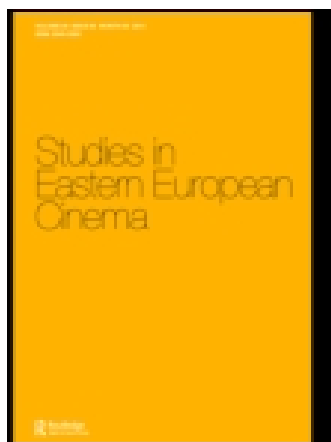


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Carnal encounters and producing socialist Yugoslavia: voluntary youth labour actions on the newsreel screen

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This article explores the role that the newsreel genre played in the production of socialist Yugoslav territory, understood as reshaping the body of the socius. We analyse news reports concerning voluntary youth labour actions, which were one of the most important features of Yugoslav socialist society and which featured heavily in Yugoslav official newsreels. We argue that the newsreel provided a specific liminal space in between the ‘real’/non-cinematic and ‘screened’/cinematic experience, where we locate occurrences of carnal encounters between the body on the cinematic screen and the body of the audience. In this regard, we discuss two characteristic types of frame which were present in the newsreel reports on labour actions: the somatic frame and the machinic-labour frame.

Keywords: newsreel; voluntary youth labour actions (Dobrovoljne omladinske radne akcije); socialist Yugoslavia; production of territory; liminality; carnal encounter

Introduction

In this article, we explore the role that the newsreel played in the process we name the ‘production of socialist Yugoslav territory’, through filmed news reports from voluntary youth labour actions (VYLA; in Serbo-Croatian: ‘dobrovoljne omladinske radne akcije’ [DORA]). Drawing on Henri Lefebvre’s writing on the ‘production of space’ (Lefebvre 1991), we describe the ‘production of territory’ as a process where social interactions and relations of power are spatially inscribed and reinforced on the level of ‘lived space’, produced in the immediate reality of carnal experience.¹ We argue that the body has a germinal role in this process, as the production of territory in its ultimate consequence amounts to governing the human and non-human bodies positioned in space. Production of territory is thus first and foremost about reshaping the body of the socius,² reorganising embodied interactions and the ways bodies mutually affect each other. We wish to point out that power relationships are not forged through discursive processes or through the production of representations, but through complex spatial dialectics which takes place on the level of lived and visceral encounters.

Our main challenge is to show how film, as a medium which is ordinarily interpreted through theories of representation, engages in this spatial dialectics. In the last few decades, an array of authors, mostly inspired by Deleuzian approaches to cinema, challenged standard film interpretation models which were based on semiotic and psychoanalytic approaches founded on a basic ontological subject/object binary. Deleuzian approaches insist that the experience of cinema is material and carnal in ways that can override films’

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semiotic or psychoanalytic structure; as Steven Shaviro writes, ‘power works in the depths and on the surfaces of the body, and not just in the disembodied realm of “representation” or “discourse”’ (Shaviro 1993, viii; see also Del Río 2008, 2–3). In this article, we will follow this line of investigation, in order to show how cinema can play an important role in the production of territory, opening up avenues of *carnal encounters* between the body on the film and the body of the audience, through which the body of the *socius* is being shaped. We see the political potential of film as the affective expression of power – itself sensual and irreducible to ideology (Cichosz 2014, 58) – which is immediately inscribed in/on the body, and not exclusively in the spheres of representations and discourses. For this purpose, we have chosen a ‘liminal’ object, the newsreel, to show how these encounters appear in the cracks/slippages/trippings which open by dint of the sheer excessive intensity of bodily experience and which disturb the representational and textual order of the film which is being screened.³ The object of our research is not the newsreel as such, but the social practice of screening and the cinematic experience of the newsreel in a certain historical time – the “object” is not just particular films, but the very process of film viewing itself’ (Shaviro 1993, 10) – and this kind of interpretation should open a different avenue for interpreting film in its social context.

