

VIEW TO COLD WAR THROUGH PERICENTRIC LENSES: TITO'S YUGOSLAVIA & KEKKONEN'S FINLAND*

Original scientific paper

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Abstract: From a sociological and historical perspective, by looking through “pericentric glasses”,¹ with awareness that during the Cold War, in addition to East and West, North and South existed too, the author explores the connections of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the Republic of Finland. Complex geopolitics of the Cold War influenced the establishment of the position of the countries mentioned in this paper in the international community but it also allowed them to be relatively autonomous in their actions. It also provided them the potential to be catalysts and even mediators of certain ideas that will result in changes at the global level. This paper will highlight key points of gathering between the two countries, which are political and cultural cooperation, which were complementary to each other. The cooperation between the two countries will be presented as a result of a related political approach, namely, the principle of pacifism which both countries had supported, opposing at the same time the “arms race” and nuclear experiments. The conclusions are illustrated with tangible political projects of the two countries, especially their close cooperation in significant political bodies: the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Inspired by common policy objectives of the two authoritarian presidents, Urho Kekkonen and Josip Broz Tito, cultural ideologues of SFRY Education Ministry Secretariat for

1 “Pericentric” or “hypercentric” lenses allow you to “see” objects simultaneously from all sides, which the author of this article uses in her approach to the study of the Cold War phenomenon. At the same time, the metaphor of ‘pericentric lenses “is the product of a short digression on the” view through pericentric lenses’ of the Croatian historian Tvrtko Jakovina who was recently dealing with NAM (Jakovina 2011b). Moreover, Pericentric Lenses are special optical design of Opto Engineering, which provides a 3D view of the peripheral objects.

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Foreign Affairs and of Finnish Education Ministry's International Cooperation Department have focused on the bilateral dialogue mainly in the field of visual and fine arts, and also in literature and music.

Key Words: Cold War, cultural cooperation, geopolitics, SFR Yugoslavia, Finland, Josip Broz Tito, Urho Kekkonen, neutrality, Non-aligned movement, sociology, history

Discourses of the Cold War: 'Pericentric Lenses' view approach

COMPLEX GEOPOLITICAL CONSTELLATION

created by multilayered phenomenon, concept or process, developed in humanities and social sciences discourses under the term Cold War, led to a series of consequences, changes, conflicts, but also to establishing of relations between countries. Effects of the influence of the Cold War complex geopolitics is obvious when we take a look at positioning of the countries we explore in this paper, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Finland, in the international community. According to a completely innovative proposal of Tony Smith (2000) then approached in studies of Croatian historian Tvrtko Jakovina: "The Cold War may be viewed through pericentric glasses: peripheral, small and less developed countries are often catalysts and initiators of the Cold War conflicts. Therefore, by analyzing relations between North and South, rather than East and West, we can better understand the Cold War. Small states have often played an important role in international relations, and their whims and behavior forced the superpowers to make moves they would otherwise not have done." (Jakovina 2011b, 24)

The phenomenon of the Cold War has been discursively constructed from the 1990s, after the fall of the Berlin Wall enabled opening of many inaccessible archives, necessary for academic research of this "transnational", "global" and "multilingual" problem (compare Jakovina 2011b, 23–24). The time of its historical end, was the beginning of creation of different narratives *in* and *over* the Cold War. These narratives were later incorporated in national histories, or, in the spirit of contemporary social theory, became different types of relationships with the past or some kind of direct sources about actors of this specific times. However, besides the mass of sources in different languages, presence of the countries outside of the East-West conflict and their relative autonomy were rarely a subject of studies of

Researches in our region focused extensively on SFRY and the Cold War problem, mainly as a part of historical discourse. However, they often lacked critical distance, and were led by a desire to reveal from the rich international experience of the former state, or by examining the different types of sources, the deeper layers of meaning which would comprehend ideological position of actors of the given events. The policies of small countries in Europe are commonly envisaged in the Cold War discourse through influence of the major powers. In case of the countries that we examine in this paper, their relatively autonomous foreign policy led development of many quite innovative ideas and bold solutions. We bear in mind that these were “small” European countries heavily influenced by Cold War geopolitics, as much as they tried to resist it.

Therefore, besides the obvious fear of nuclear weapons and complex view of the world strongly influenced by major powers, the Cold War can be examined also as a form of existence/coexistence of states and their citizens, cultural workers based behind the so-called “iron curtain”. For exploring the possibilities of finding a place symbolically viewed *outside* or *behind* the “iron curtain”, we have chosen, apparently very different states: Yugoslavia and Finland. However, we will present here their indisputable similarities. However, despite a number of foreign policies of Josip Broz Tito’s (1892–1980) “non-aligned” Yugoslavia and Urho Kaleva Kekkonen’s (1900–1986) “neutral” Finland, the difference between the countries revealed fruitfulness of given period, of transition from the modern to the postmodern era. Mixture of various spheres of human activity, international communications complexity development, technological progress, are only some of the elements of wealth of the given period whose “acceleration” in all fields was necessarily passed on arena of political theory and ideology, the philosophy of society ... and therefore, on culture.

