



Citation:

Pająk, P. (2022). Violence and sex and violence again: The sexual revolution in the films of the Yugoslav Black Wave. *Slavia Meridionalis*, 22, Article 2764. <https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.2764>

Patrycjusz Pająk

University of Warsaw

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1313-6890>

Violence and Sex and Violence again: The Sexual Revolution in the Films of the Yugoslav Black Wave

The revolutionary uprisings in Europe, North America and some corners of South America, Africa and Asia in the second half of the 1960s and the early 1970s peaked in 1968, which is why they are most often associated with this largely symbolic date. In Yugoslavia, too, 1968 brought about a revolutionary climax in the form of the June students' strike in Belgrade¹. In Yugoslavia and many other countries, the 1968 revolution was essentially peaceful, which set it apart from most earlier revolutions, such as the French Revolution of 1789 and the October Revolution of 1917, which were carried out with massive and ruthless violence.

In the 1960s, revolutionists organised demonstrations, rallies and strikes. These were primarily young people, mainly students sympathetic to the ideology

¹ The course of the 1968 revolution in Yugoslavia is most fully presented by Nebojša Popov (2008) and Hrvoje Klasić (2012). Boris Kanzleiter provides its concise description (Kanzleiter, 2008, pp. 219–228, 2011, pp. 84–100).

This work was supported by the Polish Ministry of Education and Science.

Competing interests: the author is one of the volume's reviewers.

Publisher: Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 PL License (creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/pl/), which permits redistribution, commercial and non-commercial, provided that the article is properly cited. © The Author(s) 2022.

of the New Left. Many led an unorthodox lifestyle and contested the political and social order. They aimed to expand individual freedom despite indirect, non-physical violence, which Slavoj Žižek calls objective violence. He distinguishes two co-occurring varieties: symbolic violence (expressed in the current language and discourse) and systemic violence (connected with the political and economic system). These set the social norm and keep society in check (Žižek, 2008, pp. 5, 6).

By opposing objective violence, the protesters of 1968 also had to face the direct, physical violence (Žižek calls it subjective) that arose in response to their opposition, most often in the form of police repression. If they engaged in acts of violence, it was incidental – usually in response to violence used against them by the authorities. At the same time – and this may seem as provocative as it is naïve – some of them considered Vladimir Lenin, Che Guevara and Mao Tse-tung as their patrons, all of whom used total terror to achieve their revolutionary goals. In the 1970s, those rebels who had not come to terms with the end of the 1968 revolution turned to terrorist methods: left-wing terrorism, mainly in West Germany, Italy and France, is its most controversial aftermath.

A more enduring legacy of the 1968 revolution than left-wing terrorism was the sexual revolution, which continues to develop with varying intensity, going through different phases. Its roots lie in various manifestations of sexual liberalisation dating back to the eighteenth century. Still, its defining moments should be considered the emancipation of women that started at the turn of the twentieth century, and the research conducted at that time by Sigmund Freud². In the 1960s, the sexual revolution in the West reached such a mature stage that it became one of the most important manifestations of the 1968 revolution. Many participants of these events identified the two revolutions with one another. They stated that the primary condition and, at the same time, the manifestation of individual freedom was sexual freedom, which challenged the attempts of the broader political, social and cultural powers to influence the private life of the citizen through objective violence.

The government-imposed discourse on sexuality edified which sexual practices were normal from the point of view of morality and which are

² The concept of the sexual revolution emerged in the 1920s. The history and contexts of its use are analysed by John Levi Martin (1996, pp. 105–151) and David Allyn (2016, pp. 4, 5).

beyond the norm and therefore should not be accepted³. Therefore, the revolutionaries who practised and promoted sexual freedom were not only about freeing themselves from the influence of power through non-normative sex; they were also for the liberation of sex itself from normative sexuality and its redefinition as a natural activity that evades objective violence. They sought scientific support for this attitude primarily in the views of Wilhelm Reich and Herbert Marcuse. They – each in their own way – alluded to Freud's observations on sexuality and at the same time argued with them⁴.

During the revolution of 1968, the ennoblement of sex as the opposite of violence was succinctly expressed by the maxim *Make love, not war*, popularised from the mid-1960s, first in the United States, and then also outside it, by the hippie movement⁵. According to Gabriele Gillen, the 1968 revolutionaries justified their opposition to sex and violence through the texts of the aforementioned Wilhelm Reich, who argued that sexual gratification and sadism were mutually exclusive. Gillen emphasises that these revolutionaries were opposed not only to conservative restrictions on sexuality, which was considered subordinate to the needs of marriage and the family, but also to a purely consumerist and hedonistic approach to it. For them, free love had an emancipatory meaning in the political and social sense; it combined mental and physical hygiene with ideological commitment (Gillen, 2008, pp. 95–97, 101, 105–111; Reich, 1996, pp. 142–155).

Linda Williams notices a relationship between sexual emancipation and the development of cinematography. According to her, both phenomena influenced each other: emancipation inspired filmmakers to change the portrayal

³ The canonical publication addressing the problem of controlling citizens' sexual activity by power in modern times is Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality (Histoire de la sexualité, 1976, 1984)* (Foucault, 1995, pp. 11–139).

⁴ I am referring primarily to the publications *The Sexual Revolution (Die Sexualität im Kulturkampf. Zur sozialistischen Umstrukturierung des Menschen, 1936)* and *The Discovery of the Orgone. Volume 1: The Function of the Orgasm (Die Entdeckung des Orgons. Band 1: Die Funktion des Orgasmus, 1942)* by Wilhelm Reich, and *Eros and Civilization. A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud.* (1955) by Herbert Marcuse (Marcuse, 1998; Reich, 1996, 2013). In the West, the work of Alfred Kinsey in the 1940s and 1950s and publications in the 1960s by American scholars younger than him were also inspiring to participants in the sexual revolution.

⁵ It is widely known that it was born in response to the US participation in the Vietnam War, but it should be remembered that in European communist countries, including Yugoslavia, it also expressed a protest against the Warsaw Pact troops invading Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

of sexuality on screen; filmmakers, in turn, popularised the achievements of the emancipation process and thus codified and legitimised them in the public consciousness (Williams, 2008, pp. 1–24). It should therefore come as no surprise that feature films also played a part in the sexual revolution, although not all of them highlighted the problem of the relationship between sexuality and violence⁶.

The most obvious and, at the same time, the most radical manifestation of this relationship is rape. According to Vesi Vuković, in the period from the beginning of the 1960s to the beginning of the 1970s, an exceptionally large number of films with the motive of rape were made in Yugoslavia (Vuković, 2018, p. 133). Some of them came from the Yugoslav Black Wave – a modernist film trend that developed at that time, mainly in Serbia. It is characterized by a naturalistic interpretation of reality, highlighting the conflict of biological and social determinism with the ideological postulates of communism⁷. It was the directors of the Black Wave who most often took up the problem of the relationship between violence and sex in the context of the 1968 revolution, although in this context they rarely referred to the rape theme; they chose less obvious forms of this relationship.