Our approach is informed by recent developments in body studies and affect theory, in which the thesis on film as a ‘reflection’ or ‘mirror’ of a certain ideology has been replaced with the idea that viewers’ bodies are not understood as closed static units, but rather as intensities and potential vehicles for the transmission of affect (Featherstone 2010). The body is produced during an interactive moment of looking into the mirror, while the (interactive) screen is a sort of mediation that ‘encompasses both the material and immaterial/not yet material, that “confounds” the distinctions between the body and the image, the actual and the virtual’ (Coleman 2013, 13). This body is a necessary condition and support of the cinematic process, since ‘images confront the viewer’ without mediation so that the figures that unroll before us cannot be regarded merely as representations or conventional signs. Rather, bodies ‘respond viscerally to visual forms, before having the leisure to read or interpret them as symbols’ (Shaviro 1993, 26). This will be especially visible in the example of newsreels, which is the reason why we position our analysis on this genre. Being screened publicly as the main medium of information, they accentuated the ‘reality effect’ of the cinematic screen.

From this perspective, we discuss newsreels as a ‘vivid medium’, drawing on the interpretations of film as a medium which ‘arouses corporal reactions of desire and fear, pleasure and disgust, fascination and shame’ (Shaviro 1993, viii), both of filmed characters and the audience. We will argue that due to this liminal nature, the imagery of labour actions on the newsreel screen produce *carnal encounters* between the body on the screen and bodies in the audience. Through the ‘perceptive technology’ of film ‘our sense of ourselves’ can be changed (Sobchack 2004, 135). The key argument of this article is that the newsreels were not simply a medium screening reflections, but a vehicle through which young Yugoslavs experienced carnal encounters, placing their bodies in the position of the screened body, and allowing their bodies to be affected.

Voluntary youth labour actions and the production of socialist Yugoslav territory

Socialist Yugoslavia, established during the Partisan struggles in World War II, and victoriously confirmed in 1945, was not only a mere change in the mode of government, but was in reality resurrecting a defunct territorial project. At the onset of World War II, the political elites of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia were questioning the very foundations upon

which the state was constituted after World War I, and the kingdom was at the verge of dissolution. During the war and occupation (1941–1945), its territories were dismembered and governed under German, Italian, Hungarian and Bulgarian authority, while the puppet Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna država Hrvatska) and the puppet government in German-occupied Serbia exhibited strong nationalistic and anti-Yugoslav tendencies. During the war, the project of Yugoslavia was solely endorsed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (Komunistička partija Jugoslavije),⁴ and the idea of establishing a ‘socialist’ society modelled after the Soviet Union served as the ideological basis of fierce Partisan struggles, which produced emblematic and powerful narratives. The production of socialist Yugoslav territory was thus a complex process which required both reinvigorating the idea of Yugoslavism and introducing communist ideology and the single-party system as the new doxa (Malešević 2002, 123–171; Atanasovski 2011, 137–139). The successful imposition of a different system of power relations, not only on the macro, but also on the micro level, on the level of sensual experience, necessitated profoundly different dispositions of, and interactions between, bodies, as well as new institutions which would regulate bodily behaviour (Doknić 2013, 19).⁵ Ideals upon which the new society rested, such as the ideology of ‘brotherhood and unity’ (‘bratstvo i jedinstvo’), the cult of labour and the legacy of the Partisan struggle, were practiced and enacted as daily rituals, connected to the idea of creating a ‘new man’, a young person who creates, propagates and embodies the ideas of the new socialist state in his daily life (Dobrivojević 2010).

