scope of work attracted our best designers. In view of the regularity with which the congresses were held, it is precisely through their identities that we can track the visual evolution of state symbols (in this case, the five-pointed star and the hammer and sickle, the symbols of the Communist Party). An overview of these identities, primarily different congresses in the country’s republics: Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia (namely, congresses of the Communist Party, congresses of the League of Socialist Youth) corroborates the above-mentioned trend of disintegration of state symbols: from Vipotnik’s poster for the Ninth Congress of the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia held in 1974, to Ljubičić’s star indicated only by

\(^{6}\) The first postal stamp issued in the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was printed on February 21, 1945. It bore the likeness of Marshall Tito and was designed by Đorđe Andrejević Kun.
Državni simboli u službu ekonomije vraćaju se kasnih sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina, kada ih – po uzoru na pojedine, nacionalnom simbolikom obilježene zapadne tvrtke – nove generacije profesionalnih dizajnera pokušavaju uvesti u vizualne identitete domaćih tvrtki. Takvih primjera nije mnogo, no postoji nekoliko vrhunskih razrada kućnih stilova tvrtki koji su inspirirani jugoslavenskom državnom simbolikom. Primjerice, boje jugoslavenske zastave kao osnovu vizualnog identiteta koriste slovenski dizajneri (Jani Bavčer i Dušan Brajič) za bosanskohercegovačku tvrtku Sodaso. Trobojnicom je inspiriran i dizajn identiteta najpoznatijeg jugoslavenskog izvoznog projekta – automobila Yugo (arhitekt Sokol Sokolović) tvornice Zastava (!) iz Kragujevca. Nažalost, taj element identiteta bio je uočljiv svuda osim na samom automobilskom znaku.

Međutim, apsolutni pobjednik u ovoj kategoriji je vizualni identitet tvrtke YASSA dizajnera Borisa Ljubičića, detaljno razrađen kućni stil koji koristi petokraku kao osnovni element identiteta (ona je osnova i za tipografiju koju je Ljubičić dizajnirao za Yassu) te tri linije u boji zastave, po uzoru na inozemne sportske brendove. Nažalost, kvaliteta vizualnog identiteta bila je bolja od kvalitete izrade asortimana.

Boris Ljubičić još je od osamdesetih godina opsjednut temom promocije nacionalnog identiteta kroz dizajn vizualnih identiteta tvrtki te je 1989. u tjedniku Danas analizirao situaciju na tadašnjem jugoslavenskom tržištu (a 1990. u istom tjedniku izašao je i s prvom prijedlogom novog vizualnog identiteta Republike Hrvatske).

Mogu se pronaći još poneki bojažljivi primjeri uvođenja boja jugoslavenske zastave u identitet tvrtke (JAT, Ledo) a posebno je zanimljiv primjer cigareta Benston (Tvornica duhana Zagreb) koje su do raspada Jugoslavije kao važni element dizajnaj kutije koristile linije u

typographic means, designed for the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of Croatia, the poster designed by Ivan Posavac and Milisav Vesović for the Second Congress of the League of Socialist Youth of Croatia, or indeed the poster for the 1986 Eleventh Congress of the League of Socialist Youth of Serbia (Zeljug, Aleksić). Having in mind the fact that the designs had been commissioned by the Communist Party itself or the League of Socialist Youth, it is obvious that the changes in the approach to symbols were becoming allowed over time. Not all of the examples of such designs can be considered to have been successful instances of deception contrived by brave and rebellious designers to trick the visually illiterate client. The re-evaluation of the direction to be taken by the Party, the role of socialist youth in the society were the questions that had been acceptable ever since the 1968 student unrest. That however had its limits exceeded by openly throwing the gauntlet down in the face of the system, as was done by Novi kolektivizam (New Collectivism) and their banned 1987 Youth Day poster whose praises have been sung many a time.

If we take a look at the earliest material related to advertising, i.e. promoting the Yugoslav economy and companies, we will notice that state symbols were very often featured on posters, matchboxes, business New Year’s cards and calendars alike. These symbols

7 As illustrated, for example by the cover of a 1968 issue of Omladinski tjednik (Youth Weekly), showing a closed fist with a star-and-hammer-and-sickle seal ring (and the accompanying text reading Radically - Take It or Leave It).

8 The design of business greeting cards in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is interesting, if only because of the necessity of developing brand new motifs that had nothing in common with the previously common representation of Christian symbols.
highlighted the importance of the new social system as the key condition for economic development.

That is when the mania for YUGO-names began (e.g. Jugovinil (Yugovinyl) Jugokeramika (Yugoceramics), Jugoplastika (Yugoplastics), Jugoton (Yugotone), Jugoriba (Yugofish)) and numerous logos created at that time, often designed by more or less gifted amateurs, rich in communist insignia (from the five-pointed star to the figure of worker of the image of factory chimneys).

Following the foray into a market economy, state symbols almost completely disappeared from the sphere of advertising – at least in the original “naïve form”. The designers fully embraced modernist aesthetics and abstract forms, especially in the design of business greeting cards and the covers of company catalogues.

State symbols returned in the late 1970s and 1980s for the purpose of serving the economy, when new generations of professional designers attempted to incorporate them into the visual identities of local companies, following the example of some Western companies that opted for national symbolism. There not many such cases, but there are a few superb examples of development of company in-house styles inspired by Yugoslav state symbols. For instance, Slovenian designers (Jani Bavčer and Dušan Brajić) used the colours of the Yugoslav flag on the logo of Sodaso factory based in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The tricolour flag also provided the inspiration for the design (by the architect Sokol Sokolović) of the

9 Such a situation was later on repeated in Croatia, for instance, first with the prefix CRO- and again the prefix EURO- not long after that.
identity of Yugoslavia’s best known export – the Yugo car, manufactured at the Zastava (Flag) (!) factory in Kragujevac. Unfortunately, that element of the identity was visible everywhere except on the car logo itself.

However, the supreme champion in this category is the visual identity of the YASSA company, created by the designer, Boris Ljubičić, a finely developed in-house style that uses a five-pointed star as a cornerstone (the star also provided the basis for the font Ljubičić designed for YASSA) and three lines in the colours of the national flag, modelled on foreign sports brands. Unfortunately, the quality of the visual identity was superior to the quality of the company’s product range. Ever since the 1980s, Boris Ljubičić has been obsessed with the issue of promoting national identity by means of designing visual identities for companies. He thus analyzed the situation in the then Yugoslav market in a 1989 issue of Danas, osnovan 1982, u više navrata na naslovnici (ilustracije Mirka Ilića) koristi državne simbole (zvijezdu, srp i čekić) za prikaz dnevnapolitičke situacije. Ovaj kratki pregled mutacije državnih simbola tijekom pedesetak godina trajanja jugoslavenske države najprimjerenije je završiti slikom destrukcije onog simbola čijim je radanjem utjelovljena država. Naime, u listu Danas 1989. godine krah Socijaličiščke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije navješten je ilustracijom11 – jugoslavenskog grba u plamenu.

appeared as a logical element on posters of the exhibitions that explored the topics related state building anyway or conveyed an explicit education and propaganda-oriented message. These symbols were also featured on the posters for Yugoslav war films, if in no other form, then as a powerful effect of adding red colour to black-and-white photographs.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, visual identities appearing on the cultural scene also embraced modernist aesthetics and applied abstract shapes, only rarely making use of state symbols. The mainstream media still managed, for a time, to hide behind politically neutral modernism. Nevertheless, a new generation of designers came of age. They worked for youth newspapers in Ljubljana, Zagreb and Belgrade and experimented with the new pop aesthetics and innovative printing techniques. They did not shy away from provoking the state and the Party on newspaper covers. Sure, their influence in the society was limited to a small and select audience, but it undoubtedly had a profound impact on the visual identities Mašić developed for BITEF, or the work of Mihajlo Arsovski for Teatar ITD, for example.

In the beginning of the 1970s, political repression temporarily suppressed this communication channel, but visual identities of exhibitions and theatre plays still served as a backdrop for occasional subversive design activities that could not be carried out elsewhere. It was obviously easier to swallow and push through small doses of subversiveness intended for select audiences, while the means of distribution of mass culture – like, for example, gramophone records and films were monitored by committees ensuring political correct-

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10 For example, Vipotnik’s posters for the Slovenian Youth Theatre, the poster by Stefan Borota for Tom Gotovac’s exhibition held in 1983, Bučan’s 1983 poster for Voltaire’s *Candide* (For the Croatian National Theatre in Split), ...
ness of content. The recovery of the youth press scene began in the late 1970 and thus the symbols returned to newspaper covers (of Polet, (Enthusiasm) Mladina (Youth), Omladinske novine (Youth Newspapers), Mladost (Youth),...) in “compromising positions”.

The early 1980s saw the launch of activities of the Neue Slowenische Kunst (New Slovenian Art) collective that borrowed the vocabulary of totalitarian propaganda, created its own world of symbols and exposed the existing system by using the already well-known “state-building” methodology in their performances. The artists, Tomislav Gotovac and Marijan Molnar held performances “branding” their own bodies with communist symbols. Danas Weekly, founded in 1982 used state symbols (the star, the hammer and sickle) on a number of occasions on its covers (designed by Mirko Ilić), so as to illustrate political issues of the day.

