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SOLIDARITY AND HUMANISM: IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF RED CROSS IN SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA DURING THE 1960S AND 1970S¹

Abstract: The Red Cross has a rich history, having existed in both capitalist and state-socialist systems, and providing a broad research scope. This paper focuses on the work of the Red Cross in Socialist Yugoslavia, aiming to explore how the organization was perceived within that system. It highlights the significance of the concept of self-management in shaping the organization's mission. The paper further explores the key principles of socialist humanism and solidarity which were the basic conceptual framework guiding the activities of the Red Cross. It also examines how the dominant ideological and political narratives of Socialist Yugoslavia influenced the organization. The main conclusion is that the Red Cross in Socialist Yugoslavia expanded its purpose, aiming to go beyond the limitations of being merely a humanitarian and charitable organization as understood in a capitalist context.

Keywords: Red Cross, History of Medicine, Humanism

Non MeSH: Yugoslavia, Socialism, Self-management, Socialist Humanism

During the Second World War, alongside the People's Liberation Struggle, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia initiated a socialist revolution. The previous state institutions of Yugoslavia had been dismantled and compromised, while the existing institutions were deeply involved in collaboration with the occupying forces. In their place, various socialist governmental bodies and organizations emerged, including the People's Liberation Committees as the lowest level of government. Later, higher authorities were established, such as the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (established in 1942), the Women's Antifascist Front (also established in 1942), and the United Union of Antifascist Youth of Yugoslavia (formed in 1942) [1

¹ Part of the results of this research were presented at the conference "Solidarity and Voluntarism in State-Socialist Societies" held at the University of Graz on September 12–13, 2023.

p193–239]. Despite these significant social and political changes, the revolutionary authorities recognized the importance of the tradition upheld by the Red Cross organization.

In May 1944, a decision by the revolutionary government, the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, resulted in the revival of the Red Cross's activities. At the same time, Red Cross organizations were established across the republics. [2 p9-10, 3] The first post-war Yugoslav Red Cross assembly took place in 1946; that same year, the initial Law on the Red Cross was ratified. [4] Throughout the socialist period, the Red Cross played a significant role in social and health-related activities, including health education, the fight against tuberculosis, voluntary blood donation, anti-alcohol campaigns, and providing aid during natural disasters. [5,6] For example, from 1958 to 1962, the Red Cross conducted 13,505 health education courses for youth in rural areas, attended by 246,339 women. [6 p7] During the same period, it also held 5,639 first aid courses with 126,153 participants. [6 p8]

In the years that followed World War II, socio-political changes significantly affected the structure and function of the Red Cross. Until 1948, Socialist Yugoslavia operated under the Soviet model of development. However, after the split with Stalin and the Cominform resolution, party theorists began to develop a unique form of socialism. The foundation of this new model was based on social ownership and self-management. [7,8] Self-management was envisioned as a type of direct democracy that decentralised decision-making to the local level, within workplaces and territorial communities. While self-management in the 1950s was largely confined to the economic sphere, with a strong state presence, the systemic changes of the 1960s significantly reshaped the Yugoslav model. The 1965 economic reform and ongoing decentralization aimed to reduce the state's role and strengthen self-management. [9] However, in practice, these changes failed to spur economic growth and instead led to increased social inequality and the consolidation of republican oligarchies. [10] At the territorial level, the 1963 Constitution introduced local communities as the lowest level of self-managing organization in the social sphere. The goal was to enhance the significance of local self-management, resulting in an expanded role for municipal social and socio-political organizations. [11,12] This trend continued throughout the 1970s, further elevating the role of self-managing organizations at the local level, in factories, and within territorial units through concepts such as associated labour, self-managing planning, and the delegate system [13 p179-209]. In this broader context of systemic transformation, the evolution of the Red Cross is also noteworthy. It gradually expanded beyond its traditional humanitarian role, emerging as a key institution in fostering the consciousness of the socialist man.