In this context, VYLA appear to be one of the most important mechanisms in the production of socialist Yugoslav territory, as well as one of the most prominent phenomena in Yugoslav socialist society overall. In the period between 1942, when the first labour action was organised during the war, and 1990, when the last one took place, over two million young Yugoslavs were involved in practices ranging from huge national actions to more local initiatives (Popović 2010). Labour in VYLA was seen as ‘labour which liberates’, interpreted both as characteristic for the communist society which was to be built on Yugoslav soil, and as a tribute to the dedication of the national heroes of the Partisan struggle (Supek 1963, 115–118). The actions were organised as huge national enterprises in the period between 1946 and 1952, serving both as a practical way to rebuild the infrastructure of the country, which was devastated in the war, and a means to promulgate the ideology of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [Savez komunista Jugoslavije] after 1952). In this period, the labour force was essential for the rebuilding projects, which called for hard physical work. In addition to their elementary purpose of building and repairing poor and devastated infrastructure, the labour actions efficiently promoted unification, by bringing the young from different parts of Yugoslavia to work on the same goal of rebuilding a country that was united again.⁶ VYLA were temporarily discontinued during the 1950s; the introduction of industrial mechanisation made sheer unskilled physical labour mostly superfluous, and the labour actions were seen as a primitive and costly way of realising infrastructural projects. However, they were reintroduced in 1958 with a more pronounced ideological purpose, and participants saw them more as an opportunity to travel and spend time with their peers away from home. Unlike the first actions, which required careful supervision by state officials, and an organisation that even entailed mobilisation of citizens, for the later actions the young mostly applied voluntarily and happily (Lilly 1994).⁷ The leisure aspect became a central component of youth experience and an object of consideration by the planners of these voluntary labour activities, who sought to attract young people while upholding core Yugoslav communist principles. As a result, up to the 1980s labour actions became increasingly recreational in nature and can be interpreted as a unique kind of Yugoslav tourism (Popović 2010).

As a means for implementing ideology in everyday life, the labour actions used the body as a medium for producing certain routines and gestures,⁸ thus producing a culture and forming the social norms of this specific period (Noland 2009, 3).⁹ Practicing ideology daily through their bodies, the young enacted the ideology of ‘brotherhood and unity’ on the very spot, inscribing it in their bodies and in the land they were building.¹⁰ Thus, VYLA were essential in building the ‘new socialist man’, as they served as a mechanism through which the new ideals of socialist Yugoslavia were shaping both human bodies and non-human actors, as well as building spatial representations of the new regime. In the matter of their management, which reflected a quasi-military organisation, as well as in the matter of the cultural activities which were inseparable from labour, VYLA enacted and glorified the practices of Partisan struggle. References to the war were always transparent, since the young people, brought together from all parts of socialist Yugoslavia, were imbued with stories from the war, which were further connected with the cult of physical labour fostered as a means of taming and conquering nature. Interestingly, slogans of the regime used during work were often written with stones, drawn with lime into the mountain slopes, or sung during the action (Vlčkov 1947), which indicates that the infrastructural and industrial development was not ideologically neutral, but ‘inextricably linked to the proclaimed values of the new society, serving as its long-lasting symbols’ (Atanasovski, forthcoming). VYLA were also a means for the unification of opinions, neutralising differences between social classes and cultural differences between the people of Yugoslavia, which was possible due to their joined activities, both during their working hours and in their free time.¹¹ Furthermore, they were a sort of education for brigadiers, which was designed to empower the working potential and industry in the country. Finally, they were a channel for social promotion among the population that lived in the country, since they led to improvements in the status of certain social groups, by fighting against illiteracy, and in the conditions of certain parts of Yugoslavia, improving economic and social prosperity (Lilly 1994).

The potential of these actions formed part of the mechanism for the implementation of communist ideology into the very bodies of the young working on building the land. The reports from media and the statements of the people who participated in the actions point to the fact that the actions were a chance for the young to share enthusiasm for the same goal (Duda 2010; Popović 2010). Thus, the labour cult, joined with the idea of enjoying the actions appears to constitute a kind of ‘affective labour’ and ‘affective socialization’ (Raffles 2002), since these working bodies were disciplined by state ideology.