The most fitting way of ending this short overview of the transformation of state symbols during the fifty years or so of existence of Yugoslavia would be by referring to the image of destruction of the very symbol whose birth marked the creation of the state. Namely, a 1989 issue of the newspaper Danas featured an illustration11 showing the Yugoslav coat of arms in flames foreshadowing the collapse of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Translated by Jelena Bajić

11 Danas (Today), August 29, 1989, illustration: Joško Marušić
Cvetka Požar

Gradjenje i rušenje slike socijalističke države kroz plakat i vizuelni identitet

Cvetka Požar

The Building and Destruction of the Image of Socialist State through Posters and Visual Identity
The propaganda in Yugoslavia in the socialist era (1945-1991) was a significant factor of the affirmation of a new socio-political order and the authorities themselves later on. Visual communication played an important role in that. Here I will expound a couple of key examples of such use of graphic design during the three periods of socialism, in order to show clearly how the visual communication of a one-party system was changing. During the first, post-war years, the new socio-political order was consolidated by the intense, controlled propaganda - whose pillars were the posters that relied on socialist realism in terms of style - as well as by highlighting the new state symbols (five-pointed star, sickle, hammer, red as the colour of the revolution, etc.). The first moves in the formal plan of building an affirmative visual identity of the authorities, and therefore, the state, occurred in the 1970s through calling the first open competitions for the visual identities of party congresses and other meetings of party organizations. In the 1980s, there was a radical shift in relation to the post-war socialist realism propaganda. Through resemantisation, state and party symbols, on the posters in the field of culture, in the first place, became disguised, i.e. “criticisms” of rigidness of the party and the system hidden by metaphors. The symbols that represented victory over the occupier and hard-won freedom at the end of World War II, as well as hope for a more just and equitable social order, which unfortunately was not realized in the form it had been designed, during the last decade of the socialism, through a metamorphosis and setting in a different, current socio-political context, became its “destroyer.” The peak in this regard was reached in the second half of the 1980s, when the design of an affirmative poster commissioned by the authorities became a critique of that very affirmation (the poster for the 1987 Youth Day).
The posters as means of agitation and propaganda in the first post-war years

Immediately after World War II, intense political and propaganda activities were launched with the aim of providing strong support for the mobilization of the people in rebuilding the country, the adoption of new laws and their actual implementation, the borders issue troubleshooting and other political activities of the Communist Party, as well as for the full ideological transformation of the society into a new system. It was the posters in particular that were significant visual mainstays of such activities and they were more so than other kinds of media, because they were the most accessible means of informing the masses under the then circumstances.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, immediately after the liberation of the country, attuned its cultural and political program to the Soviet one and adopted all the principles of socialist realism. The agitprop activities, based on simplified, emotionally charged motifs, derived their content from the revolutionary fight and passionate enthusiasm about the victory over the occupier and the blood-won freedom, and orientation towards progress and building a better future. By controlling the preliminary concepts of each and every motif on the posters, the new authorities defined the content of the agitprop posters to the last detail, marking them with the iconography of socialist realism, which due to its prominent affirmativeness was in full compliance with the clients’ requirements.

Stereotypical heroic figures of shock workers, youth and athletes, set in monumental compositions that testified to the unconditional faith in progress and better future, promoted, encouraged, cherished and projected the values of the new authorities. After the
conflict with the Cominform back in 1948, when Yugoslavia began its gradual opening to the West, the abandonment of the symbolism of socialist realism on the posters also began.

**The visual identity of party and other political organizations’ congresses in the 1970s**

Massive political ceremonies, as the party’s congresses used to be, congresses of the ZSMS (League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia), trade unions’ congresses, elections and so on, since the mid-1970s, as a rule, had their own visual identity. This can be attributed to the progress of design in Slovenia, which was influenced by individuals during the 1950s and the 1960s, as well as by the new generation of young designers, who made a name for themselves in the 1970s and brought new concepts in Slovenian graphic design. Despite the fact the state began to call open competitions for visual identities of political congresses and events, the engagement of the message remained within the domain of party control. The public saw only those changes that the clients themselves aspired to.

Different approaches to visual communication of the party and its political organizations were dictated by the very social atmosphere. After the student protests in the late 1960s and in the early 1970s, it was clear that political organizations under the auspices of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (SKJ) had to use a more persuasive and innovative approach to win new members over; the League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia (ZSMS) - the complete visual identity for its 9th congress back in 1974 having been developed by Matjaž Vipotnik - was particularly aware of that. Ideologically uncommitted design of the poster...
was reduced to a photo of trees in a field. Its purpose was clarified only by the print of
the congress name and sign forming a five-pointed star. The reduced expression of the
poster did not impose strict ideological choices. A different iconographic basis indicated
a milestone in the design of the visual identity for the political organization in the post-war
history of Slovenia and marked a new direction in the development of contemporary visual
communications of the authorities, i.e. less preoccupation with the dogmatic symbols of
communism.

An important contribution to the change in the visual communication of the party four
years later (1978), primarily through redefinition of the established semiotic elements of the
party within the visual identity of the then most important political congress of the League
of Communists of Slovenia was made by Miljenko Licul1, Ranko Novak, Boris Benko, Milan
Zornik and Janez Koželj. Licul said the following about creating the visual identity of the
ZKS (League of Communists of Slovenia) 8th Congress: “The eighth party congress was the
first one where the solution was actually left to the authors. We proved to be a breath of
fresh air2 back then.” The freshness is evident in the modern concept and the reconstruc-

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1 At an open competition, which was called by the Central Committee of the League of
Communists of Slovenia back in 1977, Licul was given an opportunity to design the entire
visual identity of the ZKS 8th Congress. He asked Novak, with whom he worked for a year and
a half at the Iskra “Spark” company design department, Dušan Benko, who took care of the
words on the posters and other printed material, as well as Milan Zornik and Janez Koželj to
collaborate on the project.
2 Tina Lesničar, “A good logo for a poor service is a bad logo. The Prešern Award winner
Miljenko Licul”, Delo (Work), 9. 2. 2008, p. 22
The Building and Destruction of the Image of Socialist State through Posters and Visual Identity

Cvetka Požar

The poster for the ZKS 8th Congress features a picture of Slovenians and the League of Communists in different periods of time and in various fields of work, which should evoke the bond between them. The visual aspect of the message is conveyed a black and white photo as a realistic and convincing medium; it is complemented by the quotations of important cultural activists, poets, writers and politicians who praised the figure of Tito, the uprising, the attained freedom, progress, labour and the working class, youth, etc. The message of these and other congress posters was still an affirmation of the socialism and the party.

For the logo of the most important party congress, the designers conceptualized a computer processed symbol formed of multiplied and deformed shapes of the three classic symbols of communism: the five-pointed star and the hammer and sickle, which were dismantled and assembled in a new form. According to the authors, three versions of the symbol were created out of them, which by their repetitive, rounded and dynamizing form, as well as by their coherent and precisely regulated structure, themselves imposed a comparison with the League of Communists, its massiveness, completeness and openness.

3 U preduzeću „Iskra” znak je računarski obradio Matjaž Durjava, a kolektiv Iskrinog marketinga je učestovavao u organizaciji izvođenja celokupnog kongresnog događaja. Vidi: Lado Drobež, „Čestitke od vsepovsod”, Iskra, 18/19, 29. 4. 1978, 6.
5 „Nizka raven oblikovne kulture”, Informator, 105/106, 1979, prilog, XI.
The deformed shapes raised the client’s dilemmas and doubts whether party symbols that embodied its values and its revolutionary achievements may have been discredited. The complications related to the acceptance of this proposal proved that the symbols of communism had great identification significance for the party, whereas the acceptance of different solutions was a proof that the moment had arrived for such solutions. Licul said the following about the transformation of symbols on the posters: “The issue of symbolism is certainly interesting. Our society is constantly evolving, getting new standards, however, it passes on the symbols inherited from different periods. By saying that I do not think that the hammer and sickle are not real symbols, but a revolution of symbols representing the society is also necessary for the development of the society.5”

Despite the still-present role of the ideological propaganda, whose visual mainstay was the party iconography, redefining the established symbols meant the first step towards a complex semantic stratification of the communist symbolism, and at the same time of the design of the socialist political posters, i.e. the complete visual identity in the domain of politics in general. The League of Communists, which was financially able to carry out such open competitions, offered the only chance for that, albeit defined by pragmatic requirements and restrictions. If the designers managed to implement new, critical approaches to the stereotypical symbolism, within the affirmative aesthetics of the socialist propaganda, it was the sole merit of their resourcefulness when transforming the symbols as well as the

5 "Nizka raven oblikovne kulture" (“The low level of design culture”), Informator, 105/106, 1979, appendix, p. XI.
ability to hold a convincing presentation before the commission and, not least, the power of persuasion of the ones who convinced the party officials in the commissions.

In Slovenia, the postmodern aesthetics based on pluralism, eclecticism, visual and verbal quotation and appropriation, relatively early offered an appropriate response to the ossified formalism of the party symbolism and its political content. At that point, such visual identities (not only for the ZKS 9th Congress, held in 1982, but also for other events) implied a high level of culture of advertising and the development of a visual identity for political events.


Vrhunac je dostignut plakatom grupe *Novi kolektivizem* za Dan mladosti 1987. godine kada se dogodio zanimljiv preokret: plakat napravljen kao podrška vlastima postao je zapravo njena neposredna kritika. Ako su pomenuti kulturni plakati posredno kritikovali aktuelnu političku stvarnost i prikrivene, tabuizirane događaje iz skorije istorije, *Novi kolektivizem* je retrogradnim pristupom i upotrebom istovetnih slika suočio propagandne pristupe u uбедljavanju masa iz dva ideološki potpuno različita društvena sistema (nacizma i socijalizma), učinivši to na neposredan i provokativan način. Nacrt plakata bio je prihvaćen najpre na republičkom, a potom i na saveznom nivou, ali tek pošto je otkriven nacistički
then socio-political reality. Because of the control over the content of the political posters in socialism, criticism of the authorities and the most pressing social issues moved to other kinds of posters and that is a unique characteristic of cultural posters in the Yugoslav space in the socialist era. It had an effect on exhibition posters too; especially at the beginning of the 1980s, on the posters for the Laibach band concerts, or on the photocopied posters of the activists with ties to the Ljubljana-based FV club and ŠKUC.

The peak was reached in the poster of Novi Kolektivizem (New Collectivism) group for Youth Day back in 1987, when an interesting turn took place, namely, a poster designed to support the authorities became their direct criticism. If the above-mentioned cultural posters indirectly criticized the then political reality, as well as hidden events and the ones put under taboo in recent history, Novi Kolektivizem, through a retrograde approach and the use of identical images, brought face to face the propaganda approaches to persuading the masses in two ideologically completely different social systems (Nazism and socialism) and did it in a direct and provocative manner. The draft poster was accepted first at the republic, and then at the federal level, and it was only after the Nazi model was detected, that the so-called “poster scandal” broke out. The poster for Youth Day was never printed or distributed. The poster scandal was caused by the draft poster published in a magazine!