This research aims to examine how the principles of socialist self-management and the distinctive features of Yugoslav socialism, including the policy of Non-Alignment, influenced the conception of the Red Cross in Yugoslavia. Rather than focusing on empirical data related to the organization's activities, this paper emphasizes the conceptualization of the Red Cross's role within the socialist framework. It presents an overview of how the Red Cross was envisioned within the system of socialist self-management, along with the foundational concepts underpinning the organization. Addi-

tionally, it offers insight into how ideological narratives and Yugoslav internationalist politics were reflected in the organization's work. The historical sources used in this research include published Red Cross documentation, such as statutes, brochures, and materials from assemblies, as well as Red Cross magazines.

It is important to note that this research does not claim to provide a comprehensive account of the ideological vision of the Red Cross in socialist Yugoslavia. A more complete study would require consulting archival materials and conducting a deeper investigation into the relationship between the Party, the state, and the Red Cross. Thus, this study should be viewed as a starting point for a more in-depth exploration of the theoretical and practical role of the Red Cross in Yugoslavia. A fuller understanding would require an examination of the organization's practical activities at all levels—federal, republican, and local—as well as its role within the international Red Cross movement. Additionally, a comparative analysis of the Red Cross in Yugoslav socialism with its counterparts in other countries would provide valuable insights.

Chronologically, this research focuses on the 1960s and 1970s, a period marked by the dynamic development of self-management and the broader socio-political system, as well as Non-Aligned policy. These years are particularly relevant for examining how broader ideological conceptions were reflected in the Red Cross, as this was when the organization's overarching principles became more clearly defined and institutionalized.

Red Cross in the System of Yugoslav Self-management

From the beginning of its transformation, the Yugoslav Red Cross was envisioned as a comprehensive social organization. This role gained renewed significance in the socialist context, evolving beyond its original purpose. The 1960s and 1970s marked the peak of the Yugoslav Red Cross's mass membership and influence.² The organizational structure of the Red Cross mirrored the federal and decentralized nature of all state and social organizations within Yugoslavia. Therefore, in addition to the federal organization, municipal, district, provincial, and republican entities existed. [15 p284] According to the 1963 Statute, the core of the Yugoslav Red Cross was the municipal organization, which subsequently developed local Red Cross branches and additional units within workplaces and local communities as needed. [15 p284, Articles 15–16]

The assembly served as the highest authority at all levels and comprised members from local communities and factories. Higher levels of the organization consisted of delegates chosen from the membership. The assemblies elected boards of directors, including representatives from state institutions, various social organizations, and Red Cross members. [15 p287, Article 27] The Yugoslav Red Cross operated as a non-professional organization, except for the role of the secretary, who was responsible for legal duties and related functions.

² In 1975, the Red Cross in Yugoslavia had approximately 5 million members, which constituted 25% of the country's total population. [14 p6]

The 1972 Statute of the Yugoslav Red Cross defined it as “a voluntary humanitarian, mass, and self-management social organization of citizens in the SFRY, operating within the realms of health, social, and education.” [16 p322, Article 1] Until 1972, the organization bore the name “Yugoslav Red Cross“, but following the regular assembly that year, its appellation was revised to “Red Cross of Yugoslavia“ in the amended statute. On this occasion, the statute incorporated a Preamble emphasizing the socialist and self-management foundations of the Red Cross.

The Yugoslav Red Cross did not function as an isolated organization but was firmly embedded in the socio-political structure of socialist Yugoslavia. Self-management, introduced at the beginning of the 1950s, was extended over time from the economic to the social sphere. The organization's trajectory was significantly influenced by major sociopolitical events, leading to an adjustment of its strategies. For instance, conferences and publications of the Red Cross regularly followed important political events in the country, such as congresses of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, constitutional shifts (1963, 1974), and various political initiatives.³