This relationship is best presented in four films by Serbian directors: *Early Works (Rani radovi)* by Želimir Žilnik (1969), *Plastic Jesus (Plastični Isus)* by Lazar Stojanović (1971), *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism (WR – misterije organizma)* by Dušan Makavejev (1971) and *Young and Healthy As a Rose (Mlad i zdrav kako ruža)* by Jovan Jovanović (J. Jovanović, 1971). These are examples of the avant-garde wing of Black Wave naturalism. Their specificity is determined by the use of such aesthetic means as collage and performance, by the combination of documentary and fiction, and, to a large extent, resulting from the means above, meta-cinema. In these films one can also recognize the influence of the New Wave work of Jean-Luc Godard⁸.

⁶ Famous examples of Western movies that have addressed the problem of the relationship between sexuality and violence include *Barbarella* by Roger Vadim (1968) and *Midnight Cowboy* by John Schlesinger (1969). A concise overview of all films about the sexual revolution that were made in the West at that time is proposed by Konrad Klejsa (2008, pp. 178–183).

⁷ It should be noted that there is no single universally accepted definition of the Yugoslav Black Wave. Film experts argue with each other on this matter, as evidenced by the publications by Nebojša Jovanović (N. Jovanović, 2011, pp. 161–170), Boris Buden and Želimir Žilnik (Buden & Žilnik, 2013, pp. 202–212).

⁸ The issue of the sexual revolution is also present in other Serbian Black Wave works, such as *The Rats Woke Up (Buđenje pacova)* by Živojin Pavlović (1967), *Man is Not a Bird*

Due to their subject matter and avant-garde poetics, the works by Žilnik, Stojanović, Makavejev and Jovanović were in their time one of the manifestations of the 1968 revolution in socialist Yugoslavia. At the same time, they were the first attempts to come to terms with said revolution and were ongoing because it was still happening. These films can be described as political fantasies. Their directors gave little coverage of the actual course of the revolution, instead depicting how it might have looked like if it had promoted sexual freedom and, at the same time, criticised political and social violence just as vocally as in the West.

The 1968 revolution in Yugoslavia was not anti-communist: it was aimed only at dogmatic communism, which was cultivated by the party nomenklatura, which the revolutionaries called the red bourgeoisie. Opponents of dogmatism demanded a renewal of Yugoslav communism in the spirit of humanist Marxism, the essence of which is expressed in the early scientific works of Karl Marx⁹. However, they did not undertake more decisive and broader initiatives to disseminate the sexual revolution. The backbone of the protest movement was the intellectual milieu around the neo-Marxist philosophical journal “Praxis”, published in Zagreb between 1964 and 1974. Although its representatives were familiar with the issue of the sexual revolution, they dealt with it rarely and on a very general level, without relating it to the Yugoslav situation¹⁰.

It would seem that the communist government favoured the sexual revolution more. According to Ivan Simic, starting with the breaking of the alliance with the Soviet Union in 1948 and the intensification of contact with the West, matters related to sexuality – then considered controversial, such as premarital intimate relationships of young people (especially women), prostitution, homo-

(*Čovek nije tica*) and *Love Affair, or The Case of the Missing Switchboard Operator (Ljubavni slučaj ili tragedija službenice PTT)* by Dušan Makavejev (1965, 1967), and also *Crows (Vrane)* by Ljubiša Kozomara and Gordan Mihić (1969). It is also found in the Slovenian *Masquerade (Maškarada)* by Boštjan Hladnik (1971), created at the same time but outside the Black Wave current. However, it does not play such a large role in any of the aforementioned films as in *Early Works, Plastic Jesus, W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* and *Young and Healthy As a Rose*.

⁹ By the early works of Karl Marx, historians of philosophy understand articles written up to the mid-1840s that were devoted to freedom in its relation to alienation and ideology. The most famous dissertation, written by him at that time (in 1846) together with Friedrich Engels, is *The German Ideology (Die deutsche Ideologie)*, not published in print until 1932). In the 1960s, Marx’s early works inspired the thinkers of the New Left, who undertook their own reinterpretation (Kołakowski, 2009, pp. 93–178).

¹⁰ This is evidenced by the article by Ivan Kuvačić (1979, pp. 343–345).

sexuality, masturbation, contraception and pornography – became the subject of political debate and, although they were often severely criticized, the very debate about them heralded an increasingly liberal approach to them, which became noticeable after 1955 and then intensified in the 1960s (Simic, 2018, pp. 183–217). The Yugoslav authorities began to look more favourably on particular innovations in the moral sphere, which strengthened the impression of the liberality and modernity of the political and social system in the country they ruled. Therefore, they allowed the moderate promotion of sex education, the publishing of erotic magazines, and the partial relaxation of abortion law¹¹.

In Yugoslavia in the 1960s, the sexual revolution did not develop enough to seriously threaten the firmly rooted patriarchal tradition. The communists officially criticized patriarchalism as a conservative relic, but they remained its heirs mentally. This situation is confirmed by the observations made by Zsófia Lóránd from a feminist perspective. According to Lóránd, sexual liberalisation in Yugoslavia in the 1960s and the following two decades occurred within the limits set by the patriarchal culture, which were respected by both the communist state apparatus and the three dominant churches (Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim) in opposition to it. According to Lóránd, it was the Black Wave artists (among them especially Makavejev) who were the first to publicly address the topic of sexual revolution, going beyond the mentioned boundaries (Ečim & Lóránd, 2020; Lóránd, 2015, pp. 121, 123, 124, 2018, pp. 7, 8, 69, 139, 145).

In the films by Žilnik, Stojanović and Makavejev, various manifestations of sexual emancipation from the period of the 1968 revolution expose the objective violence present in social life. At the same time, they provoke and intensify it, resulting in the emergence of violence also within the revolutionary milieu – violence that is no longer objective and external but rather internal and rooted in human nature. Thus, the ideologically motivated opposition between violence and sex gives way to the organic entanglement of sexuality in violence that is described by Georges Bataille. Contrary to Reich's theory that sex serves to overcome violence, Bataille argues that sex is merely its sublimation carried out

¹¹ In Slovenia, then one of the Yugoslav republics, content related to sex education was introduced into the biology curriculum in secondary schools as early as 1959. In 1965, the first textbook in Yugoslavia entitled *Sex Education (Sexualni odgoj)* was published by the Croatian Marijan Košiček. From 1968 onwards, Yugoslav erotic magazines were published. Among the landmark state decisions on the issue of greater permissibility of abortion was *Basic Law on Abortion (Opći zakon o prekidu trudnoće)* from 1969.

in pleasure. It is a rape on human individuality because it dissolves it in a supra-individual community of bodies and feelings. According to Bataille, the mere exposure of a person opens him up to rape (Bataille, 2007, pp. 19–21).