Regardless of methodology and position of us as researchers, the discourse of the Cold War necessarily absorbs many characteristics of a “time of presidents”. It follows in one of its side interpretative flows the views of important political leaders. This is one of the important elements that we found as a sign of making a history on the Cold War, which testifies about the influence of universal acceleration and international communication in foreign policy discourse and related specialized discourses, that later transferred in the discourses in humanities on the Cold War topic. Before we turn to a meeting point of the two countries, let’s point out the main conceptual and methodological approaches, which are the basis of this paper and the author’s opinion.

First, putting emphasis on Yugoslavia’s “non-alignment” and Finland’s “neutrality” in this paper refers primarily to the tendency to distinguish key concepts in the process of construction of the international (and interior, local) reputation | 11

of these countries in the history/histories² of a given period. Current readers could consider as irony that Yugoslavia as a European country, a communist and socialist is pointed out as “non-aligned”, grouped with African and Asian countries. In addition, we have “neutral” Finland, rather unenviable positioned geographically at the crossroads between East and West. Finland also had a prominent role in peace negotiations so far, namely, by its continued activity in resolutions of social conflicts. This ambiguity of what we call the key concepts in the foreign policies of Finland and Yugoslavia during the Cold War reveals the complexity of strategies of their positioning in the international context of the reference period. Although we will discuss the issues of “non-alignment” and “neutrality” debate later in this paper, by pointing to specific issues, events, politics and ideology, we will leave to readers enough freedom for their different conclusions on these questions. In particular, if viewed in light of the recent events concerning Serbia as one of the successor countries of the former Yugoslavia, and the Republic of Finland, the country where the Helsinki Final Act was signed in August 1975 and is considered a country of origin of numerous peace-makers, such as Martti Ahtisaari.

Second, there is no doubt that different chronologies are enduring in the Cold War discourse, depending on scholars’ approach. Therefore, we should not forget the series of “end of history” visions, from Francis Fukuyama’s end in attainment of liberal capitalism and political democracy during the Cold War to absence or end of *grand narratives* characteristic for one of the most important thinkers of postmodernism, Jean-François Lyotard etc.³

Besides our attempt to approach the subject of the Cold War with respect of other “views” to which we relate with the title of this article, and referring to the existence of small countries of the North and South, or general relations which are outside the scope of the East-West relations, we agree with Finnish historians, Pauli Kettunen and Juhana Aunesluoma. According to them, the Cold War as a particular conflict⁴ can be seen in three levels (Aunesluoma and Kettunen 2008,

2 As expected, during the complex period or process of the Cold War, different versions of history existed, especially important for totalitarian regimes that maintained and encouraged desired collective conscience of its citizens by constructing a distinctive, often heroic past of its country. The Cold War was, inter alia, the most dynamic period of construction of different national histories. These constructions were depending on the place of a certain country in the geopolitical constellation, which influenced view on/construction of the history of other countries.

3 Apart from authors who, in their imagination, complete a certain course or period of history tied to the end of the Cold War, we should bear in mind the strong current “realists” who believe(d) that the Cold War is not a separate phenomenon, but only one phase in the *longue durée* in the international politics and social conflicts of the great powers (Kettunen and Aunesluoma 2008, 11).

4 The existence of “a kind of ‘cold war’ where there is no shooting but bleeding” pointed out in 1893 German socialist Eduard Bernstein when describing the battle between Germany and its

11–13), which could call levels of the scientific abstractions. From the first level of observation, “established during post-1990 perspective the Cold War was characterized by the *political-military confrontation between East and West blocs*, dominated by the United States and the Soviet Union” (11). The second level involves view of the Cold War as a conflict between *socioeconomic systems – socialism and capitalism* (12). Finally, the third level of discourse on the Cold War includes conflicts of *political regimes, including democracy, citizenship and human rights*, that is, the rivalry between different visions of human actions and relations between individuals, the state and society (14).

Cultural cooperation is also a special form of scientific abstraction in the discourse of the Cold War. In this regard, the cultural cooperation as an integral part of the state’s foreign policy usually was the most commonly addressed topic which connected Culture and the Cold War. While studying culture in the context of the Cold War, the authors usually focus on all types of communication between different countries, citizens, nations, and their delegates (artists, scholars, performers in the case of music and theater) who had connections with global political events. Since from the theoretical perspective, it is rather unrewarding to draw conclusions about alleged connections between culture and the Cold War, we will focus on actual material on relations between the countries, viewed through the channel of state institutions.

It is important to point out that cultural cooperation could not function independently from political events, that is, without the geo-strategic realignments. Cultural cooperation as a form of a “soft power” (compare Schneider 2004, 2) marled the phenomenon, the concept and the process of the Cold War. After the re-establishment of order and the institutional network in 1950-ies, Europe has been actively establishing cultural cooperation as an important part of foreign policy and communication between the countries during the Cold War. The strategy of developing connections through cultural cooperation has become particularly important since almost all countries were in a position to fight for its place in the distribution of resources, transport of various products of human achievements and pursuit of economic gain. At the same time, there is no doubt that cultural cooperation was in particular important to small European countries. In fact, communication through culture was much more easier even below the so-called “Iron Curtain”.