At the Fifth Regular Assembly of the Yugoslav Red Cross in 1965, General Secretary Mara Rupena said that the Red Cross could not remain detached from the unfolding sociopolitical events, signifying an alignment with the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1964. [21 p18] Rupena particularly emphasized the Red Cross's role in bolstering self-management within social and health affairs. [21 p17] Being a voluntary, non-professional mass organization dedicated to a wide range of activities rooted in self-organization and mutual aid, the Red Cross was envisioned as a fertile ground for fostering self-management relations. The framework for achieving this was grounded in mechanisms such as the constant rotation of functions, regular meetings, and direct member participation, all beginning at the local community level. As a result, the official stance of the Red Cross aimed at leveraging its extensive membership to transform into a “tribune of self-management.” [22] This objective was designed to encourage citizens' involvement in various social issues, promoting their daily participation in the decision-making process. [23 pp188-9] During the 1963 Congress of Yugoslav Red Cross in Belgrade, Pavle Gregorić, who served as the long-standing president of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia, highlighted in his inaugural address that the Red Cross, with its character and action, “opens up a wide field of socialist democracy.” [24 p10]

In practice, the Red Cross was not resistant to the danger of bureaucratization and passivation of the membership, so the biggest fears came true to a significant extent on the ground. [25] Key issues that preoccupied the organization's officials included concerns about the disposition towards local organizations, instances of inactivity at the grassroots level, and inadequacies in the exchange of experiences. [26] An absence of regular convening of municipal committees and insufficiencies in planning were also challenges that demanded attention. Accordingly, future developmental plans consistently underscored the necessity of fortifying the organizational structure

³ It is enough to see the texts in the magazine “Red Cross of Serbia.” [17-20]

of local and municipal Red Cross committees while concurrently activating a broader mass membership.

The 1970s brought significant changes to Yugoslav socialism, introducing concepts such as delegation system, associated labor, and self-management agreements. [27] These transformations were reflected within the Red Cross, as seen through the publication of brochures, counseling sessions, and articles in various magazines. The Red Cross responded to sociopolitical changes by implementing a delegation system at different levels, ranging from municipalities to republics and federations. Over time, the complex socio-political structure of Yugoslav socialism became increasingly bureaucratic, a trend that also affected the Red Cross. As a result, the organization made significant efforts to inform regular members about these changes, although issues of bureaucratization and organizational passivity ultimately persisted. [28]

Socialist Humanism and Solidarity

The statutes of the Red Cross in Yugoslavia outlined the organization's purpose, objectives, and structural framework. Consequently, these statutes are significant historical documents that allow us to reconstruct the ideological foundations of the Red Cross and the image it projected to the public.

The 1963 Statute of the Yugoslav Red Cross states: “The Yugoslav Red Cross participates in the formation and progression of new social relations, rooted in the principles of socialist humanism and solidarity, particularly through its educational efforts aimed at youth.” [29] This definition is reflected in subsequent statutes as well. It frames the organization's role not only as a provider of humanitarian assistance to vulnerable groups but also as an active participant in “fostering new social relationships”. Additionally, it places an emphasis on the principles of socialist humanism and solidarity. These new social relations signify a significant transformation and expansion of the organization's previous role, involving the entire population in social and health care matters.

This point merits further attention. The term “humanism” fundamentally differs from the notion of “philanthropy”, which better aligns with the character of the Red Cross within capitalist frameworks. Philanthropy embodies charity, an individual endeavor marked by voluntary benevolence from the dominant classes. Conversely, humanism entails systematically ensuring care and support for those in need. While philanthropy is confined to individual acts, humanism strives for the systemic eradication of suffering. [30]⁴ In the context of socialism, humanism finds its most comprehensive expression — conceptually envisioned as a system in which poverty is systematically eliminated, and society collectively attends to all members through principles of mutual aid and cooperation. The 1958 Program of the League of Communists of Yu-

⁴ Sociologist Todor Kuljić offers a particularly insightful explanation on this topic: “In the short 20th century, the constructive social rivals were humanism and philanthropy. After the collapse of European socialism, humanism retreated back into utopia, and philanthropy monopolistically defines the realistic limits of solidarity.” [30 p548] In his work, Kuljić shows how the concept of philanthropy is inherently linked to capitalism and how it strengthens it.