By examples of non-normative sexuality, which they combine with artistic or educational activities to emphasise its revolutionary social significance, Žilnik, Stojanović and Makavejev illustrate the transition from the revolutionary postulate that sex replaces violence as the primary force shaping social life to effects that are contrary to this postulate. And so, in *Plastic Jesus*, the controversial form of artistic activity is heterosexual and homosexual pornographic films made by the performer Tom (this role is played by the Croatian performer Tomislav Gotovac). He also willingly exposes himself on camera. In the documentary parts of the film *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, filmed by Makavejev in the United States, there are also counterculture artists who promote non-normative sexuality: performer Tuli Kupferberg, transvestite actress Jackie Curtis, and two visual artists, Betty Dodson and Nancy Godfrey, who specialise in erotic art. Furthermore, in both films, for the first time in Yugoslav cinema, you can see male genitals on the screen, and the second one also shows a homosexual kiss and rape.

Sex education is revolutionary in two films: in *Early Works*, four revolutionists combine it with ideological education. As noted by Bogdan Tirnanić, the group leader, bearing the symbolic name of Jugoslava (the woman allegorically personifies socialist Yugoslavia), finds justification for sexual pleasure in Karl Marx's letters on the relationship between revolution and shame (Marks, 1979, pp. 15–24; Tirnanić, 2006, p. 67)¹². He is also inspired – as Greg DeCuir points out – by the views of Frederick Engels, who stated that the patriarchal domination of men over women is the most primordial form of class oppression (DeCuir, 2011, p. 188; Engels, 1906, p. 76). This argument is used by Jugoslava when, during an agitation campaign in the Serbian provinces, she urges rural women, brought up in a culture of extremely conservative patriarchalism, to use contraceptives to free themselves from male domination.

Wilhelm Reich and his disciples (Alexander Lowen, Myron Sharaf and Robert Olendorf), immortalised in the film *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, also provide sex education in their own right in the form of sex therapy ses-

¹² Marx's letters (addressed to Arnold Ruge) were written in 1843 and therefore belong to his early works. The title of Žilnik's film refers precisely to Marx's views from the early period of his scientific work.

sions¹³. In the fictional parts of this work, set in Yugoslavia, the communist activist Milena, influenced by Reich's views, promotes free love in the working-class milieu. In the new political conditions and without using violence, she refreshes the demands for sexual liberalisation put forward by Vladimir Lenin at the beginning of the October Revolution¹⁴.

Thus, both in *Early Works* and in *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, the sexual revolution is intended to be such a continuation of the communist revolution that will overcome its stagnation related to the still-strong influence of the conservative tradition on the most intimate level of human relations and will create conditions for genuinely free individual development. Consequently, the symbiosis of the communist revolution with the sexual revolution should foster the full realisation of the slogan of unity and fraternity – the flagship of the Yugoslav variant of communism – which also includes the sphere of intimacy. The pursuit of this symbiosis, outlined by Žilnik and Makavejev, can also, as suggested by Sanja Lazarević Radak, be read as a form of realising the Yugoslav communists' dream about the so-called third way that Yugoslavia should follow, namely between the totalitarian East and the liberal West (Lazarević Radak, 2016, p. 69).

In the two films cited, as well as in *Plastic Jesus*, the prudishly shown intimacy is characterised by ugliness, which is visible in the imperfections of the naked body, the grotesque and physiological nature of sexual intercourse, as well as in the disgusting, neglected environment in which intimate intercourse takes place. To some extent, it is a deliberate effect of the exhibitionist self-creation of sexually liberated revolutionists. It is intended to emphasise the truth of their liberation in opposition to the hypocritical because it is only a superficially liberal image of the sexual life of citizens promoted by the communist authorities.

Žilnik, Stojanović and Makavejev contrast various forms of objective violence with manifestations of uncompromising sexual emancipation, usually shown with naturalistic literalness. The icons in Makavejev's film are communist dictators: Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, and, allusively, Josip Broz Tito. The director first cites excerpts from a Soviet propaganda feature film *The Oath* (*Klyatva*, dir.

¹³ The abbreviation *W.R.* in the title of Makavejev's film is the initials of Wilhelm Reich. This abbreviation is also understood as an allusion to the world revolution.

¹⁴ The issue of the sexual revolution project planned by Lenin and ultimately not realised is discussed by Srećko Horvath, referring to Wilhelm Reich's insights on the subject (Horvath, 2016, pp. 48–64).

Mikheil Chiaureli, 1946), which is devoted to Stalin's political and economic successes; he then presents a documentary clip showing a political rally attended by Mao Tse-tung. At the same time, he weaves Yugoslav communist songs into his film¹⁵. Consequently, he highlights the primary features of communism that are common to its regional varieties (Soviet, Chinese, Yugoslav): the cult of the leader and social opportunism. The fact that the authority of the communist regime is based mainly on fear of it is not reflected on screen. The director makes only a passing reference to this feature of the communist system by combining scenes devoted to Stalin with shots documenting the cruel Nazi methods of treating the mentally ill. Moreover, in the scene depicting a discussion on the communist interpretation of sexuality, he introduces a photograph of Adolf Hitler surrounded by adoring women. This indirectly draws attention to the similarities between Red and Brown totalitarianism.

More openly, using documentary material, Makavejev portrays the actions of the repressive American apparatus that was used against Wilhelm Reich in the 1950s for his innovative and controversial views on sexuality. The US authorities considered Reich's research and therapeutic activity immoral; they confiscated his scientific books and imprisoned him in the prison where he died. The juxtaposition of totalitarian violence, hidden under the propaganda costume of collective adoration for communist leaders, against the violence openly used by the Americans against Reich does not mean equating them, as they are incommensurable in scale and character. It is important to compare the consequences of the revolutions carried out in the West and in the East. The aim of the sexual revolution initiated by Reich in the United States after the Second World War was liberation from objective violence based on puritan customs and morals. Although he himself fell victim to this violence, his initiative paid off because the sexual revolution flourished in the 1960s. The state renounced repression of its manifestations (then, as Makavejev shows, Reich's students could continue their research on sexuality without any obstacles). In turn, the liberation from the objective violence present in the capitalist world, brought about by the Soviet, Chinese and Yugoslav communist revolutions, led to a new, incomparably crueller enslavement – through violence, which consists in universal uniformity. Makavejev juxtaposes the nudity associated with sexual and individual freedom in the West with the uniform as an emblem

¹⁵ The use of communist songs in this film and in *Early Years* and *Plastic Jesus* is analysed by Danijela Š. Beard (2019, pp. 95–121).

of the totalitarian order (in his film, uniforms are worn by Stalin and Mao, as well as Hitler). It suppresses and accumulates the sexual energy inherent in man, turning it into a destructive eruptive force (significant in this respect is the aforementioned photograph of Hitler in front of a group of women infatuated with him).