From the historical perspective, definitions, mechanisms that were used for cultural cooperation purposes, and finally, its relevance to a particular nation, we

neighbours, and the “cold war” is also used in the narrow sense of the arms battle, the fear of atomic bomb, etc. In this respect, we remember also that George Orwell wrote in 1945 about “peace which is not peace” where the Soviet Union and the United States both remain “undefeated in the permanent state of Cold war with one another.” (Williamson 2002)

noticed that a model of cultural cooperation through high art was mainly used in Europe, in the given period. It is important to distinguish between these models, due to the need to point out that European countries use a completely different approach to this field than the United States. However, in the whole Europe, the cultural cooperation was taking place primarily in the area of high artistic practice, which can presumably be interpreted as a relic or connections with the tradition of the early twentieth century. It is even more interesting to conclude that the great powers of the Cold War were the most successful in using music for cultural cooperation. The Soviet Union's ambassadors were from the field of classical music, especially pianists or violinists, while the most representative product of the USSR and the most prominent ambassador of this state was ballet.. Concerning the United States, bypassing state institutions, a Hollywood movie, called already in the post-war period "Golden era of Hollywood", triumphed in the European market. The undoubted influence of American movies to the lifestyle, dress, behavior, and even to values advocated by young generation of Europeans, has overwhelmed every form of cultural cooperation in the Cold War. In addition, many authors analyzed the massive influence of rock music worldwide and its remarkable impact, unique in the history. So rock and roll with its distinctive values, which has spread the plurality of musical solutions, and the American films were the most important factors of the so-called collapse "Iron Curtain" achieved through non-institutional channels. On the other hand, the United States institutionally used jazz music in their cultural cooperation. The US as a country burdened by slavery and colonial past, issues of democracy and freedom, could not compete with European achievements in high artistic practices, but was superb in its offer of products for consumer society that could not be matched, as well as of products of exceptional technological and economic progress, philosophy of individualism, etc. Therefore, US use popular culture in promotion of positive American values.⁵

By recognizing the importance of political and cultural cooperation during the Cold War, our aim is to reveal the general phenomena of those countries that were neither East nor West, and which often functioned within interregnum effects of different countries and their complex conflicts of interest. We believe that

5 Radio programme VOA (Voice of America), and its popular host Willis Conover, has not only caused great interest of citizens across Europe, but has expanded their undoubted influence even when it has proven in practice to have issues with their own democracy, civil liberties, equal opportunities, etc.. Then, the State Department's project "Jazz Ambassadors" which included Dizzy Gillespie, Duke Ellington, Benny Goodman and other jazz musicians. In the midst of its aggressive policy, the United States successfully expanded their image of democratic free Americans. For this purpose, they used African-American musicians who played free jazz, and "free" improvisation. More on the scope of American cultural diplomacy please find in: (Cummings, 2003; Eschen, 2004; Schneider 2003, 2007)

the geopolitical constellation in the period between the mid-1950s to mid-1980s undoubtedly gave birth and marked political and cultural cooperation between Finland and Yugoslavia, as well as in many other countries. However, there were opposite processes too. Successful and ambitious diplomacies of these countries were often “forcing superpowers to make moves that they alone would not have done” (Jakovina 2011b, 24). From sociologist approach, these examples of political and cultural cooperation are indicators of relative autonomy and unexpected breakthroughs of “small countries” in the context of the Cold War.

Cold War policy of “Neutrality” and “Non-alignment”

In the context of the Cold War, Finland and Yugoslavia’s position in the international scene was based mainly on the policy of “neutrality”. In case of Yugoslavia, the policy of “neutrality” was associated with a policy of “non-alignment”. These tendencies of foreign relations policies of Finland and Yugoslavia were directly linked to the countries’ relationship with the great powers. At the same time, their relations with the Soviet Union are certainly a controversial issue of their politics, the issue that significantly determined their “place” in a given geopolitical situation.

In fact, relations between European countries and the Soviet Union for a long time represented maintaining of good neighborly relations “at any price”. This was permanently a case in Finland. In 1948 Finland signed the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, which was in force until the 1970 when it was extended for another twenty years. With this document, Finland made particular connections with the USSR. Outside Finland there were some suspicions over this country’s policy of “neutrality” because of the aforementioned links with the USSR (Borodin 1977, 25). Former Finnish President Urho Kekkonen insisted that the Agreement and the Finnish “neutrality” were strongly linked. However, a kind of refrain of Finish “neutral” foreign policy could be illustrated with a fragment of an interview of the President Kekkonen with the Swedish daily *Dagens Nyheter*: “We strive to keep Finland out of the conflict of the great powers and blocks in times of peace and to preserve neutrality in occasions an armed conflict between them” (22). Today it is obvious that Finland was undoubtedly an active participant in a number of events during the Cold War, albeit its “neutrality”. In addition, one cannot deny Kekkonen’s success to achieve an excellent balance between East and West. Still, the best way for understanding the position of Finland is to look through the fact that the export was the most important component of its economy. That’s why it was necessary to

find a common language with both East and West (compare Eloranta and Ojala 2005; Jensen-Eriksen 2006; Laitinen 1977).⁶