The liminality of the newsreel

It might seem that, while direct involvement in labour actions was an effective way of reshaping the body of the socius and arranging bodily interactions in a manner that reflected the cornerstones of the new political system of socialist Yugoslavia, media representations could provide only a pale and inarticulate semblance of first-hand experience. The participants of the VYLA interacted with their own bodies in shaping territory, both mutually and with non-human actors, through labour and cultural activities which often melded together. The screening of the VYLA achievements through the cinematic screen might be interpreted as mere ideological propaganda which lacked the potential to affect the bodies of the viewers and reshape them into the idealistically defined new socialist man or woman. However, we would argue exactly the opposite: that the screenings of the newsreels possessed the potential to reach out to the surface of the bodies of viewers; the cinematic screen did not function as an insurmountable obstacle but as a

membrane which allowed for the transmission of affects (Brennan 2004) and facilitated carnal encounters between the screened bodies and viewers' bodies. One of the main prerequisites of this potentiality was the permeability of the newsreel as a liminal object which stood between the 'real'/non-cinematic and 'screened'/cinematic experience.

The Yugoslav newsreel company Filmske novosti (Film News) was founded on 20 October 1944, on the day when Belgrade was freed in World War II, as a film section within a department of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia. Initially they worked under the name Zvezda film as a 'state economical firm for production of documentaries and newsreel' (Kosanović 2004), until 1950 when the company was renamed Centralni studio Filmskih novosti (Central Studio of Film News). Already during the first five years, Filmske novosti succeeded in producing a regular weekly national film journal which contained several reports. Filmske novosti can be seen as one of the prominent propaganda mechanisms which promoted the cult of labour, the narratives of Partisan struggle and the ideology of 'brotherhood and unity'. The catalogues of Filmske novosti show that this genre was a true 'encyclopaedia of everyday life during five or six decades' (Kosanović 2004), featuring reports from different spheres of social life, including political news, building infrastructural projects and new industrial capacities, as well as information on cultural and sport events and general reports on everyday and leisure activities. Filmske novosti also included relevant news from abroad, both filming reports on trips made by Yugoslav politicians, sportspersons and other relevant presenters and engaging in international collaborations with similar institutions worldwide, such as the International Newsreel Association.

The liminality of the Filmske novosti's newsreel can be observed on two different levels: spatiotemporal and thematic. In the very physicality of its screening, newsreels were positioned in-between the 'real'/non-cinematic and 'screened'/cinematic experience, constructed by the feature films which followed. Filmske novosti's newsreel was emitted before the feature film, holding the attention of the viewers and keeping their focus on real-life events, before they were directed to the fictionality of the feature films.¹² The newsreel was thus screened in the liminality of the spatiotemporal experience of viewers, bridging their real-life experience and the fictional experience of the cinema. On the one hand, it aligned with the lived experience of daily life, as, purportedly, it featured 'real' news and reports of real and current events, but, on the other hand, the medium of its existence – the cinematic screening – was affiliated with the fictitious experience of the feature film narratives.

The thematic liminality of the newsreel was more intricately designed and we can study it in more detail in relation to the VYLA.¹³ In the decades after the war, massive participation in labour actions coincided with massive cinema-going, and it can be assumed that a significant number of young viewers would have had first-hand experience of participation in labour actions. Unlike what one would suppose from the point of view of strategies of ideological propaganda, many of the reports on VYLA in the newsreels were not connected with huge national infrastructural projects, but drew on local youth initiatives and smaller-scale projects in the developing urban areas, an experience which viewers might be intimately familiar with. For instance, a newsreel entitled *Obnova kraja Resnik, regulacija Topčiderske reke/Rebuilding of Resnik-Belgrade, Regulation of Topčiderska River*, shows the rebuilding of Resnik, a suburb in Belgrade (Filmske novosti's journal no. 30, 1946). There are also examples of scenes that show the rebuilding of very specific parts of certain towns, such as in a newsreel with scenes of planting trees, arranging entrances to houses and building squares in the town of Šabac (Filmske novosti's journal no. 4, 1960), or the newsreels that are completely dedicated to afforestation, such as the newsreel entitled 'The young planting' (Filmske novosti's journal no. 50, 1962).