6 The poster was made on the basis of the 1936 painting by the Nazi artist Richard Klein. The designers replaced the Nazi symbols (swastika, Germanic eagle, etc.) by the symbols of the party and the state (five-pointed star, Yugoslav coat of arms) and Slovenian symbols (the architect Jože Plečnik’s model of the Slovenian parliament building).
These posters - theatre, exhibition, music, and not least political ones - were a reflection of the then socio-political situation. They were made by the engaged and conscious people (individuals, groups, movements, etc.) who reacted to social reality. Thus, at a given moment in history, such visual messages became more convincing than one-party political propaganda devoid of content, or, as in the case of the Youth Day poster, that very propaganda became its own destroyer.

Translated by Zoran Ž. Paunović
Lana Cavar and Narcisa Vukojević

The Production of Logos for a New World
It seems that the time has finally come to bring together the particular experiences and results of researches on small samples that have occurred over the last ten years or so on a wave of a sort of hype when it comes to the rediscovery of truly massive legacy of the design produced within the territory and during the time of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).

Riding the same wave, some five years ago, we launched a series of researches under the telling title of “Excavations” carried out entirely from the authors’ point of view, formatted primarily by practical work in design and aimed at exploring, interpreting and presenting in public various works of design created in the very period of time that is in the focus of the exhibition “Design for a New World”.

Due to production- and capacity-related and some other restrictions, two cycles of “Excavations” (“Judge a Book by Its Cover” and “Logos of Production - Production of Logos”) related only to space and time of the former Socialist Republic of Croatia. Despite the narrowed framework of the research and analysis, with some “republic” specific qualities, we believe that we can also talk with a measure of certainty about identification of common traits in the design of the Yugoslav space/time (Yugoslav culture of design).

The first cycle of “Excavations” - “Judge a Book by Its Cover” - dealt with the design of the cover pages of the books published by Croatian publishers back then. The second cycle of “Excavations” - “Logos of Production - Production of Logos” - dealt with the design of trademarks of enterprises belonging to the production and service sectors.

Given that the content of our last topic is in the focus of this exhibition, from now on we will devote our attention to its in-depth analysis.
Opting for the production and business sector as the then “Big” design client resulted from the need for the design works of this type, usually labelled as commercial design, to be verified as equal design heritage (which regularly includes canonical works of design dominantly associated with clients from the so-called cultural sphere), all the more because the quantity and formal/formative quality, as well as the high level of professional standards of this design production are astonishing.

Our goal was to collect and reconstruct as many trademarks of companies - plants, factories, companies, department stores, etc. - as possible to draw a conclusion with more confidence about the generally applicable formative/formal principles and procedures in the “production” of logos as well as to speculate about the semantic potential of logos in the “production” of the meaning.

The largest number of the collected logos could not be unfailingly attributed in terms of connecting a specific author with a work/logo, so we deliberately abandoned the principle of authorship prevalent in the overviews or anthologies of art/design production. Non-insisting on determining the authorship or on hierarchization of this kind of design work is in the line with the proclaimed paradigm of collective creation of “a new world” and opens a freer methodological approach to the subject.

The role of the designers in the collective aspiration, at least at the beginning of the creation of the new world, could be in the design of its corresponding “image” and offering assurance (persuasive communication) that precisely such a world was best for us.
Design, primarily graphic design or visual communications design, is an ideal medium for disseminating the ideas and values that should reach as many people as possible so that these would be then successfully adopted through a process of socialization.

When it comes to visual identities of companies, i.e. their trademarks as visual representations, it is interesting to observe how the logos, constructed and put up overhead, because of their high frequency, were assimilated into the social environment, and ultimately became the characteristics of the environment itself. Due to the changes in the social environment, both the perception and the meaning of these logos have been changed too. When the social environment radically changes, when a world literally collapses, today’s perception of all tangible and intangible heritage of the past world, (and here we refer to the trademarks of Yugoslav companies in particular) mostly ranges between two extremes: sentiment and resentment.

In order to avoid the semiotic overload trap, particularly because trademarks as functional referents of companies have long lost that which they signified (the companies have mostly collapsed or have been restructured), we took the analysis in a more exact direction by attempting to introduce a certain order in the repository containing a large number of previously unclassified logos. We set up a sort of system of logos by classifying and distinguishing between logos in relation to the distinctive characteristics observed in a number of logos in the total sample. There are two basic principles of classifying our logos into groups: formal (in relation to their form, application of various artistic and graphic elements, recognisability of motifs - figuration/abstraction, typography, composition, etc.) and

postavljeni znakovi, zbog svoje visoke frekventnosti, bivaju asimilirani u društvenoj okolini te u konačnici postaju i obilježja okolne same. S obzirom na promjene društvene okoline, mijenja se percepcija i značenje tih znakova. Kada se društvena okolina radikalno promijeni, kada se jedan svijet doslovno sruši, današnja percepcija svog materijalnog i nematerijalnog nasljudja prošlog svijeta, a ovdje apostrofiram zaštitne znakove jugoslavenskih radnih organiza
cijacija, uglavnom se kreće između dvije suprotstavljene krajnosti: sentimenta i resantimana.

Kako bismo izbjegle zamku preplavljivanja značenjem (semiotic overload), osobito zato što su zaštitni znakovi kao funkcionalni označitelji radnih organizacija odavno izgubili svoje označeno (radne organizacije su uglavnom propale ili su se restrukturirale) – analizu smo zaokrenule u egzaktnijem smjeru pokušajem uvođenja stanovitog reda u repozitoriju s velikim brojem do tada nerazvrstanih znakova. Uspostavile smo svojevrsnu znakovnu sistemati
tikom raspoređujući i razlikujući znakove prema izrazitim karakteristikama koje se uočavaju na većem broju znakova u ukupnom uzorku. Dva su bazična principa raspoređivanja naših znakova u skupine: formalni (prema obliku, upotrebi različitih likovno-grafičkih elemenata, prepoznatljivosti motiva – figuracija/apstrakcija, tipografiji, kompoziciji...) i onaj komunika
cijsko-referencijalni (u odnosu na označeno – radne organizacije, u odnosu na društvo, u odnosu na kulturu...).

Važan princip u projektiranju zaštitnog znaka (radne organizacije) je ekonomičnost – s manje formalnih elemenata komunicirati dovoljno ili više značenja. Oblik koji odgovara ovom principu je krug pa zato ne iznenađuje da je većina znakova u našem repozitoriju kružnog oblika. Kružni oblik znaka je jednostavno primjenjiv u različitim sredstvima i medi
jima komunikacije.
Osim kružnog oblika, razmjerno manje su zastupljeni i ostali jednostavni geometrijski oblici poput kvadrata ili trokuta (u koje se upisuju drugi formalni elementi), odnosno razvedeni oblici znakova.

Primjetan je karakterističan tretman pismovnih znakova (najčešće korištenih za akronime složenih naziva radnih organizacija) u kojemu slovni ili brojčani znakovi poprimaju jedinstven izgled (lettering) za osobitu namjenu (za razliku od prefabriciranih pismovnih setova namijenjenih ponovljenoj i čestoj upotrijebi – typography) te tako čine posebnu skupinu tipografskih znakova. Ovako izvedeni znakovi sugeriraju visoku razinu profesionalnog umijeća naših anonimnih autora.

U projektiranju znakova nije zanemariva upotreba ponavljajućih uzoraka, najčešće linijskog rastera. Mjestimično su u znakovima materijalizirani utjecaji koji se prelijevaju iz likovne umjetnosti, primjerice geometrijske apstrakcije, optičke umjetnosti i sl.

Na ovom mjestu čini se važnim napomenuti visoku izvedbenu razinu naših znakova, imajući na umu ondašnje tehničke i tehnološke mogućnosti.

Spomenule smo razlikovanje znakova prema prepoznatljivosti korištenih motiva pa se svi prethodno distingvirani znakovi prema važećem formalnom principu mogu razvrstati u dvije nadskupine znakova: znakovi s prepoznatljivim, figurativnim motivima, nasuprot znakovima čiji su motivi svedeni na jednostavne geometrijske forme te su postali teže određivi, apstraktni. Znakovi s reduciranim formalnim izrazom su najzrelije dizajnirani znakovi. Njihove veze s odnosnim subjektima (radnim organizacijama koje reprezentiraju) su proizvoljne i dozvoljavaju upisivanje značenja preko svoje početne namjene. Zbog toga su relativno otporni na protok vremena pa bi u eventualnoj suvremenoj upotrijebi mogli biti sasvim funkcionalni.

the one combining communicational and referential features (in relation to that which is signified - companies, in relation to the society, in relation to culture, etc.).

An important principle in the design of a (company) trademark is efficiency – the ability to communicate enough or with more meanings with fewer formal elements. The shape corresponding to this principle is a circle, so, it is not surprising that most of the logos in our repository are circular. The circular shape of a logo is easily applicable to a variety of means and media of communication.

Apart from the circular shape, other simple geometric shapes like squares or triangles (where other formal elements are inserted), i.e. indented forms of logos, are proportionally less represented.

There is noticeable distinctive treatment of logos featuring letters (mostly used for acronyms of complex names of companies) in which letters or numeric characters assume an unique form (lettering) for special purposes (unlike the prefabricated sets of letters intended for repeated and frequent use - typography) constituting therefore a separate group of typographic characters. Logos designed in this way suggest a high level of professional skill of our anonymous authors.

The use of recurring patterns, usually a halftone, is not irrelevant in the design of logos. Here and there, the influences spilling over from fine arts, for example from geometric abstraction, optical art and the like, got materialized in the logos.

At this point, it seems important to mention the high quality workmanship of our logos, bearing in mind the then technical and technological possibilities.
We have already mentioned distinguishing between the logos in relation to the recognisability of the applied motifs. Therefore, in line with the formal principle applied here, all of the previously distinguished logos can be classified into two super-groups: logos featuring recognizable figurative motifs in contrast to logos whose motives are reduced to simple geometric shapes, thus becoming more imponderable, abstract. Reduced formal expression characterizes the logos whose design is the most mature. Their ties with the subjects to which they refer (the companies they represent) are arbitrary and allow the meanings that go beyond their initial purpose to be read into them. That’s why they are relatively resistant to the passage of time, so they could be quite functional even in the contemporary use.

