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# **SERBIAN-ITALIAN RELATIONS: History and Modern Times**

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Miljan MILKIĆ

## DIPLOMACY THROUGH CULTURE: YUGOSLAV CULTURAL INFLUENCE IN ITALY 1947–1954\*

**Abstract:** This article analyses Yugoslav cultural policy towards Italy in the period since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1947 until solving of the Trieste crisis in 1954. This period is characterised by a political crisis between Yugoslavia and Italy. One of the ways in which the Yugoslav government was trying to achieve its foreign policy goals in this period was the popularisation of Yugoslav culture in Italy. The article is written on the basis of unpublished documents from the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, Archives of Yugoslavia in Belgrade, published documents from the Archive of Yugoslavia and the relevant literature in Serbian, Slovenian, English and Italian languages.

**Keywords:** Yugoslavia, Italy, propaganda, cultural policy, Trieste crisis.

During the first decade after World War II, Yugoslav-Italian relations evolved in complex international circumstances and were burdened with many unresolved issues. Signing of the Treaty of Peace with Italy on 10 February 1947 formally regulated the basis for the restoration of political, economic and cultural relations, but, in fact, the implementation of provisions of the Treaty of Peace represented a major obstacle for the development of bilateral cooperation.<sup>1</sup> The border line in the area of Friuli-Venezia Giulia and the territorial status of Trieste were the most difficult problem in Yugoslav-Italian relations.<sup>2</sup> The two governments were expressing their

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<sup>1</sup> Владимир Дедијер, *Париска конференција*, Библиотека „Тридесет дана“, Београд 1947. Edvard Kardelj, *Sećanja. Borba za priznanje i nezavisnost nove Jugoslavije 1944–1957*, NIRO Radnička štampa, Državna založba Slovenije, Beograd, Ljubljana 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Janko Jeri, *Tržaško vprašanje po Drugi svetovni vojni, (tri faze diplomatskega boja)*, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana 1961. Jean-Baptiste Duroselle, *Le conflit de Trieste 1943–1954*. Editions de l'Institut de sociologie de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, Bruxelles 1966. Bogdan C. Novak, *Trieste*

territorial claims on the Free Territory of Trieste and trying by their diplomatic moves to influence the great powers to adopt such a solution.<sup>3</sup> A very negative campaign and propaganda were present in the public opinion of both countries.<sup>4</sup>

Yugoslav cultural policy after World War II glorified the National Liberation Struggle and a new communist government in order to transform the society through culture.<sup>5</sup> In the period from 1945 to 1952 a special organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia named the Propaganda and Agitation Department (Agitprop<sup>6</sup>) made decisions regarding Yugoslav cultural policy.<sup>7</sup> The Federal Ministry of Culture often changed its name.<sup>8</sup> First, there was the Commission for Education (Povereništvo za prosvetu) from November 1943 to 7 March 1945, when the Ministry of Education was founded. Instead of the Ministry of Education, the Committee for Culture and Arts was formed on 8 February 1946. The Ministry of Science and Culture was established in December 1948, and the Council for Science and Culture on 24 May 1950. One of the tasks of federal agencies for education and culture was also to establish and maintain contacts with relevant national authorities, scientific, educational institutions, art associations abroad and foreign scientists and artists. During the first years after World War II, Yugoslav culture was influenced by Soviet culture and international cultural cooperation was the most intensive with the Soviet Union and other communist countries. After the ideological conflict with the Soviet Union in 1948, Yugoslavia gradually left its former foreign policy orientation and

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1941–1954, *the Ethnic, Political and Ideological Struggle*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London 1970. Miljan Milkić, *Tršćanska kriza u vojno-političkim odnosima Jugoslavije sa velikim silama 1943–1947*, INIS, Beograd 2012. Миљан Милкић, *Југославија, Велике силе и питање статуса Јулијске крајине 1943–1945*, Ослобођење Београда 1944. године, (уредник: Александар Животић), ИНИС, Београд 2010, 282–296. Miljan Milkić, *Jugoslovensko-italijanski odnosi i stvaranje Balkanskog pakta 1953. godine*, Spoljna politika Jugoslavije 1950–1961, Institut za noviju istorije Srbije, Beograd 2008, 602–616.

<sup>3</sup> Darko Bekić, *Jugoslavija u hladnom ratu (Odnosi s velikim silama 1948–1955)*, Globus, Zagreb 1988. Massimo De Leonardis, *La “diplomazia atlantica” e la soluzione del problema di Trieste (1952–1954)*, Edizione Scientifiche Italiane, Napoli 1992. Dragan Bogetić, *Jugoslavija i Zapad 1952–1955, Jugoslovensko približavanje NATO-u*, Službeni list SRJ, Beograd 2000. Jože Pirjevec, *“Trst je naš!” Boj Slovencev za morje (1848–1954)*, Nova revija, Ljubljana 2008. Nevenka Troha, *Chi avrà Trieste? Sloveni e italiani tra due Stati*, Istituto regionale per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli Venezia Giulia, Trieste 2009. Miljan Milkić, *Yugoslavia and Italy, 1945–1947: Yugoslav Policies and Strategies in the Trieste Crisis*, Italy's Balkan Strategies (19th–20th Century), (Edited by Vojislav G. Pavlović), Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade 2014, 267–279.

<sup>4</sup> Paolo Emilio Taviani, *I giorni di Trieste. Diario 1953–1954*, il Mulino, Bologna 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Бранка Докњић, Милић Ф. Петровић, Иван Хофман (уредници), *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*, Зборник докумената, књига 1, Архив Југославије, Београд 2009, 8. (hereinafter: *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*, 1).

<sup>6</sup> Agitprop is a portmanteau derived from the words “agitation” and “propaganda”.