The screened bodies in the VYLA were thus not perceived as alien objects but as bodies which were already ‘their’ bodies, or present in their imminent reality, and with which the viewers could identify and affiliate their material existence. On the other hand, the reports from VYLA were also connected with the fictitious world of the feature films, as the plot of an array of Yugoslav films produced throughout the socialist period incorporated the subject of labour actions. The feature films were used to present typical Yugoslav everyday life, of which the labour actions were a very important part. Thus, the scenes with labour actions were common in the films, the most famous among them being: *Život je naš/Life Is Ours* (Gustav Gavrin, 1948), *Cesta duga godinu dana/A Year-long Road* (Giuseppe De Santis, 1958), and *Prekobrojna/The Supernumerary Girl* (Branko Bauer, 1962). In addition, there was a tendency to shoot films on the actual locations where labour actions took place. The scenes with the actions were a suitable background for the plot of a Yugoslav film. The labour actions were thus visible even in the cases when the plot itself did not require scenes with labour actions. One of the most famous examples of this is a comedy *Ljubi, ljubi, al’ glavu ne gubi/Kiss, Kiss, But Don’t Lose Your Head* (Zoran Čalić, 1979), shot in Đerdap in Serbia, where one of the scenes is located on the location of a labour action, even though the film is just a love story.

Being filmed at the sites of ‘real’ VYLA, the scenes in the films were ‘authentic’ and the participants/viewers could truly watch ‘themselves’ through the mirror, or the transmissible membrane of the cinematic screen. Although newsreels were expected to give a realistic portrayal of the featured events, the music and sound which was used for the newsreels (apart from the recording of political speeches) was not recorded *in situ*, but was compiled from existing pre-recorded classical and film music, creating a sonic impression which was very much alike to contemporary feature films.¹⁴ The newsreels thus operated in the liminal sphere also in the matter of their themes, as the reports were close to the life experience of the viewer, but they simultaneously melded into the imaginal world of the feature films.

In this regard, it is highly interesting that certain interlocutors witnessed the shooting of a certain film while they participated in a labour action, and then they had a chance to watch that same film in the cinema. A participant of the labour action on the highway ‘Brotherhood and unity’ on the part from Belgrade to Skopje recalls filming *The Supernumerary Girl*, starring the famous Milena Dravić, whom she also had a chance to meet and to observe while acting in the scenes connected with labour.¹⁵ The interlocutor then had an opportunity to see the film in the cinema, at the time when cinematic experience regularly included newsreels. Here we notice how cinematic experience in general, as well as the experience of the newsreel in particular, did not operate as a realm of transcendence relative to the ‘real’ world, something alien to everyday experience. On the contrary, it was manifoldly connected to reality, acting as a form of enhanced, ‘augmented reality’.

Carnal encounters: the somatic frame and the machinic-labour frame

The liminal space of the newsreel provided a platform where carnal encounters between the body of the viewers and the cinematic body could take place, overriding the purported insurmountability of the cinematic screen. However, to consider how a carnal encounter can take place and how the cinematic body can affect and shape the body of the viewer, transmuting it into the ideal of the ‘new socialist man’, one needs to consider the ‘visual excess’ of the screen, the ‘visceral immediacy’ of the image which draws the body of the viewers and the cinematic body into the contiguity of the carnal encounter (Shaviro 1993, 2–5). In order to show how these excessive affects take place, we will discuss two groups of images/frames

which were characteristic of the VYLA portrayal on the Filmske novosti's newsreel: the somatic frame and the machinic-labour frame. We argue that through the excessive immediacy of these two groups of frames the newsreel could reach out to the carnality of the viewers' body, transgressing the text and textual interpretation.