In a similar way to Makavejev, i.e., using archival film materials as quotes that make up a documentary-fictional collage, the falsity of the communist revolution, which instead of real liberation brings new enslavement, is illustrated by Stojanović in *Plastic Jesus* (the metaphorical title of the film refers to the false salvation offered to the Yugoslavs by the communist revolution)¹⁶. Like Makavejev, but more emphatically, Stojanović emphasises the similarity between communism and Nazism, recalling the figures of Stalin and Tito on the one hand, and Hitler and Ante Pavelić on the other. He juxtaposes archival documentary fragments depicting the operations of Nazi, communist, as well as Ustaše and Chetnik troops during the Second World War, creating the politically provocative impression that there is no significant ethical difference between the Yugoslav communist guerrillas and the other parties to the war.

In Stojanović's film, the legacy of totalitarian wartime violence continually, though secretly, resonates in socialist Yugoslavia. The director suggests this thesis through an appropriately prepared soundtrack: Nazi songs often resound in the background of shots from contemporary Belgrade. The repression by the Yugoslav authorities against the student protesters in 1968 is an extension of the totalitarian violence (Stojanović uses film materials documenting the militia's dismantling of a student demonstration in Belgrade; he also plays Tito's television speech, which comments on the students' protest). Of particular symbolic significance in *Plastic Jesus* is the scene in which the protagonist, who protests against the prevailing political order, has his dishevelled hair and beard cut off at a police station. A similar scene can be found in *Early Works*: policemen cut several young men's long hair to a "decent" length.

Longer hair on men, often a bushy beard, was one of the most characteristic expressions of rebellion of the young generation of the 1960s. They symbolised the unbridled male vitality that transgressed the applicable norms and

¹⁶ Stojanović borrowed the title from the 1957 American song *Plastic Jesus*. Greg DeCuir recalls that the song was popularised by the film *Cool Hand Luke* by Stuart Rosenberg (1967), about a prisoner who constantly tries to escape from prison (DeCuir, 2011, p. 232). In reference to this film, the title of Stojanović's work can also be read as an allusion that identifies Yugoslavia with a totalitarian prison.

social divisions. They were associated with Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideal of living in accordance with the rhythm of nature, not subject to cultural directives, restrictions and interference. They reminded one of the utopian goal of the revolution led by young people, i.e., the realisation of the myth of man's original, pre-civilisational freedom, conditioned by his harmonious coexistence with the natural environment¹⁷.

Assuming that long hair in the 1960s was not only an attribute of non-conformity and generational and environmental community, but also of liberated sexuality, the forced haircuts of the dissenters appearing in *Plastic Jesus* and *Early Works* describe it as political castration, expressing the desire of totalitarian authorities to blunt their individualism, to subordinate their will to collective directives, and to impose a unified identity on them. In Žilnik's film, political violence oriented in this way interacts with social violence on a traditional patriarchal basis: conservative peasants from a provincial village brutally beat up young people who were leading a revolutionary agitation for sex education there.

Patriarchal violence is also vividly portrayed in the film *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, in which the primitive worker Radomilović, admirer of the revolutionary Milena, behaves aggressively towards her. He manifests a condescending and instrumental attitude towards women, based on the priority of male sexual gratification. Patriarchalism of a higher order – one that is not social, manifesting itself in individualised interpersonal relations, but rather ideological, concerning the relationship between power and society – is represented by Milena's second admirer, the Soviet skater Vladimir Ilyich (his name is an obvious allusion to Vladimir Lenin). The emotional-intellectual relationship between the two allegorically recreates the ambivalent – based on fascination and distrust – Yugoslav-Soviet relations, as well as ideological differences between Yugoslav and Soviet communism. Vladimir turns out to be a dogmatic communist, whom Milena calls a red fascist (this is another suggestion in Makavejev's work that there is a similarity between communism and Nazism). He considers love between two people to be selfish, animal and bourgeois, and therefore a politically harmful relic which obscures the overriding goal of communism, which is love for humanity. The skater's attitude stems from the ideological patriarchalism of the dictators,

¹⁷ More on the symbolic significance of long hair and facial hair in 1960s protest culture is written by Dominick Cavallo (1999, pp. 89–93) and Christopher Oldstone-Moore (2016, pp. 235–259).

cultivated by the “fathers of the nation” mentioned in Makavejev’s film, such as Stalin, Hitler or Mao.

Outside the sphere of solemn declarations, Vladimir Ilyich seems to be a “weak” man, insufficiently masculine for various reasons in terms of the traditional criteria of masculinity. At the ice rink, he appears in “unmanly” make-up and an equally “unmanly” costume suit, and his behaviour is reserved and timid in his intimate relationship with a woman. Another “weak” man in *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* is a transvestite, Jackie Curtis. Also, the three revolutionaries in *Early Works* lack the stereotypical male charisma. They are humiliated by both militiamen and peasants and are inspired to revolutionary action by a woman. They obediently participate in her rituals of political and sexual initiation. None of them can live up to her sexual demands, which corresponds to their powerlessness in the revolutionary struggle. The performer Tom in *Plastic Jesus* also seems at the mercy of the women who care for him. He is also capable of establishing a homosexual relationship. His “unmanly” weakness is also evidenced by the scene in which two homeless men intend to rape him.

The characters profiled in this way illustrate the feminisation of masculinity that takes place during the sexual revolution on the wave of generational resistance against the symbolic violence of the patriarchal tradition, which defines the identity of not only men but also women mainly in terms of biological sex and – based on this criterion – assigns them social roles. The masculinisation of women is an analogous phenomenon occurring in this period. In the films of Black Wave directors, this means that women take on leadership roles that tradition assigns to men. In this case, it is not so much beauty as charisma that determines their sexual appeal. By emphasising the feminisation of men and the masculinisation of women, Žilnik, Stojanović, and Makavejev outline the two basic aspirations of the sexual revolution as described by Anthony Giddens: the autonomisation of female sexuality and the social legalisation of male and female homosexuality (Giddens, 1992, p. 28).

In the case of Milena in *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, masculinisation is associated with her revolutionary temperament. At one point, she lights a cigar and then puts on a military sweatshirt, a forage cap and boots with uppers – this set of props brings to mind Josip Broz Tito from the times of the communist guerrillas. Milena’s performance also brings to mind Sigmund Freud’s claim that, in dreams, the uniform symbolises the lust bubbling underneath it (Freud, 1982, p. 177). She uses Tito’s uniform parodically as an emblem of sexual suppression and the violence born of it (military, totalitarian, patriar-

chal), which can be neutralised by releasing the desire hidden underneath. This interpretation of sexual liberation from the struggle of violence is confirmed by the behaviour of a Yugoslav army soldier in the film who, while on leave, after throwing off his uniform, begins to have lively, unbridled sex with his female friend. Referring to Pavle Levi's remarks, one can put the meaning of Makavejev's work as follows: a revolution without sexual freedom is a neutered revolution, devoid of vital force, possessing only a destructive power that creates nothing truly revolutionary (Levi, 2009, pp. 44, 45).

