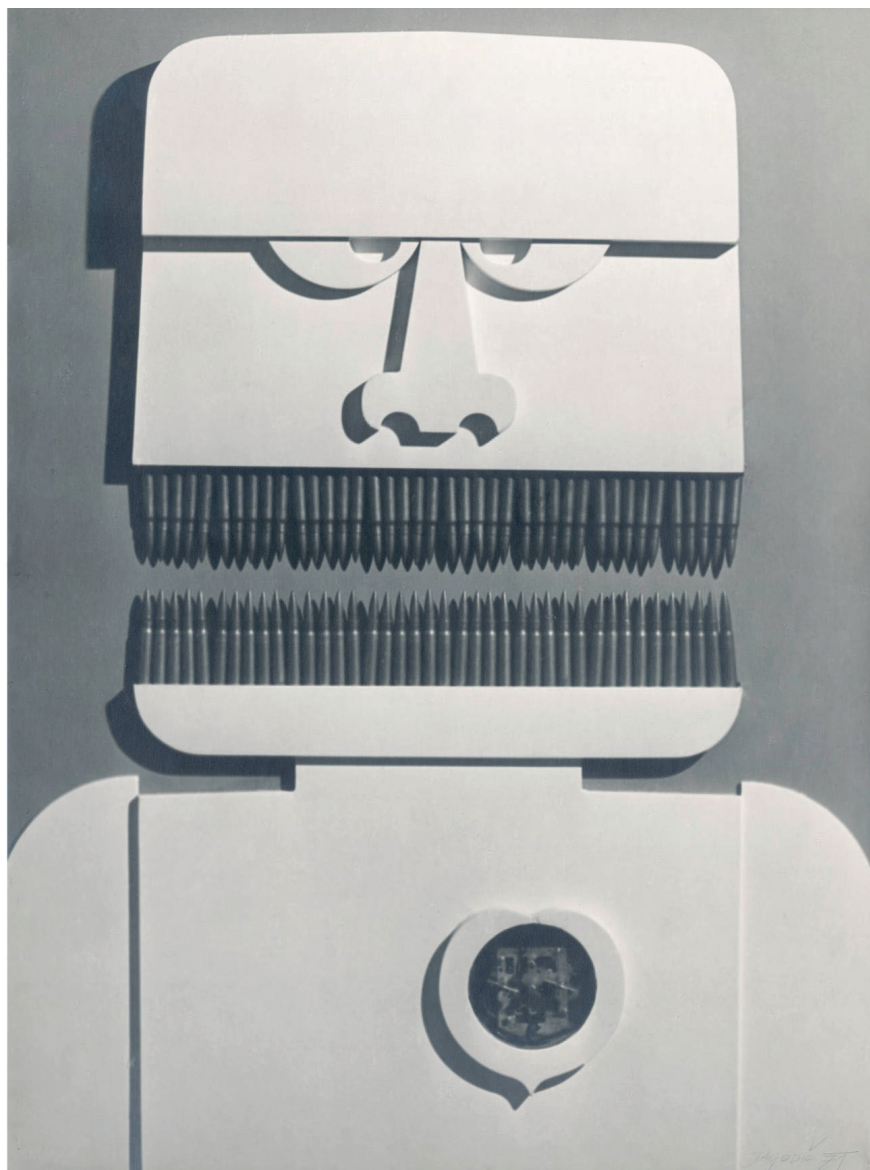


Peace Policies and Practices in Yugoslavia and Beyond



PEACE, UNCONDITIONAL!