<sup>7</sup> Ljubodrag Dimić, *Agitprop kultura. Agitpropovska faza kulturne politike u Srbiji 1945–1952*, Beograd 1988.

<sup>8</sup> *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*, 1, 11.

rotated towards Western countries. On 30 January 1950 a counselling was held in Belgrade about the propaganda on cultural and artistic fields abroad, and it was noted that the presentation of Yugoslav culture in the world was very important for the promotion of Yugoslavia.<sup>9</sup> In March 1950, for the first time since the inaugural session in 1945, the Yugoslav delegation participated in regular activities of UNESCO.<sup>10</sup> The part of the government budget allocated to culture was increased from 2.6% to 4% in 1952, and the biggest part was spent on visits abroad.<sup>11</sup> The year 1950 was a turning point in increasing Yugoslav cultural cooperation with Western countries, even though the Communist Party of Yugoslavia at the Sixth Congress in 1952 formally and finally renounced the idea of socialist realism and decided to introduce liberalism in culture.<sup>12</sup> By 1953 around 300 Yugoslav cultural institutions established cooperation with 650 relevant institutions in Western countries.<sup>13</sup>

Italian cultural policy was essentially different from Yugoslav. After World War II, state regulations regarding the field of culture followed the Western European democratic trends. The Italian Constitution of 1947 specifically provided for the protection of cultural heritage (Article 9), freedom of thought and artistic expression (Article 21) and the promotion of cultural development (Article 33).<sup>14</sup> Unlike Yugoslavia, in Italy mass support to culture was not a priority and the arts were reserved for a small number of people, while the means of mass communication – film and television were widely developed. Italy was recognised as a country of film, different media, fashion, poetry and drama.<sup>15</sup>

Strict centralism on which Yugoslavia based its cultural policy also included special planning of international cultural cooperation. Cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy was rebuilt after the establishment of diplomatic relations and followed political and economic relations. It was not possible to establish direct cooperation between Yugoslav and Italian organisations, so cultural exchange took place via the Yugoslav Legation<sup>16</sup> in Rome and the Yugoslav press attaché who was in charge of propaganda activity.<sup>17</sup> The mechanism of decision-making in relation to cultural cooperation with Italy was such that the first press attaché contacted the

<sup>9</sup> Мирослав Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура – Југославија преломна 1950*, Институт за новију историју Србије, Народна библиотека Србије, Београд 2013, 33. (hereinafter: М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*).

<sup>10</sup> *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*, 1, 31.

<sup>11</sup> *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*, 1, 39.

<sup>12</sup> *Културна политика Југославије 1945–1952*, 1, 8.

<sup>13</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 43.

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/italy.php> (2 August 2014).

<sup>15</sup> Zygmunt G. Baranski, Rebecca J. West (Eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Italian Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

<sup>16</sup> *The Yugoslav diplomatic representative office in Rome was raised to the level of Embassy on 4 December 1954*, *Službeni list FNRJ* 48 (1954) 676.

<sup>17</sup> Миљан Милкић, *Југословенско посланство у Риму 1947–1951*, Југословенска дипломатија 1945–1961, (уредник: Слободан Селинић), ИНИС, Београд 2012, 115–134.

Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and information was then forwarded to the Directorate for Information. The final decision regarding concrete cooperation was made by the Ministry of Science and Culture.

### ***Propaganda activities of the Yugoslav Legation in Rome***

When we talk about Yugoslav cultural influence in Italy in the period since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1947 till solving of the Trieste crisis in 1954, we refer primarily to a culture that had a propaganda goal. The Yugoslav Legation in Rome performed propaganda activities through informative newsletters that were published three times a month, then through the purchase of various books and magazines, and translations of Yugoslav communist publications.<sup>18</sup> According to data of the Yugoslav Legation in Rome from August 1947 the production of newsletters, publications, translations and a promotional window for a period of three months cost 750,000 lire (\$ 1,250).<sup>19</sup> In March 1948 the Legation translated the article by Svetozar Vukmanović Tempo "Six Years of the Yugoslav Army" ("Šest godina Jugoslovenske armije") and worked on the translation of the book written by Josip Broz Tito.<sup>20</sup> The organisation of artistic and cultural programmes among workers in industrial centres was very important. In September 1947, the Legation bought the movie tone sound system for the projections of films during meetings at the Legation "and film projections in consultation with various Italian democratic organisations".<sup>21</sup> The Yugoslav government gave substantial funds for propaganda and financing of "certain associates", as well as the so-called "democratic and progressive circles" in Italy. Artists were most often engaged from these circles and advice was received with a view to enhancing propaganda effects of Yugoslav cultural events in Italy.<sup>22</sup> The Yugoslav Legation in Rome secretly financed the activities of Francesco Ferrareto who was a member of the "Italian Youth Association for cultural relations with Yugoslavia".<sup>23</sup>

In January 1948 the Yugoslav Legation hired the "democratic institution" "Libertas Film" which was in "hands of the Italian Communist Party" and which should have processed, translated and released the Yugoslav art movie "This Nation Will Live" („Živeće ovaj narod") in cinemas in Italy.<sup>24</sup> Due to the lack of funds, on 12 March 1948 the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stanoje Simić, informed the Legation

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<sup>18</sup> Diplomatic Archive, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Serbia, Political archive, 1947, box 49, No. 415625. (hereinafter: DA, MFA, RS, PA).

<sup>19</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1947, 49, 415587.

<sup>20</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 64, 46748.

<sup>21</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1947, 66, 418967.

<sup>22</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1947, 66, 418967.

<sup>23</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 48808.