Jugoslava, the leader of the revolutionary group in *Early Works*, also behaves like a man. Both Milena and Jugoslava are intellectually and sexually dominant in their relationships with men. They embody a fetishistic male fantasy – a woman with a phallus (symbolised by a cigar in Milena's mouth and a revolver or rifle in the hands of Jugoslava). According to Sigmund Freud's theory, fetishes are a substitute for the penis: "It remains a sign of triumph over the threat of castration and defence against this threat [...]" (Freud, 1992, p. 133). Freud emphasises that fetishes are a substitute not for a male but for a female phallus. The male fetishist lends male characteristics to a woman in order to manage the fear of castration that is revealed at the sight of the female sexual organ (devoid of a penis). Thus, fetishism is – as Freud concludes – a man's self-defence against his own potential homosexuality because fetishes allow him to accept a woman as a sexual object (Freud, 1992, pp. 132, 133).

The films *Early Works*, *Plastic Jesus* and *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* are about the threat of castration, signifying the weakening of the traditional, patriarchal, dominant social position of men in the aftermath of the sexual revolution. This understanding of castration is illustrated in these works by an appropriate emphasis on the favourite prop of young revolutionaries – firearms (in the form of a revolver, pistol or rifle). Weapons are widely regarded as a phallic symbol of masculinity; in a broader perspective, they symbolise, as C. Richard King believes, (hetero)sexual domination of men, associating patriarchal masculinity with violence. According to King, owning and using weapons gives men pleasure that results from the power they possess (King, 2007, pp. 87–89). At the same time, as Abigail A. Kohn claims, many gun enthusiasts see weapons as not a male but a female substitute – they are a fetishistic object of desire for them (Kohn, 2004, p. 12).

In all the films discussed, the fetishistic significance of firearms is perpetuated in scenes in which their use is simulated with theatrical or even parodic exaggeration. When, in *Early Works*, Jugoslava mocks the impotence of one of her subordinates,

he, in response, pretends to kill her with a revolver. In the later part of the film, Jugoslav and her three companions clumsily practice using weapons with the intention of carrying out a “real” revolution. The performer Tom in *Plastic Jesus* and the performer Kupferberg in *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* also simulatively use weapons¹⁸. The latter emphasises its fetishistic meaning by making movements that imitate masturbation. In all these films, such a game of weapons ridicules the cult of weapons, both as a revolutionary tool and as a guarantor of the prevailing order, because they indicate their users’ complexes rather than their strengths.

In two films, however, a weapon is finally used for real. In *Plastic Jesus*, Tom is killed at the hand of a jealous woman. Intimate feelings turn out to be a weak point of the sexual revolution – they are difficult to liberalise effectively. As Wolfgang Schmidbauer notes, “It is not easy for a man to satisfy his sexual desires without hurting other people. Freud saw this much better than Wilhelm Reich” (Schmidbauer, 2008, p. 146). Therefore – as Stojanović shows – feelings remain primarily the domain of conservative morals and, as such, can result in violence.

In *Early Works*, too, the genuine use of weapons testifies not to the strength but to the weakness of the revolutionary rebellion, which turns into frustration caused by the failure of the revolutionists’ propaganda campaigns in a hostile rural environment. Frustration breaks up the revolutionary group: its leader returns to the old, traditional lifestyle, and her companions execute her, taking revenge not only for her ideological betrayal, but also for her domination over them. Similarly, the revolutionary Milena from Makavejev’s film faces death. Although she is a supporter of sexual liberation, at some point she begins to dream about traditionally understood love. During sexual intercourse, a Soviet skater decapitates her with an ice-skate, which replaces a firearm as a deadly fetish (in this function, it also brings to mind the French Revolution’s fetish – the guillotine). He does this to relieve the sense in which he feels he has betrayed his own worldview by succumbing to a woman’s charm and his own desire, but also, as Veljko Radosavljević points out, with a sense of loyalty to Lenin’s directive, which he refers to just before the murder, and which claims that although the communist revolutionary is fundamentally against violence,

¹⁸ The director of *Plastic Jesus* took the motif of playing with weapons from Croatian Lordan Zafranović’s (1967) short film *Afternoon (The Gun)* [*Poslje podne (puška)*], also starring Tomislav Gotovac in the lead role. Stojanović admits to this inspiration, quoting a passage from Zafranović’s work in *Plastic Jesus*.

it must be ruthlessly applied in revolutionary work with a hypocritical society (Radosavljević, 2019, p. 331)¹⁹.

On the one hand, Žilnik, Stojanović and Makavejev appreciate the potential of the sexual revolution as a peaceful manifestation of human freedom; on the other hand, they emphasise the naivety of the revolutionaries' faith in the effectiveness of their rebellion in a situation where they are unable to change their nature or ultimately break out of the shackles of traditional habits. Consequently, the sexual revolution takes the form of an ironic myth in their political film fantasies. As Northrop Frye argues, the peculiarity of this kind of myth is best represented by the parodying of romance, of which *The Ingenious Gentleman Sir Quixote of La Mancha* (*El ingenioso hidalgo don Quijote de la Mancha*, 1605, 1615) by Miguel de Cervantes is a classic example. This parodying is the fulfilment of a romance convention that derives from myth (for it tells of the fulfilment of dreams) with realistic or, better still, naturalistic content, questioning not only the chances of those dreams coming true but also their veracity (Frye, 2012, pp. 60, 252). So, also in *Early Works*, *Plastic Jesus* and *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, the dream of a bloodless revolution in which sex would be the primary weapon reveals its fragility in the clash with the brutal realities in which it tries to become a reality. This, in turn, is sharpened with the use of meta-cinematic poetics that emphasise the conventionality of the worlds created on the screen and, at the same time, the authenticity of their creative process. The coexistence of conventionality with authenticity creates an emotional and intellectual distance to the cinematic images of the sexual revolution and – indirectly – to the revolution itself.

An afterword to the films by Žilnik, Makavejev and Stojanović that is as ironic as these films is fulfilled by *Young and Healthy As a Rose*, directed by Jovan Jovanović, which diagnoses the consequences of the 1968 revolution. In the film's first frames, he uses audio from the celebration of Youth Day – a cyclical state celebration for Josip Broz Tito's birthday (in the movie, it is his 77th birthday). The paradoxical meaning of this celebration (the praise of youth is used to praise old age) defines the place of young people in the social life of the communist regime: they are supposed to follow the path set by the older generation. In the later part of the work, the director presents the methods used by the Yugoslav militia (such as corruption, blackmail or torture) against those who do not fit into the propaganda image of socialist youth.

¹⁹ Lenin's directive was quoted by Maxim Gorky in his memoirs about him (Gorki, 1956, p. 329).