Our repository abounds in logos featuring various figurative motifs. In relation to the presence of a particular motif on a significant number of logos in the total sample, we made a distinction between the following groups of logos: a) logos with motifs showing different forms of life (people, animals, plants, etc.); b) logos with stereotypical motifs that usually denote a specific type of industry or services (stylized lightning = electrical industry; spool of thread, thread, needle, scissors = textile industry; retort, laboratory glassware = chemical industry; motifs of wings from Hermes/Mercury’s winged sandals or helmets = (foreign) trade, import/export companies; cigarette = tobacco industry); c) logos with synecdoche motifs that do not necessarily apply to only one type of industry or services, but also connote a wider context (gears, factory chimneys, machine parts, etc.); d) logos with historical or heraldic motifs (parts of coats of arms, ears of grain, historical ships, etc.).
In relation to the standards of professional design criteria, one could find fault with many logos from this group due to their excessively narrative nature, literalness, naiveté, limited communicative potential, meaning or ability to stand the test of time, and they would probably be declared less successful design solutions that in some other overviews of design would end up under the radar sensitive only to highly resonant works. However, when they are considered as tangible remains of the visual culture of a world, they become valuable contributions in an attempt to reconstruct its precise image.

Something like this:

Smoke rises from factory chimneys. A dense network of power-transmission lines brings the electricity to the last nook and cranny - the air glows. Machines operate in four shifts, the gears spin unstoppably. The wheel of history hurriedly moves forward fast ... further and further ... Self-sacrificing shock workers exceed their quotas without a moment of hesitation. Golden ears of wheat are swaying in the fields. Sewing machines are swallowing kilometres of thread. Something big has been cooking up. You name it, we’ve got it – from soup to nuts. And there’s no room for doubt.

Nothing can stop us on the wings of Progress!

Our logos, however, are what is left of the world they were associated with. That world cannot be restored any more, but its logos, which are largely devoid of the initial meaning, can be re-semanticised.
And that is what we are doing on this occasion: we use them as legitimate archivalia that help to better understand the past time and promote to the design heritage that would be worth protecting from abuse and overuse alike, but definitely worth using.

Translated by Zoran Ž. Paunović
Ana Radovanović

Saveta and Slobodan Mašić and Dragan Stojanovski as Cultural Workers in the Yugoslav Design Scene
After the country turned its back to Stalin in 1948, in the 1950s, Yugoslavia worked on defining, establishing and stabilizing its social system and its values. A complex structural framework entailed socialism, self-management, federation, the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement and naturally, modernization of the state.

A developing state in every sense of the word, it gave the worker the central role in its system. This notion became synonymous with everyman, therefore the worker became "a pillar of activity in the society". As noted by Vukić, many activities were defined precisely by the terms like cultural, health or social workers, where he – the worker took centre stage, becoming the key protagonist of sorts in the state's nomenclature.

In the ideal circumstances in every domain, the worker was not placed above the rest of the society, however, his activities were so important that the focus was shifted from the worker performing an activity to the significance of the activity itself, whereby the notion of activism was introduced. Having been both a pivotal element of the state system based on self-management and at the same time equal to all the other elements of it, the worker took the responsibility for engaging in a particular activity. Thus, in the domain of culture, the socialist framework required planned and well-structured work, where a cultural worker – activist did the work that contributed to the social and public domain, commenting on it and channelling it, as well as providing guidance for future generations.

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Moreover, Régis Debray maintains that the figures responsible for the production and dissemination of culture are not only intellectuals and teachers, but also 19th century typographers-printers. Namely, a printer is considered to be quintessentially a ‘worker intellectual or an intellectual worker’, the very ideal of that human type who would become the pivot of socialism: ‘the conscious proletarian’.2


Iako u različitim uslovima, ovi autori doprinose razvoju kolektivne vizuelne svesti kreiranjem plakata i drugih štampanih artefakata, stvarajući vizuelni identitet velikih kulturnih manifestacija i institucija. Oni su zanimljivi upravo zbog uloge grafičkog dizajnera – kulturnog radnika koji se svojim specifičnim odabirom vizuelnog koda, odnosno date umetničko-dizajnerske paradigme i ideologije, pozicionira unutar struke, kulturne scene i društva uopšte.

Premda generacijski sličnih godina, njihov karakterističan stvaralački opus kojeg ovaj tekst uzima u obzir, počinje da se vremenski preplići tek početkom 1970-ih godina. Specifičnost opusa Dragan Stojanovskog, koji nastaje u uslovima institucije, i s druge strane Mašića koji se razvija u okviru samostalnog studija, leži svakako u porukama inkorporiranim u vizuelnom kodu ovih stvaralača, koje na manje ili više posredan način svedoče o društvu i komentarišu ga. Autore možemo svrstati unutar paradigm modernizma (Mašići) ili pak siro-

Even though they were of a similar age, their signature creative work, which is in the focus of this essay began to overlap timewise as late as the beginning of the 1970s. The distinguishing features of the work of Dragan Stojanovski, on the one hand, created within an institution and the work of the Mašićs developing in an independent studio, on the other, are definitely to be found in the messages incorporated into visual code of these authors. In a more or less indirect way, these messages bear witness to the society and comment on it. These authors can be said to belong to the modernist paradigm (the Mašićs) or to that of Arte Povera (Stojanovski). However, belonging to that paradigm in no way implied absolute consistency in terms of following its original form. What is at issue here is not just the usual applicability to the Yugoslav socialist society, but also the personal mark they left as authors, namely, the interpretations given by these cultural workers.

While the Mašićs have produced around eighty posters over a period of fifty years, during which they have been active, Stojanovski made over two thousand posters for the Student Cultural Centre (SKC) and additional flyers, event programmes and the like. Moreover, Stojanovski collaborated both with programme managers and other SKC officials and individual artists, musicians and people from the creative sector, with whom he agreed the details of the final version of poster design. Slobodan Mašić, on the other hand does not accept the role of an executor of a task, he does not recognize other authority than his own and reverses the roles of customer and designer.

As far as its formal characteristics are concerned, the body of poster work produced by the Mašićs can be divided into several stages. While the first stage is marked by purely geometric shapes and symbols, what is encountered later on is exclusively photographs.
However, subsuming the Mašićs’ practice into the typical visual languages of that time seems utterly unrewarding, since it does not completely belong to any of them, creating its own visual code by making a collage of different impulses. In the very beginning, that code implied appealing, but also bright and often glowing (pop-art) colours and simultaneous use of Helvetica. In the period that followed, the Mašićs again often insisted on using this font, known for its international style \textit{par excellence}, which they saw as an embodiment of their modernist \textit{credo} of structure, purity, clarity and order... The substitution of geometric shapes for photographs in the mid-1970s was in line with the art trends of the day, i.e. the ways of documenting and presenting new views on art belonging to the \textit{new artistic practice}. But the meaning of the diverse shapes they are using, regardless of whether they opt for abstract geometric shapes, repeated patterns or photographs goes beyond the one-sidedness of form that is observed when one looks at a poster for the first time. The complex system of symbols is part of a concept that allows ample room for personal and multifaceted interpretations. The riddle created by the Mašićs on every poster embodies their \textit{cultural and political strategy}. They employ elements of the visual language of modernism and also partially identify with its ideology – an activist utopian idea of educating the audience, the users of design. With the help of structure and order, the Mašićs carried out the mission of improving the surroundings, disseminating liberal ideas, namely, promoting their own vision of the social system. Contrary to the modernist ideology, the Mašićs deny the neutrality of the designer, imposing their own authorial perspective and a particular kind of totalitarianism instead.
In its first programme rule book issued in 1972, Belgrade’s Student Cultural Centre defined its intention to demonstrate clear commitment to winning over, namely, creating a well-defined audience. Aiming to achieve that goal, the SKC made a commitment to select, display and develop progressive art heritage. It also stated the intention to promote the events held at the centre in an efficient manner, which required the production and distribution of advertising and documentary material as “a clear and easily recognizable symbol of the Centre”.

Following the efforts of the SKC to define its own position, Stojanovski too chose, on several occasions, to change the visual identity of the Centre, namely, that which should have been the logo of the institution. His interpretation led to a transformation of the logo to the point of disappearance. So instead of the original spiral shape that may have evoked the staircase of the tower of the building, formerly home to the Officers Club, subsequently housing the Centre, we find a photograph of the building, then a photograph of the street name sign and the number at which the premises of the institution were situated (48 Maršala Tita Street) and ultimately the typewritten name and address of the Centre.
Precisely that kind of transience, lack of historicity, absence of a consistent, fixed form and instantaneity are the characteristics of Arte Povera, as well, which was part of the international and local artistic practice at the time, the practice that was among the things showcased at the Student Cultural Centre through its events programme.

Numerous requests made on a daily basis forced Stojanovski to offer quick and efficient graphic solutions. The technical equipment at the workshop made high quality work impossible as well, partly because of the level of development of the printing industry at the time and partly because of the modest financial means that the workshop had at its disposal. On the other hand, how else to present art that is based on an idea, on the stream of consciousness, art striving to de-aestheticize the work of art, not wanting to be documented and aiming to strip form to the core?

Stojanovski disregarded the international style that had already been dominating the Yugoslav scene for quite some time. However, his work cannot be said to have fully reflected Italian radical design, the then contemporary antithesis of the above-mentioned

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5 Žiga Testen speculates about the links between Stojanovski’s visual language and the above-mentioned Italian practice. Testen refers to certain publications and meetings (held in Belgrade) discussing the principles upheld by the representatives of Anti-Design. Cf. Testen 2013.


8 Intervju sa autorom, septembar 2015. godine.

modernist approach. His authorial method displays traits that are closer to Arte Povera than to the eccentric Anti-Design.