goslavia articulates the official interpretation of humanism promoted within the public sphere of Socialist Yugoslavia, asserting: "From such social and political relations (socialist – P.A), new humanistic attributes in interpersonal relations must inevitably emerge gradually. The transformation of fundamental institutions—factories, cooperatives, communes, schools, and social organizations, centers on cultivating openness, trust, benevolence, understanding, tolerance, cooperative synergy, and assistance. In short, it emphasizes human sympathies and camaraderie among individuals." [31 p151]

The official conceptual and programmatic stance of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia was intrinsically intertwined with the value tenets of the Yugoslav state and society. It was believed that these overarching Yugoslav values provided the Red Cross with its authentic and comprehensive significance. [32] The following excerpt from a publication commemorating the centenary of the Red Cross in Yugoslavia demonstrates this connection: "In socialist, self-managing, and non-aligned Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Red Cross significantly broadens the scope of its activities, acquiring a novel dimension—it evolves from an organization primarily focused on charity to a social force grounded in the principles of socialist humanism and solidarity. This ethos permeates the organization's actions, allowing the Red Cross to fully develop in alignment with the needs and directions of our self-managing socialist community." [14 p7, 21 p22] The realization of socialist humanism and solidarity necessitated the pursuit of a strong social consciousness, which, within socialism, entailed combating all forms of "antisocial and asocial phenomena" to ultimately eliminate the "state of social needs".

To summarize, the Red Cross in Socialist Yugoslavia was envisioned as an organization with a broader societal role. The idea that the Red Cross was only responsible for helping "vulnerable groups" was challenged. Instead, it was argued that the organization aimed to meet the collective, communal needs of all citizens in order to promote a socialist understanding of well-being.

Red Cross and Youth

The Red Cross of Yugoslavia demonstrated significant openness and commitment to the younger population. Youth organizations were divided into junior (*Podmladak*, ages 7 to 14) and senior youth (*Omladina*, ages 14 to 18). Youth engagement in Red Cross activities rested upon the belief that it contributed to heightening their health and social consciousness. By instructing and advocating for solidarity and mutual aid, the aim was to cultivate the socialist ethos among the youth, fostering "a sense of camaraderie wherein individuals' vulnerabilities became a shared concern." [33 p69] A resolute conviction prevailed that merely exerting an educational influence on youth was insufficient; instead, the imperative was to position them as accountable agents—thereby transforming them into "active self-managers" (*samoupravljajući*). [34 p21] The Rulebook for Junior Youth (*Podmladak*) and Senior Youth (*Omladina*) affirms that the organization's functioning "rests on the principles of self-management of its members and their complete accountability for assessing and executing their responsibilities." [34 p9–10] The participation of young individuals in the Red Cross correspondingly

entailed involvement in the Union of Pioneers, the League of Socialist Youth, and other youth-oriented organizations. [34 p5–6]

An example that shows the importance of promoting self-management within youth organizations was the international symposium held for Red Cross Youth in 1970 in Crikvenica (Croatia). During this event, discussions focused on the Red Cross's role in encouraging a more humanistic global perspective. The symposium included lectures and debates that specifically addressed the position of youth within the self-management framework of Socialist Yugoslavia. The titles of these discussions indicate that self-management was presented to foreign delegates as the core value supporting the organization and activities of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia. [35] The conference attracted international participants, including Red Cross Youth representatives from 22 countries across both ideological blocs. This highlights the Red Cross of Yugoslavia's active role in promoting Yugoslav self-management on a global scale. The conference report notes: "Throughout the event, participants were briefed on self-management in Yugoslavia over the past two decades." [35]

Yugoslav Narratives – Tito, Partisans, and "Brotherhood and Unity"

Like other major mass social organizations in Socialist Yugoslavia, the Red Cross exhibited a notable commitment and alignment with the official policy of commemorative culture, where the partisan struggle and socialist revolution held utmost significance. The Red Cross shaped its historical narrative through the influences of interwar revolutionaries, the efforts of wartime partisans, and the following socialist revolution. However, specific events from the history of the partisan struggle were especially significant within the narrative constructed by the Red Cross.