Edited by
Sanja Petrović Todosijević and Martin Pogačar

Published by
Institute for Recent History of Serbia
Založba ZRC, Institute of Culture and Memory Studies ZRC SAZU

Series “Zbornici radova”, Volume No. 31

Series “Kulturni spomin”, Volume No. 12
Editor **Tanja Petrović**

For the Publishers
Vladan Jovanović, Oto Luthar

Edited by
Sanja Petrović Todosijević and Martin Pogačar

Editorial Board
Vladan Jovanović, Institute for Recent History of Serbia (Serbia)
Oto Luthar, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Slovenia)
Tanja Petrović, Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, ZRC SAZU (Slovenia)
Olga Manojlović Pinter, Institute for Recent History of Serbia (Serbia)
Ranka Gašić, Institute for Contemporary History (Serbia)
Nina Vodopivec, Institute of Contemporary History, Ljubljana (Slovenia)
Belma Buljubašić, Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
Vjeran Pavlaković, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Rijeka (Croatia)
Sabine Rutar, Leibniz Institute for East and Southeast European Studies, Regensburg (Germany)
Christian Promitzer, Institute of History, University of Graz (Austria)
Francesca Rolandi, University of Florence (Italy)

Editorial Secretary
Natalija Dimić Lompar, Institute for Recent History of Serbia (Serbia)

Reviewers
Bojan Godeša, Institute of Contemporary History (Slovenia)
Ivana Pantelić, Institute for Contemporary History (Serbia)
Danijela Lugarić Vukas, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb (Croatia)
Aida Ličina Ramić, Historical Institute (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Design and layout
Tanja Radež

Artworks used
© **Stane Jagodić**

Proofreading
Miljana Protić

ISBN 978-86-7005-208-6

The publication of this volume was made possible with the support of the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia.
The publication was made possible by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency's research programme “Historical Interpretations of the 20th Century” (J6-0347).

PEACE,
UNCONDITIONAL!



Institute for Recent History of Serbia
Založba ZRC, Institute of Culture and Memory Studies ZRC SAZU



Založba ZRC



zbirka
kulturni
spomin

PEACE, UNCONDITIONAL!

Peace Policies and Practices
in Yugoslavia and Beyond

Edited by
Sanja Petrović Todosijević and Martin Pogačar

Belgrade, Ljubljana
2025

PEACE, UNCONDITIONAL!

Introduction → 11

11 → Martin Pogačar, Sanja Petrović Todosijević

Peace. Unconditional.

The Vestiges of Peace and the Socio-Political Frameworks of War

The Idea of Peace → 27

29 → Tomaž Mastnak

Unconditional Peace?

The Idea of Peace in Political Context

45 → Peter Klepec

On the Cruelty of War

63 → Petra Svoljšak

The War to End All Wars: A Broken Promise of Peace

81 → Nemanja Stanimirović

Yugoslav Dissidents as Agents of Peace in the Era of Détente

107 → Gal Kirn

Balkan Route to and from War: Reflections on Peace in Šejla Kamerić's *Cease* (2023) and Nika Autor's *Sunny Railways* (2023)

Political Practices of Peace → 127

129 → Srđan Mičić

Yugoslavia's Pacifist Foreign Policy and Actions in the League of Nations, 1920–1933

165 → Rastko Lompar

War and Peace within Interwar Yugoslav Radical Right Circles

191 → Zoran Janjetović

Indemnification for Nazi Victims, the Federal Republic of Germany and Yugoslavia

215 → Luka Savčić

“Struggle for Peace” as a Form of Yugoslav Internationalism:
A Case Study of Anti-colonialism

233 → Natalija Dimić Lompar

Entering the Cold War “Struggle for Peace”:
Yugoslavia and the International Forum for Peace, 1951–1954

265 → Jovan Čavoški

Yugoslavia, Formation of the Asian-African Group and Issues of Peace in the United
Nations, 1950–1953

289 → Luka Filipović

From Czechoslovakia to Chile, in the Shadow of Vietnam:
Anti-War Movements and the European Communists, 1968–1974

311 → Petar Dragišić

Yugoslavia and the Helsinki Summit in 1975

Images of Peace → 323

325 → Zdenka Badovinac

Peace as a Space for the Third

339 → Katja Kobolt

Pictures of War, Pictures for Peace: Memory of the People’s Liberation Struggle
in Yugoslav Children’s Literature