His posters present two parallel narrative fields, most often presupposing the coexistence of photographs and text that do not explain or illustrate each other. Rather, they both evoke the atmosphere in equal measure. Stojanovski turns poor conditions and technical shortcomings into his tools and his trademark. Chance, recycling and expendability are part of his visual code. Photographs, the use of a typewriter or handwritten inscriptions, although created out of necessity, quickly became part of a concept that implied shifting attention from the form to the factuality of meaning itself.6 Like Debray’s printer, Stojanovski put his intellect at the service of a high purpose and his own creative expression. The mission of his authorial approach essentially boils down to the thought process, while his task as a cultural worker requires the ability to be creative and resourceful.

In spite of the obvious differences in conditions and formulation of the artistic practice of Dragan Stojanovski and the Mašićs, these cultural workers are important figures, whose work contributed to the development of visual and intellectual culture of the Yugoslav public. Since they were hired to provide the design for a number of key events and institutions over a period of several decades, their achievements cannot in any way be defined in a narrow context. By putting forward new ways of understanding and interpreting social codes, namely, promoting new social and visual structures, they not

6 Ješa Denegri, Ibid.
only participated in building public awareness, but also shaped and channelled it. Their distinctive forms of practice and unique personal activism proves that they deserved to be referred to as cultural workers.

**Slobodan Mašić** (1939) grew closer to graphic design through his double role of an architecture graduate and art critic – the editor of the Belgrade-based student magazines *Student* and *Vidici* (Views). His varied roles in the Belgrade society took shape gradually and simultaneously. We encounter him as a representative of the faculties of technical sciences in the University of Belgrade Student Association, as a speaker at public panel discussions held at the Youth Cultural Centre, even as a founder of an opposition paper, or a graphic design editor of the leftist magazine *Susret* (Encounter).

As he pointed out himself, his literary education was acquired thanks to his acquaintances and long conversations with people from literary circles, like Milorad Pavić, Vasko Popa, Zoran Gruščević, etc. In 1966, together with his wife, Saveta Mašić, he founded an independent alternative publishing house, *Nezavisna izdanja* (Independent Publications) which produced over five hundred titles.

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He began working as an architect – graphic designer in the mid-1960s. In collaboration with Saveta Mašić, Bora Ćosić and Dragoš Kalajić, he founded Studio Structure, specializing in graphic and architectural design. As a graphic designer, he collaborated with the writer, Bora Ćosić on a neo-avant-garde magazine *Rok – magazine for aesthetic examination of reality*. He also designed the first issue of the Zagreb-based publication *Enciclopedia Moderna*. Besides, he produced graphic design for films belonging to the Black Wave movement, such as *Early Works* by Želimir Žilnik and *Innocence Unprotected* by Dušan Makavejev. Together with his wife, Saveta, he made posters and catalogues for exhibitions, theatre events and institutions including Bitef, Fest, Atelje 212 theatre, Yugoslav Drama Theatre and collaborated occasionally with the Belgrade Youth Centre, the Museum of Contemporary Art and the Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade. He often travelled to Zagreb where he used the services provided by the screen printing workshop operating at the local Student Centre and spent time with Ivan Picelj, Eugen Feler, Dimitrije Bašićević and Radoslav Putar.

Saveta Mašić (1941) completed her undergraduate degree, graduating in architecture in Belgrade, after which she founded the Town Planning Institute in Stara Pazova and became its first director. As early as the following year, she became the founder of Studio Structure. While she remained in civil service for three years, she has been affiliated with Studio Structure specializing in graphic and architectural design to this day. Although the exact division of creative labour at the studio and in its projects is not known, Saveta’s presence is indispensable and her signature is found on the majority of projects and posters, many of which were entries in international competitions and festivals.
Dragan Stojanovski (1940-2006) was born in Skopje. He came to Belgrade in 1959. Having obtained his undergraduate degree in wall painting, he focused on the design of theatre posters and started collaboration with the Student Cultural Centre in Belgrade in the early 1970s. In 1971, the managing editor at the Graphic Workshop was Nenad Čonkić, whose position Stojanovski took over the following year, in 1972. Together with assistant designers, Novica Kocić and Đorđe Tucić, Stojanovski occupied this position until 1992 when he resigned and founded an independent studio. The Graphic Workshop had photography, printing and design departments. What distinguished the SKC and Stojanovski’s new position was the fact that he became the official graphic designer of an institution, albeit an alternative one. At that moment, in fact, such a position did not officially exist in other cultural institutions like different theatres, the Belgrade Youth Centre or indeed the...

10 Žiga Testen, Ibid.
11 Slavko Timotijević, Ovo je Studentski kulturni centar - This is the Student Cultural Center: prethod 25 godina: 1971-1996, Beograd: Studentski kulturni centar, (This is Student Cultural Centre: the First 25 Years 1971-1996, Belgrade, Student Cultural Centre ) 1996
13 “From 1992 to 2006 he runs a small commercial graphic design studio with his son and it seems one single client (a large import-export company);” Cf. Testen 2013.
Museum of Contemporary Art. The design of the necessary material, namely, posters, catalogues and other print artefacts was obtained as the need arose from free-lance artists, designers and architects who were invited to submit their work. Therefore, establishing and equipping an independent graphic workshop at the SKC was a significant improvement in the understanding of the importance of the role of graphic designers and determining the need for a unified visual identity of a cultural institution.

Translated by Jelena Bajić
Marko Zubak

Ovaj esej se bavi jednim zanemarenim aspektom grafičkog dizajna u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji – oblikovanjem novina, i to čini gledajući van okvira mainstream medija. Konkretnije, u tekstu se analizira grafički doprinos mreže raznolikih publikacija, od središnjih tjednika do specijaliziranih kulturnih časopisa, izdavanih pod okriljem državnih omladinskih i studentskih organizacija, poznatih kao omladinska štampa. Počevši od kraja 1960-ih, ovaj arhetipski komunistički žanr stvoren da odgaja mlade lojalne podanike režima postao je neočekivano rodno mjesto brojnih vizualnih eksperimenata i inovacija koji su odražavali kako razvoj ovog osebujnog medija, tako i tekuće društvene promjene i nastajuće omladinske kulture, ostavljajući pritom dubok trag na medijskoj slici čitave zemlje1.

Krajem 1960-ih, grafičko oblikovanje novina u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji bilo je u povojima, još uvijek nepriznato kao profesija.2 Okolni milje, međutim, činio se povoljnim za njegov razvoj. Modernističke umjetničke grupe poput EXAT 51 svojim su inzistiranjem na društvenom značaju umjetnosti rano počele brisati razlike između visoke i primijenjene umjetnosti i tako su posredno legitimirale dizajn.3 I dok se plakatna djelatnost revitalizirala, za afirmaciju


This essay examines a neglected aspect of graphic design in socialist Yugoslavia, namely, newspaper design and does so by looking outside of the framework of the mainstream media. More specifically, it analyses remarkable graphic achievements of a network of diverse publications, from central weeklies to specialized culture magazines, produced under the auspices of youth and student state organizations, known as the youth press.1 From the late 1960s onward, this archetypical communist genre, designed to shape loyal young subjects of the regime, became an unlikely birthplace of a wide range of visual experiments and innovations that reflected the evolution of this distinctive medium and the ongoing social changes, as well as the emerging youth culture, while leaving a profound mark on the mediascape of the country as a whole.

In the late 1960s, newspaper design in Yugoslavia was still in its formative stages, not yet recognized as a profession.2 Yet, the immediate environment seemed favourable to its development. Modernist art groups, such as EXAT 51 that insisted on the social relevance of art, began erasing the differences between high and applied art early on and,

by extension, legitimized design. While poster design was revived quickly, the inclusion of market elements into the planned economy proved more important for the recognition of the discipline within the press. The market turn in the press enterprises greatly differentiated the media scene in the early 1960s. Fighting the for market share, new special-interest magazines started paying more and more attention to their look. In the existing professional vacuum, at first graphic technicians, followed by illustrators and architects began determining the components such as the text-image ratio, layout, format and typefaces. The Western notion of art-director was slowly taking hold, although under a different name.

For a while, the youth press lagged behind the rest of the media scene. From its beginnings, this marginal genre operated outside the main media framework, on the fringes of the scene, remaining by and large unaffected by its overall development. With few merits of its own and the graphics that mirrored the general indifference towards the domain of the visual, typical of the communist press, the youth press served as a classic propaganda tool of its publisher, namely, a political organization of second-rate influence that merely repeated the messages of the Party. That is until a reformist wave in the youth

organizations in the late 1960s instilled a new life into their organs. From 1968 to 1972, the youth press became major advocate of student movements and the surrounding mostly leftist politicization that tried to restore the corrupted foundations of self-management by introducing the contemporary Western New Leftist trends.

**Graphic response to student movements and youth counter-culture**

Coinciding with the birth of the politically relevant youth press in the late 1960s, its graphic design began distancing itself from the rigid tradition. A range of overlapping yet diverse solutions attempted to devise a form suitable for the new content, testifying to the growing importance of visual presentation. Initially, one could hardly speak of some common aesthetics. An inclination for experimentation merged with imported foreign contemporary graphic trends. Generally speaking, a less uniform layout disrupted the octagonal orientation of the text, calling its privileged status into question. Articles, divided into atypical columns and lines, were placed near the margins of the page and broken by numerous subtitles in enlarged, deformed lettering. While such practices echoed a wider contemporary break with functional typography, they were further dictated by the prevailing, outdated two-coloured hot type printing technique shared by nearly all central youth weeklies that left the editors with few options.4