<sup>24</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 64, 44805.



in Rome that the film should be used in its current form and its translation and copying should be stopped.<sup>25</sup> In January 1948, the Yugoslav press attaché participated in organising the “Democratic Front of Culture” in Rome which was supposed to join Italian writers, artists and scientists.<sup>26</sup> The “Democratic Front of Culture” should have been the basis for forming the “Association for Cultural Relations”. In early February 1948, the Yugoslav government approved 100,000 lira per month to fund the “Association Italy-Yugoslavia” in Milan and worked on organising the same association in Rome.<sup>27</sup> At the beginning of April 1948 the “Initiative Committee for Establishment of the Italian Association for Friendship with Yugoslavia” was formed in Rome. At the same time, the “Committee for Promotion of Cultural Relations with Yugoslavia” was active in Milan. In the boards of these associations there were a few Italian writers, politicians from communist and socialist parties (socialists Rodolfo Morandi, Antonio Borgoni, communists Eugenio Reale, Emilio Sereni, Celeste Nergavile, Antonio Gioliti and the writer from Milan Tito Rosa). The Yugoslav Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome Mladen Iveković proposed on 11 April 1948 that the work of the “Italian Association for Friendship with Yugoslavia” should have been organised on a wider base and that the Yugoslav government should finance with 3,000,000 lira the establishment of the organisation and help with 500,000 lira per month the functioning of associations in Milan and Rome.<sup>28</sup> The “Italian Association for Friendship with Yugoslavia” was to be supplied with material, newspapers, books, photographs, films and exhibitions. On 13 May 1948 the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs Simić informed the Legation in Rome that the loans were approved based on the Legation’s proposal and emphasised the necessity of caution and finding of suitable forms for aid payment.<sup>29</sup> He also asked the Legation to prepare detailed data about all people who would be hired to work for the Association.

Owing to the promotion by the “Committee for Promotion of Cultural Relations with Yugoslavia” on 7 April 1948 the exhibition of photographs was shown in Milan, mounted on 30 panels, 2.8 meters wide, titled “Yugoslavia – People’s Democracy Country” („Jugoslavija zemlja narodne demokratije“). The same exhibition was presented on 10 April in Rome, promoted by the “Initiative Committee for the Establishment of the Italian Association for Friendship with Yugoslavia”. The Yugoslav government financed the organisation of these two exhibitions with 500,000 liras.<sup>30</sup> At the exhibition in Rome, a bomb was thrown, and Italian authorities did not reveal the perpetrator.<sup>31</sup> In order to learn about the life of “the Italian masses”, the Yugoslav Envoy in Rome Mladen Iveković and the press attaché Josip Defrančeski visited Florence, Milan, Turin, Genoa and Livorno from 12 to 18 May 1948. Defrančeski stated

<sup>25</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 64, 46676.

<sup>26</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 43881.

<sup>27</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1947, 63, 43627.

<sup>28</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 410101.

<sup>29</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 412551.

<sup>30</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 64, 41582.

<sup>31</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 65, 411780.

that he set a task to get in touch with people who would help and support the Yugoslav Legation's efforts regarding the affirmation of Yugoslavia among "the Italian masses".<sup>32</sup> After the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties on 28 June 1948 and an ideological conflict with the Soviet Union, the Yugoslav government was no longer able to count on the support of Italian communists and "Italian masses".<sup>33</sup> The cooperation between the Italian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was renewed in the mid-1950s.<sup>34</sup>

At the beginning of 1951 the Yugoslav Legation in Rome financed 34 magazines in Italy.<sup>35</sup> During a meeting with an Italian journalist in Rome on 28 May 1952, the Yugoslav press attaché Fortić was arrested on charges of espionage and detained by the police.<sup>36</sup> At the end of 1953, the Yugoslav Legation cooperated with ten Italian journalists.<sup>37</sup> In the budget proposal of the Yugoslav Legation in Rome in 1951 from total 46,673,000 lira, 22,670,000 lira were earmarked for propaganda.<sup>38</sup> Total budget for 1952 was 2,805,500 lira, of which 1,050,000 lira were planned for propaganda.<sup>39</sup> The advisor at the Yugoslav Legation Fortić suggested on 25 January 1953 that 5,500,000 lira should be approved to the Legation for the purpose of propaganda during 1953.<sup>40</sup> In the second half of 1953, in the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade, the prevailing opinion was that the system of direct propaganda had cost a lot and had not brought about satisfactory results. At the beginning of December 1953, the abandoning of direct propaganda was discussed in a meeting and it was decided to cancel the propaganda magazine "Yugoslavia", which was published by the Legation in Rome.<sup>41</sup>

After solving the political crisis over the status of the city of Trieste and Friuli–Venezia Giulia by signing the Memorandum of Understanding in London on 5 October 1954, relations between Yugoslavia and Italy normalised.<sup>42</sup> On the day of signing the Memorandum of Understanding in London, the Italian and Yugoslav Legations exchanged letters about the work and head offices of Slovenian cultural organisations in Trieste and Italian cultural organisations in the area that was annexed to Yugoslavia. In the cultural sphere, this meant an increase in cultural exchange, but also the continuation of Yugoslav propaganda activities in Italy according to new circumstances

<sup>32</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 414781.

<sup>33</sup> Saša Mišić, *Yugoslav Communists and the Communist Party of Italy 1945–1956*, Italy's Balkan Strategies (19th – 20th Century), (Edited by Vojislav G. Pavlović), Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences And Arts, Belgrade 2014, 281–291.

<sup>34</sup> Saša Mišić, *Obnavljanje odnosa između Saveza komunista Jugoslavije i Komunističke partije Italije 1955–1956. godine*, Tokovi istorije 2 (2013) 121–145.

<sup>35</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 36, 420024.

<sup>36</sup> Archives of Yugoslavia, box 836 (KMJ), I-3-b/350.