357 → Stanislava Barać

“Lest We Forget”: Desanka Maksimović’s Remembrance Politics and Anti-War Engagement

389 → Ovidiu Țichindeleanu

On Seeing the Socialist Culture of Peace

Peacemakers → 413

415 → Nika Grabar

Building Non-Peace

439 → Tina Filipović, Ana Kladnik

Non-State Actors as Active Agents of Peace in Cold War Europe

461 → Svetlana Stefanović

International Women’s Year (1975) and the United Nations Decade for Women:
Equality, Development and Peace, 1976–1985 – The Yugoslav Answer

481 → Sanja Petrović Todosijević

International Children’s Friendship Meeting, 1976–1988
Social Organisation of Children in Socialist Yugoslavia and Education for Peace

513 → Vladimir Petrović

Anatomy of a Lost Chance:
Vance-Owen Peace Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina in Geneva, January 1993

547 → Nataša Kostić

Teaching History and Learning about the Dissolution and Wars of the 1990s
in Reconciliation Processes

569 → Martin Pogačar

Anti-Militarism in the Art of Stane Jagodič

Postscript → 575

575 → Martin Pogačar

Pax Ante Futurum

580 → Notes on Contributors

Martin Pogačar*

Postscript Pax ante futurum

The time you needed to read this book may have been substantial, also due to the range and breadth and depth of topics, historical accounts, analyses of political approaches, artistic and philosophical thematisations. And yet, the volume is at best a modest and partial intervention into a wide and complex field of studies trying to understand the role that the idea and practices of peace have played – predominantly in the Yugoslav contexts – in the course of the 20th century.

Yet, the time it took is only a fraction of the time needed for substantial societal changes towards a peaceful living to take place. Despite our (very contemporary) desires *to make and enact change now!*, such changes take generations and are invariably the result of processes that can hardly be comprehended in the short timespans of our lives. (This century-wide overview aims to provide, among other things, just that: an ‘aerial’ view of the unfolding processes in the 20th century). Instead, changes arise, at best, from the uneasy interplay of individual and collective histories and memories, historiographic interpretations, political (mis)decisions, populist machinations, misconceptions, curated memories, archives, museum exhibitions, as well as structural or deliberate forgetting, narrative and interpretative omissions, closely related to the elite capture of power and resources, material and symbolic. And these changes are energised by human aspirations to move on (preferably to a bright future) while often walking backwards or reenacting past delusions.

The time spent reading this volume, then, is but a sliver of the time, and of the efforts invested, as numerous chapters demonstrate for/from the Yugoslav perspective, over the past century and more into peace-making, -keeping, -building ... with a view to create a liveable, inclusive, enchanting and motivating future for living on Earth.

Alas, if we ‘read’ the world of today against the thematisations in this book – that through the lenses of the histories of Yugoslavia(s) provide insight into the developments of peace initiatives, international and national politics – it becomes increasingly and devastatingly clear that these efforts brought little positive change that would steer the broader socio-political, economic and psychosocial structures towards creating a conflict-



"Gaza", montaža, Zagreb 2025

resilient world. A world where premeditated death and destruction are something to fight *against* rather than being framed – as seems to be the mission of the planetary synergy of kakistocratic elites taking grand decisions, regardless of the needs and aspirations of billions of people in whose name these decisions are taken – as a redemptive value.

In fact, thinking and practicing peace appears impossible in a deeply interconnected (hence radically interdependent) world order run by, as Luke Kemp states in his *Goliath's Curse*, the “dark triad” of narcissism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism which, following the globally synergetic drive for evermore power and ever-less self-restraint, may eventually lead to societal collapse:

as elites extract more wealth from the people and the land, they make societies more fragile, leading to infighting, corruption, immiseration of the masses, less healthy people, overexpansion, environmental degradation and poor decision making by a small oligarchy. The hollowed-out shell of a society is eventually cracked asunder by shocks such as disease, war or climate change.¹