The political messages and growing ambitions were thus expressed with the simplest of means, such as the unorthodox size of the magazine. From the mid-1970, seven consecutive issues of the radicalized Belgrade's culture magazine *Vidici* (Views), designed by Florian Hajdu, appeared in a different format and layout each, as if they were entirely new publications. The one on Soviet dissidents was wrapped in a large Soviet revolutionary poster; the one criticizing the Croatian Spring was inserted in a postal envelope with the Yugoslav flag on its back. The more complex techniques of montage were being updated with new patterns, emulating the graphics of the Western underground press, suited to producing critical statements by subverting the original meanings. In a paradigmatic example, *Omladinski tjednik* appropriated Christopher Logue's anti-capitalist poster poem from *The Black Dwarf*, replacing the image of Che Guevara with the hammer and sickle. Beogradski Student i zagrebački *Omladinski tjednik* slično su reagirali na pokušaje cenzure – praznom naslovnicom. Drugdje se, pak, osvremenjuju složenije tehnike montaže pomoću novih predložaka, pri čemu se oponaša grafizam američke podzemne štampe, pogodan za kreiranje kritičkih poruka podrivanjem izvornih značenja. U paradigmatском primjeru, *Omladinski tjednik* preuzeo je iz londonskog *The Black Dwarf* anti-kapitalističku plakatu pjesmu Christopera Loguea, zamijenivši sliku Che Guevarre srpom i čekićem, zahtijevajući novi reformski kurs. Jedan drugi kolaž isprepleo je plakat gostujućeg američkog cirkusa *The Greatest Show in the World* s kravavim prizorima Vijetnamskog rata, kritizirajući *Nixonovu* posjetu Jugoslaviji na punom tragu Nove ljevice. Izgled novina, međutim, nije uvijek bio u punoj ravnoteži sa sadržajem. Nisu svi politizirani listovi bili vizualno zanimljivi, niti je njihov dizajn bio najbolji u vrijeme njihove najveće radikalizacije. Štoviše, najatraktivnije dizajnirani omladinski časopisi, *Pop-Express*, bavio se pop-rock glazbom, a ne politikom. Dva su razloga za ovaj nesklad. S jedne strane, za kreativni vizualni iskorak bila je nužna adekvatna tiskarska infrastruktura, krajem 1960-ih dostupna tek rijetkim omladinskim publikacijama. S druge strane, grafičke inovacije
sickle, thus demanding a new reform course. Another collage juxtaposed a poster of a visiting US travelling circus *The Greatest Show in the World* with violent scenes of the Vietnam War to criticize Nixon’s visit to Yugoslavia, thus fully following the line of the New Left.

However, the newspaper design was not always fully balanced with the content. Not all politically-oriented magazines were graphically inspiring, nor was their look always at its peak at the time when they were the most radical. Indeed, the magazine with the most striking graphics of the period, *Pop-Express*, focused on pop and rock music, rather than politics. Two reasons stood behind this disparity. Firstly, for the creative visual breakthrough to occur the appropriate printing infrastructure was necessary, available only to a handful of youth publications in the late 1960s. Secondly, graphic innovations for the most part were not directly linked to the launched political initiatives. The new visual approach should rather be regarded as their counter-cultural complement.

With that in mind, the work of three talented designers should be mentioned. Namely, having got the chance to take advantage of working with better equipment, they adapted the contemporary Western aesthetic trends to fit the local context, creating the distinctive visual identity of the emerging youth counter-culture that was the result of the dialogue between local and foreign impulses. Arguably the most important among them was Mihajlo Arsovski who, together with his close collaborator Zoran Pavlović, set the high visual stan-
nom off-setu, ovu figurativnu tipografiju ukomponirao je u raznobojne predloške iz stranih glazbenih časopisa, uvodeći hipijevsku estetiku u jugoslavenski medijski prostor.16

Grafički urednik ljubljanske Tribune, Kostja Gatnik, na sličan način, u jesen 1970., vjero prenio duh američke podzemne kontra-kulture u socijalistički kontekst, uz manje ustupaka od pretežno političkog sadržaja časopisa.17 Daroviti student likovne akademije sklon pop-artu, Gatnik je, radeći u iris tisku, uklanjao crnu iz negativa kako bi dobio jake, svijetle boje, u suprotnosti s postojećom sivočom domaćeg tiska.18 Rubrike Zoom i Freaking out prepune Gatin-

kovi provokativnih ilustracija, samostalno je uređivao pod snažnim utjecajem rock kulture, in-
spiriran psihodeličnim grafizmom američke podzemne štame.19 Uistinu, poput klasika žanra, od Moscosa do Griffinova, Gatnik je ilustrirao rock-plakate i omote za ploče. I njegov iluzionistički vizualni jezik odudarao je od uniformnog modernizma, protkan istom implikacijom: samo oni „unutra“, možda i pod utjecajem droga, u stanju su razumjeti predočeni vizualni kod.20

Naposljetku, u Beogradu je Slobodan Mašić eksperimentirao stalnim redizajniranjem glave Susreta.21 Vješto koristeći mogućnosti bakrotiska, stvorio je prepoznatljiv izgled li-

dards of the Zagreb-based youth press.12 Inspired by Elle’s art-director Roman Cieślewicz, he broke the barriers between academic and popular design combined expressionist and constructivist experiments with contemporary pop-culture phenomena that appealed to young people.13 Following Herb Lubalin, Arsovski treated letters as decorative elements, de-constructing the conventional rules of communication.14 Working before the appearance of letterset, he himself developed a range of typefaces, copied typefaces from foreign cat-

alogues or used old discarded wooden printing letters for this purpose, with which he then broke headings and columns in order to devise composite images whose interpretation required effort.15 In the first nine issues of Pop-Express, printed using the flat offset method, he combined this figurative typography with intensely bright coloured collages made using the material from foreign music magazines, introducing the hippy aesthetics into the Yugoslav mediascape.16

In Ljubljana, in the autumn of 1970, Tribune’s (The Tribune) graphic editor Kostja Gatnik, in a similar way, faithfully transferred the spirit of the Western underground counter-culture in the socialist context with fewer concessions than the magazine’s predominantly political

12 By the late 1960s, at the time of the launching of Polet and Pop-Express, Arsovski was already a relatively established designer, who began his career in the youth press in the middle of the decade. Mihajlo Arsovski, Interview by the author, 16 Nov. 2010, Zagreb.
13 See Polet’s pop-art covers: Polet 22 (October 1968); Polet 23 (November 1968).
content. A talented art school student, Gatnik had a penchant for pop-art. Using the rainbow printing technique, he removed the black colour from the negatives to obtain bright and light colours that contrasted the prevalent greyness of the local press. Gatnik’s self-edited sections, Zoom and Freaking out, brimming with his provocative illustrations were strongly influenced by rock culture and inspired by the psychedelic graphic art style of the underground press in the U.S. Indeed, like the pioneers of the genre, from Moscoso to Griffin, Gatnik would design rock posters and record covers. Moreover, his illusionistic visual language stood out from the uniform modernism, carrying the same implication: only those “inside”, maybe under the influence of drugs, could grasp the visual code in question.

Finally, in Belgrade, Slobodan Mašić experimented by constantly re-working the logo of Susret (Encounter) magazine. Skillfully taking advantage of the possibilities offered by cooper plate printing, he created the magazine’s recognizable look by placing text on the retouched photographs from which the details and halftones have been removed.


uniting form and content, the amalgamated compositions required careful decoding. In the myriad of background references and influences present in Susret, rich pop-culture iconography - from music, to film and fashion had a bigger role to play than politics. A stimulating design environment created around the youth press is perhaps best illustrated by the opening of the first design studios in the late 1960s. It was precisely Mašić who in 1968 founded the first Yugoslav private design studio Studio Structure. Around the same time, under the auspices of the Zagreb youth organization, Arsovski and Pavlović set up the P&D (Pop Design) graphic studio whose purpose was to meet all design-related needs of said organization.

Polet: Turn to Style

The political crisis of the early 1970s and the resulting suppression of student politicization temporarily halted this ambitious project and had a detrimental effect on all the youth press which was marginalized once again following the dismissal of editorial staff and suspension.

23 The magazine, for example, reprinted Robespierre’s monologue from Büchner’s play
25 “Intervju: Slobodan Mašić” (Interview: Slobodan Mašić), http://www.designed.rs/intervju/slobodan_masic
26 Od ‘Poleta’ do ‘Poleta’ (From Polet to Polet), Polet 67/68/69 (22 May 1978): 36.
of state subsidies. However, the idea was revived in the mid-1970s as part of the new reform of youth organizations and their bodies. The newly established Zagreb-based Studio for Graphic Design (SGD) and Belgrade’s ICS raised the visual standards of the youth press.\footnote{The founder of the SGD was the aforementioned Zoran Pavlović. “Studio grafičkog dizajna” (Graphic Design Studio), Polet 70 (28 Aug. 1978): 22.} Culture magazines such as Zagreb’s *Pitanja* (Issues) or Belgrade’s *Vidici* were transformed into stylish publications, which restored their reputation.\footnote{See among others: *Pitanja* 1 (Jan. 1977); *Vidici* 5/6 (1978).}

A key new breakthrough, however, came from outside of these institutions. The credit for it goes, above all, to Goran Trbuljak, the young conceptual artist from Zagreb, whose work made use of wit and irony to question the meaning of the role of artists and their art.\footnote{From 1969 onwards, Trbuljak’s projects included showing an empty gallery, inviting random passers-by to enter the gallery, after which they were credited as authors of artworks, organizing a referendum where citizens were asked to decide if he was an artist. For more on Trbuljak see: Branka Stipančić, *G. Trbuljak*, (Zagreb: Muzej suvremene umjetnosti, 1996).} His parallel career as an art-director commenced in the early 1970s when he began designing the monthly catalogue of the Student Centre Gallery where he himself exhibited.\footnote{“Ne želim prikazati ništa novo i originalno” (I Don’t Want to Show Anything New and Original), Novine Galerije SC 30 (1971).} Printed in hot type, *Novine Galerije SC* (Bulletin of the Student Centre Gallery) left little room for creativity, yet this is where Trbuljak learned the basic graphic techniques and met a group of film enthusiasts who launched a youth magazine specializing in marginal cinematic phenomena, towards the middle of the decade. As *Film’s* graphic editor, working in slightly...
better conditions, Trbuljak immediately showed an inclination towards improvisation. The magazine’s long essays and non-edited interviews were printed on a typewriter, Sellotaped and separated by large black and white photographs without halftones, which Trbuljak cut out from the film books or took off the movie screen of the local Kinoteka cinema. Such trademark minimalistic design pointed to the graphic role model on which Trbuljak would rely in the future: Andy Warhol’s magazine Interview.