Not fitting in is the criminal Stiv, who, following the spirit of political fashion, poses as a rebel raised on the ideals of the 1960s revolution. However, he treats them instrumentally – as an image-enhancing justification for pathological violations of moral principles. He is impressed not by politically engaged contesters but by action movie heroes. By killing two hippies in the film's first sequence, he symbolically distances himself from the ideals of the 1968 revolution. His anarchist-hedonistic terrorism, cultivated with a grotesque – more theatrical than cinematic – exaggeration, has little to do with the revolutionary-emancipatory terrorism that the heroes dreamed of in *Early Works*. It is a decadent realisation of consumer desires awakened but unsatisfied by the communist prosperity propaganda.

Despite his aggressiveness and pugnacity, Stiv also belongs to the category of “weak” men, as primarily evidenced by his hammy self-exaltation, which is emphasized by the director's meta-cinema endeavours: the mannerist use of para-documentary narration and the so-called tearing down of the fourth wall (the film's protagonist often addresses the audience directly). He occasionally earns money as a male prostitute (it is worth noting here that *Young and Healthy As a Rose* features Yugoslav cinema's first lesbian sex scene). He also prostitutes himself criminally, becoming a police informer and provocateur.

In *Young and Healthy As a Rose*, free love is a source of both income and relaxation: it no longer expresses, as in the previously discussed films, a generational or political rebellion; nor does it fully satisfy – or does so only at the most basic level – quickly leading to boredom, which can be temporarily overcome with drugs. Sexual freedom thus results in boredom with sex and a search for more exciting experiences provided by the free discharge of aggression. In *Young and Healthy As a Rose*, liberated sex is, therefore, from the very beginning, in symbiosis with liberated violence, which turns out to be an extreme form of consumption: it consists in destroying products in abundance due to their saturation (the scene in which armed hooligans, led by Stiv, demolish the interior of a department store is significant in this context).

Compared to the films by Žilnik, Stojanović and Makavejev, the fetishistic significance of weapons is intensified in Jovanović's work, which is best illustrated by the final sequence of the film, which depicts the occupation of Belgrade's Hotel Jugoslavija by a youth militia (the name of the hotel fulfils a similar function as the name Jugoslava in *Early Works*: it suggests that the hotel is an allegory of socialist Yugoslavia). A drug-sex orgy involving the militiamen escalates into an orgy of violence that ends with the conventional death of the militia's leader,

Stiv. He dies in front of a film camera as a terrorist, only to be resurrected in front of a TV camera as a celebrity who uses a journalist's microphone instead of a rifle. He is finally satisfied by media fame, which is no longer about consuming without limits, but about being consumed by the audience of a media show. In the media world, free love and free violence no longer have a genuinely revolutionary meaning, nor are they opposed to each other, as they turn into goods for sale that become more attractive when they are symbiotic.

Both the films by Žilnik, Stojanović and Makavejev and the film by Jovanović focused on the rebellion of young people against Yugoslav real socialism and, in doing so, portrayed the Yugoslav communist revolution in an unfavourable light. Therefore, they were banned almost immediately or after a short time from being shown in domestic cinemas²⁰. Stojanović served three years in prison mainly because of *Plastic Jesus*²¹. He had earlier been expelled from the Communist Party, as had Makavejev. Žilnik himself resigned from the party²². In response to the political ostracism, Makavejev and Žilnik went to the West for an extended period in 1973 (the former to France, then to the United States; the latter to West Germany) to continue their creative work there²³.

The conduct of the communist authorities towards the artists mentioned above and their works was part of the process of suppressing the political thaw in Yugoslavia. The thaw intensified slowly from the mid-1950s and consisted

²⁰ Because the movie *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism* was a Yugoslav-West German co-production, it could still be screened in the West. It was released on Yugoslav screens again in 1987. Other banned works returned to the cinema repertoire only after the fall of communism in Yugoslavia (*Early Works* and *Plastic Jesus* were screened from 1990) or even later, after the collapse of that country (*Young and Healthy As a Rose* was re-screened in 2006).

²¹ Moreover, the politically controversial documentary *The Healthy Offspring (Zdrav podmladak)*, co-directed with Tomislav Gotovac (Gotovac & Stojanović, 1971), as well as his publicly expressed politically incorrect views, including in the student newspapers "Student" and "Vidici", contributed to his imprisonment.

²² Despite the unfavourable political situation, Žilnik managed to make another feature film in 1972, which was initially entitled *Kapital (Capital)*, referring to the most famous work of Karl Marx entitled *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy (Das Kapital. Kritik der politischen Ökonomie, 1867, 1885, 1894)*. It was later changed to the less controversial: *Freedom or Cartoons (Sloboda ili strip)*. Ultimately, Žilnik was not allowed to edit the footage, so the film was never finished (some of the footage was later destroyed). Based on the description of the plot of this film and photos from the period of its production, it is known that it also touched upon the issue of the sexual revolution.

²³ Lazar Stojanović later emigrated – in 1978 – first to London, then to Asia, but he did not pursue filmmaking in exile. Jovan Jovanović did not leave the country. In the following years he made documentary films.

mainly of a moderate decentralisation of state management. Both the 1968 revolution and the Black Wave were among its most important manifestations. Their development came to an end when the communist regime tightened its control over all spheres of public life between 1971 and 1972.

The works of Žilnik, Stojanović, Makavejev and Jovanović from later years were produced both in exile and in Yugoslavia, and later in the countries that emerged after its collapse; they were no longer part of the Black Wave as they were produced under different political, social and economic conditions. However, some of them still contain elements of Black Wave poetics, including *Sweet Movie*, shot by Dušan Makavejev (1974) in a Franco-Canadian-West German co-production, and *Marble Ass*, which Želimir Žilnik (1995) realised in Serbia.

These two echoes of the Black Wave are worth mentioning because they too focus on the problem of the relationship between violence and sexuality in the context of the sexual revolution. In *Sweet Movie*, which was made in a similar style to *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*, Makavejev presents, on the one hand, the process of commercialising the effects of the revolution, and, on the other, pathological departures from its ideals. At the same time, the Serbian director reaches deeper, striking at every revolution, because every revolution promises to satisfy the consumer needs of society, regardless of the victims of fulfilling this promise.

On the other hand, Žilnik in *Marble Ass*, with its typical performative style, heralds the times when the sexual revolution in the Balkans will begin to take the form of a gender revolution. Using the fate of two transvestites who prostitute themselves during the post-Yugoslav wars and the rise of Serbian nationalism as an example, while soothing the awakened aggression of men affected by the war crisis, the director refreshes the old, already slightly weathered slogan *Make love, not war* and challenges national and patriarchal conventions of gender identity²⁴. In the émigré *Sweet Movie* and the post-Yugoslav *Marble Ass*, the Black Wave tradition of an ironic approach to the sexual revolution and its accompanying political and social ideologies is extended²⁵.

²⁴ The update of this slogan proposed in the film by Žilnik is analysed in more detail by Kevin Moss (2002, pp. 341–343) and Zoran Janković (2008, pp. 191–201).