Among the most significant events was the Battle of the Neretva (1943), also known as the "Battle for the Wounded". This battle gained fame due to the large partisan hospital that cared for thousands of injured soldiers. Soldiers bravely transported to the hospital amid peril in a show of solidarity and compassion, showcasing their dedication to the cause. [36] Another significant historical event was Tito's role during the war — his unwavering commitment to not abandon the wounded during the Neretva campaign and his injury sustained in the Battle of Sutjeska (1943). [37 p5–6]

In 1969, when *The Battle of the Neretva*, the most expensive and widely viewed Yugoslav film, [38] was produced — getting an Oscar nomination for Best International Feature Film — Veljko Bulajić, the film's screenwriter and director, received the *Golden Sign of Recognition of the Yugoslav Red Cross*. The rationale stated: "For an exceptionally humane film depicting our people's superhuman struggle to rescue the wounded during the *Fourth enemy offensive*." [39]

Red Cross's publications, especially magazines and newsletters, promoted the official state ideology of commemoration. A notable example is the special edition of the magazine *The Red Cross of Serbia (Crveni krst Srbije)*, which celebrated the 30th anniversary of Tito's rise to leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1967. [40] The front page featured an image of the wounded Tito during the battle of Sutjeska, along with quotes from Tito that praised the role of the Red Cross. The connection

between the partisan struggle and Tito's leadership resonated especially with younger generations. In the Yugoslav Red Cross's youth magazine, *Junior Youth* (*Podmladak*), many articles were dedicated to the wartime struggle of partisans. [41-43]⁵ The magazine highlighted the involvement of the youngest generation in the liberation efforts. [44] In 1969, it launched a dedicated series that focused on partisan hospitals and war-time injuries, encouraging young readers to contribute by writing and submitting texts about the war hospitals in their regions. [45,46]

In addition to the themes of health, solidarity, care, and the environment, the children's magazine *Junior Youth* also promoted broader ideological narratives. It featured columns on partisan monuments and the National Liberation War (NOB), commemorated revolution anniversaries, and even presented comics depicting wartime partisan struggle. [47-49] National holidays and war-related commemorations, such as Republic Day (November 29), Labor Day (May 1), Victory Day (May 9), and Belgrade Liberation Day (October 20), were notably emphasized through special articles. [50-52]

The cult of Tito's personality had an important role in the Red Cross's narratives. Tito agreed to serve as the patron of International Red Cross Day in 1970 at the request of the Yugoslav Red Cross. [52] The youth organizations of the Red Cross displayed notable sentiments toward Tito. Annually, in celebration of *Relay of Youth* on May 25, Tito's birthday, the *Junior Youth* magazine dedicated issues to Tito. [53,54] Also, *The Relay of Youth* assumed a central role in the May issues of *The Red Cross of Serbia* magazine, as well as in the Red Cross of Yugoslavia's bulletin. [55-57]

After Josip Broz Tito died in 1980, the Red Cross of Yugoslavia published a special book titled "Tito and the Red Cross of Yugoslavia." [34] Tito was presented as a person who reflects „all noble and human aspirations, ideals and principles from which the global Red Cross originates.“ [34 p5] The Red Cross especially highlighted those aspects of Tito's life that aligned with its contemporary socialist conception. These were primarily Tito's role in the war and his non-aligned policy in peace. The conclusion of the mentioned book's preface urges the Red Cross members to follow Tito's example, promoting essential patriotic, democratic, and humanitarian values. "This course involves safeguarding the monumental achievements of the People's Liberation Struggle and Socialist Struggle, nurturing solidarity, cementing fraternity among the diverse peoples and nationalities of our socialist community, and championing global peace—ideals to which Comrade Tito devoted his lifetime." [34 p7]

The Red Cross's ideological foundations aligned closely with the narrative of Yugoslav unity and solidarity among its nations. This perspective influenced the celebration of Red Cross anniversaries throughout Yugoslav territories, with the centenary celebration in 1975 taking on special significance. [58 p9-10] Significantly, the Red Cross placed greater emphasis on celebrating the re-establishment of its activities during World War II, rebuilding itself as a socialist organization. The organiza-