When we focus on the position of Yugoslavia, we have to emphasize that in the discourse of the Cold War, the country's shift from communism as known in the Soviet Union, was already recognized. In this regard, we observe two lines of the Yugoslav *Sonderweg* – socialist self-management and activity within the Non-aligned Movement (for more details: Jakovina 2011b; Marković 1995; Lazić, 2003; Petranović 1988) mutually in strong connection, as some authors consider that “non-alignment” is actually the “other side of the coin” of self-managed socialism.

Therefore, Yugoslavia had two significant conflicts with the Soviet Union. The first refers to the famous Tito–Stalin split in the 1948 known in the discourse as “historical No”. It opens the first line of the Yugoslav differentiation, i.e., establishing self-managed socialism.⁷ After this event “in the fall of 1949 Yugoslavia present conflict with the Soviets at the UN parliament, which meant practically involved in the Cold War on the side of West” (Marković 1995, 20).⁸ Another conflict with the Soviets refers to the period from 1958 to 1962 and recognition of the Democratic Republic of Germany.

As expected, there were also conflicts between Yugoslavia and the United States. For example, on the occasion of the negative attitude of Yugoslavia about US military policy and colonialism (Krstić 2011). Disagreement with the policy of the United States is the most obvious in ideology of the NAM. Yugoslavia passed postulates that she advocated as a member of the NAM and transferred to all levels of its policies. Hidajet Bišćević notices that: „In that period, non-alignment was the most commonly been understood, even promoted to incredible proportions, as the outer layer of internal Yugoslav idea, as it has been created for Tito's achieving of balance of different and disparate national interests...“ (Bišćević 2011, 11). Shortly after the first Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade in 1961, Yugoslavia began

6 The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was established in 1959, and with them Finland even closer ties with its most important export market, Great Britain (Laitinen, 1977, 145). Already in 1961, a free-trade field FINNEFTA was created and USSR necessarily have to reduce the price of customs according to members of EFTA (146). Although Finland is primarily engaged in exports to Western markets, during the Cold War, she extensively exported also in the Soviet Union. At the same time, during the 1950s and 1960s, although a small country, Finland has been the most important trade partner of the USSR (Jensen-Eriksen, 2006, 2). In 1953 Finnish exports to the USSR represented 47.7% of the total Western European exports in a given country, and ten years later was over 24% (2–3), but this is the time when conditions have changed significantly. More details about the economic issues of Finland and other East-European countries during the Cold War see: (Eloranta and Ojala 2005).

7 Unfortunately, self-managed socialism remained theoretically insufficient, and in practice, it was quite inconsistent and lost in the numerous elaborations of the party members.

8 The same author notes that “the peak of the Yugoslav approaching the West”, in terms of policy, was “creating of the Balkan Alliance” (Marković 1995, 20).

to “play” a special diplomatic game to connect with the “non-aligned” and “neutral” countries in search for almost “utopian” vision of the so-called association of weak countries against major powers. Ambitious aims and objectives of NAM summarized by its often criticized member, Fidel Castro in a speech on the occasion of Havana Declaration in 1979: “To ensure the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, racism, including Zionism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony as well as against bloc politics.”

Without ambition to reassess or to close the old debate on arguments *pro et contra* Yugoslav inclination towards East or West after the World War II, we will remain on the position that Yugoslavia, until early 1990s, played a double game in relations with the great powers (compare Lazić 2003; Lampe 2000; Marković 1995; Petranović 1988) . The complexity of international relations policy of Yugoslavia reflects in the variable and sometimes contradictory behavior of the party's leaders towards a given problem. The former Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia Josip Vrhovec elaborates the delicate position of Tito's regime after the “historical No!”: “Without the slightest desire and ability to really move towards the West, while going back towards the East was not possible nor a desire.” (Bišćević 2011, 10)

On the other hand, Historian Branko Petranović argues that “Yugoslavia didn't deepened ties with the West due to its communist orientation and loyalty to the Soviet Union, as well as due to incidents with the United States” (Petranović 1988, 139, 163).⁹ Finally, it is more intriguing in the context of the tense fight for its own interests, which Yugoslavia led during the given period, that “maintaining distance from the Soviets during the 1950s and economic stability would be possible only in the case of support of the West” (Lazić 2003, 203). It is even more important to understand that in the final analysis, the West supported the SFRY in order to weaken the Eastern bloc.