²⁵ Further though aesthetically more distant references to the Black Wave tradition in the context of contemporary manifestations of sexual freedom can be found in two Serbian films from the beginning of the 21st century: *The Life and Death of a Porno Gang (Život i smrt porno bande)* by Mladen Đorđević (2009) and *Clip (Klip)* by Maja Miloš (2012). Vesna Perić comments on the presence of these references in Đorđević's film (Perić, 2009, pp. 58–60).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allyn, S. (2016). *Make love, not war: The sexual revolution: An unfettered history*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315539768>
- Bataille, G. (2007). *Erotyzm* (M. Ochab, Trans.). Słowo/obraz terytoria.
- Beard, D. Š. (2019). Soft socialism, hard realism: Partisan song, parody, and intertextual listening in Yugoslav Black Wave film (1968–1972). *Twentieth-Century Music*, 16(1), 95–121. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1478572219000112>
- Buden, B., & Žilnik, Ž. (2013). *Uvod u prošlost*. Centar za nove medije_kuda.org.
- Cavallo, D. (1999). *Fiction of the past: The sixties in American history*. St. Martin's Press.
- DeCuir, G., Jr. (2011). *Jugoslovenski crni talas: Polemički film od 1963. do 1972. u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Republici Jugoslaviji* (G. Baškot, Trans.). Filmski centar Srbije.
- Ečim, L., & Lóránd, Z. (2020, March 22). *Seksualna revolucija u Jugoslaviji bila je dio patrijarhalnog sustava*. VoxFeminae.net. Retrieved January 1, 2022, from <https://voxfeminae.net/pravednost/zsofia-lorand-seksualna-revolucija-u-jugoslaviji-bila-je-dio-patrijarhalnog-sustava/>
- Engels, F. (1906). *Pochodzenie rodziny, własności prywatnej i państwa: W związku z badaniami Lewisa H. Morgana* (J. Warska, Trans.). "Biblioteka Naukowa", Wyd. St. Kucharskiego.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Historia seksualności* (B. Banasiak, T. Komendant, & K. Matuszewski, Trans.). Czytelnik.
- Freud, S. (1982). *Wstęp do psychoanalizy* (S. Kempnerówna & W. Zaniewicki, Trans.; 3rd ed., Rev. ed.). Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Freud, S. (1992). Fetyszizm. In C. de Bosses, *O kulcie fetyszów* (M. Skrzypek, Trans.; pp. 131–136). Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii PAN.
- Frye, N. (2012). *Anatomia krytyki* (M. Bokiniec, Trans.). Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego.
- Giddens, A. (1992). *The transformation of intimacy: Sexuality, love and eroticism in modern societies*. Stanford University Press.
- Gillen, G. (2008). Cud miłości: Krótka historia rewolucji seksualnej. In D. Cohn-Bendit & R. Dammann (Eds.), *Maj '68: Rewolta* (S. Lisiecka & Z. Jaskuła, Trans.; pp. 95–115). Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej.
- Gorki, M. (1956). Włodzimierz Iljicz Lenin. In M. Gorki, *Pisma: Vol. 9. Artamonow i synowie. Sylwetki. Opowiadania i szkice 1925–1932* (J. Brzęczkowski et al., Trans.; pp. 293–335). Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy.
- Horvath, S. (2016). *The radicality of love*. Polity Press.
- Janković, Z. (2008). Nikad pokoran: *Marble ass* Želimira Žilnika. In D. Ognjanović & I. Velisavljević (Eds.), *Novi kadrovi: Skrajnute vrednosti srpskog filma*. Clío.
- Jovanović, N. (2011). Breaking the wave: A commentary on 'Black Wave polemics: Rhetoric as aesthetic' by Greg DeCuir, Jr. *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, 2(2), 161–171. https://doi.org/10.1386/seec.2.2.161_1

- Kanzleiter, B. (2008). Yugoslavia. In M. Klimke & J. Scharloth (Eds.), *1968 in Europe: A history of protest and activism, 1956–1977* (pp. 219–228). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230611900_19
- Kanzleiter, B. (2011). 1968 in Yugoslavia: Student revolt between East and West. In M. Klimke, J. Pecelder, & J. Scharloth (Eds.), *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and revolt in Europe, 1960–1980* (pp. 84–100). Berghahn Books.
- King, C. R. (2007). Arming desire: The sexual force of guns in the United States. In C. F. Springwood (Ed.), *Open fire: Understanding global gun cultures* (pp. 87–97). Berg.
- Klasić, H. (2012). *Jugoslavija i svijet 1968*. Naklada Ljevak.
- Klejsa, K. (2008). *Filmowe oblicza kontestacji: Kino Stanów Zjednoczonych i Europy Zachodniej wobec przełomu lat sześćdziesiątych i siedemdziesiątych*. Wydawnictwo Trio.
- Kohn, A. A. (2004). *Shooters: Myths and realities of America's gun cultures*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195150513.001.0001>
- Kołąkowski, L. (2009). *Główne nurty marksizmu: Vol. I. Powstanie*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
- Kuvačić, I. (1979). Middle class ideology. In M. Marković & G. Petrović (Eds.), *Praxis: Yugoslav essays in the philosophy and methodology of the social sciences* (J. Coddington, D. Rouge et al., Trans.; pp. 333–356). D. Reidel Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-9355-6_21
- Lazarević Radak, S. (2016). *Film i politički kontekst: O jugoslavenskom i srpskom filmu*. Mali Nemo.
- Levi, P. (2009). *Raspad Jugoslavije na filmu: Estetika i ideologija u jugoslovenskom i postjugoslovenskom filmu* (A. Grbić & S. Glišić, Trans.). Biblioteka XX vek.
- Levi Martin, J. (1996). Structuring the sexual revolution. *Theory and Society*, 25(1), 105–151. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00140760>
- Lóránd, Z. (2015). 'A politically non-dangerous revolution is not a revolution': Critical readings of the concept of sexual revolution by Yugoslav feminists in the 1970s. *European Review of History / Revue europeenne d'histoire*, 22(1), 120–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2014.983432>
- Lóránd, Z. (2018). *The feminist challenge to the socialist state in Yugoslavia*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78223-2>
- Marcuse, H. (1998). *Eros i cywilizacja* (H. Jankowska & A. Pawelski, Trans.). Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza.
- Marks, K. (1979). Listy z *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. In K. Marks, *Pisma wybrane: Człowiek i socjalizm* (pp. 14–29). Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Moss, K. (2002). Jugoslovenski transseksualni heroji: *Virdžina i Marble ass* (T. Nikolić, Trans.). *Reč*, 67(13), 327–346.
- Oldstone-Moore, C. (2016). *Of beards and men: The revealing history of facial hair*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Perić, V. (2009). Život i smrt porno bande kao narativizacija potrage za porno(dis)topijom. *Zbornik radova Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti, 2009*(16), 53–66.
- Popov, N. (2008). *Društveni sukobi – izazov sociologiji: "Beogradski jun" 1968*. Službeni glasnik.