⁵ From 1948 to 1964, the magazine was published under the name "Healthy Youth" (*Zdrav podmladak*), and it was published by the Youth Section of the Central Board of the Yugoslav Red Cross. Since 1965, it has changed its format and name to "Junior Youth" (*Podmladak*).

tion recognized the genuine origins of the Red Cross in the resistance against oppression during the war. This period provided the Yugoslav people with the opportunity to pursue an anti-capitalist revolution and achieve the emancipation of both individuals and nations, based on the values of unity and brotherhood. [14 p6] It was believed that the humanitarian efforts of the Red Cross strongly affirmed the enduring connection among the Yugoslav people and their shared desire for freedom. [14 p6] The 1972 Statute of the Red Cross of Yugoslavia underscored one of its primary goals: “Deepening and strengthening the brotherhood and unity of the people and nationalities of Yugoslavia, and fostering social relations grounded in socialist humanism and solidarity.” [16 p323, Article 5]. The youth organizations for juniors and seniors were recognized as ideal channels for strengthening fraternal bonds within the Yugoslav community. [59,60]

Internationalism

The Yugoslav non-aligned policy, characterized by internationalist solidarity with anti-imperialist movements, was reflected in the actions of the Yugoslav Red Cross. [61] The Red Cross consistently provided aid to the Vietnamese people (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) in their resistance against the United States, as well as to the Algerian movement's struggle for liberation from French colonial rule. The organization condemned the 1973 Chilean coup d'état, which was supported by the U.S., leading to the ousting of the legitimately elected President Salvador Allende. It also condemned the military actions taken by Israel in the Middle East in 1973. [62,63]

International solidarity became prominent during the increased American presence in Vietnam after 1965. Between March 1966 and June 1967, the Yugoslav Red Cross provided significant aid, amounting to 2.232.152 new dinars in monetary relief and goods valued at 5.174.951 dinars. [64] In 1970, “Red Cross Week” in Yugoslavia was dedicated to gathering aid for both Vietnamese military and civilians. [65] The initiative to send aid to DR Vietnam went beyond the scope of the Red Cross, representing a significant socio-political action executed by the Socialist Alliance of Working People through two dedicated organizations: 1. the Fund for Aid to Victims of Aggression and Colonial Domination and 2. the Coordination Committee for Aid to the People of Vietnam-Indochina. [66 p435] *Borba* newspaper reports that during the aid collection campaign in 1968, around a million Yugoslavs participated in the “Week of Solidarity with the People of Vietnam” campaign. [67] It was stated that one of the goals of holding the action, besides collecting aid, was to actively educate the public about the characteristics of American imperialism.

A clear example of promoting Yugoslav internationalism in the Red Cross is the children's magazine for ages 7-14, *Junior Youth (Podmladak)*. The magazine aimed to inform children in Yugoslavia about American imperialism and the Vietnamese liberation struggle. It featured a special section with imaginary letters and poems from Junior Youth members to the children of Vietnam. The letters started with greetings like “To Unknown Comrade”, “Dear Unknown Comrade”, “To Unknown Friend” and “To the Vietnamese People.” [68-70] They highlighted a shared spirit between the Vi-

etnamese struggle and Yugoslavia's WWII liberation movement. The letters expressed hopefulness about the Vietnamese people's imminent victory over "American imperialists". The letters convey deep sorrow for the wartime suffering and destruction experienced by Vietnamese children. Nevenka Božović, a student from Niš in Serbia, writes: "Unknown friend, no matter where you are or who you are, I want you to receive and read this letter. You and I may be different on the outside, but we are the same on the inside. Your heart beats the same as mine. There is a force within us that brings us closer, even if we are very far apart..." [68] The letters frequently draw parallels to the partisan struggle in Yugoslavia during World War II, highlighting the anti-imperialist commitment shared by both countries and other related similarities. The text is accompanied by touching photographs of Vietnamese children, depicting scenes of poverty, suffering, and the destruction of war. [70] The magazine invited its youngest members to organize the collection of financial and material assistance within their schools. One of the articles encourages the Junior Youth members to become initiators of change. It states: "Members of the Junior Youth, be the catalysts for protests. Write protest letters, songs, and articles. Use drawings and colors to express your anger against the suffering of people, particularly women and the hundreds of thousands of children who have been affected, many of whom are disfigured or crippled for life. Show that you are ready to oppose any force, regardless of its origin, and demonstrate your willingness to contribute to preventing those who seek to dictate the fate of other nations, no matter where they are in the world." [65]