<sup>37</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1954, 36, 4347.

<sup>38</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 36, 420024.

<sup>39</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 414987.

<sup>40</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 415429.

<sup>41</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1954, 36, 4347.

<sup>42</sup> J. Jeri, *Tržaško vprašanje po Drugi svetovni vojni, (tri faze diplomatskega boja)*, 290–302.

and goals. In a meeting at the Yugoslav Legation in Rome on 9 October 1954, Bora Stojadinović, a press attaché in the Consulate General in Milan and Luka Soldić, a press attaché at the Legation in Rome discussed their experiences and perspectives in propaganda activities.<sup>43</sup> They concluded that Yugoslav-Italian relations had good contours. Italian culture magazines became more open to authors from Yugoslavia, and again the idea of forming Yugoslav-Italian cultural societies became popular. Noting that Italy in the last few years was almost an untouched area for Yugoslav propaganda, Stojadinović and Soldić analysed activities in the field of culture only in the context of Yugoslav propaganda activities. They thought that the sector of cultural propaganda would provide easier opportunities for further activities. They also thought that with creating a new positive climate it would be possible to open a Yugoslav radio station, increase the number of translated Yugoslav books in Italian, and improve cooperation among writers, painters, musicians, actors and filmmakers. What was new comparing to previous practice was that Stojadinović and Soldić's proposal sent to the Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affairs advocated direct contact of Yugoslav cultural organisations with similar organisations in Italy.

### ***Performance of Yugoslav artists in Italy***

The institutionalisation and politicisation of cultural cooperation was apparent in Italy. A characteristic example is the Venice Biennale in 1948. In late 1947 individual Yugoslav artists began to receive invitations to participate in a music festival in Venice, and the Yugoslav government demanded that the Legation in Rome investigate the character of the festival, the organisers and enquired about the Legation's opinion of Yugoslavia's participation in the festival.<sup>44</sup> The press attaché informed the Information Department on 25 February 1948 that "he contacted friends of Yugoslavia in Italy" and that he found out that the music festival was organised as the initiative of the Municipality of Venice as part of other festivals.<sup>45</sup> The attaché thought that Yugoslav artists should participate in the festival because the communist Giovanni Battista Gianquinto was Mayor of the Venice Municipality and because of the "democratic character" of the festival. Yugoslav artists were invited as a part of the Venice Biennale in 1948 to participate in the exhibition of cinema and arts. The Yugoslav attaché stated that there were two important facts regarding Yugoslav participation in the art exhibition: 1) the best works in the world of art would be presented at the festival and 2) the Soviet attaché also asked his Ministry to send an exhibition.<sup>46</sup> Italians did their best to ensure that Yugoslav artists would have a

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<sup>43</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1954, 36, 413639.

<sup>44</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 426295.

<sup>45</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 45537.

<sup>46</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 46732.

successful presentation at the Biennale. During preparations for the art exhibition, the Italian government allowed free import of all work and materials that would be presented.<sup>47</sup> Besides that, the Italian government offered, at its expense, to restore the Yugoslav Pavilion, whereas the Yugoslav government was to finance the painting of the Pavilion.<sup>48</sup> Hence, the Yugoslav Legation in Rome suggested to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that restoration works on the Yugoslav Pavilion should be performed by a group of “democratic artists” from Milan, which was recommended by “Yugoslav Friends”.<sup>49</sup> On 21 April 1948 the Yugoslav government accepted an invitation to participate in all festivals, and in cooperation with the Italian government began preparations to repair and restore the Yugoslav Pavilion in Venice.<sup>50</sup> However, at the end of March 1948, the Yugoslav press attaché forwarded information that the Soviet government decided not to participate in festivals in Venice and as one of the reasons stated the members of the jury, who, in the opinion of the Soviet representative in Rome, were “totally influenced by Italians, and via them by Americans”.<sup>51</sup> In a telegram of 14 April, sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Yugoslav envoy Iveković repeated the Soviet reasons, and stated that Yugoslavia should participate “because its intentions are different”.<sup>52</sup> The Yugoslav Foreign Affairs Minister Simić informed on 4 May 1948 the Legation in Rome that Yugoslavia would not participate in the 14th International Exhibition of Fine Arts in Venice.<sup>53</sup> The official explanation was that Yugoslav representatives were prevented from participating due to technical reasons.

Cooperation with the Biennale continued in the following years. The opening of the Biennale on 8 June 1950 was attended by the Yugoslav envoy Iveković and cultural adviser Lapčević. In a detailed report sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Yugoslav envoy pointed out that the Biennale represented in the West a very important event in terms of art.<sup>54</sup> It is characteristic that the envoy Iveković criticised the Yugoslav exhibition and believed that it was presented in a partisan and Soviet manner. The opening of the Biennale in 1952 was attended by the new Yugoslav envoy in Rome, Vladimir Velebit, who in his report stated that the exhibition exposed works of “a few” Yugoslav sculptors and painters.<sup>55</sup>

Yugoslav culture was present in Italy through music, films, theatres, Slavic seminars, paintings and translations of literary works. Yugoslav artists at the beginning of September 1947 were invited to participate in a music festival in Perugia.<sup>56</sup> Due to previous commitments, the Department of Cultural Affairs within the Committee of

<sup>47</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 410245.

<sup>48</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 45609.

<sup>49</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 45609.

<sup>50</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 47141.

<sup>51</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 48011.

<sup>52</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 410131.

<sup>53</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 411927.

<sup>54</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 412462.

<sup>55</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 48358.

<sup>56</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1947, 49, 418062.