After the confrontation with Cominform, Yugoslavia connects with Euro-Atlantic Pact states – France, Britain and the United States (Kula 2012, 43) from which it already in 1951 received significant loans and economic benefits.¹⁰ As expected, with its complex position, SFRY necessarily had to invest in the sector of foreign policy led by Edvard Kardelj (1948–1953), and then his successor Koča Popović. We would like to mention that just that after a conflict with Stalin, in order to establish economic cooperation and presenting a peculiar Yugoslav socialism to the rest of the world, the number of embassies almost doubled in Belgrade, from 53 embassies present in 1948 to 91 in 1958 (44).

⁹ The author recalls a crisis or conflict with the United States about the division of free territory of Trieste between Yugoslavia and Italy (Petranović 1988, 163).

¹⁰ Further details of US assistance to Yugoslavia see: (Jakovina 2002).

Points of encounter between Finland and Yugoslavia during the Cold War process

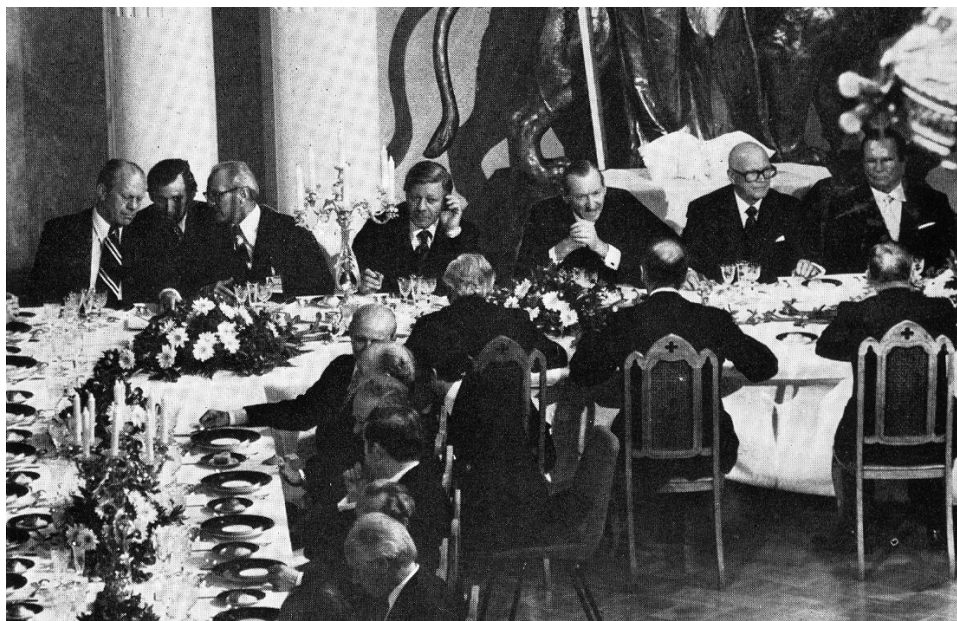
Yugoslavia and Finland were not the member states of the Warsaw Treaty. Both countries strived to become catalysts or mediators of geostrategic changes through promotion of policies of peace. At the same time, they promoted diplomatic resolution of conflicts between the great powers. In 1960ies Yugoslavia led the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), while Finland managed the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in the 1970-ies.¹¹ The history of the Non-Aligned Movement, from its first (1961) until its ninth summit (1989), held in Belgrade, is complementary to the history of the Cold War. In addition, in relation to these two major international political bodies the two countries were in close cooperation. For example, Finland and Yugoslavia have cooperated in all stages of the preparation of CSCE and NAM summits.¹² In addition, the most significant achievements of Finland and Yugoslavia in the context of the Cold War were in the foreign policy area and diplomacy, and their biggest successes were NAM and CSCE.¹³

Although, in a sense, activities of Yugoslavia's NAM shifted its interest towards Africa and Asia, "For his concept of non-alignment, Europe was important to Tito" (Jakovina 2011a). According to Jakovina: "States in Africa and Asia gathered. Later, Cubans insisted that countries of Latin America are represented, and, just as Indonesia and at one time represented the concept of „new forces that are born', to gather only those who experienced colonialism, non-White nations. This was a concept that pushed Yugoslavia out of the Movement, of which Tito was afraid, and to which Yugoslav diplomats constantly opposed. That is why membership of as many European countries, from the Vatican to the neutral European countries, was insisted on. It was necessary to show universal character of the Movement" (Jakovina 2011a). However, one should not forget that Yugoslavia passed the concepts of NAM to its entire policies. Therefore, one of the necessities to keep European countries in NAM, the cooperation between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Finland started. However, it

11 This is an institution which led to OSCE and in the Cold War discourse it is assessed as a problem of bilateral rivalry between the great powers (compare Kullaa 2012, 39).

12 For example, Finland participated as an observer in Cairo, and in Lusaka and Algeria as an invited guest.

13 The journal *Jugoslovenski pregled (Yugoslav Survey)* published in 1966 the results of relations of Yugoslavia and Finland based on the documentation of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade, the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav National Tourist Office. In 1975, the relationships between these countries are reported in the Documents of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs. See the list of references.