By *somatic frame*, we refer to the characteristic representation of the bodies of the participants of the labour actions, filmed using the close-up and extreme close-up shot, usually via a low angle. This type of execution of the newsreel frame does not allow the viewer to grasp the overall purport of the infrastructural project, and, further, does not allow for a grasping of the whole purport of the labourer's bodily movement and his actions. The accent is placed on an isolated, specific body movement or a part of the body itself, bringing attention to the *somatic* – to the very surface of his/her body, the veneer through which the bodies affect each other. The skin of the youth-labourer is placed into excessive scrutiny, portrayed so as to show the tanned skin colour, the convulsion due to the effort of the muscles, the surface dewed with sweat. This body stands for the cult of labour, which was being promulgated in socialist Yugoslavia as the ideal of the 'new socialist man', albeit not on the level of representation but in its very carnality, it yields to this ideal in all of its fleshiness and enhances it at the same time. The scenes through which this is achieved are characterised by a focus on the details of the exterior of the laborious body itself, sometimes occupying the entirety of the frame, where its somatic surface belies the signs of the laborious process on the visceral level. The hard physical work is manifested somatically as beads of sweat are wiped from the forehead of the youth-labourer, as we see the skin which reveals muscles in contraction, and facial expressions imbued with sighs. The viewer is thus confronted with the abstract somatic expression of labour, and precisely because this expression operates in the abstract realm and not through linguistic models it can reach out to the carnality of the viewers' body and reshape the 'micropolitics of the social field' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 7).¹⁶ One of the most representative examples of such a somatic frame is a scene with a woman wiping sweat from her forehead in a break which she takes from hard work (recorded in Filmske novosti's journal no. 21, 1962, see [Figure 1](#); further examples are found in



Figure 1. Still from Filmske novosti's journal no. 21, 1962 (report 'Highway').

Filmske novosti's journals no. 15 from 1945 and no. 33 from 1966, showing the isolated extreme close-up shots of the facial expressions of labourers). This scene is filmed as a close-up which aggressively protrudes towards spectators, as for a short interval of time the fact that the protagonist is in the middle of the brigadiers on a labour action is abstracted, and the viewer is only affected by the very surface of her laborious body.¹⁷

The *machinic-labour frame*¹⁸ is likewise characterised by close-up and extreme close-up shots; however, the subject that is depicted is not the somatic surface of the youth-labourer, but the machinic movement of the non-human aspect of physical labour. Again, the viewer's body is not allowed to grasp the meaning of the entire bodily movement, nor afforded the 'leisure' to interpret its meaning, but is instead confronted with a fragmentary movement that is being reproduced in a seemingly perpetual manner. This movement can be the pull of the mattock, the passing of a bucket, or a similarly isolated bodily movement, which is then pronouncedly repeated. The shot isolates a segment of the action in a machinic fashion, showing only the pin of the mattock wedging into the ground, or the wheel or bucket being pushed into motion. These shots may reveal the large number of youth-labours, but just as part of a large machine brought into motility. The machinic-labour frame is even more ubiquitous than the somatic frame, as group scenes with a large number of brigadiers in action, shown through extreme close-up shots, can be found in almost every newsreel from the 1950s. The most typical among them are scenes with groups of brigadiers digging. In the Filmske novosti's archive, this type of scene is usually described in one of the following ways: 'the young are digging at a hill slope', 'girls and guys are doing the same work – digging, pushing lorries' (Filmske novosti's journal no. 27, 1952), 'the participants are carrying the soil in the lorries' (Filmske novosti's journal no. 2, 1956), 'cutting low greenery', 'cleaning of the coast', 'alignment of the land' (Filmske novosti's journal no. 29, 1960). Through the machinic-labour frame, the socialist cult of labour is thus transformed into a 'machinic assemblage of desire' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 23–24; cf. Guattari 1995) which has the potential to capture the viewer's libidinal desire for motility and to subject it to the process of



Figure 2. Still from Filmske novosti's journal no. 46, 1946 (report 'Belgrade – Zagreb – Skopje – Intercity Competition').

producing socialist Yugoslav territory. In this regard, two Filmske novosti's journals from 1946 (nos. 30 and 46) are noteworthy; they both feature scenes from the labour action on the outskirts of the Belgrade urban area. The expansion of the capital's zone of urbanity is performed through human machinic movement which propels mattocks and buckets. Particularly striking is the frame (in journal no. 46) which depicts the transport of bricks through a 'human chain of hands' (Figure 2). Limiting the spectator's vision only to the disembodied, machinic hands, which receive and pass on the brick, the frame captures the essentially depersonalised, almost dismembered character of the progress on which socialist Yugoslavia was to be built.