Through Film’s editor-in-chief Trbuljak was introduced to Denis Kuljiš, assistant editor of the Zagreb-based youth weekly Polet (Enthusiasm) who entrusted him with the design of the magazine’s new visual identity in the autumn of 1978. However, with the existing graphics studio already in place, the decision that an external collaborator, who was not a SGD employee should design the Youth League’s central organ was problematic. Trbuljak made the initial layout half-secretly in the café across the street from the editorial offices, where staff members took coffee breaks. After Kuljiš eventually secured the institutional backing, having successfully defended the new concept before the proper youth officials, Trbuljak readily disrupted the well-established newspaper design conventions.

His guiding idea was relatively straightforward. To the average young Polet reader, images were as important as text. Accordingly, Trbuljak reversed the standard ratio between the two. Following the demand that each article should be illustrated with an original photo, Trbuljak se sada suočio sa složenom, njemu nepoznatom tehnologijom. Improvizacije i pogreške bile su neizbježne. Primjerice, kako bi ostalo više mjesta za fotografije, tekst je bio unificiran i otisnut u najsitnijem, teško čitljivom nonpareilu. Upravo ovakve sitne transgresije, poput micanja glave posvuda po naslovnici, često uz seksualne aluzije, pridonijele su autentičnosti i originalnosti Poletovog grafičkog izgleda.

Dok je u prošlosti dizajn često bio u neskladu sa sadržajem, sada je postao neizostavan i komplementaran dio poruke, jednakovrijedan dio od sadržaja. Slijedeći časopis poput The New Musical Express, Polet je predočavao točno ono o čemu je pisao, dajući gradskoj rock sceni i okolnoj omladinskoj supkulturi adekvatni vizualni izraz. Njegov slikovni jezik posuđivao je elemente iz DIY punk estetike, poput gradskih foto-kolaža i piratiziranih slika, no i odudarao je od tvrdokorne estetike fanzina. Umjesto da predstavlja autentičnu supkulturnu produkciju ododo, Polet je prikazivao njenu stiliziranu verziju, modificiranu ododo. Konačni učinak svejedno je negirao Hebdigovu tvrdnju o opasnostima supkulturne kolonizacije koja navodno otupljuje njenu radikalnu oštricu. U kontekstu ka-
snog socijalizma, punk prepakiran u uglađeniji novi val svejedno je proizvodio parodijske (ideološke) destabilizacije upisivanjem značenja u postojeće estetske elemente koja njihovi izvorni tvorci nisu imali na umu.

U Trbuljakovom radu za Polet nije teško prepoznati produžetak njegovih pokušaja da se umjetnost demistificira pretvaranjem običnih ljudi u umjetnike. Poput Interviewovog art-directora Richarda Bernsteinia, čiji je ružom iscrtan logo parafrizirao, Trbuljak je s grupom talentiranih fotografija omisljavao naslovnice koje su predstavljale prave umjetničke intervencije. Primjerice, kao odgovor na privremenu zabranu lista zbog objavljivanja muške golotinje, Polet je na naslovnici stavio gradski kip diskobola, jasno ukazujući na licemjer-nost odluke.39 Neke druge naslovnice nastale su, pak, kao izraz Trbuljakovih ideja koje su spajale umjetnost i gerilsku reklamu, poput one s djevojkom koja drži prazne novine ili Poletovog novinara s logom na čelu.40 Stimulativni ambijent prepoznao je i Tomislav Gotovac, tada relativno neznačajni pionir domaćeg performansa koji postaje stalni inventar Trbuljakovog ureda smještenog u kupaonici Poletovih prostorija, a list je zauzvrat bilježio njegove ekscentrične akcije.41

Spajajući avangardni senzibilitet s omladinskim izrazom, Polet je postao generacijski trendsetter koji je odlučio o tome što zaslužuje medijsku pažnju, anticipirajući pritom časopise poput britanskog The Face, s njihovim naglaskom na stilu i dizajnerskim inovaci-

tograph, the latter came to dominate the magazine. Such a drastic change would not have been possible without the shift to off-set litho printing that made high quality reproductions of black and white images possible. On the other hand, Trbuljak now faced a complex, technology unfamiliar to him. Improvisation and errors were thus inevitable. For example, to allow more space for photographs, Trbuljak unified the lettering, opting for the smallest, scarcely legible typeface *nonpareil*.34 And it was precisely such small transgressions, such as moving the logo around the cover, often with sexual allusions, that contributed to the authenticity and originality of Polet’s layout.35

Whereas in the past, design was often at odds with content, now it became an indispensable and complementary part of the message, equally if not more important than content. Following the magazines such as *The New Musical Express*, Polet portrayed precisely what it wrote about, giving the Zagreb rock scene and the youth subculture that developed around it a fitting visual expression.36 This visual language borrowed elements from the DIY punk style, such as urban photo-collages or pirated images, however, it also differed from the hardcore fanzine aesthetics.37 Rather than presenting the authentic punk production from below,

34 Polet 72 (3 Oct. 1978), 1-12.
37 The original British DIY punk-style was characterized by a random approach to layout, the use of photo-copies and *cut-and-paste* techniques whereby ideas were deliberately “plundered.” Aynsley, *A Century of Graphic Design*, 198-99.
it conveyed its stylized version, modified from above. The final result nevertheless opposed Hebidge’s claim about the dangers of sub-cultural colonization, which supposedly neutralizes its radical edge.\footnote{Dick Hebdige, Subculture, The Meaning of Style, (London : Routledge, 2002), 96.} In the context of late socialism, punk re-packaged as the sophisticated new wave still produced parodic (ideological) destabilizations, inscribing new meanings in the existing aesthetic elements that their original creators did not have in mind.

In Trbuljak’s work for Polet, it is not hard to see an extension of his attempts to demystify art by turning ordinary people into artists. Like Interview’s art director, Richard Bernstein, whose lipstick-drawn logo he paraphrased, Trbuljak along with a group of talented photographers designed covers which were genuine artistic interventions in their own right. For instance, Polet responded to the temporary ban of the magazine for publishing male nudity by featuring the city’s Discobolos statue on its cover, thus exposing the hypocrisy behind the ruling.\footnote{Polet 128 (2 April 1980): 1; Polet 100 (2 May 1979): 1.} Other covers were inspired by Trbuljak’s ideas that merged art with guerrilla advertisements, such as the one featuring a girl holding a blank newspaper or one of the magazine’s journalists with Polet’s logo printed on his forehead.\footnote{“Filmovi iz Tomove tintare” (Films from Tom's Dome), Polet 72 (3 Oct. 1978): 23; “Pimpekart”, Polet 103 (23 May 1979): 20.} Among those who recognized this stimulating atmosphere was also Tomislav Gotovac, a relatively unknown performance artist at that time, who resided in Trbuljak’s office located in the bathroom on Polet’s premises and the magazine, in turn, recorded his eccentric artistic actions.\footnote{“Filmovi iz T omove tintare” (Films from Tom’s Dome), Polet 72 (3 Oct. 1978): 23; “Pimpekart”, Polet 103 (23 May 1979): 20.}
By merging avant-garde sensitivity with youth expression, *Polet* became a generational trend setter, determining what deserved media attention. In that way, it anticipated British magazines such as *The Face*, with their emphasis on style and innovations in design. While receiving sporadic criticism from youth officials, the new look appealed to young readers who were able to understand its insider’s references. With a certain delay and varying success, other major youth magazines across the country, from *Studentski list* to *Omladinske novine* (*Youth Newspapers*), tried to emulate *Polet*’s focus on images in the decade that followed. Mainstream media were impressed as well, adopting the main visual art-related features, while employing its architects who thus joined their ranks.

With this, the intriguing visual journey, on which the youth press set off at the end of the 1960s came to its logical end. Youth magazines saw the beginning of student politicization as visually unappealing propaganda outlets of their publisher. In a little over a decade, they turned into an alternative subcultural medium that treated form as equal to content, leaving a profound mark beyond the youth press. No overview of Yugoslav graphic design could be ever complete without insights into this complex and often random process, in whose background the contours of Yugoslav late socialist youth culture can be discerned.
Ivan Manojlović

**Dizajn za novi svet**

**Design for a New World**

Plakat / SEDMI KONGRES SAVEZA KOMUNISTA HRVATSKA / Mihailo Arsovski / Zagreb, 1974 / 69 x 96 cm / Offset print / Iz fonda Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije / Poster / SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF CROATIA / Mihailo Arsovski / Zagreb, 1974 / 69 x 96 cm / Offset print / From the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History /
Dizajn za novi svet
Design for a New World

3. Brošura / „PROLETER“, PRILEP – JUGOSLAVIJA / Beograd, godina nepoznata / 22 cm / Iz fonda Narodne biblioteke Srbije / Brochure / PROLETER (PROLETARIAN), PRILEP – YUGOSLAVIA / Belgrade, year unknown / 22 cm / From the collections of the National Library of Serbia /

5. Brošura / SEDAMNAESTO TAKMIČENJE ORAĆA VOJVODINE I SMOTRA POLJOPRIVREDNE TEHNIKE / Novi Sad, 1974. / 22 cm / Iz fonda Narodne biblioteke Srbije / Brochure / SEVENTEENTH COMPETITION OF PLOUGHMEN OF VOJVODINA AND AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY FAIR / Novi Sad, 1974 / 22 cm / From the collections of the National Library of Serbia /


7. GREETING CARD / Zagreb Computing Machine Factory / Zlatko Zrnec / Zagreb, 1960 / 9.3 × 21 cm / Silk-screen print / From the collections of the Museum of Arts and Crafts /

8. POSTER / YOUTH LABOUR 1981 / Branko Gavrić / Belgrade, 1981 / 58 × 84 cm / Offset print / Owned by author /

9. POSTER / WORKER-MANAGERS’ DAY ’76 / Mojsilović / Belgrade, 1976 / 68 × 97.3 cm / Offset print / From the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History /
Design for a New World

Ivan Manojlović


/ 12. / Plakat / SEDMI KONGRES SAVEZA KOMUNISTA SRBIJE / Miloš Ćirić / Beograd, 1974. / 67 x 96 cm / Sito štampa / Iz fonda Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije / Poster / SEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF SERBIA / Miloš Ćirić / Belgrade, 1974 / 67 x 96 cm / Silk-screen print / From the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History /
Koraljka Vlajo