Right: Tito and Kekkonen at the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Palace Finlandia in Helsinki

turned out that there were many points of encounter between the two countries. As the most important, we would like to point out that Helsinki process directly lead towards Belgrade follow-up conference and establishment of CSCE. In addition, in-depth understanding of the Cold War is revealed in a special way by monitoring events between conferences in Helsinki in 1973 and Belgrade meetings 1977–1978 (compare Kullaa 2012, 39–58). In addition, Kekkonen started to support the idea of non-alignment after his meeting with Tito in 1963, when Tito explained to him that it was a “it is incorrect to understand the Belgrade Conference in 1961 as an attempt to create a third bloc” (46).

As president of a country at the crossroads of East and West, Urho Kekkonen has easily noticed many similarities of the ideas with the former Yugoslav president Tito, particularly in terms of the so-called non-bloc management policy. They agreed as opponents of nuclear experiments and the arms race, and finally in “policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence” (*Jugoslovenski pregled* December 1966, 483). Both authoritarian leaders and ruler in not only political arena, but also whose personal tastes artists and cultural activists have followed, Tito and Kekkonen are still controversial personalities in the field of research between the East and the West in the given period in history.

During mutual visits, 1963 in Yugoslavia and 1964 in Finland, announced as events of high importance, the two leaders agreed on joint act in the field of

industry in the non-aligned countries. In addition, they signed a number of agreements in the fields of economics, international transport, health and other areas.¹⁴ However, economic relations were not established. We learn from the journal *Jugoslovenski pregled* for the period 1966–1975 that “in spite of very good political relations and mutual interests for development of industrial, technical and scientific cooperation and joint presence on third markets, actual economic cooperation is not carried out accord to abilities and needs of the two countries’ economies, although the significant progress was made.” (*Jugoslovenski pregled* 1975, 127).¹⁵ Nevertheless, the two countries had successfully diplomatic cooperation in the fields of politics and culture for decades.

In 1973, Finland and Yugoslavia finally signed an Agreement on bilateral cooperation in the fields of culture, science and education. In line with that, before the formal agreements, we find in archives and periodicals the data that a non-institutional dialogue started already in 1960 started in the field of culture. Cultural exchange was initiated in the field of literature followed by visual arts, film, music, theater and science. Then, in 1966, the two countries signed their first formal plan for cooperation in areas of culture and science, renewed in 1973. This cooperation was in effect until 1980es.¹⁶

In accordance with the agreed, from the 1960s until mid-1980ies an active cultural exchange was present. One of the first steps in cooperation was the translation of leading literature works. During 1960, Finland translates Ivo Andrić’s (1892–1975) novel: *The Bridge over the Drina*, even before he was awarded by Nobel Prize. The following year, two other novels from Bosnian trilogy that originated in 1945 were translated – *The Women from Sarajevo* (*Gospodića*) and *The Bosnian Chronicle* (*Travnička hronika*). Also in 1963, more popular novels of Yugoslav authors such as *The Red Rooster Flies to Heavenwards* (*Crveni petao leti u nebo*, 1959) by Miodrag Bulatović (1930–1991) and war novel *Far away is the Sun* (*Daleko je sunce*, 1951) by Dobrica Ćosić (1921). As after the WWII a number of works of

14 For example, an Agreement on the exchange of goods and payment from 1962 and the Agreement on the mutual abolition of visas was signed on 6 May in 1964. A regular flight from Helsinki to Dubrovnik was established too.

15 Since the 1960ies Yugoslavia’s trade with Finland was in constant deficit as a result of major purchases of paper and cardboard from Finland, particularly strong in 1963 in time of large acquisitions of prefabricated houses for reconstruction of Skopje (*Jugoslovenski pregled* 1966, 483)

16 Due to the limited space here, it is not possible to more closely tackle the structure of Belgrade’s Archives of Yugoslavia and documentary departments of Radio Belgrade consulted for this study and in relation to the cooperation of Yugoslavia and Finland. See: Fund 534 Federal Commissions for Cooperation (1953–1978); Fund 559, the Federal Commission for Cultural Co-operation (1953–1971), Radio Belgrade, Documentation Department of Radio Belgrade, Yugoslavia and Finland Fund.

Finnish writers were translated, they were reissued in light of intensified cooperation between the two countries. We will mention the following novels: *The People in the Summer Night* (*Ihmiset suviyössä*, 1934) by Frans Eemil Sillanpää (1888–1964), winner of the Nobel Prize in 1939, *The Unknown Soldier* (*Tuntematon sotilas*, 1954) by Vaino Linna (1920–1992), *The Adventurer* (*Mikael Karvajalka*, 1948), *The Wanderer* (*Mikael Hakim*, 1949) and *The Etruscan* (*Turms kuolematon*, 1955) by Mika Waltari (1908–1978) *Seven brothers* (*Seitsemän veljestä*, 1870) by Aleksis Kiwi (1834–1872) and documentary novel *Raft of Despair* (1954) by Ensi Tiira (1929–1981).