In addition to addressing Vietnam, the magazine also expresses solidarity with the Arab people in their fight against Israel during the wars of 1967 and 1973, condemning the support and provision of weapons to Israel by Western imperialist powers. [71] One article is dedicated to the history of the Palestinian people and their lives in refugee camps following the 1967 war. [72] Another story recounts the experience of a 13-year-old Palestinian "commando" who directly participated in the conflict, [73] illustrating how the Red Cross, in a direct and often harsh manner, exposed children to the horrors of wars in which smaller nations battled against imperialism.

The magazine also published articles that criticized the racist policies of certain countries. One such article discussed the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico, expressing solidarity with South African and Southern Rhodesia black athletes, who were barred from participating with their national teams. [74] The article highlights that, despite resistance from the President of the International Olympic Committee, the collective support from many nations ultimately led to the Committee's decision to ban South Africa and Southern Rhodesia from the Games.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to examine the unique role of the Red Cross in the context of Socialist Yugoslavia. Rather than measuring ideological influence, the research indicates that the concept of "non-ideological" organizations is an illusion. This is because every social action is underpinned by a set of values and a perspective on how society should be structured and the roles of both individuals and the collective within it. De-

spite the recent focus on philanthropy, which typically involves occasional and voluntary assistance from individuals in capitalism, the Red Cross's role within socialism is aimed at systematically changing individuals' mindsets and contributing to a collective effort to alleviate human suffering and distress. These ideas align with the principles of socialist humanism and solidarity.

The socialist vision for the Red Cross was closely connected to the concept of self-managing democracy. Its main purpose was to promote mass participation at the grassroots level, encouraging citizens to unite in their local communities—whether in city blocks, rural villages, or urban neighborhoods. This would allow individuals to make decisions autonomously through direct democracy. However, the organization fell short of its ambitious theoretical goals in practice. Instead, it ended up with a large but relatively passive membership, standardized decision-making processes, limited effectiveness at the grassroots level, a lack of innovation, and an excessive reliance on worn-out slogans.

The analysis of the ideological principles of the Yugoslav Red Cross reveals that the organization significantly evolved during the socialist era, enhancing its importance and role in society. The Yugoslav Red Cross prioritized citizen activism, responsible decision-making, and addressing community needs. It was believed that the health and social challenges faced by individuals were directly related to the well-being of the community. Socialist humanism emphasized the active creation of a collective consciousness of solidarity that aimed to systematically combat poverty and suffering, thus resisting the capitalist notions of charity and almsgiving.

Rezime

Kao organizacija koja je postojala kako u okviru kapitalističkog, tako i socijalističkog sistema, istorija Crvenog krsta predstavlja bogato istraživačko polje. Predmet istraživanja je Crveni krst u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji, prvenstveno sagledan kroz način na koji je ta organizacija percipirana u okviru sistema. Rad posebno uzima u obzir značaj koncepcije samoupravljanja u oblikovanju i definisanju cilja organizacije. Pored toga, predstavljeni su i dominantni pojmovi (socijalistički humanizam i solidarnost) koji su činili osnovi konceptualni okvir kojim se rukovodio Crveni krst u socijalizmu. Pored toga, rad predstavlja i način na koji su se dominantni ideološki narativi socijalističke Jugoslavije manifestovali na delovanje Crvenog krsta. Glavni zaključak je da je Crveni krst u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji produbio smisao i ideološki cilj, nastojeći da prevaziđe okvir dobrovoljne humanitarne organizacije, kako je zamišljen u kapitalističkom kontekstu.

Ključne reči: Crveni krst, socijalistička Jugoslavija, socijalistički humanizam, samoupravljanje

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