- Radosavljević, V. (2019). *Sjaj crnog: Prilog za bolje razumevanje jednog razdoblja srpske kinematografije*. Filmski centar Srbije.
- Reich, W. (1996). *Funkcija orgazmu* (N. Szymańska, Trans.). Jacek Santorski & Co.
- Reich, W. (2013). *The sexual revolution: Toward a self-regulating character structure* (T. Pol, Trans.). Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.
- Schmidbauer, W. (2008). Aktualność przeszłości: Rany “niemieckiej winy”. In D. Cohn-Bendit & R. Dammann (Eds.), *Maj '68: Rewolta* (S. Lisiecka & Z. Jaskuła, Trans.; pp. 95–115). Wydawnictwo Krytyki Politycznej.
- Simic, I. (2018). *Soviet influences on postwar Yugoslav gender policies*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-94382-4>
- Tirnanić, B. (2006). *Crni talas ili prilozi za paralelnu istoriju nekadašnjeg jugoslovenskog filma: Feljton*. Filmski centar Srbije.
- Vuković, V. (2018). Violated sex: Rape, nation and representation of female characters in Yugoslav New Film and Black Wave cinema. *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, 9(2), 132–147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2040350X.2018.1435204>
- Williams, L. (2008). *Screening sex*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822388630>
- Žižek, S. (2008). *Przemoc: Sześć spojrzeń z ukosa* (A. Górny, Trans.). Warszawskie Wydawnictwo Literackie Muza.

FILMS

- Chiaureli, M. (Director). (1946). *Kliatva* [Film]. Tbilisskaia kinostudiia.
- Đorđević, M. (Director). (2009). *Život i smrt porno bande* [Film]. Film House Baš Čelik.
- Gotovac, T., & Stojanović, L. (Directors). (1971). *Zdrav podmladak* [Film]. Fakultet dramskih umetnosti.
- Hladnik, B. (Director). (1971). *Maškarada* [Film]. Viba film; Kinematografi Zagreb.
- Jovanović, J. (Director). (1971). *Mlad i zdrav kako ruža* [Film]. Dunav film.
- Kozomara, L., & Mihić, G. (Directors). (1969). *Vrane* [Film]. Avala film.
- Makavejev, D. (Director). (1965). *Čovek nije tica* [Film]. Avala film.
- Makavejev, D. (Director). (1967). *Ljubavni slučaj ili tragedija službenice PTT* [Film]. Avala film.
- Makavejev, D. (Director). (1971). *WR – misterije organizma* [Film]. Neoplanta film; Telepool.
- Makavejev, D. (Director). (1974). *Sweet movie* [Film]. V. M. Productions; Mojack Film Ltée; & Maran Film.
- Miloš, M. (Director). (2012). *Klip* [Film]. Film House Baš Čelik.
- Pavlović, Ž. (Director). (1967). *Buđenje pacova* [Film]. Centar film.
- Rosenberg, S. (Director). (1967). *Cool Hand Luke* [Film]. Jalem Productions.

Schlesinger, J. (Director). (1969). *Midnight cowboy* [Film]. Florin Productions; Jerome Hellman Productions.

Stojanović, L. (Director). (1971). *Plastični Isus* [Film]. Fakultet dramskih umetnosti; Centar film.

Vadim, R. (Director). (1968). *Barbarella* [Film]. Dino de Laurentiis Cinematografica & Marianne Productions.

Zafranović, L. (Director). (1967). *Poslje podne (puška)* [Film]. Filmski autorski studio Kino saveza Hrvatske.

Žilnik, Ž. (Director). (1969). *Rani radovi* [Film]. Neoplanta film; Avala film.

Žilnik, Ž. (Director). (1995). *Marble Ass* [Film]. Radio B 92.

Przemoc i seks, i znów przemoc.

Rewolucja seksualna w filmach jugosłowiańskiej czarnej fali

Rewolucja seksualna, traktowana jako jeden z głównych wyróżników rewolucji '68, została wyraźny ślad w czterech serbskich filmach należących do jugosłowiańskiej czarnej fali. *Młode lata (Rani radovi, 1969)* Želimira Žilnika, *Plastikowy Jezus (Plastični Isus, 1971)* Lazara Stojanovicia, *WR – tajemnice organizmu (WR – misterije organizma, 1971)* Dušana Makavejeva oraz *Młody i zdrowy jak róża (Mlad i zdrav kao ruža, 1971)* Jovana Jovanovicia podejmują kluczowy dla przebiegu tej rewolucji problem relacji między przemocą a seksualnością. Wolność seksualną rewolucjoniści roku 1968 uznawali za podstawowy przejaw wolności indywidualnej, o którą walczyli, stawiając opór przemocy wypływającej z aktualnej polityki i tradycji kulturowej. Reżyserzy wymienionych filmów ironicznie obrazują, jak realizacja rewolucyjnego postulatu, by seks zastąpił przemoc w roli siły kształtującej życie społeczne, prowadzi do efektu paradoksalnego – do ujawnienia się organicznego, zakorzenionego w ludzkiej naturze, uwikłania seksualności w przemoc.

Słowa kluczowe: rewolucja seksualna, rewolucja '68, seks, przemoc, film jugosłowiański, film serbski, jugosłowiańska czarna fala

Violence and sex and violence again: The sexual revolution in the films of the Yugoslav Black Wave

The sexual revolution, regarded as one of the main hallmarks of the 1968 revolution, left a distinct mark in four Serbian films of the Yugoslav Black Wave: *Early Works (Rani radovi, 1969)* by Želimir Žilnik, *Plastic Jesus (Plastični Isus, 1971)* by Lazar Stojanović, *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism (WR – misterije organizma, 1971)* by Dušan Makavejev and *Young and Healthy As a Rose (Mlad i zdrav kao ruža, 1971)* by Jovan Jovanović. These films tackle the issue of the relationship between violence and sexuality, which was crucial for the course of the revolution. Sexual freedom was recognised by the revolutionaries of 1968 as a fundamental manifestation of the individual freedom for which they fought, resisting the violence resulting from the current political and cultural tradition. The directors of these films ironically illustrate how the implementation of the revolutionary demand that sex replace violence as a force shaping social life leads to a paradoxical effect: the revelation of sexuality's organic entanglement in violence, rooted in human nature.

Keywords: sexual revolution, 1968 revolution, sex, violence, Yugoslav film, Serbian film, Yugoslav Black Wave

Patrycjusz Pająk (p.p.pajak@uw.edu.pl) – doktor habilitowany, adiunkt w Instytucie Sławistyki Zachodniej i Południowej na Wydziale Polonistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Zainteresowania naukowe: historia i kultura państw słowiańskich w Europie Środkowej i na Bałkanach.

Patrycjusz Pająk (p.p.pajak@uw.edu.pl) – Associate Professor at the Institute of Western and Southern Slavic Studies, Faculty of Polish Studies, University of Warsaw. Research interests: history and culture of Slavic countries in Central Europe and the Balkans.