Among the most common guests in Yugoslavia were painters, graphic designers and architects from Helsinki, Tampere, Jahta and Kuopio. Guests in Finland from Yugoslavia were numerous musicians, writers and directors. The First guest-musicians in Finland from the former Yugoslavia were opera singer, bass Miroslav Čangalović (1921–1999), internationally recognized for his performance of Russian music, and Živojin Zdravković (1914–2001), conductor of the Belgrade Philharmonic Orchestra. In 1963, the most prominent Croatian chamber string orchestra “Zagreb Soloists” with its conductor and founder Antonio Janigro (1918–1989) performed in Helsinki. Besides the abovementioned, as a result of cultural cooperation, a Zagreb quartet, distinguished chamber contemporary music ensemble, members of the Belgrade and Zagreb Opera were also gave a concert in Finnish capital. During the 1980ies Serbian violinist Maja Jokanović (1953) performed the most prominent Finnish composer Jan Sibelius’ (Jean Sibelius, 1865–1957) *Violin Concerto* at the Sibelius Music Academy in Helsinki.

We will point out significant performances of Finnish classical musicians in Belgrade. Cellist Arto Noras (1942), one of the most distinguished classical musicians from Finland performed a number of times in Belgrade. In 1979, he was playing at Belgrade Kolarac Great Hall with our prominent pianist and pedagogue, now 101-year old, Andreja Preger (1912). At the same time, in line with the idea of cultural exchange, pianist Lisa Pahjola (Liisa Pahjola, 1936) played in 1966 in Belgrade Kolarac Hall music of Finnish composers. Also, Belgrade guest were famous Finnish opera singer bass Kim Borg (1919–2000) and conductor Paavo Rautio. At the same time, Jubilee largest Finnish composer Jan Sibelius marked by a series of events in Yugoslavia 1965 year.

In addition to literature and classical music, Finish cultural workers showed interest for Yugoslav film,



President Kekkonen and president Tito with their wives, 1965

especially for so-called “Black wave“ in Yugoslav author cinematography. Films *Happy Gypsies* (1967) by Aleksandar Petrović (1929–1994) and *Love Affair or the Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator* (1967) by Dušan Makavejev (1932), in addition to the prestigious Academy Awards nominations, received prizes for film from the Republic of Finland.

After all, we will conclude our view on cooperation between the two countries by pointing out the most significant field of mutual collaboration. The cooperation in the fields of visual and applied arts, architecture, painting, sculpture, design, was quite successful from Finland to Yugoslavia. Finnish visual artists’ exhibitions have marked the whole period of our interest, and at the same time they were a continuation of building of ties in foreign policy and diplomacy sector, and in literature and music throughout the 1960s. Consequently, in the next decades they will represent the core of cultural cooperation between the two countries.

In conclusion, the efforts of diplomats of the Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the SFRJ Ministry of Education and the Department for international relations of the Education Ministry of Finland, led to successfully implemented cultural exchange in the fields of classical music, literature and visual arts. Looking at the current offers of musical events, cooperation with Finland in the classical music field is maintained. However, during the period covered by this work, based on periodicals, we can conclude that Finnish architecture, applied and than visual arts achievements were especially appreciated in Yugoslavia.

Although we did not have access to detailed reception of performances of Yugoslav artists in Finland, we found out that Yugoslavia, besides its politics, was attractive to Finland for its more liberal position towards the culture and civil liberties during the 1960s. In that times, in line with the undisputable corpus of cultural fragments of the National liberation struggle, embodied in the Yugoslav war saga and other war film genre works, high arts and popular art practices were developed. Not only that rock and roll, jazz, folk music, and other genres were popular, but a Yugoslav “hybrid genre” product – *zabavna muzika* (popular music) emerged, promoted in summer festivals, inspired by popular San Remo music festival.¹⁷ In Yugoslavia, film, music, and especially miscellaneous festivals bloomed. We will point out prominent events such as the International Film Festival in Pula and Dubrovnik Summer Festival which Hollywood movie stars Sophia Loren, Richard Burton, Elizabeth Taylor, Yul Brynner, and a number of prominent directors attended. As of the same year 1961, Zagreb Music Biennale became the new

17 Hybrid genres, illustrated best with Yugoslav *zabavna muzika* are indisputable indicators of pervasion, meetings between East and West in the construction of the Yugoslav cultural identity. Many artists took the opportunity to create under obvious Western influence of chanson, canzone or pop songs, within the genre called *zabavna muzika*, originally considered as a product of Yugoslavia.

European center of modern music. Reputation that Yugoslavia created with having these events was only one of the totalitarian manouvers which Tito regime skillfully used. The other side of this strategy for construction of Yugoslavia`s image in the international community was a rapid development of popular culture influenced by western culture, which reflects in film, music, fashion and complete cultural consumption. By presenting internal civil liberties to the international community as a success of self-management socialism, in a quite innovative manner, Yugoslavia leadership constructed a practice for its citizens, about their alleged presence in global events, and, more importantly, about them being a part of an internationally recognized state. With this construct, foreign policy moved into domain of everyday life in Yugoslavia. Tito's Yugoslavia was promoted by attractive summer festivals where Tito appeared as the sponsor and the host of world stars.¹⁸ As successful balance between East and West was performed at these festivals, similar was done in the area of international politics.