Culture and Arts rejected the invitation that was sent to Yugoslav pianists to participate in the First International Piano Competition in Genoa from 24 to 30 May 1948.<sup>57</sup> At the beginning of March 1950 the Opera House in Rome accepted a visit of the National Theatre in Belgrade with the ballet “The Legend of Ohrid”.<sup>58</sup> In the same month, the opera singers from the Belgrade National Theatre Nikola Cvejić and Aleksandar Marinković were guests in Milan.<sup>59</sup> On 24 March 1950 the Secretary at the Yugoslav Legation Čedomil Veljačić agreed upon cooperation with the representative of the “International Agency for Concerts in Rome”.<sup>60</sup> As an example of successful presentation of Yugoslav music artists in Italy was a performance of Zinka and Božidar Kunc, Aleksandar Marinković and Nikola Cvejić on 24 March 1950 in Milan in front of about 600 spectators.<sup>61</sup> The report of the Yugoslav Consul in Milan stated that the success of the concert was great and it was aimed “to break the ice” regarding public opinion in Milan towards Yugoslav art. In July 1952 the composer Ilija Lakešić was in Rome for specialisation purposes as a scholar of the Ministry of Science and Culture of the People’s Republic of Montenegro.<sup>62</sup> The Italian Legation in Belgrade informed the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 29 December 1952 that the “Italian Institution for Young Musicians” (“Istituzione Giovani Musicisti Italiani”) opened a department for foreigners at the College of Music in Rome.<sup>63</sup> During 1953, the Yugoslav Legation achieved successful cooperation with the College and the Music Academy “Santa Cecilia”.<sup>64</sup> Poor cooperation with the Italian radio RAI culminated on the Republic Day in 1952 when a representative of the Yugoslav Legation was informed that there was no place for Yugoslav music on the Italian radio.<sup>65</sup> The Italian police prevented the performance of the Yugoslav Folk Dance Ensemble on 7 and 8 January 1953 in Genoa with the explanation that the Ensemble did not have a working permit.<sup>66</sup> Tickets for the performance of the Ensemble were released for sale on 6 January, but the police prevented the performance three hours before the concert. The Yugoslav Ensemble had a scheduled performance in Turin as well, but it was forced to leave Italy. After a diplomatic note which the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent to the Italian Legation in Belgrade, they received the answer that the Ensemble had to obtain a permit before performing in Genoa.<sup>67</sup>

Two Yugoslav films about World War II – “The Youth Constructs” (“Mladina gradi”) and “Coal Miners of Idria” (“Rudari Idrije”) were forbidden to be shown at the “International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art” in Venice in September 1947 with

<sup>57</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 48806.

<sup>58</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 45040.

<sup>59</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 45051.

<sup>60</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 47155.

<sup>61</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 43987.

<sup>62</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 410246.

<sup>63</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 416759.

<sup>64</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>65</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>66</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>67</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 40, 45828.

the explanation that they spread propaganda about Trieste.<sup>68</sup> The films were shown after the protest of the Yugoslav Legation to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The international jury of the festival praised the films and rewarded them with a certificate and medal.<sup>69</sup> For unsuccessful attempts to obtain a film co-production in 1952, the Yugoslav attaché Fortić blamed in his report the ambiguous attitude of Yugoslav companies, noting that only “Bosna film” accepted negotiations about co-production.<sup>70</sup> From 1951 to 1954, the Yugoslav film industry had a delay in the production of films for the foreign market.<sup>71</sup> The modest achievements in Yugoslav cinematography are indicated by the fact that in 1953 the Yugoslav press attaché planned that “at least one Yugoslav film should be shown in Italy”.<sup>72</sup>

The Yugoslav government was trying to expand Yugoslav cultural influence in Italy through Slavic seminars at universities. The Ministry of Science and Culture sent books that were supposed to help Italian students of Slavic studies to get familiar with Yugoslav literature. Jovan Vukmanović, assistant chief in the Press Department of the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs, submitted to the Committee for Culture and Arts on 10 February 1948 the list of books that the press attaché at the Legation in Rome during his stay in Zagreb chose and ordered for the Slavic seminars at Italian universities.<sup>73</sup> Erih Koš from the Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 21 February 1948 that the selection of books was very bad and it would be best that the Department of Information Technology created a new book list.<sup>74</sup> The Ministry of Science and Culture organised in Sarajevo from 15 July to 15 August 1951 the Summer Course for Slavists, where nine Slavists from Italy were present, besides those from Norway, Denmark, Switzerland, France, England, Holland, Sweden, Germany and Austria.<sup>75</sup> In 1952 the Slavic Seminar in Zagreb was attended by seven students from Italy at the expense of the Yugoslav government, while 15 visitors from Italy had relief during their stay.<sup>76</sup> The Bibliographic Institute of Belgrade in 1953 supplied about 50 Slavic Seminars in 15 countries with Yugoslav books – the most interested were Slavists from Germany, Italy (especially from Milan) and the United States.<sup>77</sup> During 1951 and 1953, negotiations were conducted to set a Serbo-Croatian language and literature teacher at universities of Milan and Florence.<sup>78</sup> Despite the positive attitude of both universities, language and literature teachers were not appointed due to opposition

<sup>68</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1947, 66, 416998.

<sup>69</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1947, 66, 420500.

<sup>70</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>71</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 67.

<sup>72</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>73</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 64, 43361.

<sup>74</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 64, 44915.

<sup>75</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 71.

<sup>76</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 48874.

<sup>77</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 72.