Moreover, the Global Peace Index report (GPI) published by the Institute for Economics & Peace states that in 2025

global peacefulness continues to decline and that many of the leading factors that precede major conflicts are higher than they have been since the end of WWII. More countries are increasing their levels of militarisation against the backdrop of rising geopolitical tensions, increasing conflict, the breakup of traditional alliances and rising economic uncertainty.”²

At that the report finds that successful conflict resolution is at its lowest in the last 50 years, having fallen from “49 per cent in the 1970s to 9 per cent in the 2010s, while conflicts that ended through peace agreements fell from 23 per cent to four per cent over the same period.” GPI also emphasises that conflicts are becoming more internationalised, making solutions more difficult, which is driven by “geopolitical fragmentation, increasing major power competition, and the rise in influence of middle level powers, who are becoming more active within their regions.”³

1 Luke Kemp, *Goliath's Curse. The History and Future of Societal Collapse* (London: Penguin Books, 2025), quoted in Damian Carrington, “‘Self-termination is most likely’: the history and future of societal collapse,” *The Guardian*, 2 August 2025, accessed 11 August 2025.

2 Institute for Economics & Peace. *Global Peace Index 2025: Identifying and Measuring the Factors that Drive Peace*, Sydney, June 2025. Available from: <http://visionofhumanity.org/resources>, accessed 4 August 2025, 2.

3 Ibid.

At the same time, the GPI reports that “expenditure on peacebuilding and peacekeeping was just 0.52 per cent of total military spending in 2024, compared to 0.83 per cent ten years ago. The number of deployed peacekeeping troops has also fallen by 42 per cent over the past decade, while the number of conflicts has risen steadily.”⁴

This is not unrelated to Kemp’s observation that “Nuclear weapons, climate change, AI, are only produced by a very small number of secretive, highly wealthy, powerful groups, like the military-industrial complex, big tech and the fossil fuel industry,” which foregrounds the necessity to look for solutions outside the now-dominant econo-political ideational monocracy, the inspiration for which might well be found also in the attempts at (re)crafting international relations and (re)amplifying and (re)inventing democratic structures that limit and constrain the elite capture of destructive power.

In an un(com)promising context of the present-day polycrisis, GPI states that

the international order is approaching a tipping point where rising economic fragmentation, accelerating rearmament and multiple competing spheres of influence are creating the conditions for the onset of large-scale conflict, and the associated economic destruction. Underscoring this is the sheer volume and geographic spread of currently active conflicts, alongside reductions in proactive conflict prevention initiatives, including reductions in funding for peacebuilding and development aid.⁵

This assessment is in direct contradiction to the efforts invested over the course of the 20th century into seeking peaceful resolutions to conflicts and it thus reveals the failure to uphold the now infamous promise of “never again”.

The studies comprising this volume provide insight into the historical, political, cultural, economic and social transformations that had befallen the 20th century. True, the book focuses mostly on Yugoslavia, but at the same time it presents a node that refracts the broader historical and political processes spanning countries and empires, politics and histories that cumulatively and ambiguously made and unmade the history and legacy of the past century. As always-at-best incomplete as any such collection may be, it nevertheless provides not only a compendium of analyses of the past with which to understand the past and the present, but all the more a document that may (and dare we say, should) be read as an *account of the past for the future* ... if any prospect of thinking (of) the future be made feasible at all. And particularly so in, and from, a historical moment around the first quarter of the 21st century, in which the political, societal, and ecological crises coalesce into a conjunction in dire need of new ideas, even if grafted on and sprouting from the ideas that have failed, were forgotten or discredited.