Conclusion

After World War II, the new regime of socialist Yugoslavia was imposed through a variety of ideological instruments, such as the cult of labour, the narratives of Partisan struggle and the ideology of 'brotherhood and unity', all of which entailed a reshaping of the body and resulted in producing the socialist territory of Yugoslavia. This imposition was not performed solely through discursive mechanisms but took place on the micro level, producing new dispositions of bodies, new ways in which bodies interacted and new methods by which their intensities were regulated. The basic capacities of bodies – to affect and to be affected, to move and to be set in motion – were recaptured and reinterpreted by the new social machines and new regimes of the body. In our analysis of the labour actions on the newsreel screen, we have identified frames – the somatic frame and the machinic-labour frame – which facilitated carnal encounters between the body on the cinematic screen and the body of the audience, transforming the cinematic screen into a vehicle of embodied governing. Reducing the cult of labour to machinic and somatic abstraction, these frames could override discursive and semiotic models and reach out to viewers' bodily desire to be absorbed into the image of the cinematic screen. Ultimately, we have demonstrated that the mechanisms which are commonly perceived as representational propaganda, such as cinema, news, etc., have a much larger political capacity, a potential to immediately shape the bodies of the subjects through the cracks which open in the system of semiotic representation by force of sheer excessive intensity.

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Notes

1. Dragana Stojanović defines ‘carnal’ as ‘the aspect of the body which *drops out/falls off* the textual or the linguistic, revealing/recalling the body/flesh as the material legacy of the physiological organization of the biological organism’ (2014, 11).
2. Deleuze and Guattari introduced the concept of *socius*, the ‘full body [which] forms a surface where all [desiring and social] production is recorded’ (1983, 10), a ‘megamachine’, the terrain of the coding and recoding of desire, which is necessary in order to enable subjects to engage in their social roles and functions (Parr 2005, 255–257).
3. Maria Cichosz introduces the concept of ‘tripping’, as ‘affectively based event’, to discuss affective, sensuous knowledge ‘that is difficult to communicate in any coherent way, rendering itself largely non-narrativizable’ (2014, 56); through this concept she examines how the ‘state of paying attention’ is shaped by affective intensities which cannot be fully analysed in the discursive sense. More generally, we also refer to the ‘turn to affect’ (Clough 2007), which has been one of the most prominent recent currents in humanities and social sciences. Affects can be construed as non-signifying processes that are happening beyond and before our awareness and understanding.
4. The government of the interwar Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, was marked by the dominance of the Serbian political elite and continuous resentment of Croat politicians and nationalists, culminating first in the assassination of the King Aleksandar (1934) and second by the establishment of Banovina of Croatia (1939) as the autonomous province of the kingdom. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, being illegal in the interwar period, formulated a new model of Yugoslavism, as a supranational community of purportedly equal nations, granting national rights to Macedonians and Montenegrins (cf. Calic 2010, 127–130). The basis of the new constitution of Yugoslavia, adopted in 1943, implied the federal structure of the state, with six ‘republics’ (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia) and two autonomous provinces within Serbia (Vojvodina and Kosovo and Metohija).
5. Besides VYLA, the establishment of workers’ tourism also serves as a paradigmatic and interconnected example. Yugoslav communist thinking on the benefits of tourism and recreation reflected Soviet ideas on the purposeful use of tourism and leisure ‘to enhance intellectual and physical capital’ with a collective goal: integration into the body of the nation and the state. At the onset of the 1950s, the government introduced a social tourism programme designed to ‘turn workers into tourists’ with state-sponsored excursions and the establishment of subsidised holiday centres (Duda 2010).
6. The first action after the war was organised on 1 May 1946 on the railway Brčko–Banovići and starting from the following year, the Central Committee of the National Youth (Centralno veće Narodne omladine) made a decision that each of the republics should organise at least one action per year, in order to join the people in the project of rebuilding the country (Dobrivojević 2010, 121). In addition to the railway Brčko–Banovići, several infrastructural milestones in this period were accomplished with the assistance of VYLA, such as the Šamac–Sarajevo railway (1947), as well as commencing the construction of the district Novi Beograd in Belgrade (1948–1951).
7. The largest labour actions organised on the national level after 1958 were connected to the building of the Highway of Brotherhood and Unity (Auto-put bratstva i jedinstva), which was supposed to intersect the country from Ljubljana (Slovenia) to Đevdelija (Macedonia), connecting Zagreb and Belgrade on its way, and to serve as the main national transport corridor.
8. Gestures are broadly defined as patterns of behaviour and bodily movements that are imitated. They possess a certain potential for communication, but they are not necessarily identical with language itself, being rather a way of mediation. In the same fashion, the body has certain ways of communicating through movements (Noland 2009, 6). Furthermore, gestures are ‘neither natural nor inevitable but rather contingent expressions of the kinetic energy they organize’ (206).
9. Normative behaviour – the behaviour that is socially accepted as ‘desirable’ i.e. ‘normal’ – may be coercively imposed or actively formed through the continuous imitation of gestures. Furthermore, it should be understood as normative within a particular context, since a kind of behaviour depends on a specific time and place. In accordance with the above, normative behaviour is being produced (Noland 2009, 3).
10. On the relation of subject, place and space, see Kirby (1993).