<sup>78</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 73.

from the Italian government.<sup>79</sup> The Yugoslav Legation in Rome had a good cooperation with universities in Rome, Florence and Naples, and in 1952 five Yugoslav students got scholarships at the University of Perugia.<sup>80</sup> Dr. Ivo Frangeš from Zagreb worked as a lecturer in Cultural History, Yugoslav Literature and Language at the Faculty of Political Science and Faculty of Philosophy in Florence in 1954.<sup>81</sup>

The Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs answered affirmatively when the Legation in Rome was informed on 3 May 1948 that the “Italian Encyclopedia” asked for data about some Yugoslav writers.<sup>82</sup> The Yugoslav press attaché attended the opening of an exhibition of children’s literature in Florence from 12 to 15 April 1949.<sup>83</sup> The Envoy Iveković travelled from 8 to 10 May 1951 to the Book Fair in Sardinia, where Yugoslavia had its own stand.<sup>84</sup> In 1950 Italy was a country with the most translated literary works from Yugoslavia.<sup>85</sup> The publishing house “Marzocco” published “Cyan-Blue Seagull Brotherhood” (“Družina sinjeg galeba”) by the Slovene writer Tone Seliškar and the tale by the Serbian writer Laza Lazarević “The First Matins with My Father” (“Prvi put s ocem na jutrenje”), the publishing house “Colombo” published the Anthology of Slovenian Prose and the publishing house “De Carlo” published the novel “County’s Child” (“Opštinsko dete”) by the Serbian writer Branislav Nušić. In 1952 the novel “Return of Philip Latinović” (“Povratak Filipa Latinovića”) by the Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža was translated in Italian. In June 1953 the Slavacist from Milan Alda dall Alba finished the translation of the drama “Messrs. Glembay” by Miroslav Krleža and started the translation of his drama “In agony” (“U agoniji”).<sup>86</sup> Another Slavacist from Milan Prof. Maver di Sara had a good cooperation with the Yugoslav Consulate in this city.<sup>87</sup> In the traditional annual trade fair in Milan, held from 12 to 27 April 1953, together with an exhibition on cultural life of the Italian minority in Yugoslavia, Yugoslav books translated into Italian were presented.<sup>88</sup>

On 3 May 1948 the Italian Legation informed the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the “International Museum of Ceramics” (“Museo Internazionale delle Ceramiche”) in Faenza asked Yugoslavia to send copies of Yugoslav ceramic art that would be exhibited at the permanent exhibition.<sup>89</sup> In 1950, 1952 and 1954 paintings by over 40 artists from Yugoslavia were presented.<sup>90</sup> An exhibition of Slovenian graphics was held in Milan in 1951.<sup>91</sup> In January 1953 six Yugoslav painters

<sup>79</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>80</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>81</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 73.

<sup>82</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 411926.

<sup>83</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1949, 46, 47547.

<sup>84</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1951, 36, 46482.

<sup>85</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 67.

<sup>86</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 40, 47736.

<sup>87</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 40, 47839.

<sup>88</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 40, 4947.

<sup>89</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 514696.

<sup>90</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 84.

<sup>91</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 63.

had exhibitions in Rome (Miloš Bajić, Aleksandar Božičković, Gordan Zuber, Aleksandar Kumrić, Đorđe Popović and Miodrag Protić).<sup>92</sup> The Yugoslav envoy in Rome, Vladimir Velebit thought that the two of them, Božičković and Zuber, did not want to return to Yugoslavia because they were looking for a job in Rome and wanted to travel to the United States.<sup>93</sup> During the conversation which he had in the Yugoslav Council for Culture on 16 July 1952, the Italian cultural attaché said that the Italian government was very interested in the development of cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy.<sup>94</sup> Such attitude of the Italian government refutes the facts stated in the annual report of the Press Department, which on 21 April 1953 the press attaché Fortić sent to the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs.<sup>95</sup> The report stated that the Italian government was directly or indirectly trying to interrupt the cooperation and efforts of popularising Yugoslav culture in Italy. The Italian Directorate General for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries prevented the realisation of every major Yugoslav cultural event during 1952. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanded that the Yugoslav Legation should request permission to organise any cultural event. Italian authorities indirectly prevented the exhibition of Yugoslav folk art in Venice, Yugoslavia did not get an invitation to the International Conference on Cultural Cooperation of the Mediterranean Countries, and the already agreed concert of the Yugoslav violinist Ozim was prevented.<sup>96</sup> During 1953 the Yugoslav Legation had good cooperation with the Italian Commission for UNESCO and with a few Italian film production companies.<sup>97</sup> With the Department of Theatre and Events of the Presidency of the Italian government it was agreed to exchange actors and to include the play "Leda" by Miroslav Krleža in the repertoire of a theatre. The conclusion of the Yugoslav Legation in Rome from November 1953 was that cultural exchange and cooperation were weak and that something should be done.<sup>98</sup> The specificity of Yugoslav-Italian relations was also visible through the writing manual for the annual report which the Yugoslav Secretariat of Foreign Affairs submitted to the Legation in Rome on 4 December 1953.<sup>99</sup> In addition to various issues that had to be written in the report, the manual stated the thesis of "not accepting the offer, bullying and difficulties in cultural and artistic activities".

### ***Performances of Italian artists in Yugoslavia***

Centralism in the management of cultural policy and political affiliation were present during the organisation of Italian artists' performances. The Yugoslav

<sup>92</sup> М. Перишић, *Дипломатија и култура*, 87.

<sup>93</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 40, 4778.

<sup>94</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1952, 39, 410592.

<sup>95</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>96</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>97</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 45515.

<sup>98</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 416350.