In line with that, a particularly emphasize on the problem of existence of Finland and the former Yugoslavia, and their points of opens a view to popular culture. The popular culture in the countries we are dealing in this text, was the undisputed representative of their peculiar position in the Cold War interregnum division into blocks. Although during the Cold War period systematic studies of cultural consumption in Yugoslavia and Finland was not assessed, based on a view of cultural institutions and events of high artistic, popular and traditional practices, we can conclude that there was an undoubted cultural diversity. The complexity of consumption in terms of fusion of different cultural forms was present in both countries. However, while some hybrid products appeared in Yugoslavia as a result blends of Western and local elements, Finland fought with indisputable mélange of Soviet and Western models.

Conclusion: Experiences and Challenges of Post-Cold War era for Yugoslavia and Finland

Despite the wish of many researchers of the Cold War period to present the geopolitical picture of the world divided into blocks, based on a kind of a "black and white" model, the political and cultural cooperation often did not literally correspond with global events, and they functioned by the principle of relative autonomy. Political and especially cultural cooperation did not disregard a geopolitical framework, but operated according to local processes, problems and aspirations. This is especially the case in the states located on the borders of influences,

¹⁸ For example, an exhibition on history of Dubrovnik Summer Festival was organized in Helsinki.

meetings, conflicts or cooperation between East and West, that is, with the states of North and South, or the small countries in Europe.

Therefore, the Nordic state Finland, based on multiparty political system and Yugoslavia based in the Balkans, with single-party communist system were substantially similar in their relation towards the complex geopolitical constellation, in the discourse called the Cold War. This is reflected in their selection of “neutral” position in which they maintain their own integrity in relation with the Soviets, while really searched for economic and cultural integration with Western Europe (Kullaa 2012, 40).¹⁹ This is the basis of their similarity in the process of the Cold War, which reveals problems, anxiety and quests of the both countries, focused towards reaching a better position in the world scene.

The cultural cooperation is not a unilateral, consistent, reciprocal process. Therefore, the most attracted, for Finns, despite their successful cooperation with Yugoslavia in the field of literature, theater, contemporary music and opera, were Tito’s government mechanism of reputation building. At the same time, although the cultural cooperation between Finland and Yugoslavia functioned according to the usual European model that we defined as a contact between nations primarily through the exchange of high art, or more precisely, by sending its members – artists, performers, actors, the consequences were not reciprocated. Unlike the aforementioned American vision of cultural policy, so-called *soft power*, cultural cooperation between the European countries was primarily focused on a limited target group – the intellectuals. In this case, mainly intellectuals interested in architecture, applied art, painting, sculpture and literature of Finland had benefit from cultural cooperation between the mentioned countries. It seems that Finland was more interested in general cultural policy of Yugoslavia and its leader, whose approach was different from the Soviet. In addition to a number of interesting and unexpected details that we addressed in the study of relations between Finland and Yugoslavia during the Cold War, from today’s post-Cold War perspective, the view through the “pericentric lenses” gives quite devastating results from the aspect of a researcher from one of the successor-state of the former Yugoslavia. On the one hand, we have dramatically negative consequences of enormous growth of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia since the end of the Cold War period, and a collapse of the mentioned federation. On

19 Based on insight into a number of common views on policy between the two countries, it is not surprising that the United Kingdom and the United States had similar way of relating towards Finland and Yugoslavia. “The British and American governments, and later CoCOM, during 1949 to 1950 reached a decision to consider Yugoslavia, which has recently broken off with the Soviet bloc and Finland, special cases. As such, none of them will be completely free of restrictions in the field of export, but they will have a different treatment than the Soviet bloc countries” (Jensen-Eriksen, 2006, 4).

the other, there is Finland, consistently persistent in its peacemaking mission. Events, processes, phenomena that accompanied the rise of nationalism alienated the successor states of Yugoslavia, the former great pacifist forces, which advocated peaceful coexistence, an opponent of nuclear testing and the division of the world into blocks, toward diametrically opposite position than Yugoslavia had during the Cold War. An greater disappointment for those who are interested in the current position of the former SFRY states and provinces, is an understanding that even with successful foreign policy accomplishments cannot neutralize permanently unfavorable economic conditions, founded by decades of foreign loans, and insufficient attention to the development of economy and related fields (see: Lampe 2000). For future research we will have unresolved or rhetorical questions about potential of the vision of “peaceful coexistence” and the policy of neutrality in Europe in the future. Maybe we would also focus on a search of the specific consequences of the policy of peacemaking countries such as Finland, to their citizens’ freedoms, compared to citizens’ freedom in other European countries. Exploring of relationship between Finland and the successor states of the former Yugoslavia since the 1990s, in the post-Cold War period, would surely open up many interesting questions, and perhaps lead to some answers about the geopolitical consequences of the constellation called the Cold War, at current context.

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