11. The youth organisations regularly staged concerts, cinema screenings or plays in order to diversify the options for spending free time.
12. In the decade following the war, radio was the only other informative medium and the newsreels were the only informative medium which was using motion pictures to enliven news coverage and to introduce it via a more 'realistic' audio-visual technique. As the press and the interviewees testify, one could not come into a cinema in the middle of the projection, so that a pause between the newsreel and the feature film had to be respected. That made the people 'run to cinema, in order not to be late for the film journal' (Kosanović 2004; see also Savković 1990).
13. The newsreels often contained reports from the labour actions. In order to explore the thematic liminality of the newsreel in regards to the reports from VYLA, we conducted unstructured interviews with persons who were both cinema-goers and participants of the VYLA, in the period of socialist Yugoslavia. This account draws on the data collected through these interviews.
14. The music which accompanied newsreels is characterised by its continuous flow, rarely interrupted by cadential structures, as well as by full symphonic sound, and usually the same music piece would flow over several reports in a single newsreel, connecting different stories in a sensuous whole. Unfortunately, the archive of Filmske novosti does not record the data on music which was used for making the newsreels.
15. The interview was conducted by Atanasovski and Petrov on 13 May 2013.
16. Deleuze and Guattari point out that the criticism of [...] linguistic models is not that they are too abstract but, on the contrary, that they are not abstract enough, that they do not reach the abstract machine that connects a language to the semantic and pragmatic contents of statements, to collective assemblages of enunciation, to a whole micropolitics of the social field. (1987, 7)
17. Scenes like this are sometimes singled out in the very description of the shots of the reports which can be found in Filmske novosti's archive: 'a young working woman with a mattock, wiping sweat' (Filmske novosti's journal no. 21, 1962), 'a young working woman with a hack, wiping sweat' (Filmske novosti's journal no. 21, 1962), 'a youngster with glasses, working (head)' (Filmske novosti's journal no. 33, 1963).
18. We develop this term following the way Deleuze and Guattari employ the terms machine (social machines, desiring machines) and machinic (machinic assemblages, machinic phylum) to describe how they understand the nature of the unconscious, as the one which is material and nonfigurative rather than ideological and imaginary (Deleuze and Guattari 1983, 108–109), and the character of the libidinal energy, as the one which 'flows through social relations that organize power in certain ways', where 'power itself has no centre and no reality outside of these flows' (Due 2007, 66).

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