<sup>99</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1953, 39, 416289.



government was making an annual plan about the number of foreign artists who could perform in Yugoslavia. At the end of 1947, the Ministry of Culture refused several proposals for the performances of Italian artists.<sup>100</sup> The President of the Italian “Society for Theatre Play Exchange” (“Ente italiano per gli scambi teatrali”) tried in February 1948 to connect to institutions in Yugoslavia via the Yugoslav Legation in order to exchange performing arts, literature and concerts.<sup>101</sup> The Assistant Secretary of the Department of Information at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jovan Vukmanović was informed about this proposal and then he informed the Committee for Culture and Arts of the Yugoslav government.<sup>102</sup> On 30 April 1948 the Committee for Culture asked from the Legation in Rome to deliver data about the owner of the “Society for Theatre Play Exchange” and to investigate if it would be possible to cooperate with that Society.<sup>103</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed on 5 April 1948 the Italian Legation in Belgrade that the Committee for Culture and Arts could not accept the offered performance of the Italian pianist Alfred They due to a busy schedule.<sup>104</sup> Also, a characteristic example is the participation of three delegations of cultural workers leftists from Rome and Milan at the “Festival of cultural life of the Italian minority in Yugoslavia”, which began on 18 March 1948 in Rovinj. The approval for the arrival of the delegation was given by Milovan Đilas, who was the head of the Yugoslav party department responsible for the control of cultural activities (Agitprop).<sup>105</sup> The head of the delegation which had eight members (an ethnologist, three writers, a painter, psychiatrist, legal writer, director and theatre critic) was the writer Francesco Jovine.<sup>106</sup> Members of the delegation had a meeting with Josip Broz Tito. The festival character in Rovinj is testified by the fact that the Italian envoy in Belgrade rejected the invitation to participate in the festival.<sup>107</sup> According to instructions of 29 March 1948 that Minister Simić sent to the Legation in Rome, the arrival of the delegation was used in Italy for propaganda purposes.<sup>108</sup> On 11 April 1948 Jovine published articles about Yugoslavia in newspapers *Repubblica* from Rome and *La Voce* from Naples. Also, in Rome, Jovine had a lecture entitled “Intellectuals in an advanced democracy” (“Intellettuali nella democrazia progressiva”), which according to information from the Yugoslav Legation in Rome, was attended by over 1,000 people of various professions.<sup>109</sup> The press attaché of the Yugoslav Legation in Rome thought that the delegation was satisfied with the journey and that all members would personally

<sup>100</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 49037.

<sup>101</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 43811.

<sup>102</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 43811.

<sup>103</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 412173.

<sup>104</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 45338.

<sup>105</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 45465. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Aleš Bebler informed Iveković on 28 February 1948 that Đilas agreed with the arrival of a group of cultural workers.

<sup>106</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 46897.

<sup>107</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 65, 49464.

<sup>108</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 48279.

<sup>109</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 410100.

make an effort to form a “Friendship Society with Yugoslavia”.<sup>110</sup> In mid-March 1948 a group of 24 metalworkers from Torino were in Yugoslavia as guests of the Yugoslav Trade Unions.<sup>111</sup> Participation of students from Milan in the Belgrade university student’s festival in April 1950 was marked by the lack of organisation from the Yugoslav side. The University Committee in Belgrade decided that it could accommodate only ten students. Branko Karađole, the Consulate General of Yugoslavia in Milan, protested against this decision on 7 April.<sup>112</sup> He informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that in Milan they organised a group of 35 Italian students from various universities and “because of the political moment they should be all unconditionally accepted”. After a group of 38 students finally arrived at the festival, there was another oversight – the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG did not announce their arrival. On 18 April the Envoy Iveković expressed his astonishment about this oversight in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and suggested that it would be good to use this visit as a propaganda advantage especially because at that time there was a strong anti-Yugoslav campaign in Italy.<sup>113</sup> In April 1950 Branko Karađole made successful contacts with representatives of the University in Milan and planned their visit to universities in Yugoslavia.<sup>114</sup> In September 1950 Karađole organised a trip to Yugoslavia for nine cultural workers from Milan.<sup>115</sup> In June 1948, the Committee for Culture and Arts asked the Legation in Rome to find two teachers for solo singing who would go to work in Yugoslavia.<sup>116</sup> In addition to teachers’ expertise, their political orientation was important, so attaché Defrančeski said for professor Skollari from Florence that he “has skills and politically is not bad”.

Politically the most sensitive issue in the field of cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy was the opening of reading rooms (cultural centres) in Belgrade and Rome. The sensitivity of this issue was reflected in the fact that the reading rooms should have represented diplomatic representations of the Italian government in Belgrade and the Yugoslav government in Rome. Although mutual discussions were led from 1950, the opening of cultural centres did not occur in the period that is the subject of our research.

### ***Conclusion***

In the period since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1947 and solving of the Trieste crisis in 1954, the Yugoslav government had a foreign policy goal which was achieved through cultural influence in Italy. The promotion of

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<sup>110</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 412844.

<sup>111</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 63, 46731.

<sup>112</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 47363.

<sup>113</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 48330.

<sup>114</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 48754.

<sup>115</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1950, 35, 418234.

<sup>116</sup> DA, MFA, RS, PA, 1948, 66, 417169.