Svakodnevica državnih simbola

Everyday Life of State Symbols

2. KALENDAR ZA 1951. / Zagreb, 1950. / Iz fonda Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt / 1951 Calendar / Zagreb, 1950 / From the collections of the Museum of Arts and Crafts /

4. Plakat / DAN MLADOSTI ’81 / Branko Gavrić / Beograd, 1981. / 50 x 70 cm / Ofset štampa / Vlasništvo autora / Poster / YOUTH DAY ’81 / Branko Gavrić / Belgrade, 1981 / 50 x 70 cm / Offset print / Property of the author /  


7. Plakat / DESETI KONGRES SAVEZA KOMUNISTA HRVATSKE / Boris Ljubičić / Zagreb, 1985 / 70 x 100 cm / Sito štampa / Iz fonda Muzeja istorije Jugoslavije / Poster / TENTH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF CROATIA / Boris Ljubičić / Zagreb, 1985 / 70 x 100 / Silk-screen print / From the collections of the Museum of Yugoslav History

8. Plakat / GORKI ŽUVELA / Boris Bućan / Zagreb, 1976 / Iz fonda Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt / Poster / GORKI ŽUVELA / Boris Bućan / Zagreb, 1976 / From the collections of the Museum of Arts and Crafts

9. Plakat / IZLOŽBA SLIKARSTVA I KIPARSTVA NARODA JUGOSLAVIJE / Nakladni zavod Hrvatske, Zagreb / Zagreb, 1947 / Iz fonda Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt / Poster / EXHIBITION OF PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURES CREATED BY THE PEOPLES OF YUGOSLAVIA / Croatian Publishing Institute, Zagreb / Zagreb, 1947 / From the collections of the Museum of Arts and Crafts

11. / MAPA / PRIRUČNIK GRAFIČKOG LIKA SODASO / Dušan Brajić, Jani Bavčer / Ljubljana, 1978. / Iz fonda Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt / Portfolio / SODASO GRAPHICS MANUAL / Dušan Brajić, Jani Bavčer / Ljubljana, 1978 / From the collections of the Museum of Arts and Crafts /

12. / AMBALAŽA ZA CIGARETE BENSTON / Tvornica duhana Zagreb / Iz fonda Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt / BENSTON CIGARETTE PACKAGING / Zagreb Tobacco Factory / From the collections of the Museum of Arts and Crafts /
Cvetka Požar

The Building and Destruction of the Image of Socialist State through Posters and Visual Identity


2. Plakat / SMRAD OPERA / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1982. / 135 x 97,3 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo u dizajan, Ljubljana / Poster / STENCH OPERA / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1982 / 135 x 97,3 cm / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.


4. Plakat / DEVETI KONGRES ZSMS / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1974. / 68,7 x 98,5 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo u dizajan, Ljubljana / Poster / NINETH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST YOUTH OF SLOVENIA / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1974 / 68.7 x 98.5 / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

5. Plakat / SMRT IDEOLOGIJE / Laibach / 1982. / 61,9 x 100 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo u dizajan, Ljubljana / Poster / DEATH OF IDEOLOGY / Laibach / 1982 / 61.9 x 100 cm / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.


7. Plakat / MIŠA IN A MINOR (MISA U A-MOLU) / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1980. / 67 x 96.8 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo u dizajan, Ljubljana / Poster / MIŠA IN A MINOR (MISA U A-MOLU) / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1980 / 67 x 96.8 cm / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana.

Građenje i rušenje slike socijalističke države kroz plakat i vizuelni identitet

The Building and Destruction of the Image of Socialist State through Posters and Visual Identity

Cvetka Požar

1. Plakat / OSVOBOJENI GRADIMO / Janez Trpin / Ljubljana, 1945 / 69 x 99 cm / Offset štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturu i dizajn, Ljubljana / Poster / WE BUILD FREE / Janez Trpin / Ljubljana, 1945 / 69 x 99 cm / Offset print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana /
2. Plakat / SMRAD OPERA / Marjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1982 / 135 x 97.3 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo i dizajn, Ljubljana / Poster / STENCH OPERA / Marjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1982 / 135 x 97.3 cm / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana /

Građenje i rušenje slike socijalističke države kroz plakat i vizuelni identitet

The Building and Destruction of the Image of Socialist State through Posters and Visual Identity

Cvetka Požar

/ 4. / Plakat / DEVETI KONGRES ZSMS / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1974. / 68.7 x 98.5 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo in dizajn, Ljubljana / Poster / NINETH CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF SOCIALIST YOUTH OF SLOVENIA / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1974 / 68.7 x 98.5 / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana /
Plakat / SMRT IDEOLOGIJE / Laibach / 1982. / 61.9 x 100 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo i dizajn, Ljubljana / Poster / DEATH OF IDEOLOGY / Laibach / 1982 / 61.9 x 100 cm / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana /
Građenje i rušenje slike socijalističke države kroz plakat i vizuelni identitet

The Building and Destruction of the Image of Socialist State through Posters and Visual Identity

Cvetka Požar

/ 6. / Plakat / OSMI KONGRES ZKS / Miljenko Licul, Ranko Novak, Janez Koželj, Dušan Benko, Milan Zornik / Ljubljana, 1978. / 67,5 x 97,5 cm / Ofset štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo i dizajn, Ljubljana / Poster / EIGHT CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF SLOVENIA / Miljenko Licul, Ranko Novak, Janez Koželj, Dušan Benko, Milan Zornik / Ljubljana, 1978 / 67.5 x 97.5 cm / Offset print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana /

/ 7. / Plakat / MISSA IN A MINOR (MISA U A-MOLU) / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1980. / 67 x 96,8 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo i dizajn, Ljubljana / Poster / MISSA IN A MINOR / Matjaž Vipotnik / Ljubljana, 1980 / 67 x 96.8 cm / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana /


/ 9. / Plakat / DAN MLADOSTI / Novi kolektivizam / Ljubljana, 1978. / 70 x 100 cm / Sito štampa / © Muzej za arhitekturo i dizajn, Ljubljana / Poster / YOUTH DAY / Novi kolektivizam (New Collectivism) / Ljubljana, 1978 / 70 x 100 cm / Silk-screen print / © Museum of Architecture and Design, Ljubljana /
Lana Cavar and Narcisa Vukojević

The Production of Logos for a New World
Proizvodnja znakova za novi svijet

Lana Cavar i Narcisa Vukojević

Kemijski kombinat
Ivaničplast, Ivanič Grad
Čelik, Križevci
Adriamont, Rijeka
Svilana, Osijek
Čateks, Čakovec

Biserka, Zagreb
Poljoteknika, Osijek
Jadran, Zagreb
SOUR Šibenka, Šibenik

25. maj, SOUR, ITKLI, Labin
Jugovinil, Kaštel Sućurac
Splitska banka, Split
Interpublic, Zagreb

The Production of Logos for a New World

Kemijski kombinat
Ivaničplast, Ivanič Grad
Čelik, Križevci
Adriamont, Rijeka
Svilana, Osijek
Čateks, Čakovec

Biserka, Zagreb
Poljoteknika, Osijek
Jadran, Zagreb
SOUR Šibenka, Šibenik

25. maj, SOUR, ITKLI, Labin
Jugovinil, Kaštel Sućurac
Splitska banka, Split
Interpublic, Zagreb
Ana Radovanović
**Saveta and Slobodan Mašić and Dragan Stojanovski as Cultural Workers in the Yugoslav Design Scene**

Saveta and Slobodan Mašić and Dragan Stojanovski as Cultural Workers in the Yugoslav Design Scene

Ana Radovanović

/ 1 / Katalog / DRUGI MEĐUNARODNI FILMSKI FESTIVAL, FEST’72 / Saveta i Slobodan Mašić / Beograd, 1972 / 24 cm / Iz fonda Narodne biblioteke Srbije / Catalogue / SECOND INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL, FEST’72 / Saveta and Slobodan Mašić / Belgrade, 1972 / 24 cm / From the collections of the National Library of Serbia /
AKO SAMOUPRAVLJACI NE BI MOGLI DEMOKRATIČKI DA ODLUČUJU O SVOJIM INTERESIMA, ONI NE BI NI BILI SAMOUPRAVLJACI
E. KARDE LJ

IZDAJE STUDENTSKI KULTURNI CENTAR POVodom Dana Samoupravljaća, BEOGRAD 1920
Saveta and Slobodan Mašić and Dragan Stojanovski as Cultural Workers in the Yugoslav Design Scene

Ana Radovanović

/ 2. / Plakat / STUDENTSKI KULTURNI CENTAR POVODOM DANA SAMOUPRAVLJAČA / Grafička radionica SKC / Beograd, 1977 / 100 x 71 cm / Sito štampa / Iz fonda Narodne biblioteke Srbije / Poster / STUDENT CULTURAL CENTRE MARKING WORKER-MANAGERS' DAY / Student Cultural Centre Graphic Workshop / Belgrade, 1977 / 100 x 71 cm / Silk-screen print / From the collections of the National Library of Serbia /
3. Plakat / IZLOŽBA DOKUMENATA IZ MUZEJA „MARX-ENGLS”, TRIR, SR NEMACKA / Grafička radionica SKC / Beograd, 1978. / 100 x 71 cm / Sito štampa / Iz fonda Narodne biblioteke Srbije / Poster / EXHIBITION OF DOCUMENTS FROM THE MARX-ENGLS MUSEUM, Trier, Federal Republic of Germany / Student Cultural Centre Graphic Workshop / Belgrade, 1978 / 100 x 71 cm / Silk-screen print / From the collections of the National Library of Serbia /

4. Plakat / APRIL 14. MEETING (APRILSKI SUSRETI) / Grafička radionica SKC / Beograd, 1977. / 70 x 50 cm / Sito štampa / Iz fonda Narodne biblioteke Srbije / Poster / APRIL 14. MEETING / Student Cultural Centre Graphic Workshop / Belgrade, 1977 / 70 x 50 cm / Silk-screen print / From the collections of the National Library of Serbia /
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Marko Zubak

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