4 Ibid., 3.

5 Ibid., 3.

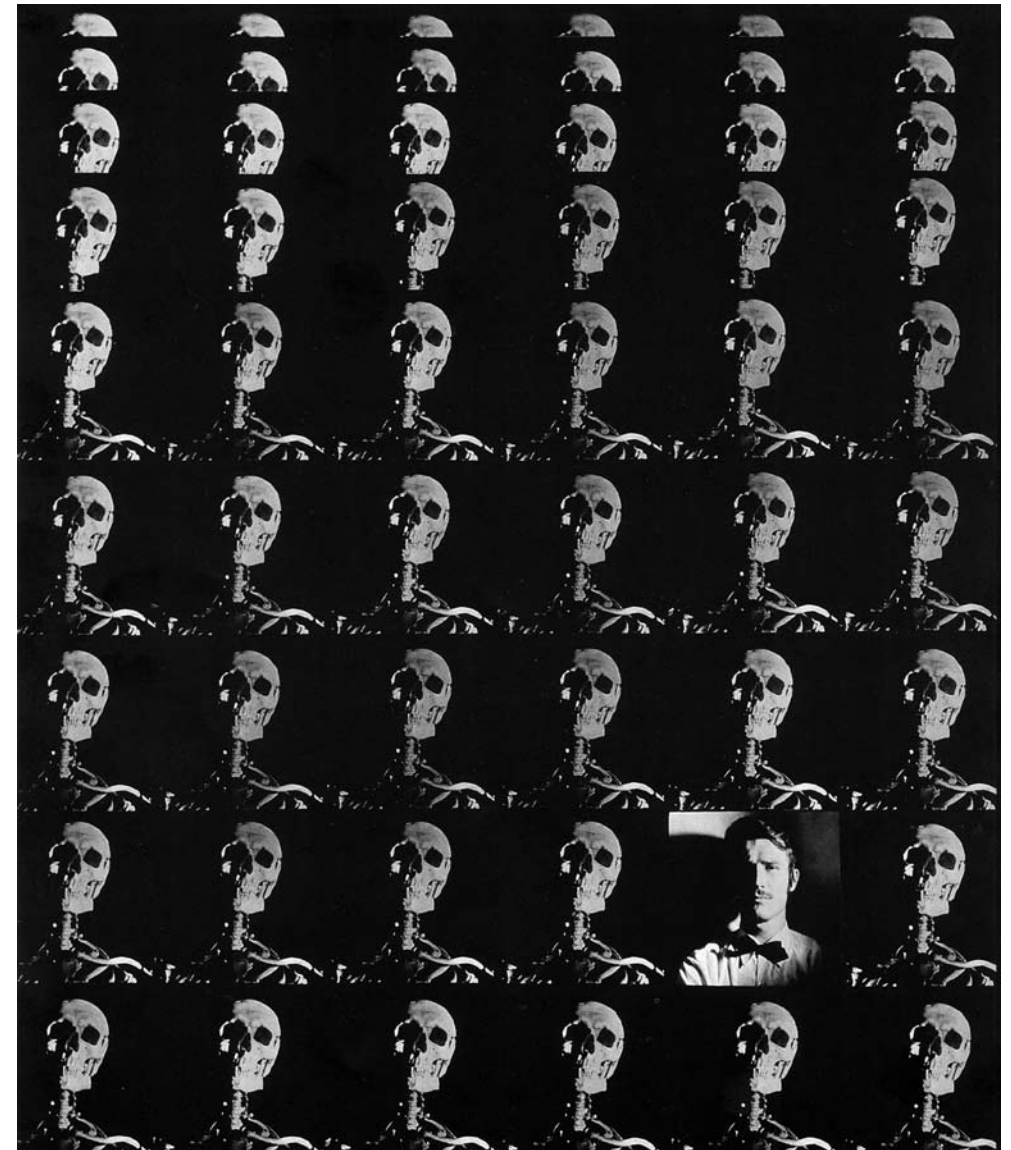
REFERENCE LIST

Secondary works

Kemp, Luke. *Goliath's Curse. The History and Future of Societal Collapse*. London: Penguin Books, 2025.

Website content

Institute for Economics & Peace. Global Peace Index 2025: Identifying and Measuring the Factors that Drive Peace, Sydney, June 2025. Available from: <http://visionofhumanity.org/resources>, accessed 4 August 2025.



Stane Jagodič, *Will-Power I–III*, photomontage, 1971