Yugoslav culture in Italy was expected to make an impact on the Italian public opinion and thereby to strengthen diplomatic efforts. When we talk about the effects of Yugoslav cultural influence in Italy, we can conclude that it was accomplished with limited resources. Having in mind the fact that Italian culture in many segments was one of the most developed in Europe, Yugoslav culture had an impact on a relatively small number of Italian citizens. The Yugoslav government had its associates in Italy, but that was limited to individuals and groups of pro-Yugoslav oriented socialists and communists. As most Yugoslav associates were communists and socialists, it was logical to establish the best cooperation with cultural workers from the industrial centres of northern Italy, especially Milan. Yugoslavia financed the activities of Italian cultural institutions that were willing to popularise Yugoslav culture in Italy. After several years the Yugoslav government realised that the effects of direct financing of propaganda were very small. Through the analysis of Yugoslav cultural policy towards Italy we can see the process of de-Stalinisation in Yugoslav society and the official turning of Yugoslavia towards Western political and cultural values. Even though the Yugoslav government tried through its cultural policy and its propaganda activities to impose its cultural values on Italy and primarily to influence the public in Italy to change their political attitude towards Yugoslavia, this process was certainly mutual. The performance of Yugoslav artists in Italy and the performance of Italian artists in Yugoslavia led to a breakthrough of Western culture to Yugoslavia. Mutual cooperation in the field of culture was better from 1950, but with a period of stagnation in the coming years. The limited reach of Yugoslav cultural influence in Italy was negatively affected by the fact that it was impossible to achieve direct cooperation between Yugoslav and Italian cultural institutions. Yugoslav centralism in the management of cultural policy significantly slowed the establishment of cultural relations and mutual exchange of artists. After the resolving of the political crisis in October 1954, the opinion began to prevail among Yugoslav political decision-makers that it was necessary to establish direct contacts between Yugoslav and Italian cultural organisations.

Miljan MILKIĆ

**DIPLOMAZIA ATTRAVERSO LA CULTURA:  
L'INFLUENZA CULTURALE DELLA JUGOSLAVIA IN ITALIA, 1947-1954**

Sommario

Nel primo decennio dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale, le relazioni italo-jugoslave facevano parte di un complesso di circostanze internazionali gravate da molte questioni irrisolte. Il Trattato di Pace del febbraio 1947 definì la base per il ripristino delle relazioni politiche, economiche e culturali, ma l'attuazione delle sue disposizioni rappresentava un grave ostacolo per lo sviluppo delle relazioni bilaterali. La cooperazione culturale tra la Jugoslavia e l'Italia seguì il ripristino delle relazioni politiche ed economiche. Lo scambio culturale avveniva attraverso Lagazione jugoslava a Roma, cioè attraverso il lavoro dell'addetto stampa incaricato delle attività di propaganda. Nel periodo che va dal rinnovo delle relazioni diplomatiche nel 1947 alla fine della Crisi di Trieste nell'ottobre 1954, lo scambio culturale era legato alle esigenze della propaganda. Lagazione jugoslava a Roma esercitava attività di propaganda attraverso il bollettino informativo pubblicato tre volte al mese, attraverso la diffusione di libri e riviste e la traduzione delle pubblicazioni jugoslave. Alla promozione della cultura jugoslava contribuivano anche dei comunisti italiani filo-jugoslavi. Di particolare importanza era pure l'organizzazione di programmi culturali per gli operai dei centri industriali. Il governo jugoslavo stanziò ingenti fondi per la propaganda e per il finanziamento dei cosiddetti "circoli democratici e progressisti" in Italia. Di solito si impiegavano gli artisti di questi circoli per la realizzazione di eventi di promozione culturale. La cultura jugoslava era presente in Italia tramite mostre d'arte, musica, cinema, teatro, seminari di slavistica e opere letterarie. A causa del centralismo nella gestione della politica culturale, la cultura jugoslava ebbe un impatto limitato, che interessò un gruppo sociale piuttosto ristretto. Solo dopo la fine della crisi politica nel mese di ottobre del 1954, il governo jugoslavo decise di consentire il contatto diretto tra artisti jugoslavi e italiani. Da quel momento, la promozione della cultura jugoslava in Italia smise di avere un'impostazione propagandistica.

**Parole chiave:** Jugoslavia, Italia, propaganda, politica culturale, Crisi di Trieste.

Миљан МИЛКИЋ

**ДИПЛОМАТИЈА КРОЗ КУЛТУРУ:  
ЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКИ КУЛТУРНИ УТИЦАЈ У ИТАЛИЈИ 1947–1954.**

Резиме

У периоду током прве деценије након Другог светског рата, југословенско-италијански односи одвијали су се у сложеним међународним околностима и били су оптерећени многобројним нерешеним питањима. Одлукама Уговора о миру фебруара 1947. регулисане су основе за обнову политичких, економских и културних односа, али је имплементација одредби Уговора представљала велику сметњу за развој билатералних односа. Културна сарадња Југославије и Италије пратила је у својим главним цртама обнову политичких и економских односа. Културна размена одвијала се преко југословенског посланства у Риму, односно југословенског аташеа за штампу који је био задужен и за пропагандну делатност. Када говоримо о југословенском културном утицају у Италији у периоду од успостављања дипломатских односа 1947. до решавања Тршћанске кризе октобра 1954. године, говоримо пре свега о култури која има пропагандни значај. Југословенско посланство у Риму остваривало је пропагандну делатност преко информативног билтена који је објављиван три пута месечно, затим кроз набавку различитих књига и часописа, преко превожјења публикација југословенских комуниста, као и преко утицаја на пројугословенски оријентисане италијанске комунисте. Од посебног значаја било је организовање уметничких и културних програма међу радницима у индустријским центрима. Југословенска влада издвајала је значајна средства за пропаганду и финансирање такозваних „демократских и напредних кругова“ у Италији. Из тих кругова су најчешће ангажовани уметници и добијана је саветодавна помоћ у остваривању пропагандних ефеката културних манифестација. Југословенска култура била је присутна у Италији преко ликовних изложби, музике, филма, позоришта, славистичких семинара и превожјења књижевних дела. Због централизма у руковођењу културном политиком и онемогућавања директне сарадње југословенских и италијанских културних институција, југословенски култури утицај оствариван је на релативно малој циљној групи. Након решавања политичке кризе у октобру 1954. југословенска влада је одлучила да омогући директан контакт југословенских и италијанских уметника. Презентовање југословенске културе у Италији више није имало изражен пропагандни карактер.

**Кључне речи:** Југославија, Италија, пропаганда, културна политика, Тршћанска криза.

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